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NEW DIALECT AND INTERLINGUAL DIALECTOLOGY¹

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0. FOREWORD

In this paper, great linguistic trends in Japan will be discussed from the viewpoint of dialectology. The following topics will be treated.

First, the significance of "new dialect" will be discussed in the context of Japanese dialectology. This will show that the trend of standardization is not the sole active process in Japanese today, and that Japanese dialects still have the power to create new forms.

Secondly, the significance of foreign influences on dialectal phenomena will be discussed. The introduction of European loan-words is not a recent phenomenon. It has a long historical background, and this history is reflected in the geographical distribution of loan-words.

I contend the influences of different languages should be treated as an independent topic in the field of dialectology. This kind of new approach can be called "INTERLINGUAL DIALECTOLOGY". The data presented here is mainly based on Japanese dialects, but the same methodology is applicable to other languages.

On the occasion of the International Congress of Dialectologists in Bamberg in 1990, I read a paper on the classification of people's images of dialects using the same methodology for Japanese and English. This was meant as another contribution to "interlingual dialectology".

¹ Paper presented at the meeting of the American Dialect Society on December 29, 1990, in Chicago.

Recent trends in world dialectology show that widening the scope of dialectology is inevitable. Many scholars have begun to apply various methods which study dialectal phenomena spreading over more than one language. The field of "linguistic geography" should mainly contain these areas, if the term is to be distinguished from "dialect geography". The new name "geo-linguistics", introduced recently, aims at the same thing.

1.0. NEW DIALECT FORMATION

The term "new dialect" was introduced in English dialectology to mean a dialect which was created in a new territory (TRUDGILL 1986). But the corresponding Japanese term "shin-hoogen" (new dialect) was introduced a little earlier (INOUE 1983, 3) and means individual new phenomena occurring in dialects.

New dialect forms in Japanese dialectology are identified as meeting the following three conditions (INOUE 1983, 3, 1983, 12):

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.

To see if a linguistic form is new dialect, it is necessary to investigate at least two (young and old) age groups. Style shift is another important cue to identify new dialect forms. There are several techniques of grasping style shift. LABOV's approach of using different methods of questioning is inspiring. In the study of new dialect in Japan, a simplification was attempted by using only two situations. These are an informal daily conversation and a formal, imaginary situation in which one is speaking with an announcer on a TV program.

The new dialect forms can be distinguished from fad words, slang, or jargon, because they are ephemeral. New dialect forms are constantly spreading as realizations of language change in progress. Thus new dialect may be interpreted theoretically as a typical case of linguistic change from below, that is, normal, usual linguistic change.

FIGURE 1 shows an example of new dialect from the data of a glottogram survey. A GLOTTOGRAM is a graph in which geographical location and age are shown simultaneously. Older people are shown here on the right and younger people on the left of the graph. Geographical locations are shown vertically.

FIGURE 1 shows age-area distribution of -BEI ('let's' as in 'let's go', 'let's eat') in northern Japan. Clear change from -BE of the older people to -PE of the younger people can be seen in the northern and the central areas.

These are all stigmatized dialectal forms. Thus -BEI is a typical example of a new dialect form. More examples have been discovered almost all over Japan.

New dialect forms are significant in Japanese dialectology because it is popularly believed in Japan that the only language change going on at present in this highly centralized country is language standardization. It is surprising to most Japanese that dialects still have the power to create new expressions.

New dialect formation can also be found in the capital, Tokyo. Tokyo is usually considered to be a citadel of the standard language. But daily speech of the inhabitants of Tokyo shows a continuum with the dialects outside Tokyo. Since the trend of younger people in big cities using new informal expressions seems almost universal (L. MILROY 1980), "Tokyo new dialect" is nothing to be wondered at.

FIGURE 2 shows usage of I-KU-NAI (not good) in Tokyo which is a derived form of YO-KU-NAI. This survey data shows that I-KU-NAI is now spreading among younger people in Tokyo. The glottogram survey mentioned above showed that this form is used by older people in the northern countryside of Tokyo. Thus the form must have been created in the countryside, and later invaded Tokyo as a new dialect form.

This example clearly shows that the speech of metropolitan Tokyo is not distinct from other local dialects and is also undergoing linguistic changes from below.

2.0. CONTRASTING MOVEMENTS OF LOAN-WORDS AND NEW DIALECT

The new dialect forms which are reported from many parts of Japan rarely show influences of foreign languages, though a neologism used in the media often consists of European loan-words. This can be explained if we focus our attention on the fact that new dialect forms are examples of "change from below", and new loan-words are often introduced as "change from above".

