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Dialect Image and New Dialect Forms

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Linguistic change is still going on in modern societies. It can be better studied when methods of sociolinguistics and dialectology are connected. Phenomena called 'new dialect forms' were here studied through a field survey between two large cities in Japan.

1. Age and Area Survey of Dialects

A kind of linguistic innovation will be discussed in this paper, taking examples from a field survey in Japan. The area we investigated, as shown in Figure 0, extends roughly from Tokyo to just beyond Osaka. The area is called the 'Tokaido Megalopolis', and is one of the most urbanized and densely inhabited areas in Japan. The area investigated is about 400 kms in length and can be likened to a line between Berlin and Frankfurt. Though traffic has been heavy in this area, many bundles of isogloss are observed here and the important dialectal border separating the western and eastern Japanese dialects is said to run through this area. Localities investigated were all situated near railway stations. Seven native-born informants from each age-group were selected in 71 localities.

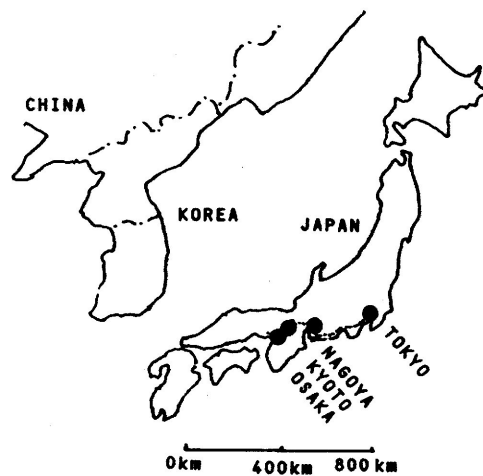


Figure 0

The results are shown in the form of 'glottograms', as shown later. Vertical axis shows geographical location (upper part is east, lower part west), and horizontal axis shows ages of informants. The glottogram is a map which shows linguistic differences by age and area at the same time. By this method, the diffusion process of new linguistic forms can be observed vividly. The data was all put into a large computer and analyzed using the so-called automatic cartography method. The data in the computer can be processed in many ways. Some

statistical methods were applied as an execution of 'dialectometry'.

'New dialect forms' were defined as linguistic phenomena which satisfy the following three qualifications (Inoue 1983a, 1983b).

1. more users are found among younger people than among older people,
2. users themselves know that the forms are informal or non-standard,
3. forms are different from those of the standard (or common) language.

New dialect forms can be further characterized as a modern materialization of linguistic changes in progress. (Incidentally, the same term is used in western dialectology and sociolinguistics, but in a different meaning. The new dialect in the Occident seems to be used in the sense of the birth of a new dialectal system as a whole, for example in colonies of the new world, while the Japanese term SIN-HOOGEN (new dialect) is used for individual (lexical, grammatical or phonetic) innovations in dialects.) These phenomena are worth notice because only standardization is thought to be in progress in modern Japan.

2. Examples of new dialect forms

In judging whether the linguistic forms in question are the new dialect forms, it is necessary to ascertain usage by age and by style. The glottogram is a convenient method to grasp the age difference in large (linear) areas. Differences in style can be found conveniently by asking informants to answer in two supposed situations: in our case, informal conversation with friends or family members, and a supposed interview situation with a television announcer. We will first show glottograms in which both age and style differences are clear.

Figures 1a and 1b show the auxiliary verb of negation -NAI after a verb KAKE-RU (to be able to write). Figure 1a shows that in an informal situation, dialectal expression -HEN is spreading from west to east replacing the -N of older people. But in Figure 1b (in supposed TV interview) this new expression -HEN is hardly observable. Most of the informants in the western half of the area switch to standard Japanese -NAI which is used also in eastern Japan. This example clearly shows that the newer form used by younger people is not always the standard expression. -HEN is a typical case of new dialect form in central Japan.

To show that this is not an exceptional case, we shall give another example in Figures 2a and 2b. These figures show distribution of auxiliary verb of conjecture after the adjective II- (good). Figure 2a shows at least two changes. One is a change from the dialectal -ZURA to the newer -DARAA in the central area which must have been born as a result of contamination between -ZURA and the standard -DAROO. Another is the diffusion of -ZYAN among younger people from central part of the area (Sizuoka Prefecture) to eastern Japan. In contrast, Figure 2b (for TV interview) show only a few instances of these new forms. Standard Japanese -DAROO is used instead and other forms including the polite expression -DESYOO are used in this formal situation. -DARAA and -ZYAN represent typical cases of the new dialect forms.

Some more glottograms are in order as additional examples of new dialect forms. DOROBOO-KEZURI (literally, 'thief-sharpening') in Figure 3 is a manner of sharpening pencils from both ends. This expression is observed mostly among younger people.

KAZI CYAU (it is not fire) in Figure 4 was a typical expression of dialects near Osaka. It is

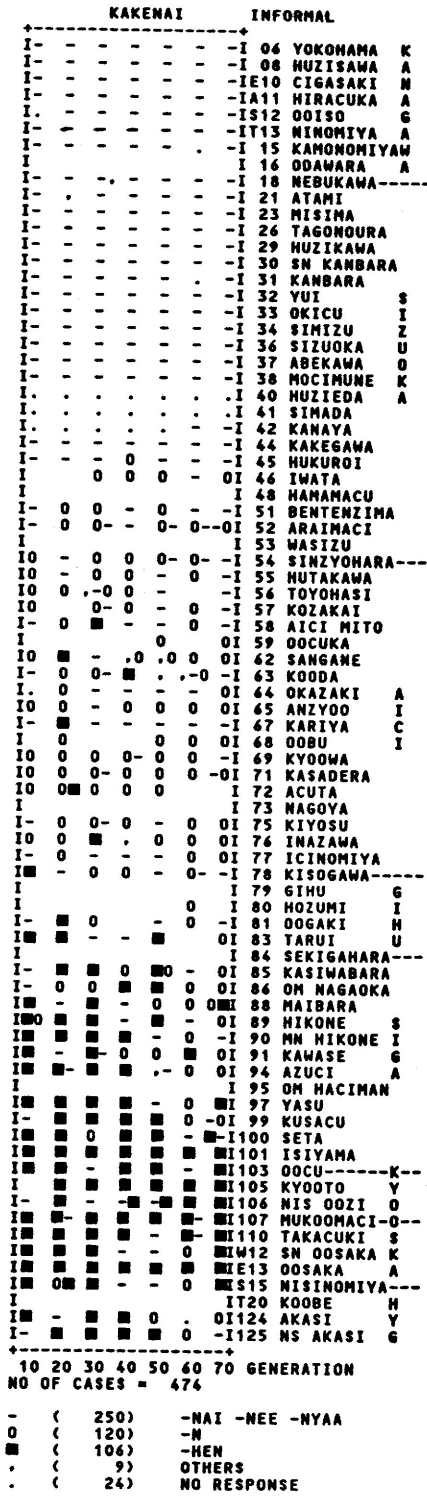


Figure 1 a (KAKE)-NAI

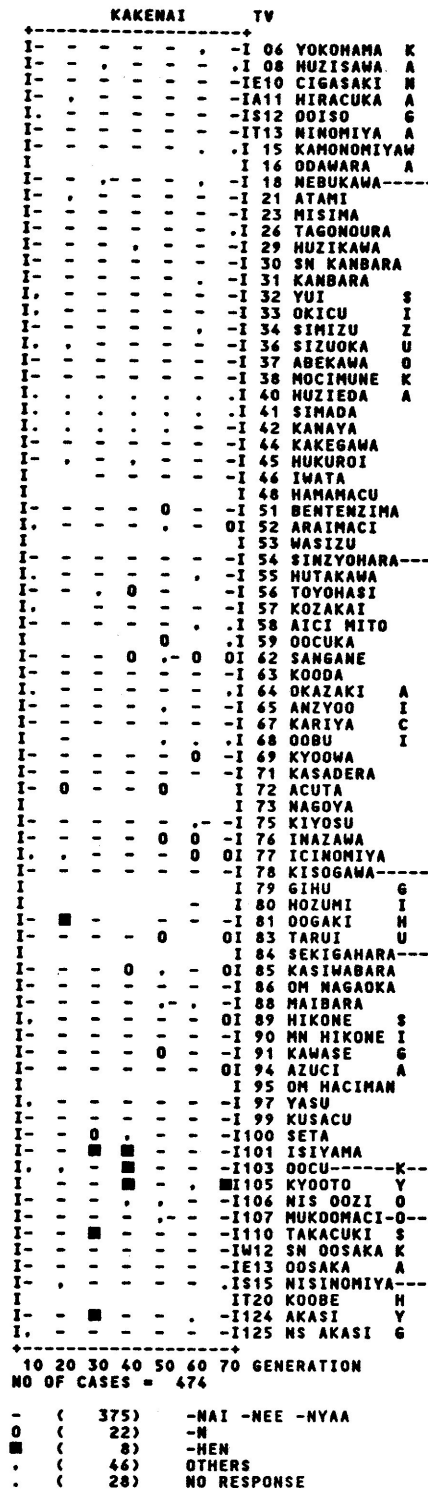
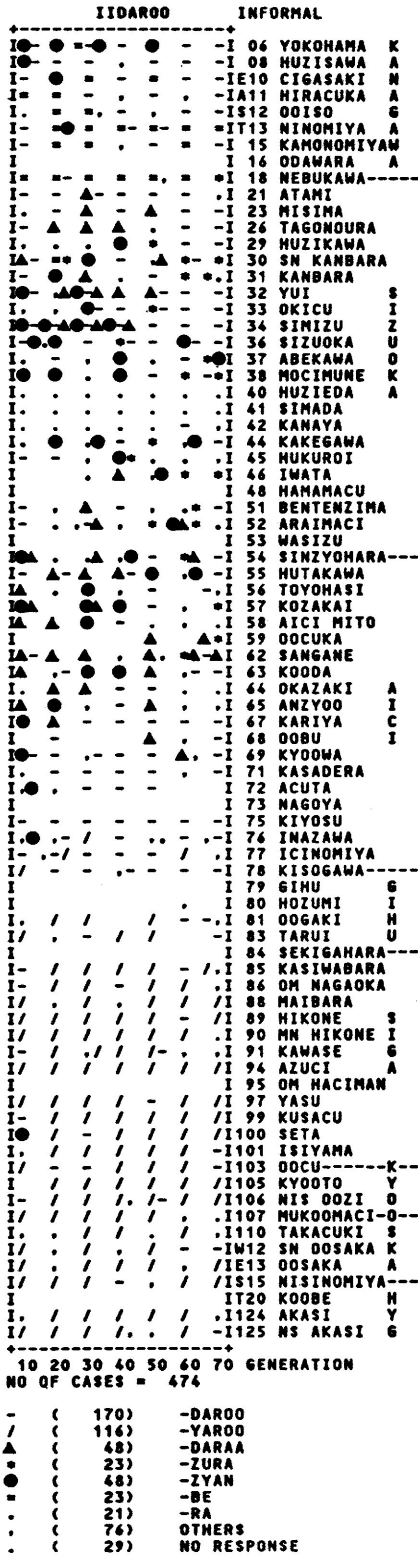


