

# A Note on Recent Changes of Dialect near Tokyo\*

Fumio INOUE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally believed that Japanese dialects will soon die out. But changes for non-standardization are also observable in many parts of Japan. These phenomena can be called 'new dialect forms'. New dialect forms are linguistic phenomena which satisfy the following three qualifications:

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 identified in practice by ascertaining differences by age and situation. To grasp style-shift by situations, asking words used at home or with friends on one hand and words used when one is supposed to be interviewed by a television announcer has been conveniently used for our surveys.<sup>1)</sup>

A glottogram (age-area graph) survey was conducted in 1981 and 1982 between Tokyo and Hukusima which lies about 270 km. north of Tokyo.

## 2. MITAKU

An example of the glottogram is given in Fig. 1 which shows the forms meaning '(as if something is) like (a cow)'. The vertical axis shows differences by area. The horizontal axis shows differences by age. -MITAKU (ㇿ) is mainly used by younger people<sup>2)</sup>, though there are older users too. This is a newer expression, the older or standard expression being 'mitai ni' or 'no yoo ni'. (-MITAKU is apparently a creation by analogy with an auxiliary verb '-tai' or adjectives. It is formed because 'mitai ni' is said at the end of sentence not only as 'mitai da' but also as 'mitai'.) But the change must have been slow and sporadic. This new form was accepted first in the country and then introduced into Tokyo. Some young speakers in Tokyo use this form as seen in Fig. 1. This is quite the opposite of the usual direction of

\* This is the first half (and the last portion) of the paper 'New Dialect and Linguistic Change', which was presented at the XIIIth International Congress of Linguists held in Tokyo in 1982. Only the part connected with multivariate analysis of new words (and a part of conclusion) were submitted for the 'Proceedings' due to space limitation.

1) Techniques used by sociolinguists to grasp shades of style-shifts are too complicated for lexical items or grammatical phenomena which have been the main concern here.

2) Many kinds of pronunciation differences are observed in the area (i->e-, -k->-g-, -t->-d-, etc), but forms were grouped together according to etymological and grammatical points of view, and written in capital letters, because phonetic phenomena are not in question now.

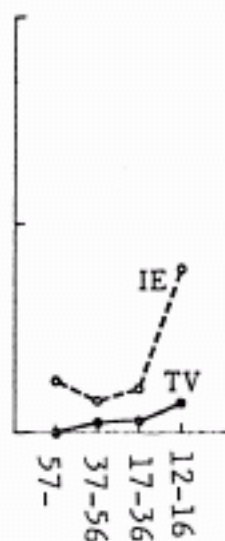


Fig. 1'. usi MITAKU

diffusion. (We did not consider differences by style or by situation for this form, but it is clear from other data collected in Tokyo (Fig. 1') that -MITAKU is mostly used in informal situations.) Thus -MITAKU satisfies conditions for a new dialect form.

### 3. II BE, II ZYAN

A little more complicated glottogram is shown in Figs. 2 and 3 II DAROO (It's good, isn't it.) Two questions were asked for this item to ascertain differences by situation. Clear style-shift is observed between Fig. 2 and 3. Forms ending with -OO (shown by simple lines) appear more in the situation of a supposed TV interview (Fig. 3). These belong to the

so-called standard (or common) language. Forms with -BE, -PE are used almost exclusively in the home situation or with friends (Fig. 2.) These are famous dialectal forms in northern Japan.