3.0. HISTORY OF FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON JAPANESE

Loan-words in Japanese faithfully reflect the history of foreign influences on Japanese culture. The Japanese language seems to have been formed in the first millennium BC. Centuries later Chinese influence began and continued for more than one thousand years. In the Modern Age, European influence became prevalent. This process is shown in a simplified model in FIGURE 3.

These tendencies in Japanese are a reflection of a global repainting of the map of world language power. This great linguistic movement is expected to be detected also in the distribution of dialectal words, because history often leaves its traces in geographical phenomena. Time is reflected in space. This study of dialects in the framework of foreign language is another important field of INTERLINGUAL DIALECTOLOGY.

4.0. INTERLINGUAL DIALECTOLOGY - HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

4.1. Ainu place names in northern Japan

The Ainu language has only a few speakers now in northern Japan. Historical relations of the Ainu and Japanese languages are still controversial, but one theory maintains that the Ainu language is an indigenous language which was spoken before the Japanese language. Traces of the Ainu language are only detected in a few types of place names used in northern Japan as shown in FIGURE 4.

4.2. Pure Japanese words in dialects

The main body of Japanese lexical items consists of indigenous Japanese words. The grammatical structure is naturally purely Japanese. Most of the dialectal words listed in dialect dictionaries consist of Japanese elements.

4.3. Chinese words in Japan

Chinese influence continued more than one thousand years. Many words were imported from China, and Sino-Japanese words were also created in Japan making use of Chinese roots. As to the Chinese elements in Japanese dialects, there are several anecdotal studies, but as far as I know, there is no study which has treated their distribution all over Japan.

FIGURE 5 is an attempt at a quantitative map to show the geographical distribution of Sino-Japanese words. The data is based on the LAJ (Linguistic Atlas of Japan). All the forms listed for each item were classified according to their (etymological) origins. Ratios of the distribution of Chinese words for individual prefectures were calculated and put into a computer. The total ratio of answers is shown on the map. It shows that the words of Sino-Japanese origin are wide-spread all over Japan. There is even a tendency for them to be used more in remote prefectures which ordinarily constitute relic areas. This is partly because the Sino-Japanese words adopted in the Middle Ages are still sused in these remote areas.

4.4. European words in Japanese dialects

The next wave came from Europe. The first contact with Europeans happened in 1543 when a wrecked Portuguese ship reached southern Japan. But less than a century later the feudal government adopted an isolation policy for more than two hundred years, and only a port on the western tip of Japan was open for Chinese and Dutch ships.

This old relation of western Japan with European countries is clearly reflected in the dialectal distribution of European loan-words. FIGURE 6 shows old European loan-words in Japanese. The European words were borrowed in feudal ages and are now obsolete in Tokyo. The data is based on the "Dialect Dictionary of Japan" which was assembled from local dialect dictionaries. FIGURE 6 shows that there is geographical inclination between the west and the east. Correspondence of language with extra-linguistic factors is clearly shown. Nagasaki, which is situated in the western-most tip of Japan, had been the sole open port to Dutch merchant ships. Western Japan as a whole worked as a doorway to the European world in feudal ages. Northern Japan, which was far both from the open port as well as the old cultural center of Kyoto, uses only a few European words. Thus the geographical inclination is explained by the frequency of contact with European culture.

In FIGURE 7 the above-mentioned data of LAJ ("Linguistic Atlas of Japan") is again used. Average values of usage of European words were calculated for each prefecture. Similar geographical tendencies can be observed as FIGURE 6 with dense distribution in the west and sparse distribution in the north. Thus the state of so-called "language power" in the world was found to be reflected in domestic dialectal distribution.

This shows that the execution of dialectal studies in relation to foreign influences is possible. This kind of study can bring a new perspective to dialectology. Mutual influences between languages can be treated in this wider scope.

5.0. QUANTITATIVE APPROACH OF HAYASHI 3

A kind of multi-variate analyses was applied to the LAJ data above to grasp distribution patterns as a whole. Hayashi's Quantificational Theory Type 3 is a kind of factor analysis for nominal or non-numeric variables. This method has been ascertained to be effective for the analysis of linguistic survey data. This method has been applied successfully to lexical, grammatical and psychological factors of dialect (INOUE 1986).

FIGURE 8 shows that resultant values of the multivariate analysis for prefectures correspond quite well to actual geographical locations as shown

on the small inset map. This suggests that neighboring prefectures use similar loan-words.

The resultant values (of HAYASHI 3) can be given also for each word. (As there are very many words, average values for several groups of words are more useful to see the general pattern. Grouping of words was done according to word origin.) The resultant graph in FIGURE 9 corresponds to the graph in FIGURE 8. It shows that words of European origin are used more in western Japan, and words of Chinese origin in eastern Japan.