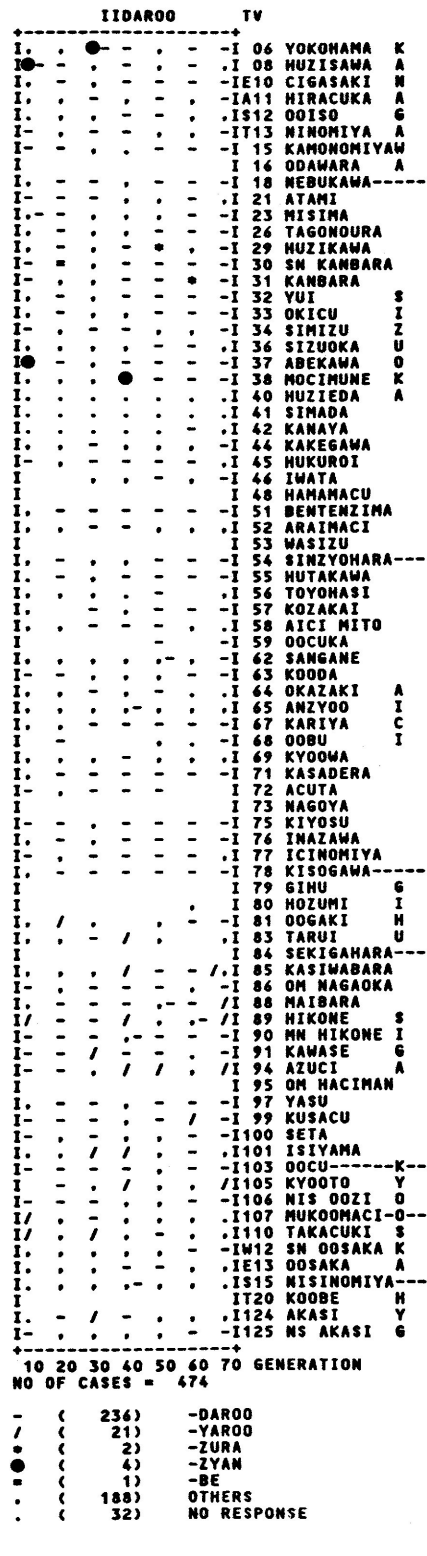
Figure 1 b (KAKE)-NAI



10 20 30 40 50 60 70 GENERATION
 NO OF CASES = 474

- (170) -DAROO
- (114) -YAROO
- ▲ (48) -DARAA
- (23) -ZURA
- (48) -ZYAN
- (23) -BE
- (21) -RA
- (76) OTHERS
- (29) NO RESPONSE

Figure 2 a (II)-DAROO



10 20 30 40 50 60 70 GENERATION
 NO OF CASES = 474

- (236) -DAROO
- (21) -YAROO
- (2) -ZURA
- (4) -ZYAN
- (1) -BE
- (188) OTHERS
- (32) NO RESPONSE

Figure 2 b (II)-DAROO

DOROBOOKEZURI

10	20	30	40	50	60	70	GENERATION
I	I 06 YOKOHAMA K
I	I 08 MUZISAWA A
I	IE10 CIGASAKI M
I	IA11 HIRACUKA A
I	IS12 OOISO G
I	IT13 MINOMIYA A
I	I 15 KAMONOMIYAW A
I	I 14 ODAWARA A
I	I 18 NEBUKAWA A
I	I 21 ATAMI
I	I 23 MISIMA
I	I 24 TAGONOURA
I	I 29 MUZIKAWA
I	I 30 SN KANBARA
I	I 31 KANBARA
I	I 32 YUI S
I	I 33 OKICU I
I	I 34 SIMIZU Z
I	I 36 SIZUOKA U
I	I 37 ABEKAWA O
I	I 38 HOCIMUNE K
I	I 40 HUZIEDA A
I	I 41 SIMADA
I	I 42 KANAYA
I	I 44 KAKEGAWA
I	I 45 HUKUROI
I	I 46 IWATA
I	I 48 HAMAMACU
I	I 51 BENTENZIMA
I	I 52 ARAIMACI
I	I 53 WASIZU
I	I 54 SINZYOHARA---
I	I 55 HUTAKAWA
I	I 56 TOYOHASI
I	I 57 KOZAKAI
I	I 58 AICI MITO
I	I 59 OOCUKA
I	I 62 SANGANE
I	I 63 KOODA A
I	I 64 OKAZAKI I
I	I 65 ANZYOO C
I	I 67 KARIYA I
I	I 68 OOBU I
I	I 69 KYOOWA
I	I 71 KASADERA
I	I 72 ACUTA
I	I 73 NAGOYA
I	I 75 Kiyosu
I	I 76 INAZAWA
I	I 77 ICINOMIYA
I	I 78 KISOGAWA---
I	I 79 GIHU G
I	I 80 HOZUMI I
I	I 81 OOGAKI H
I	I 83 TARUI U
I	I 84 SEKIGAHARA---
I	I 85 KASIWABARA
I	I 86 OM NAGAOKA
I	I 88 MAIBARA S
I	I 89 HIKONE I
I	I 90 MN HIKONE I
I	I 91 KAWASE G
I	I 94 AZUCI A
I	I 95 OM HACIMAN
I	I 97 YASU
I	I 99 KUSACU
I	I 100 SETA
I	I 101 ISIYAMA
I	I 103 OOCU-----K--
I	I 105 KYOOTO Y
I	I 106 NIS OOZI O
I	I 107 HUKOOMACI-O--
I	I 110 TAKACUKI S
I	IW12 SN OOSAKA K
I	IE13 OOSAKA A
I	IS15 NISINOMIYA---
I	IT20 KOOBE H
I	I124 AKASI Y
I	I125 NS AKASI G

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 GENERATION
NO OF CASES = 474

0 (43) USE/SAY IU
/ (50) HEAR KIKU
. (346) DO'NT HEAR KIKANAI
, (7) USE SIMILAR FORMS

KAJI CHAU

10	20	30	40	50	60	70	GENERATION
I	I 06 YOKOHAMA K
I	I 08 MUZISAWA A
I	IE10 CIGASAKI M
I	IA11 HIRACUKA A
I	IS12 OOISO G
I	IT13 MINOMIYA A
I	I 15 KAMONOMIYAW A
I	I 14 ODAWARA A
I	I 18 NEBUKAWA A
I	I 21 ATAMI
I	I 23 MISIMA
I	I 24 TAGONOURA
I	I 29 MUZIKAWA
I	I 30 SN KANBARA
I	I 31 KANBARA
I	I 32 YUI S
I	I 33 OKICU I
I	I 34 SIMIZU Z
I	I 36 SIZUOKA U
I	I 37 ABEKAWA O
I	I 38 HOCIMUNE K
I	I 40 HUZIEDA A
I	I 41 SIMADA
I	I 42 KANAYA
I	I 44 KAKEGAWA
I	I 45 HUKUROI
I	I 46 IWATA
I	I 48 HAMAMACU
I	I 51 BENTENZIMA
I	I 52 ARAIMACI
I	I 53 WASIZU
I	I 54 SINZYOHARA---
I	I 55 HUTAKAWA
I	I 56 TOYOHASI
I	OI 57 KOZAKAI
I	I 58 AICI MITO
I	I 59 OOCUKA
I	I 62 SANGANE
I	I 63 KOODA A
I	I 64 OKAZAKI I
I	I 65 ANZYOO C
I	I 67 KARIYA I
I	I 68 OOBU I
I	I 69 KYOOWA
I	I 71 KASADERA
I	I 72 ACUTA
I	I 73 NAGOYA
I	I 75 Kiyosu
I	I 76 INAZAWA
I	I 77 ICINOMIYA
I	I 78 KISOGAWA---
I	I 79 GIHU G
I	I 80 HOZUMI I
I	I 81 OOGAKI H
I	I 83 TARUI U
I	I 84 SEKIGAHARA---
I	I 85 KASIWABARA
I	I 86 OM NAGAOKA
I	I 88 MAIBARA S
I	I 89 HIKONE I
I	I 90 MN HIKONE I
I	I 91 KAWASE G
I	I 94 AZUCI A
I	I 95 OM HACIMAN
I	OI 97 YASU
I	I 99 KUSACU
I	I 100 SETA
I	I 101 ISIYAMA
I	I 103 OOCU-----K--
I	I 105 KYOOTO Y
I	I 106 NIS OOZI O
I	I 107 HUKOOMACI-O--
I	I 110 TAKACUKI S
I	OIW12 SN OOSAKA K
I	IE13 OOSAKA A
I	OIS15 NISINOMIYA---
I	IT20 KOOBE H
I	I124 AKASI Y
I	OI125 NS AKASI G

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 GENERATION
NO OF CASES = 474

0 (72) USE/SAY IU
/ (54) HEAR KIKU
. (328) DO'NT HEAR KIKANAI
, (15) USE SIMILAR FORMS
: (5) HEAR ELSEWHERE

Figure 3 DOROBOOKEZURI

Figure 4 (KAJI) CYAU

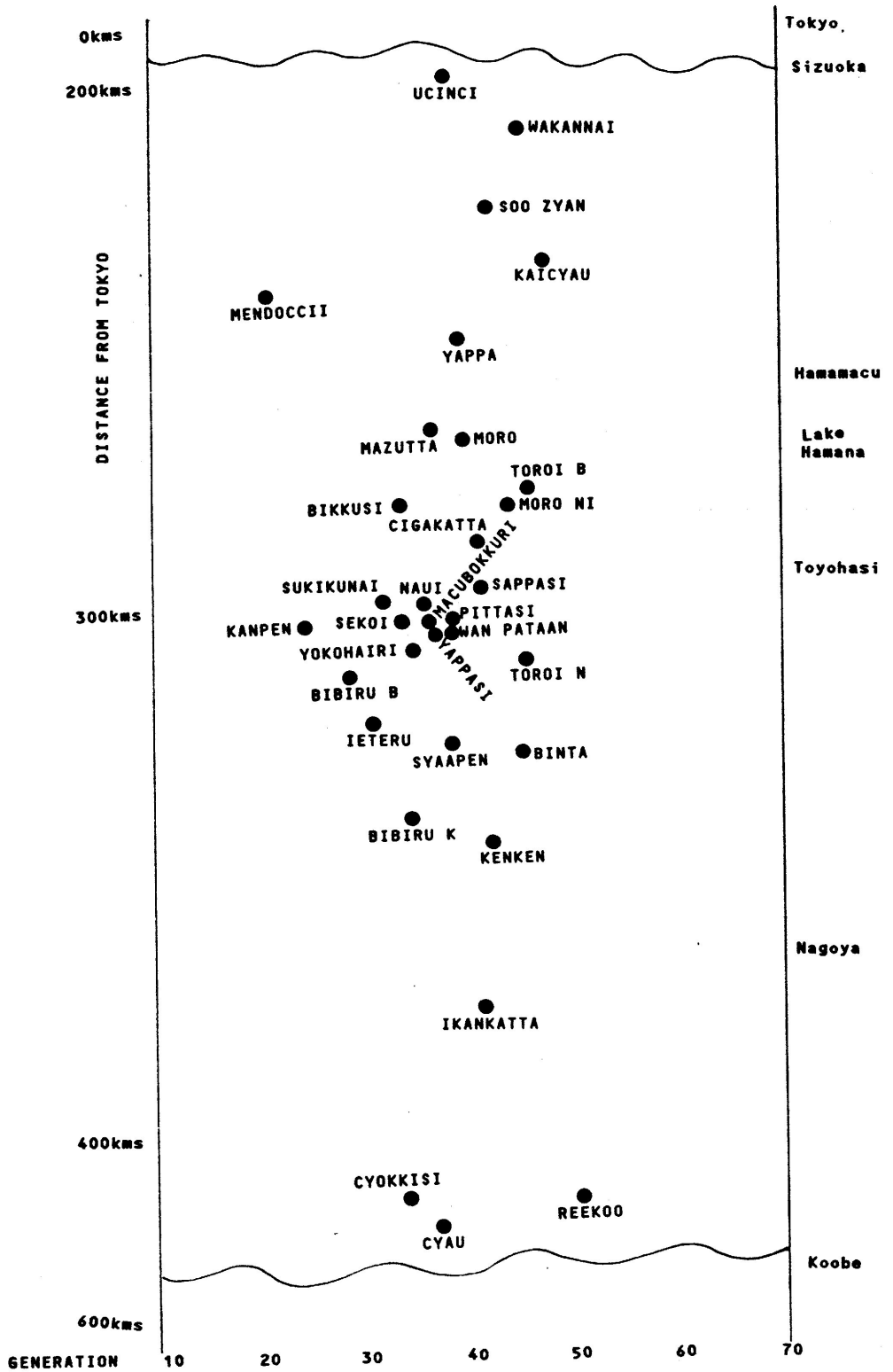


Figure 5 Center of Gravity of Some Words Investigated

now used among younger people in wider areas of western Japan in informal situations.

3. Overall Pattern of Age and Area Distribution

Many more new dialect forms were observed to have been born in several parts of this area. On the other hand, older dialectal forms are used still vigorously, and standardization of language is also proceeding. It is theoretically possible to arrange all the forms appearing in the glotograms according to patterns of age and area distribution. But in practice it is humanly difficult to deal with more than a hundred maps at a time.

A convenient way to show distribution pattern as a whole is application of the so-called 'Hayasi Quantificational Theory Type 3' which is an enlarged version of factor analysis. This multivariate analysis has shown overall pattern of distribution. But the result is rather difficult for a layman to interpret. An easier technique was applied and shown here. Average values of age and distance (by railway from Tokyo station) for some representative word-forms were calculated and shown in Figure 5. This makes the calculation simpler and the results easier to interpret. This is a method showing so-called 'centers of gravity' for each word-form. Words plotted in younger ages are candidates of the new dialect forms.

4. Psychological Background of New Dialect Forms

So far we have seen that there are surely new dialect forms in this part of Japan. Many reports show, though sporadically, that new dialect forms are observed in every part of Japan, including Tokyo, which is considered to be the citadel of standard Japanese (Inoue 1986a, 1986b). This phenomenon is contrary to the common knowledge of average Japanese people, who believe that speech in Tokyo is standard and that dialects are all dying out in the countryside. Thus it is worth considering the reason why new dialect forms flourish among younger people.

Previous studies showed that users of new dialect forms are different from those of standard Japanese. Peer group leaders, active participants in local communities, were found to be typical users of new dialect forms. This shows that individual psychology (or personality) influences the usage of new dialect forms.

Here we add two other conditions which influence the use of new dialect forms. One is appropriateness for informal situations. Figure 6 shows average values of answers of informants about their use of dialect for representative situations. Grade 5 means full use of standard Japanese, grade 3 half and half use of dialect and standard, grade 1 full use of dialect, and grade 2 and 4 intermediate between them. Average numerical values for subjective usage of dialect and standard for informants of three areas are plotted. Most of the informants think that their daily speech in informal situation (when talking with friends or family members) is not standard.

(The subjective degrees of difference between their dialect and standard Japanese are also reflected. Informants far from Tokyo (in the west) tend to rate their daily speech as rather different from the standard, while those near Tokyo (in the east) think that their daily speech is close to the standard.)

In contrast, almost all informants answered that they would (try to) use standard Japanese in speaking with a television announcer.

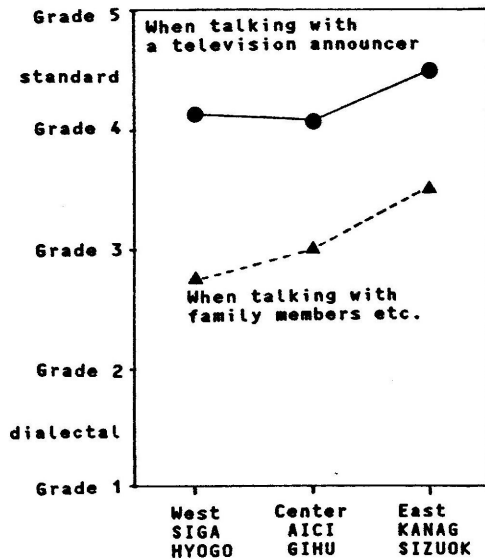


Figure 6 Closeness to Standard Japanese

This shows a kind of code-switching or bi-dialectalism. The figure shows that the speakers themselves have subjective knowledge about styleshift between dialect and standard according to situations. Dialect is used as a marker of in-group speech behavior. It functions as a speech-style showing close psychological distance. It is used when there is no necessity of expressing 'politeness'. The standard Japanese is felt inappropriate in communicating with one's close friends. Dialect is thus used vigorously in modern society in these appropriate, informal situations.

A second background factor of new dialect forms is a kind of provincialism or localism. People tend to have a love for their own home province, just as birds have imprinting of their parents when they are hatched. A kind of localism can be observed as 'dialect image'. According to a previous study of university students all over Japan, the dialect image was analyzed as consisting of two factors, which can be named as intellectual and emotional. Dialects of western Japan are characterized as emotionally superior, while dialects near Tokyo are characterized as intellectually superior. Furthermore this pattern matches with the general geographical image or mental map of Japanese regions analysed by social-psychologists, showing that 'dialect image' is a kind of stereotype. Thus, for our study of glottogram, two representative adjectival expressions were selected: 'close to standard Japanese' as intellectual and 'elegant' as emotional factors.

Figures 7 and 8 show ranking of four major cities of the area investigated: Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto and Osaka (from east to west). Informants were again divided into three groups according to area. All in all, the result of the glottogram survey coincides with that of university students in that western dialects are estimated emotionally superior, while eastern dialects are estimated intellectually superior. Figure 7 shows emotional ranking. Almost all informants assessed the speech of Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, as emotionally the highest (most elegant). The

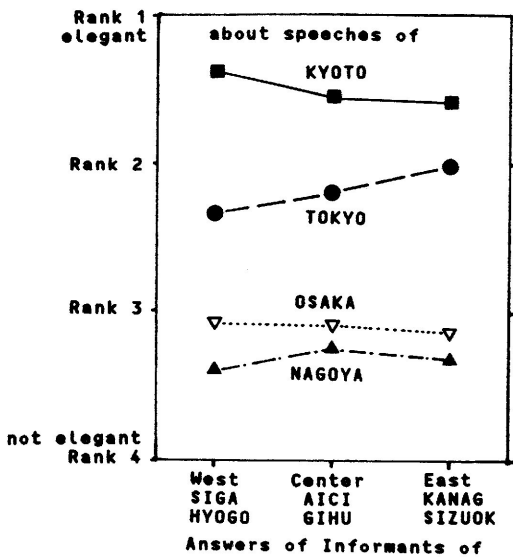


Figure 7 Rank of Elegance of 4 Major Dialects

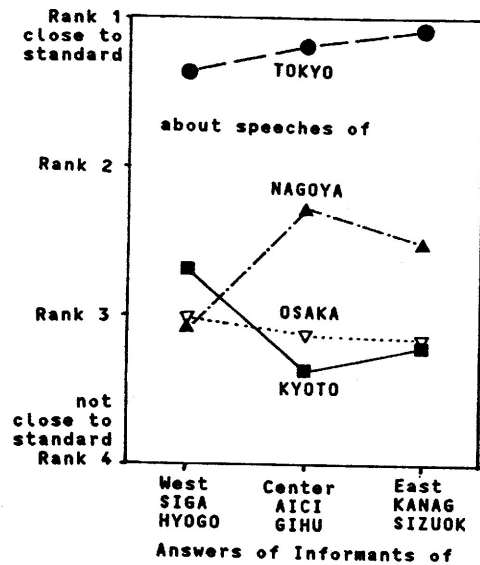


Figure 8 Rank of Closeness to Standard Japanese of 4 Major Dialects

speech of Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya follow in this order. This shows that Japanese dialects are not all ranked below the speech of Tokyo.

Figure 8 shows intellectual ranking (closeness to the standard language). Informants are unanimous as to the utmost position of speech of Tokyo. But judgements about three other cities are different according to areas of residence. Those informants in the east and the center (near Tokyo and near Nagoya) think that Nagoya is the second, and those in the west (near Kyoto and Osaka) think that Kyoto is the second. This disagreement reflects their love for home regions. The speech of their own dialects sounds most natural to them, and dialects of other areas sound unusual, so that they rank their own speech next to that of Tokyo. This is only a stereotypical image about dialects. But this result of dialect image shows that each dialect has its own sentimental value for the speakers. (The localism of dialect must have been stronger before, especially in pre-modern ages when people had less interaction or 'Verkehr').

Dialect has its own *raison d'être*, as a means of communication in informal situations. When simpler or clearer expression is born in a dialect, it has the power to spread to wider areas even in this centralized country. This is why future prospects for new dialect forms are good.

5. Conclusion

The study above showed that new dialect forms are modern examples of linguistic changes in progress, and that the motive of diffusion can be partly explained by the appropriateness of dialects for informal situations, and partly by the localism of speakers.

New dialect forms are a kind of observatory of on-going language change. We can here obtain many useful insights about language, which will ultimately activate studies of human language. New dialect forms as discussed above must be also observable in other languages

of the world. Dialect image and use of dialect according to situations can be investigated in other countries using similar methodology. Cooperative study of western and eastern linguists will bring about more progress. There should be no wall between Oriental and Occidental scholars.

Acknowledgements

The field data was gathered with assistance of students of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. The computational program used is a package program named GLAPS (Generalized Linguistic Atlas Printing System) developed by Prof. Ogino. Scientific funding from the Ministry of Education of Japan was helpful for this study.

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This is a revised version of a paper read on the occasion of the 14th International Congress of Linguists held in Berlin in 1987. A shortened version 'Dialect Image and the Diffusion of New Dialect Forms' will appear in the 'Proceedings'.

要 約

方言イメージと新方言

井 上 史 雄

本稿では東海道でのグロットグラム調査をもとに、現代における方言の変化と、方言へのイメージについて論じる。資料は、71地点×7世代への面接調査による。

「新方言」の具体例として、ナイ（助動詞）、イーダロウ、ドロボウケズリ、火事-チャウのグロットグラムをあげる。東海道の各地で新しい方言形を生み出していることがわかる。これら多くの語形の分布パターンを要約して示すための手段として、林の数量化第3類などの多変量解析法がある。このデータにも適用したが、素人には読み取りにくい。単純な平均値による「分布重心法」の適用結果を示す。平均値が若い世代にプロットされる語形が「新方言」の候補である。

さらに、同調査では、社会心理的要因についても調べた。まず、家族と話す時およびテレビ出演の時に、方言・標準語が使われる割合をたずねた。どの地域でも、二つの場面の言葉は区別される。つまり二重方言・コードスイッチングが行なわれており、方言は、場面によって適切な機能をもって使い分けられている。次に、四つの大都市の方言について、情的および知的イメージをたずねた。「上品さ」については、京都・東京・大阪・名古屋の順とする意見が多い。「標準語への近さ」については、東京の一位について一致するものの、二位以下については東の人が名古屋とし、西の人は京都とすることが多い。つまり、主観的な方言イメージに関しては、郷土愛が表れることがある。

現代日本の共通語化の盛んな状況の中で、今なお新しい方言形が生命力を持つことは、注目に値するその根底にある機構として、以上の、方言の機能と、郷土愛をあげることができる。