Standardization can be seen in progress in Fig. 2. II DAROO (—) is used in Tokyo and by younger people near Tokyo. But in Tocigi and Hukusima prefectures, younger people are changing expressions from YOKANBE etc. to IKANBE etc. and again to II BE etc. Of the three main forms above ending with -BE, -PE, the form mostly used by older people is YOKANBE~YOKAQPE (<), which is morphologically rather complicated. Middle-aged speakers use regularized forms I/E+KANBE/KAQPE<sup>3)</sup> (O), a new form perhaps created near Tocigi Prefecture. But the still newer form II BE~EE BE (#) is prevalent among younger people. This is increasing in Tocigi and Saitama Prefectures, but must have been created near Hukusima Prefecture because it is used also by older speakers there, and then expanded southward until it stopped near Tokyo. The change to II BE is due to simplification of conjugations.<sup>4)</sup>

Another kind of change in progress can be seen in the same Fig. 2. II ZYAN (●) is used mostly by people in their teens or twenties. From other surveys in and near Tokyo, it is clear that many young Tokyoites are beginning to use ZYAN frequently. This form is said to have come into Tokyo from Yokohama. According to many sources, ZYAN is much used even by older people in western Kanagawa, Sizuoka, Yamanasi and Nagano Prefectures. Thus this form seems to have originated

3) This form appeared because YO-form for the adjective II is irregular in having forms originated from YOI. If II-form is used before -KAQPE and -KAQTA (past tense), the adjective II can have a regular conjugation in this dialect.

4) The simplification of conjugation can be found both in the standard and in dialectal forms like the following:

YO KAROO	>	II DAROO		(standard)
YO KANBE	>	E KANBE	>	II BE (dialectal)