5.1. Western words in modern Japan - GLOTTOGRAM

The above results from LAJ (Linguistic Atlas of Japan) are based on data which were gathered more than two decades ago. Recent trends should be studied by more recent data including that of younger people. The age-area survey is appropriate for this kind of analysis. The glottogram survey between Tokyo and Osaka in FIGURE 10 did not aim at this kind of analysis, but it happened to include 14 maps with European loan-words. Average values of usage were calculated, giving one point when one informant answered with one European word. The figure shows average values divided by 3 age-groups in 5 areas. The results as expected show that the European words are used more by younger people. As for geographical differences, the European words are again used more often in western Japan around Osaka and Kyoto.

Three separate studies showed the same pattern: more European words are used in western Japan, even at present. Geographical proximity, frequency of contact and proneness to foreign elements seem to be at work in the formation of dialectal differences in the use of foreign words.

Thus far, distribution of loan-words have been discussed to show one exemplary field of INTERLINGUAL DIALECTOLOGY. The same methodology seems to be applicable to any language in the world, including American English. Counting Indian, French, Spanish and Dutch words in dialect areas has already been attempted in CARVER (1987). And as for Japanese loan-words in American English, they are likely to be used and understood more in Hawaii and California than in other states. When this kind of information is plotted on maps, they will clearly show how and where American dialects received influences from other languages. And they will also show the rich and multifarious cultural background of American English. Application to European languages seem to be all the more interesting because of the juxtaposition of various languages there. The materialization of a unified European Community will attract more popular attention to this kind of study.

6.0. WORLD-WIDE DISTRIBUTION OF TECHNOLOGICAL TERMS

In Japan, opinions are often heard lamenting the fact that too many new words have been introduced into Japanese recently in the form of loan-words rather than translations. Older people with no knowledge of English are now having difficulty in understanding Japanese. But if we look at similar situations all over the world, we find that Japanese is no exception. FIGURE 11 shows how many loan-words were used in translations from the same sentence when the topic was on space development. Many languages seem to have introduced modern English technical terms as loan-words.

The use of loan-words in FIGURE 11 shows only the phenomena in the standard varieties of these languages. Regional dialects are generally late in accepting such foreign terms. Thus it is usually difficult to discuss or explain things concerning modern technology in non-standard dialects. A discriminatory relation exists between standard languages and regional dialects. This shows that the hierarchical relation of languages is connected with hierarchical relations between standard language and non-standard, regional dialects.

This study of recent borrowings in several languages shows that most of the loan-words are from the English language, and more specifically, from American English. The great influence of American English is conspicuous all over the world.

The English language is now spreading world-wide as a tool for communication. It is not only a language of native speakers. The names World English or International English are more appropriate. The new users of the English language are giving rise to various particular expressions. New geographical differences are now being born within English. These are new global dialectal differences in the language. Because of this change of situation, dialectology in the 21st century will acquire a quite different aspect. In the 19th century the power of dialects was vigorous, and in the 20th century dialects were in recess under the influence of modern standard languages. The coming 21st century will show older dialectal differences becoming slighter, and influences between different languages becoming more conspicuous. This change of situation will require that the relation between different languages be taken into consideration in dialectology.

If we adapt the concepts of HIGH and LOW which were developed in the study of diglossia in the 20th century the High languages were standard languages and Low languages were dialects. In the 21st century, a typical High language may be American English and other languages may take the position of Low languages. In this context, the study of American dialects will become more important, and the methodology so far developed for dialectology can

be applied to the relationships between different languages. The American Dialect Society will then play a different and more important role in the next century.

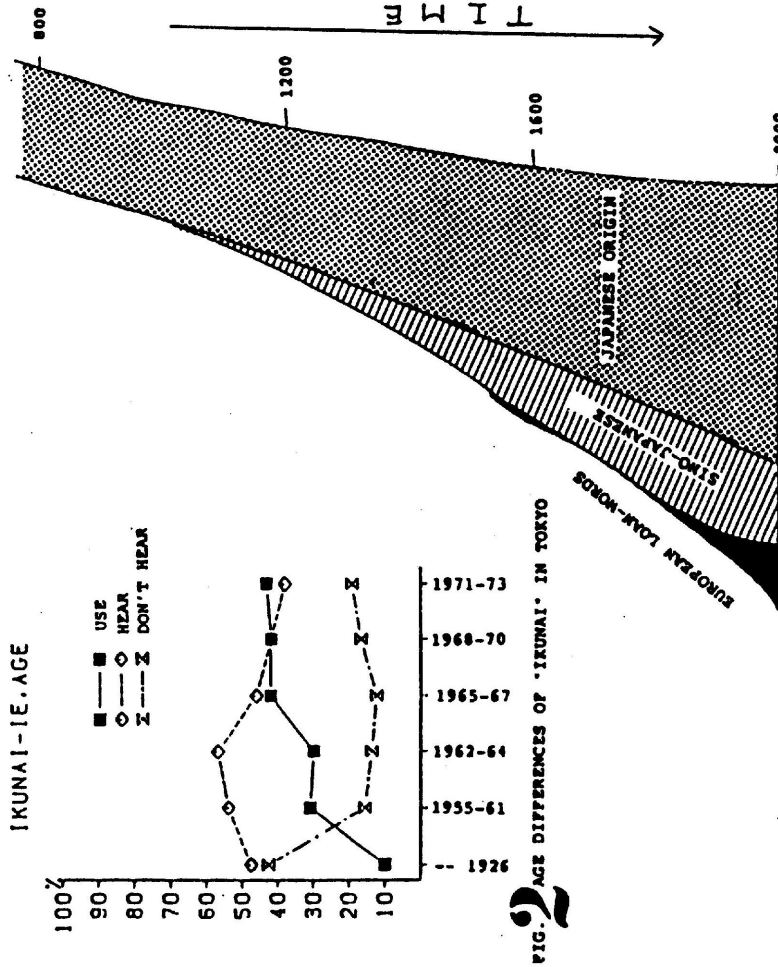


FIG. 2 AGE DIFFERENCES OF 'IKUNAI' IN TOKYO

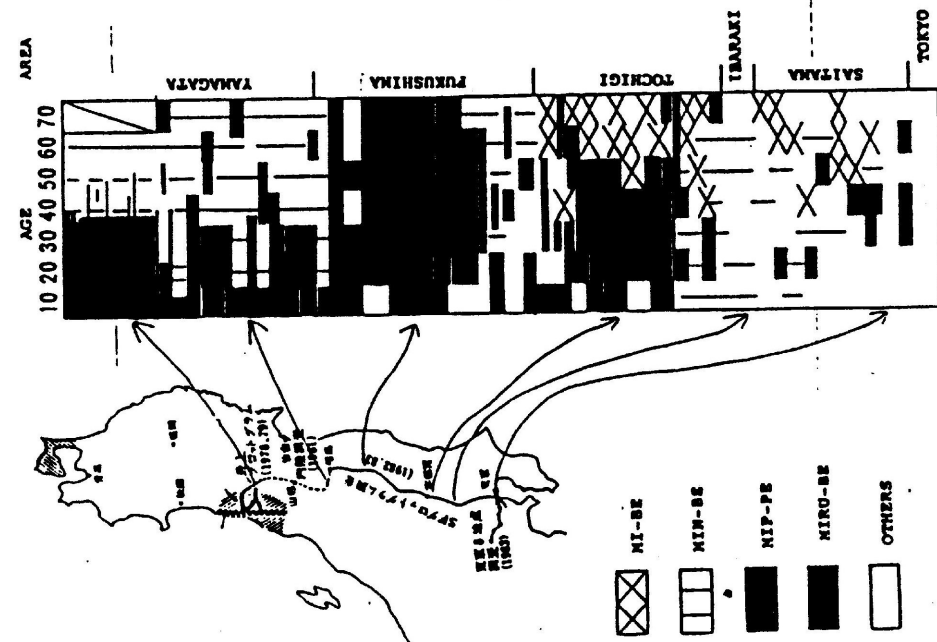


FIG. 1 AGE-AREA DISTRIBUTION OF 'BEI' IN NORTHERN JAPAN

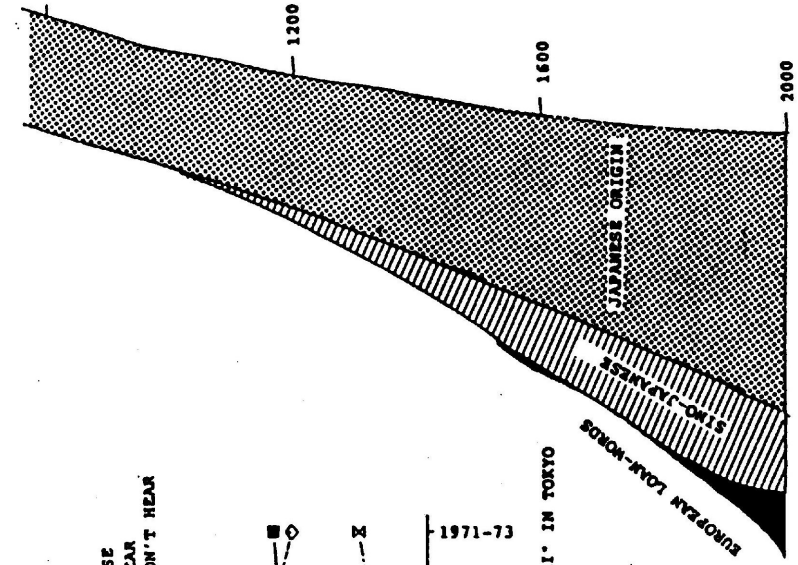
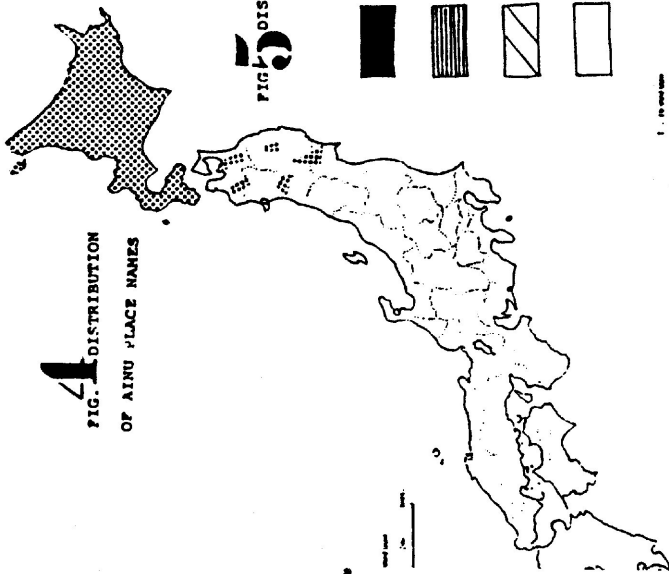
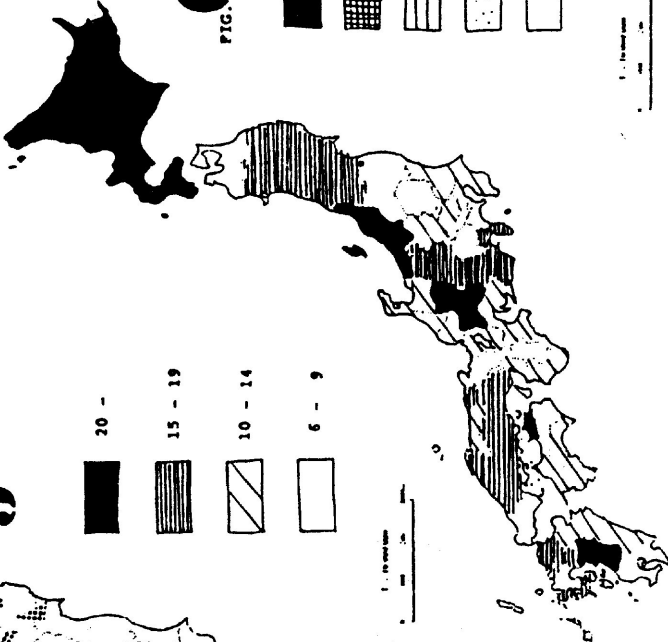


FIG. 3 HISTORICAL STRUCTURE OF JAPANESE VOCABULARY

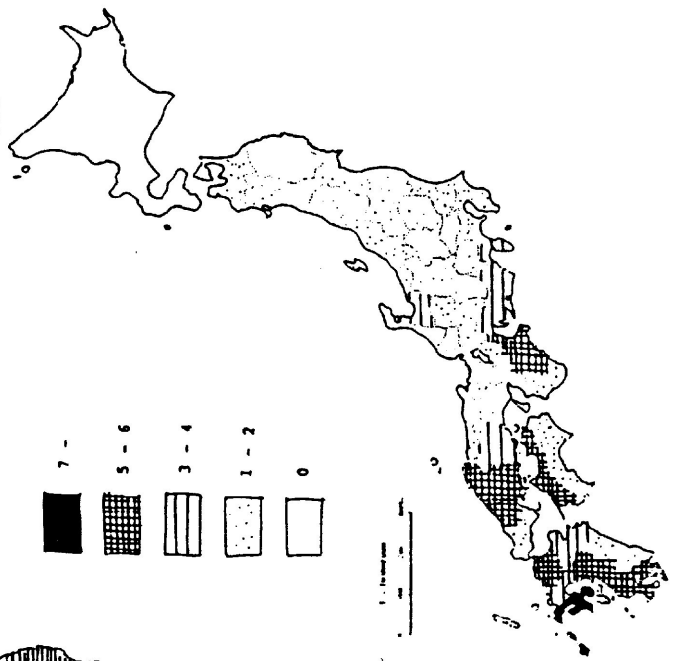
4
FIG. 1 DISTRIBUTION
OF AINU PLACE NAMES

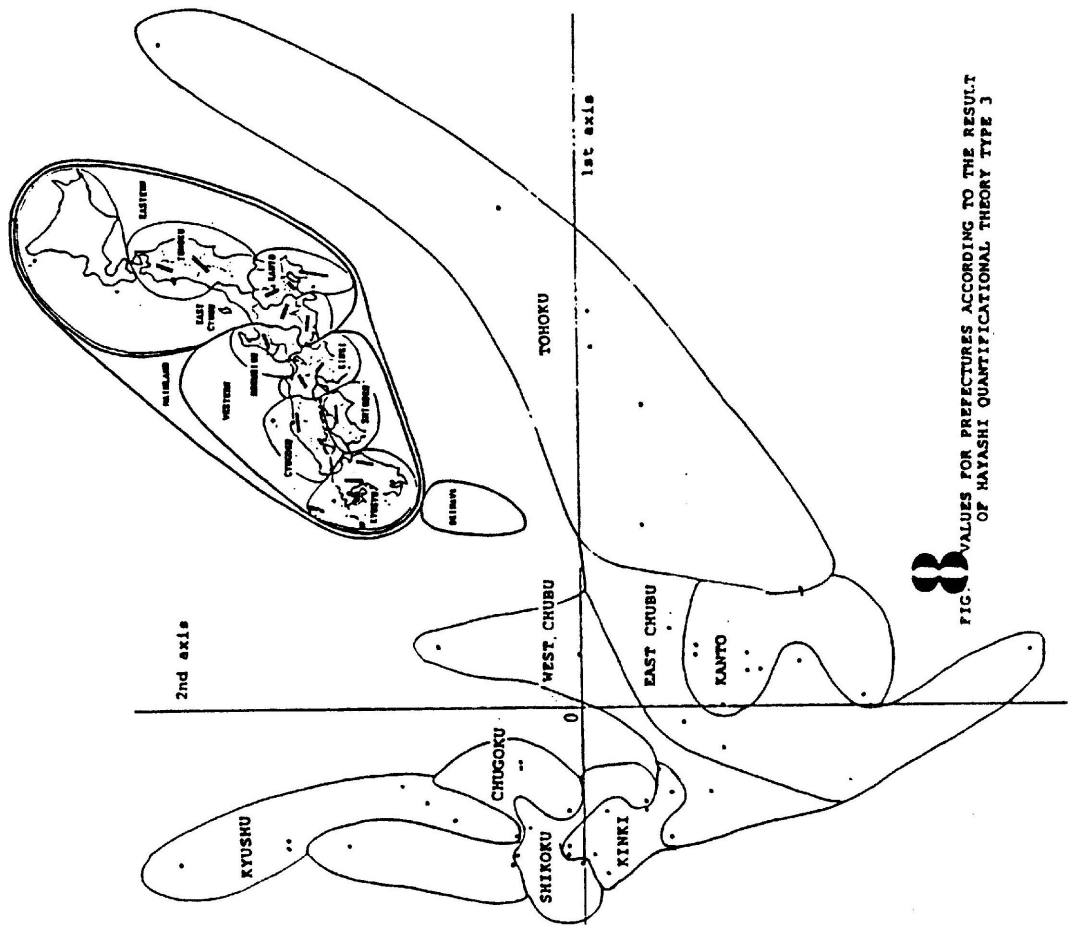
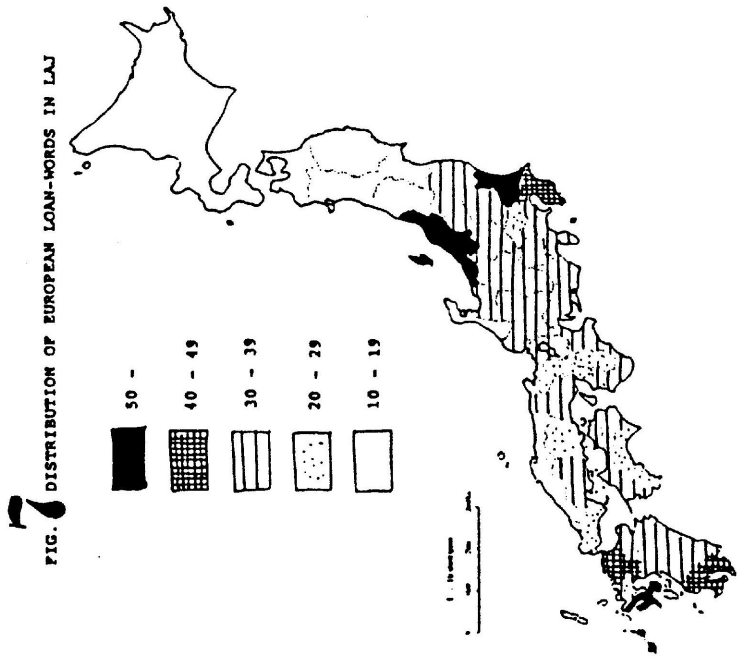


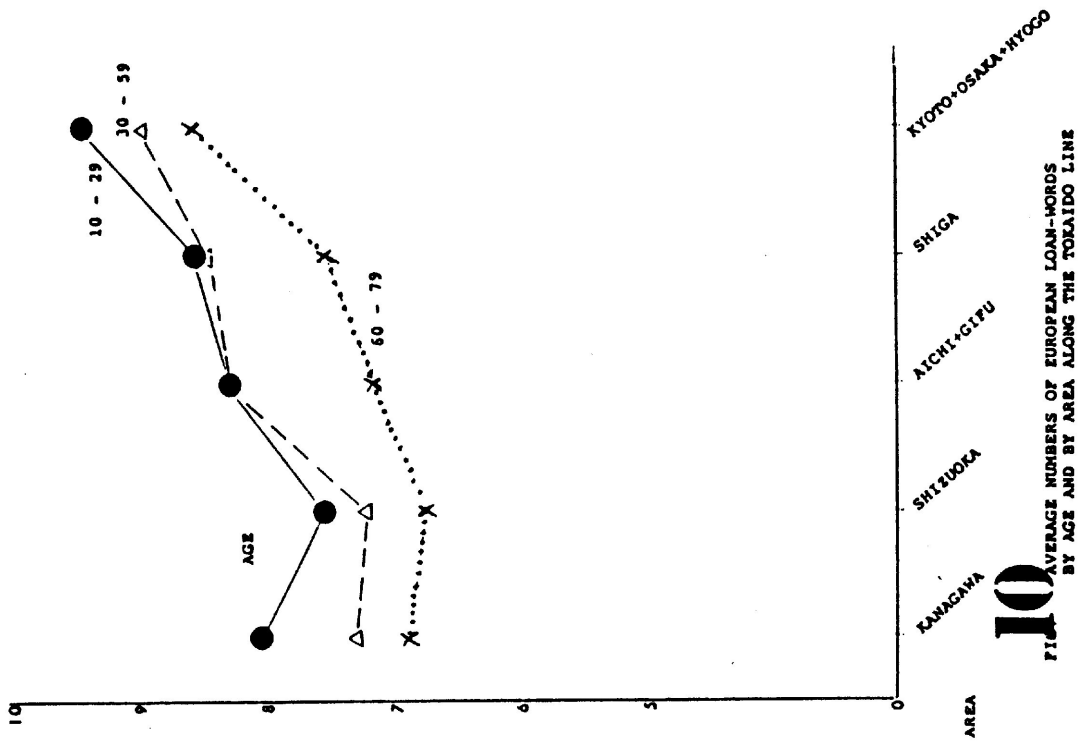
5
FIG. 2 DISTRIBUTION OF SINO-JAPANESE WORDS IN LAJ



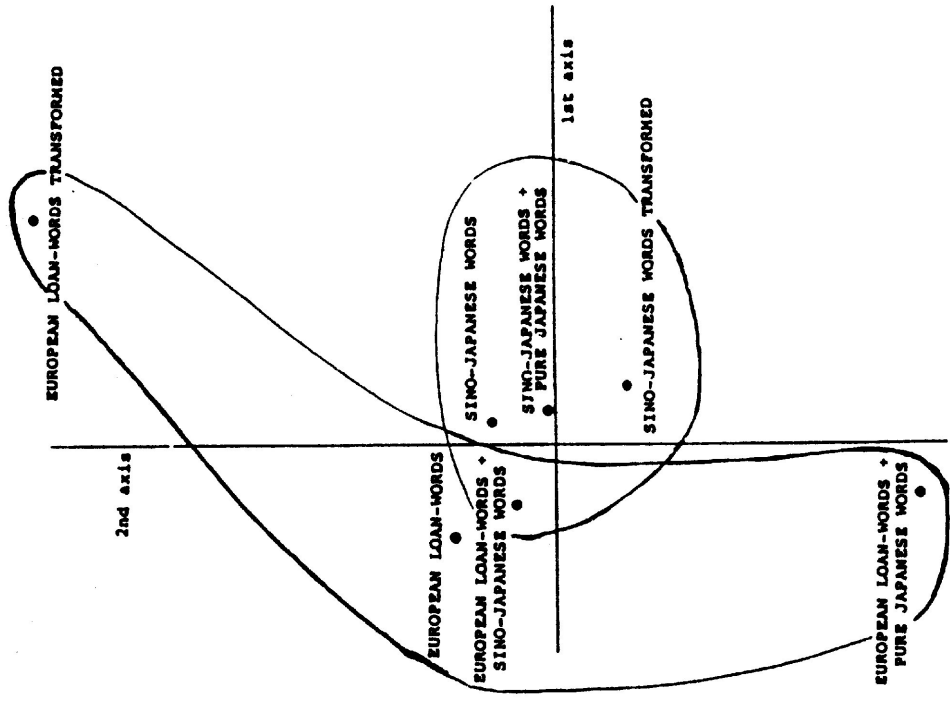
6
FIG. 3 DISTRIBUTION OF OLD EUROPEAN LOAN-WORDS





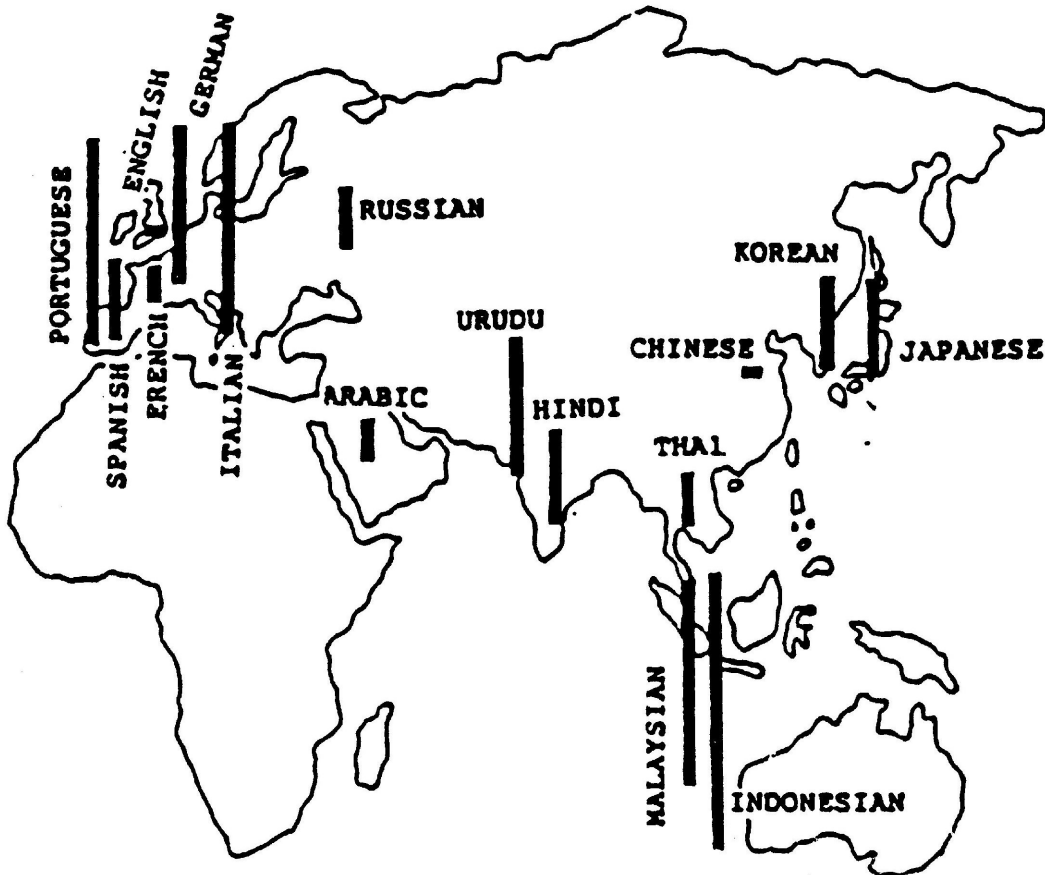


10
FIG. 10
AVERAGE NUMBERS OF EUROPEAN LOAN-WORDS
BY AGE AND BY AREA ALONG THE TOKAIDO LINE



9
FIG. 9
AVERAGE VALUES FOR WORD GROUPS ACCORDING TO THE RESULT
OF HAYASHI QUANTIFICATIONAL THEORY TYPE 3

FIG. II NUMBERS OF LOAN-WORDS IN THE FIELD OF SPACE DEVELOPMENT



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