127 MIN HUKUSIMA-		127 MIN HUKUSIMA-		127 MIN HUKUSIMA-		127 MIN HUKUSIMA-		127 MIN HUKUSIMA-																		
NO	OF	30~	40~	50~	60~	70~	AGE	NO	OF	30~	40~	50~	60~	70~	AGE	NO	OF	30~	40~	50~	60~	70~	AGE			
127	MIN	10	10	10	10	10	10	127	MIN	10	10	10	10	10	10	127	MIN	10	10	10	10	10	10	10		
128	KANAYAGAMA							128	KANAYAGAMA							128	KANAYAGAMA								128	KANAYAGAMA
129	ADACI							129	ADACI							129	ADACI								129	ADACI
130	ADACI							130	ADACI							130	ADACI								130	ADACI
131	NIHONMACU							131	NIHONMACU							131	NIHONMACU								131	NIHONMACU
132	SUGITA							132	SUGITA							132	SUGITA								132	SUGITA
133	MOTORIYA							133	MOTORIYA							133	MOTORIYA								133	MOTORIYA
134	KOCHIYAMA							134	KOCHIYAMA							134	KOCHIYAMA								134	KOCHIYAMA
135	KOCHIYAMA							135	KOCHIYAMA							135	KOCHIYAMA								135	KOCHIYAMA
136	KOCHIYAMA							136	KOCHIYAMA							136	KOCHIYAMA								136	KOCHIYAMA
137	KAGARITA							137	KAGARITA							137	KAGARITA								137	KAGARITA
138	SUKAGAMA							138	SUKAGAMA							138	SUKAGAMA								138	SUKAGAMA
139	KAGARITA							139	KAGARITA							139	KAGARITA								139	KAGARITA
140	YABUKI							140	YABUKI							140	YABUKI								140	YABUKI
141	IZUMIZAKI							141	IZUMIZAKI							141	IZUMIZAKI								141	IZUMIZAKI
142	KUDANO							142	KUDANO							142	KUDANO								142	KUDANO
143	SIRAKAWA							143	SIRAKAWA							143	SIRAKAWA								143	SIRAKAWA
144	MISUGOO							144	MISUGOO							144	MISUGOO								144	MISUGOO
145	SIRASAKA							145	SIRASAKA							145	SIRASAKA								145	SIRASAKA
146	TOYOHARA							146	TOYOHARA							146	TOYOHARA								146	TOYOHARA
147	KURODAMARA							147	KURODAMARA							147	KURODAMARA								147	KURODAMARA
148	TAKASU							148	TAKASU							148	TAKASU								148	TAKASU
149	KURDISO							149	KURDISO							149	KURDISO								149	KURDISO
150	HIG NASUNO							150	HIG NASUNO							150	HIG NASUNO								150	HIG NASUNO
151	MIS NASUNO							151	MIS NASUNO							151	MIS NASUNO								151	MIS NASUNO
152	NOZAKI							152	NOZAKI							152	NOZAKI								152	NOZAKI
153	YAITA							153	YAITA							153	YAITA								153	YAITA
154	KATAOKA							154	KATAOKA							154	KATAOKA								154	KATAOKA
155	KAMASUZAKA							155	KAMASUZAKA							155	KAMASUZAKA								155	KAMASUZAKA
156	UZUJIE							156	UZUJIE							156	UZUJIE								156	UZUJIE
157	MOOSYAKUZI							157	MOOSYAKUZI							157	MOOSYAKUZI								157	MOOSYAKUZI
158	OKAHITO							158	OKAHITO							158	OKAHITO								158	OKAHITO
159	UCUMORIYA							159	UCUMORIYA							159	UCUMORIYA								159	UCUMORIYA
160	SUZUMORIYA							160	SUZUMORIYA							160	SUZUMORIYA								160	SUZUMORIYA
161	ISHIASI							161	ISHIASI							161	ISHIASI								161	ISHIASI
162	KOGANEI							162	KOGANEI							162	KOGANEI								162	KOGANEI
163	OYAMA							163	OYAMA							163	OYAMA								163	OYAMA
164	MAHADA							164	MAHADA							164	MAHADA								164	MAHADA
165	NOGI							165	NOGI							165	NOGI								165	NOGI
166	KOGA							166	KOGA							166	KOGA								166	KOGA
167	KURINASHI							167	KURINASHI							167	KURINASHI								167	KURINASHI
168	SATTE							168	SATTE							168	SATTE								168	SATTE
169	SUGITO							169	SUGITO							169	SUGITO								169	SUGITO
170	KASUKABE							170	KASUKABE							170	KASUKABE								170	KASUKABE
171	TAKESATO							171	TAKESATO							171	TAKESATO								171	TAKESATO
172	KITAKOSIGAYA							172	KITAKOSIGAYA							172	KITAKOSIGAYA								172	KITAKOSIGAYA
173	KOSIGAYA							173	KOSIGAYA							173	KOSIGAYA								173	KOSIGAYA
174	GAHUU							174	GAHUU							174	GAHUU								174	GAHUU
175	SODOKA							175	SODOKA							175	SODOKA								175	SODOKA
176	TAKESATO							176	TAKESATO							176	TAKESATO								176	TAKESATO
177	NISHIRAI							177	NISHIRAI							177	NISHIRAI								177	NISHIRAI
178	HIKIHUNE							178	HIKIHUNE							178	HIKIHUNE								178	HIKIHUNE
182	ASAKUSA							182	ASAKUSA							182	ASAKUSA								182	ASAKUSA
183	ZINBOCCYOO							183	ZINBOCCYOO							183	ZINBOCCYOO								183	ZINBOCCYOO
184	SEIZYOO							184	SEIZYOO							184	SEIZYOO								184	SEIZYOO

Fig. 1. NO YOO NI.

Fig. 2. II DAROO.

Fig. 3. II DAROO.

(IN A SUPPOSED TELEVISION INTERVIEW)

(AT HOME OR WITH FRIENDS)

(IN A SUPPOSED TELEVISION INTERVIEW)

in central Japan, advanced via Yokohama to Tokyo, and is now sending out vanguards to northern Japan.<sup>5)</sup>

Fig. 2 shows some new dialect forms in many parts of the area investigated. This is a rare graph in this sense. But many more examples of the new dialect forms were obtained in our glottogram survey.<sup>6)</sup> And from various other articles written by dialectologists, it is clear that new dialect forms are born and growing up in many parts of Japan even now.<sup>7)</sup>

But not to be unfair, it should be pointed out that trends of standardization are very strong all over Japan. We may add here that the socio-linguistic study of Japanese is well-developed, and that the first large-scale survey was made as early as 1950 using sophisticated statistical methodology. One of the main subjects of this and the studies which followed was the language standardization in dialect speaking cities.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Thus far, the discussion has been about concrete examples of the new dialect forms and related problems. Theoretical problems should be considered next.

The result of our survey shows that the age and area distribution of new words spreading near Tokyo can be classified into three categories:

1. spread of the standard language from Tokyo,
2. spread of non-standard forms from Tokyo,
3. spread of non-standard forms from outside into Tokyo.

There is also the theoretical possibility of a fourth category: spread of the standard language from outside into Tokyo. But this has not yet been ascertained in our research. New words and expressions often come into Tokyo from Osaka. But these are accepted directly into Tokyo, mainly through mass-media. This type of diffusion was not observed in the northern part of Japan where we are investigating.

The phenomenon of the new dialect forms themselves and also their diffusion towards Tokyo are important because they show that there is a change from below. A simplistic model of language change consisting of change from above and by prestige (socially from upper class, stylistically from formal style, and geographically from big cities) does not work here. The model of language change should be altered

5) At first ZYAN seemed to be shortlived for Tokyoites. Some people stop using this form when they become grown up. But more and more younger people seem to have accepted this new form, and there is no sign of it becoming old-fashioned. So we can expect that ZYAN will continue to be used in the future, just as it is used in central Japan.

6) e.g. SHAAPEN (from SHAAPU PENSIRU, ever-sharp pencil), KENKEN (hopping on one's leg as a children's game), SENHIKI (plastic scale), SUKIKU NAI (don't like), MIRERU (be able to see), etc.

7) (yama) ZYA is said as (yama) YA ((it) is (a mountain)), and (kaka) NANDA or (kaka) ZATTA is said as (kaka) NKAQTA (did not (write)) by youngsters in western Japan. Many more examples are cited in Inoue (1981).



and expanded, to include change from below. The methodology of sociolinguistics becomes indispensable, and the psychological or rather social-psychological point of view is helpful in explaining the change from below (as it was helpful in our research in Hokkaido and Yamagata Prefecture).

First we should admit that so-called prestige can vary from person to person. Language works as a marker of one's social group and social roles, and each person belongs to many kinds of social groups and plays various social roles, so, not everybody can be a constant speaker of the standard language. Group pressure for dialects is especially strong in the country. This is why the new dialect forms are prevalent in the prefectures in the glottograms above, and why the new dialect forms can be introduced to younger people in Tokyo. The language in the suburbs is considered to be rough and rude. But this can also show manliness, so, suburban speech can be heard in young men in Tokyo.

The new dialect forms show linguistic change in progress. Methodology of sociolinguistics and social psychology should be further combined in future studies of the new dialect forms to elucidate minute mechanisms and processes of linguistic change in progress<sup>8</sup>.

#### References

- Chambers, J. K., and P. Trudgill, *Dialectology* (1980).
- Hayashi, Chikio, 'On the Prediction of Phenomena from Qualitative Data and the Quantification of Qualitative Data from the Mathematico-Statistical Point of View,' *Annals of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, (1952).
- , 'Multidimensional Quantification with the Applications to Analysis of Social Phenomena,' *Annals of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics*, Vol. 5, No. 2, (1954).
- Inoue, F., J. Nagase and M. Sawaki, *Atlas of New Dialects in the Mogami District* (1980, private edition).
- Inoue, F., 'Sin-hoogen to Cihoo-kyoocugoo' (M. Hori and F. C. Peng) (eds.) *Kotoba no Syakaissei* (1981).
- , 'Higasi-Nihon no Sin-hoogen' *Area and Culture Studies* 32 (1982).
- Labov, W., *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (1972).
- Peng, F. C. C. (ed.), *Language in Japanese Society* (1975).
- , 'A New Explanation of Language Change: The Sociolinguistic Approach' *Forum Linguisticum* 1-1, (1976).

8) Computational analyses have been done by the program packages GLAPS (Generalized Linguistic Atlas Printing System, developed by T. Ogino) and SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences).