

The Significance of New Dialects

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1. Introduction

Fast and steady standardization of language is in progress in Japan today. Dialects are often considered to be something despised or shameful in Japan (Inoue 1991). Standard Japanese is thought to be the only form appropriate for decent people. People tend to hide their dialectal features when speaking with a fieldworker. But in this paper Japanese dialects will be shown to be still vigorous and to still have the power to create new forms – new dialects.

It is necessary for researchers on new dialects to behave differently from other researchers. The ordinary, or classic, dialectologists paid attention to the daily speech of old people in remote areas. But we have begun studying also the speech of young people of more urbanized areas and have paid attention to their formal speech, too.

The meaning of "significance" in the title of this paper is twofold. One is 'meaning' and the other is 'importance'.

First, the meaning or definition of this term will be discussed. Second, examples of new dialects will be given and the theoretical importance of new dialects in the field of sociolinguistics will be discussed.

There are two usages of the term 'new dialect'.

a) In Japan it has been used to mean individual changes in dialects. The phenomena studied are sporadic. They are not systematic phenomena (Inoue 1983a, 1983b).

b) Recently the same term has been used to mean the creation of a new system of dialect especially in long-term contact situations as a result of pidginization (Trudgill 1986), as in Hawaiian Japanese. The terms 'neo-dialect' or 'neo-dialectalization' seem to be more appropriate to distinguish these two situations.

2. Four areas of sociolinguistics

Before going into detail about recent trends in Japanese dialects, a tentative framework of sociolinguistics will be shown here in which the study of new dialects should be positioned.

Sociolinguistics can be divided into four fields, using two separate axes. The framework is shown in Table 1. The numbers 1 to 4 in each cell also

correspond to the historical development of the four fields. The study of new dialects is situated in the second field of variationist study.

Table 1: Four fields of sociolinguistics

	simplex structure-centered	complex variation-centered
paradigmatic out of context	1 world view Sapir-Whorf theory	2 language contact dialect / standard style honorifics
syntagmatic in context	3 discourse analysis communicative competence	4 variety in discourse politeness accommodation theory

Further explanation of the four fields is as follows:

Field 1 is concerned with the relation of language and the outside world. It has been treated in the domain of descriptive study based on structuralism.

Field 2 is represented by the variationist studies based on mass survey. Many other studies are classified here (Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1972). Problems between languages, between standard and dialect (Chambers and Trudgill 1980), between sociolects (Trudgill 1983) and between styles are included; the study of new dialects is also included here.

Field 3 is concerned with discourse analysis; observation and tape-recording methods are made use of here.

Field 4 is yet to appear. A future fruitful study will be done by investigating usage of variety or different forms in discourse. The selection of codes and code-switching in discourse are main problems here. Observation by video-tape-recording and follow-up interviews are recommended as a useful research method (Neustupny 1985a, 1985b). Basic principles of linguistic behavior will be treated, and ideas of social psychology will be useful to explain the phenomena in this field. Hopefully study in this field will flourish in the 1990s or in the 21st century.

3. Discovery of new dialects

'New dialect' is a contradictory expression. The adjective 'new' has been rarely connected with the noun 'dialect'. It is like saying 'snowplows for a tropical area', 'fashionable stone tools', 'male housewife' or 'diapers for

gentlemen'. Dialects are usually interpreted as old-fashioned, used only by older people in the countryside, far away from urban areas, and typical of the pre-modern age. According to popular ideas Japanese dialects were created in the past, in the feudal age before and during the Edo period. After the Meiji restoration (1868) the only movement of the Japanese language is thought to be towards standardization or unification of language. Especially after the introduction of radio and TV, the standard language is said to be spreading with greater speed, so that there would be no dialectal differences in the future (Grootaers 1967; Peng 1975; Sibata 1975).

But even at present, new dialectal expressions continue to develop in many areas in Japan (Inoue 1985). In this paper several concrete examples of new dialects will be given using many kinds of graphs.

Fig. 1, *mocho-kari* 'tickling', shows age differences for the usage of words for 'tickling' on the Shimokita peninsula in the northern-most part of Honshu Island. The vertical axis shows ages divided into nine generations. Informants between ten and nineteen years of age were divided into three age groups. The solid line shows the percentage of usage of *mocho-kari*, showing an upward surge among school children. Thus change from *mocho-koe* to *mocho-kari* can be clearly observed from this graph. The standard Japanese word *kusugut-tai* is not used here so much. This pattern of change from one dialectal form to another was exceptional in the survey of the Shimokita peninsula because most of the age differences were reflections of recent language standardization. The reason for the expansion of *mocho-kari* can be explained if we know that *kari* means 'itchy' in this dialect. *Koe* of *mocho-koe* means nothing in this dialect. *Mocho-kari* must have sounded more familiar and understandable (in linguistic terms, transparent) to the speakers of this area. This kind of phenomenon has been treated as a change by 'popular etymology' in historical linguistics and linguistic geography.

According to Chambers and Trudgill (1980), age differences show only changes in apparent time, as opposed to changes in real time. To show that the change is actually spreading, it is necessary to repeat similar research several years later. Luckily the graph in Fig. 1 is a result of an old survey carried out in 1964. The same survey was repeated by a student (Keiko Kudo) 20 years later, thus making it possible to know what changes actually occurred over time. The graph for this second survey is not reproduced here, but it shows that this change from one dialectal form to another is continuing even now after the introduction of television in this remote village.

Fig. 1 is a typical example showing the introduction and expansion of a new dialect form. But this kind of graph shows only changes in a small area. As the new dialect forms show linguistic changes occurring at present, we

would like to know how the new forms diffuse geographically. For this purpose another research method is more useful.

Fig. 2, *kirare-nai* 'cannot wear', is an example of a 'glottogram', or age-area graph. Glottograms are conveniently used to show geographical diffusion of new dialect forms. One axis shows differences by age, and another axis shows differences by area. This kind of graph can show the distribution by age and area at the same time. The horizontal axis shows age differences. The left-hand side shows informants in their teens, while the right-hand side shows informants in their seventies. The answers of the informants are shown by using various symbols. The area of this survey is quite large. The bottom area is Tokyo. The upper area is Fukushima Prefecture which is situated about 300 km north of Tokyo. Interviews of more than three hundred informants were carried out with the cooperation of students of Japanese linguistics of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (Inoue 1983a).

This glottogram is for the forms *kirare-nai* meaning 'cannot wear'. The filled-in circles represent the forms *kiran-ni* and *kiran-nii*. These are mainly found among younger people in the northern part of the area surveyed (Fukushima Prefecture). Older people here use *kiran-nye*, marked "O". The change from *kiran-nye* to *kiran-ni* can be explained as follows: the syllable *nye* [nje] 'not' was created here in the past as a result of a sound change of [n] in the context after [re], but the status of *nye* /nje/ was not secure because due to language standardization the syllables containing the phonemes /je/ became rare. This is why younger people changed this syllable into *ni* /ni/ which is more widely used and easier to pronounce. *Kiran-ni* is thus another example of a new dialect, but this time in a wider area.

This glottogram also shows another change in the direction of non-standardization. The black squares represent the expressions *kire-nai* or *kire-nee*. These forms are now widely discussed in Japan. Many older people dislike and criticize these new expressions, but these so-called corrupt Japanese expressions are steadily spreading among the younger generation in Tokyo. This glottogram shows that the corrupt form is also diffusing to the countryside north of Tokyo. As will be discussed later, *kire-nai* is an example of a new dialect form of Tokyo, too, and reflects a change in the long history of the Japanese language.

4. Definition and research techniques of new dialect forms

To ascertain that a certain form is a new dialect form it is necessary to see if it meets the three conditions of a new dialect form (Inoue 1986a: 74). These are:

a) having a different form from standard Japanese (to ascertain this, a knowledge of standard Japanese is necessary, but the use of a dictionary or a grammar book will do),

b) being more frequently used by younger people than by older people (to ascertain this, mass survey is ideal to see that the phenomenon in question is not due to individual characteristics),

c) being more frequently used in informal daily conversation than in formal situations (that is, low in style) (to ascertain this, surveys of different styles are necessary).

Techniques of the variationists are utilized for surveys of new dialects. Here some research procedures are presented. To pick up candidates of new dialect forms, reports of speakers or introspection of the researcher himself is useful if he is a native speaker of the dialect in question. A preliminary research and pilot survey of a few informants is useful. Comparison of old and young informants is necessary. As a mass survey is usually carried out, the use of a computer is sometimes recommended. In recent studies, the psychological or social characteristics of the users can also be ascertained when the data is comprehensive enough. For theoretical interest, a comparison of the relationship with words in fashion or slang was found useful. Experimental methods are sometimes used in the case of phonetic phenomena.

5. Reports of new dialect forms from all over Japan

New dialect forms have been ascertained to exist in many areas in northern Japan by empirical research methods (Inoue 1985, 1989). Let us add some other examples of change seen in eastern Japan (change from left > to right; expressions in parentheses show standard Japanese forms):

- oni-shime* > *tatchi-oni* (*oni-gokko*) 'tag play',
kinka > *tekkari* (*kata-yuki-michi*) 'frozen snow road',
buchi-ji yotta > *busu-kuroku natta* > *ao-tan dekita*
 (*aza ga dekita*) 'have a bruise',
yokan-be > *ikan-be* > *ii-be* (*ii-darô*) 'may be good'.

As for western Japan, there are many reports that new dialect forms are observed too:

- ika-nanda, ika-zatta* > *ika-n-katta* (*ika-na-katta*) 'did not go',
sô ja > *sô ya* (*sô da*) 'it is so',
ê ja nai ka > *ê yan-ka, ii jan* (*ii de wa nai ka*) 'isn't good'.

Generally speaking, new dialect forms in grammar are quite widespread in Japan. There are many lexical new dialect forms and most of them are familiar words, and the area of distribution seems to be small.

Fig. 3, *aru yan* 'there is, isn't (there)?', shows one example of a nationwide survey of new dialect forms. The data were acquired by sending mail questionnaires to junior high schools asking for data from pupils and their parents. Fig. 3 is a map of data from pupils. The form *yan* /jaN/ 'isn't?' seems to be widespread in the Kyoto/Osaka cultural area in western Japan. The map of data from parents, which is not shown here, tells that the form is not used so widely among older people. *Yan* is another example of a new dialect form. This map shows a complementary distribution with *jan* /zjaN/, which will be discussed later.

The examples listed above have been treated as "new forms" in linguistic geography. But in a traditional linguistic geographical survey no attention has been paid to stylistic variation and also the change was interpreted as if it had been finished in the generation of the older people investigated. The change was thought to have occurred in the past.

6. Tokyo new dialect

In the reports of new dialects all over Japan, the area around Tokyo seemed to be blank. Language in Tokyo is usually considered standard, and it is thought to contain no dialectal components. So theoretically there should be no new dialect forms in Tokyo. But actually, if we apply the same research procedures in Tokyo, phenomena very similar to the new dialect appear (Inoue 1986a, 1986b).

Fig. 4, *uzattai* 'disgusting, unpleasant, disagreeable', is a case in point. It shows geographical differences of usage among older and younger people in and near Tokyo. The horizontal axis shows geographical differences. Research point 1 is the westernmost, mountainous part of the Tokyo Metropolis. Points 2 to 4 are in the suburbs of Tokyo, nos. 5 and 6 are in the area where middle class people prevail, nos. 7 and 8 are in the downtown area where working class people prevail. Nos. 6 and 7 are in the older area of Tokyo which existed before urban expansion. The interrupted lines show the usage of older people, and solid lines show the usage of younger people. Bold lines show the usage at home in informal situations, and slim lines show the usage in a supposed TV interview, that is, in a formal situation. The informal usage of older people, represented by the bold interrupted line, shows that *uzattai* was used only in the suburbs of Tokyo. The informal usage of younger people, represented by the bold solid line, shows that this word is now being used in the central part of Tokyo, that is, at points 5 to 8. But the slim lines show that this word is used almost exclusively in informal situations. This word fits quite well the three conditions of new dialects discussed above:

- a) having a non-standard form,
- b) used more frequently by younger people (in the central part of Tokyo),
- c) used more frequently in informal situations.

Thus *uzattai* can be called a 'Tokyo new dialect' form. *Uzattai* is used only in the western part of the Tokyo Metropolis according to other linguistic surveys. This form has become somewhat popular among young Tokyoites recently. If you see a person who uses or understands this word, we can quite safely infer that s/he must be from the western part of Tokyo.

Fig. 5, *mitaku*, *chigakatta* and *kattarui*, shows other examples. This time the usage of older people is not shown here for the sake of simplicity. Older informants reported usage of these forms less often. Geographical differences are shown by the horizontal axis. *Mitaku* 'like' is a colloquial expression for the standard *mitai-ni* or *no yô-ni* 'like, as'. This form is used mainly in the eastern (downtown) part of Tokyo. *Chiga-katta* 'was different' is a new expression for the past tense of the verb *chiga-u* 'different', the standard expression being *chiga-tte ita* 'was different'. This is also used mainly in the eastern part of Tokyo. The geographical difference for *chiga-tte ita* is greater than for *mitaku*. *Kattarui* 'tired, boring' is used more widely and mainly in the western part of Tokyo. But this expression is rarely used in formal writing.

These four forms, including *uzattai*, all originated from dialects used around Tokyo. So these are examples of linguistic diffusion from the outside of Tokyo to the inside. These examples show that there are linguistic continuities between Tokyo and other areas. The language of Tokyo has been treated completely differently because Tokyo is the center of the standard language. But these actual changes show that there is an overlap of language between Tokyo and other areas.

Fig. 6, *iku-nai* 'not good', shows results of the same survey for the Tokyo area, but this time only age difference is shown. The left-hand side corresponds to older informants, the right-hand side to younger informants. *Iku-nai* is a new expression for *yoku-nai*. Many informants in Tokyo said that they have opportunities to use this form, and the number of positive answers became greater as the age became younger. *Iku-nai* is a regularized form. By this analogical change, the adjective *yoi*, which once became irregular in the late Edo period by introducing a newer form *ii*, becomes again more regular.

So far only lexical and grammatical examples have been given for the Tokyo new dialect. We can add examples of recent changes in pronunciation which are apparently similar to the Tokyo new dialect. Typical examples are the pronunciation of a more front [a] and less palatalized [si] by young girls. The pronunciation of young girls seems to be similar to English in these cases. [atasi] with English-like vowels and consonants is a typical example.

'*Shiri-agari* (up-and-down) intonation' at the end of clauses to show that the expression will continue further is also now spreading among younger girls. 'Professionals' accents' are a little different from the above examples. Some words are pronounced in unmarked (flat) accent by people who are familiar with the words. This is now prevalent in European loanwords (*gairai-go*) which originated from words like *director*, *disk*, *video*, *tenor*, *tennis*, *surfer*, *bike*, *grammar*, and so on. We can sometimes guess from the accent that the user of the words is familiar with the field. But according to Neustupny, a linguist who had perceived a similar phenomenon in Japan in the 1960s, some Sino-Japanese words (*kango*), for example *môchô-en* 'appendicitis', were pronounced with an unmarked accent by medical doctors; and *ongaku* 'music' was pronounced with an unmarked accent by musicians. The professionals' accent may have to be treated rather differently from the Tokyo new dialect because in this case there seems to be no clear consciousness of style-shift.

So far the examples of the Tokyo new dialect are fresh, newly born and infrequent ones. They may be unfamiliar to many people including young Tokyoites. We will add here another example of the Tokyo new dialect which is used more frequently. By the following example it will become possible to feel what new dialect forms are like. To add to this, the form has a wider area of diffusion, and the source of diffusion can be guessed.

The three glottograms in Figs. 7, 8 and 9, *ii darô* 'good + may (be)', show geographical distributions from Fukushima Prefecture, passing through Tokyo via Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe to Akashi City. This distance covers more than half of Honshu Island. Fig. 7 covers the same area as Fig. 2. The filled-in circles show that a new dialect form *ii-be* is spreading among younger people through the whole area, in place of *yokan-be* (shown by "/") or *ikan-be* (shown by "O") which may sound rather rustic to ordinary Japanese speakers, because these expressions are well-known and despised. Fig. 7 at the same time shows that a very new form *ii jan* (shown by black squares), which has also been mentioned in Fig. 3, is spreading sporadically among young people in their teens and twenties of this northern area of Japan.

An impressive story was told by a junior high school pupil in the northern part of this area. According to him *jan* has begun to be used very recently among his classmates. The first pupils who introduced this form were those whose families offer bed-and-breakfast to skiers. The children of the bed-and-breakfast families heard young skiers from the Tokyo area use *jan*, and imitated their expression in speaking dialect with their classmates, and other pupils began imitating them. This shows that new dialect forms spread by way of face-to-face communication, not by way of the mass-media.

Figs. 8 and 9 for (ii) *darô* show the area west of Fig. 7. Yokohama which is shown on the left top of Fig. 8 is a neighboring city of Tokyo. The new form *jan* is shown by black squares. *Jan* is used in the upper half of this area. In these areas of Shizuoka Prefecture even older people said that they use *jan*. The other maps about the use of *jan* have shown that this form may have been born in this area in this century and is spreading eastward first to Yokohama. Before World War II, *jan* was said to be typical of the Yokohama dialect. But around the 1960s *jan* began to be used in Tokyo, first more often in the southern part neighboring to Yokohama. This pattern shows also the neighboring effect for diffusion. It may be astonishing even for a Japanese that *be(e)* is used vigorously also in Kanagawa Prefecture. The corresponding map for *ii* (which is omitted here) shows that in this area, too, the same change for a new dialect form occurred as was observed in Fig. 7: from *yokan-be* to *ii-be*. Fig. 8 at the same time shows another example of a new dialect form in this area, that is, *darâ* (shown by black triangles). This may have been created through contact or the contamination of two forms, that is, dialectal *zura* (shown by "%") and standard *darô* (shown by "-"). Fig. 9 is given here just to show that these new dialect forms are not used in formal TV interview situations. (Informants were asked to imagine which form they would use if they talked with an announcer on a TV program.)

There are not so many new dialect forms in Tokyo but they are theoretically important. People tend to think that the language of Tokyo is all standard, but actually there are many expressions which do not appear in writing. The following are some examples. The expressions in parentheses are corresponding standard Japanese forms (Inoue 1991):

it-chatta (*itte shimatta*), *mi-châ* (*mite wa*), *koryâ* (*kore wa*), *nan-ka* (*nani ka*), *mite-n-no* (*mite iru no*), *mite-n-da-yo* (*mite iru no da yo*), *okkanai* (*kowai/osoroshii*).

These colloquial forms rarely appear in textbooks of the Japanese language, but can be heard in daily conversation among people in Tokyo. They can be called 'Tokyo dialect' expressions. Foreign students sometimes are disappointed to find that the Japanese language they hear in Tokyo is different from what they have learned in textbooks.

7. Hawaiian Japanese 'new dialect'

The terms 'new dialect' or 'new dialect form' have been used thus far to show individual language changes, but the same terms have sometimes been used to mean a dialect which has been recently created, that is, to mean a whole linguistic system. The Japanese language used by second generation

Hawaiian Japanese people is very interesting in this sense. It is a mixture of several dialects and languages:

standard Japanese + Hiroshima dialect +
(Pidgin) English + Hawaiian language.

The following sentence is a typical example. The grammatical construction is Japanese with heavy influences from the Hiroshima dialect. Loanwords of English and Hawaiian origin are used (E = English, J = Japanese, JD = Japanese dialect, H = Hawaiian):

<i>Mii-ra</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>pau-hana</i>	<i>ni-wa</i>	<i>chikin-heka</i>	<i>o</i>
E J	J	H H	J J	E JD	J
I pl.	copula	end-work	in	chicken-dish	particle (objective)
<i>yô</i>	<i>kui-yotta</i>		<i>yo-nô.</i>		
JD	J JD		J JD		
often	eat ing		particles (vocative)		

'We used to be eating chicken sukiyaki often after finishing work, didn't we?'

Dialect perception of Hawaiian Japanese people is also interesting when compared with the so-called Hokkaido common language in the very north of Japan. Both varieties were created very recently, but Hawaiian Japanese seem to have a strong dialect inferiority complex, whereas people in Hokkaido think (mistakenly) that they are speaking the standard language. Hawaiian Japanese seems to deserve the name of 'new dialect', because it is a newly created language system originating from the contact of several dialects.

But if we use the term 'new dialect' here, the terminology will become confusing. The significance or the meaning of the term 'new dialect' will become misleading. But actually, the Hawaiian Japanese dialect is now disappearing because third and fourth generation Japanese people who are now socially active can hardly speak the Japanese language any more (Inoue 1990). The Hawaiian Japanese dialect was new in the past but is now becoming obsolete. Thus the term 'new dialect' can safely be used to mean the individual phenomena of 'new dialect' forms which can be observed all over Japan as shown above.

8. Significance of new dialects

Now the significance or importance of new dialects for the study or theory of linguistics will be discussed.

New dialect can be interpreted as a modern reflection of historical change. The phenomenon discussed above in Fig. 2, *kire-nai* 'cannot wear', is a good example of the long history of a linguistic change. The potential expressions like *mi-reru*, *oki-reru* 'can see, can get up' for *miru*, *okiru* 'see, get up' are often discussed and have been accused by laymen as showing deterioration in

the Japanese language. But as Fig. 10 shows, we must know that the now standard potential verbs *kakeru*, *yomeru* 'can write, can read' for *kaku*, *yomu* 'write, read' were expressed as *kaka-reru* and *yoma-reru* 'can write, can read' in the past until relatively recently, that is, one or two hundred years ago. The ultimate cause of the appearance of these new expressions of verbs for potential mood can be found in the multiplicity of the function of the auxiliary verbs *-ru -raru* (and the later forms *-reru -rareru*) about one thousand years ago. So-called potential verbs (*kanô dôshi*) began appearing first among Consonant Verbs (*go-dan dôshi*) several centuries ago, and the change was completed in this century when *ika-reru* 'can go', became *ikeru*. At about the same time an irregular verb *kuru* 'come' followed. The potential form *ko-rareru* 'can come' became *ko-reru* 'can come'. And now some Vowel Verbs (*ichi-dan dôshi*) which are used frequently began taking the form of potential verbs, such as *mi-rareru* > *mi-reru* 'can see', *ki-rareru* > *ki-reru* 'can wear' and *uke-rareru* > *uke-reru* 'can receive'.

It is clear from many other surveys that these kinds of new forms first appeared in western dialects and are now spreading into Tokyo. If expressions like *mi-reru* and *uke-reru* are permitted to become the standard, the Japanese expressions for showing potential mood will become simpler and easier for foreign learners, because no distinction between Consonant Verbs and Vowel Verbs will be necessary. Also the distinction between potential and passive or honorific expressions will become clearer (*mi-reru* as potential, and *mi-rareru* as passive or honorific). These newer forms will be accepted very soon, soon in the time dimensions of language change, that is within one or two hundred years.

Language change often takes a long time to complete. If we read sentences written several hundred years ago, we can see that language has changed in between. But if we read a book written one hundred years ago, we do not expect that sentences will show language change. But actually the small differences in the sentences written one hundred years ago which look unfamiliar are reflections of changes which have occurred in this century. Language changes as everything in the world changes. It is often difficult to see that change is going on at present. But language differences between generations often reflect on-going linguistic change. New dialect forms are typical examples of language change in progress.

9. The triangle of new dialect

New dialect has other theoretical significance in the field of sociolinguistics. It has been maintained that there are two types of linguistic

change: changes from below and changes from above (Labov 1972). New dialect can be taken as a modern reflection of historical change, especially as 'changes from below and downward', as opposed to the other type 'changes from above and upward'.

The idea of linguistic correlates of society has been too simple before. Only two extreme groups have been posited in the study of standardization of the Japanese language; those who use standard and those who do not. By introducing the idea of new dialect, the structure of the speech community can be grouped differently. Three extremes can be posited according to usage of language. People who tend to use newly introduced forms can be divided into two groups, those tending towards standardization and those tending towards new dialect.

In another study (Inoue 1986b) it has been ascertained that students have different psychological traits and different social characteristics according to their use of language. The psychological background of the use of new dialect should be studied against the theoretical background of the following terms: solidarity vs. power. Intellectual and emotional factors of language are also key-factors of analysis (Inoue 1988).

The reason of the existence and appearance of new dialects can be explained by the emotional aspect of effectiveness of communication. It is useful to speak in a similar way because it increases solidarity between speakers. This can also be explained by the accommodation theory advocated by Giles (1971) and others. Thus the study of new dialect leads to socio-psychological factors of language use, leading to the fourth and the most important field of sociolinguistics discussed above. New dialect also shows the vitality or powerfulness of local dialects. It shows a kind of resurrection of local cultures, though the standardization and modernization of the Japanese language is in rapid progress.

For learners and teachers of Japanese, we can say the following on the basis of new dialect:

Be aware of daily conversation.

Be careful of variations in language.

The language of language teachers is not always standard, there are varieties, and there are many people who do not speak or behave like teachers. We should not have a self-centered way of thinking, because individual differences are great. An artificial standard language or a so-called simplified Japanese would be convenient to teach and to learn. But this is far from the reality of language. It is inevitable that variation and change accompany language. It may be confusing for beginners if there is more than one expres-

sion or if there are exceptions. But at the same time this is why language is interesting.

Acknowledgements

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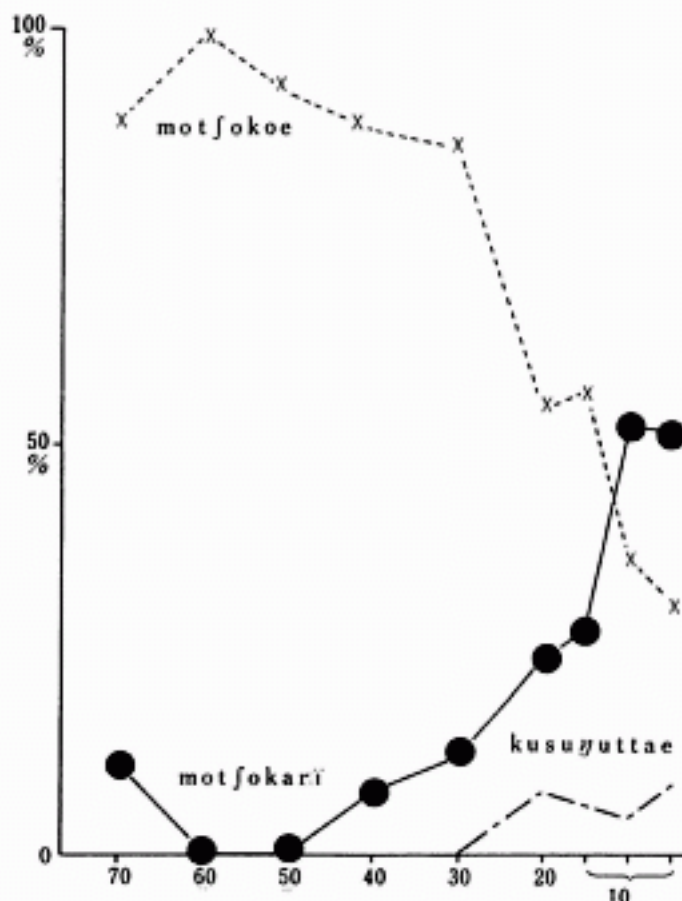


Fig. 1. MOCHO-KARI — Use of a new dialect form MOCHO-KARI in northern Honshu by age groups, 1970

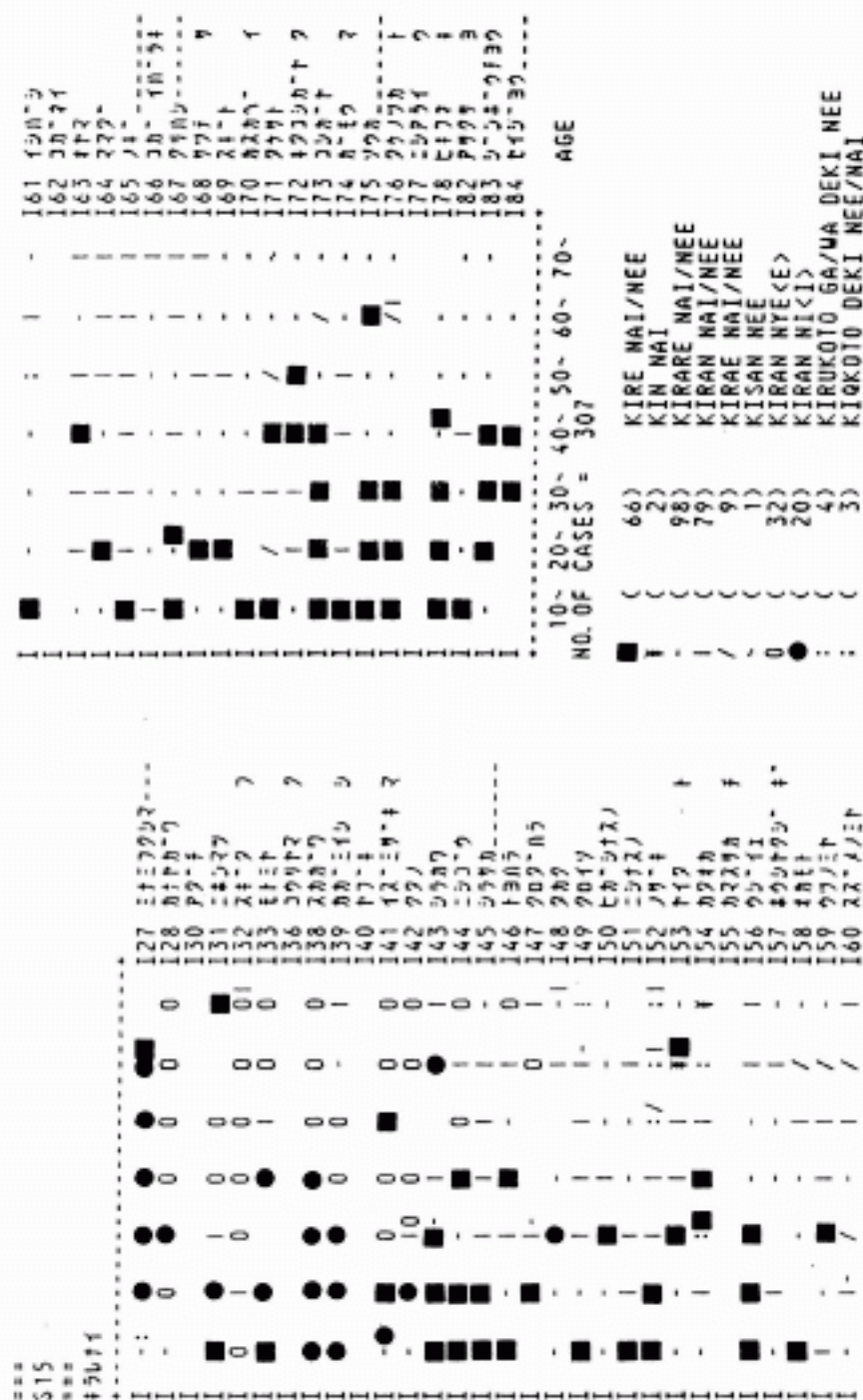


Fig. 2. KIRARE-NAI

Glottogram (age-area survey) between Fukushima and Tokyo, 1982-1983

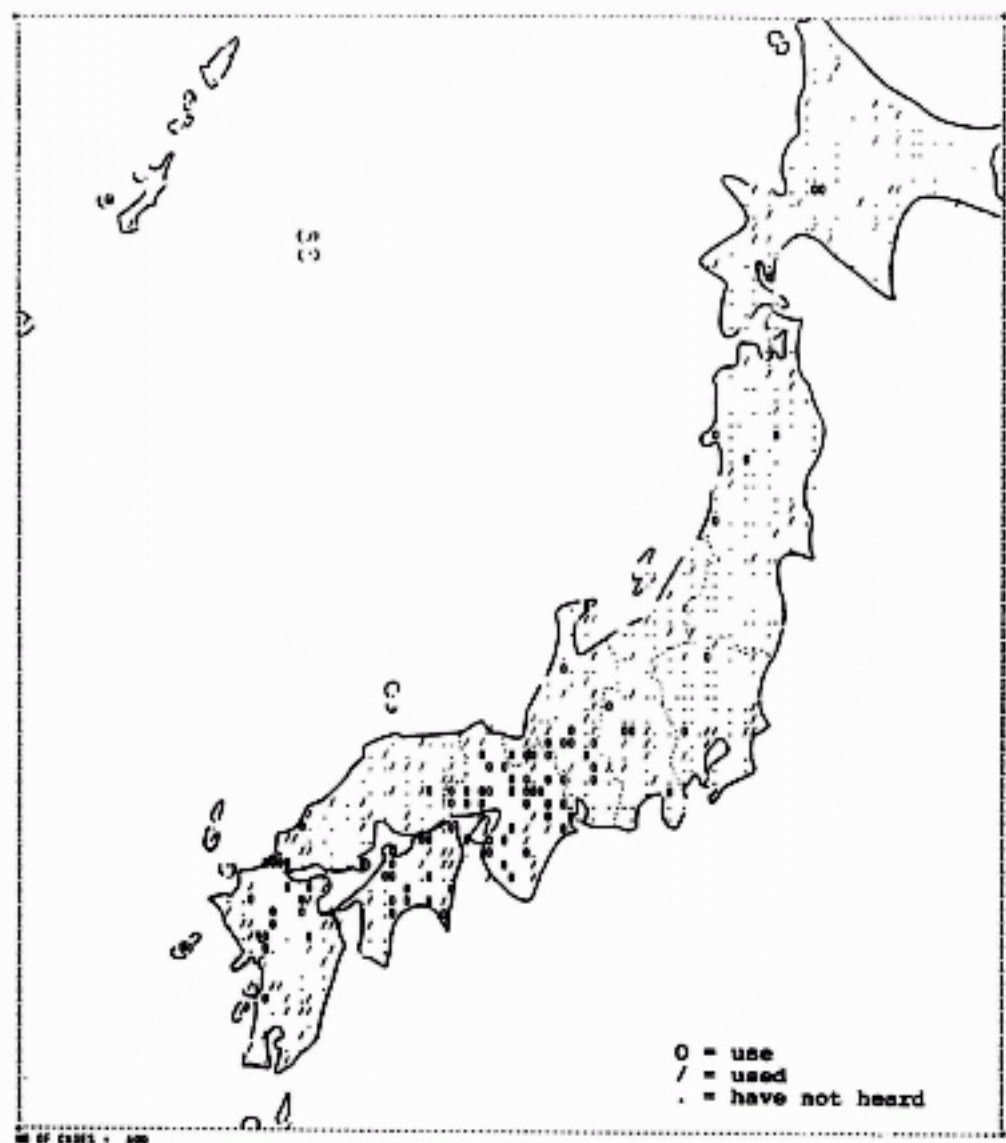


Fig. 3. ARU YAN — Use of a new dialect form ARU-YAN by junior high school pupils, 1983

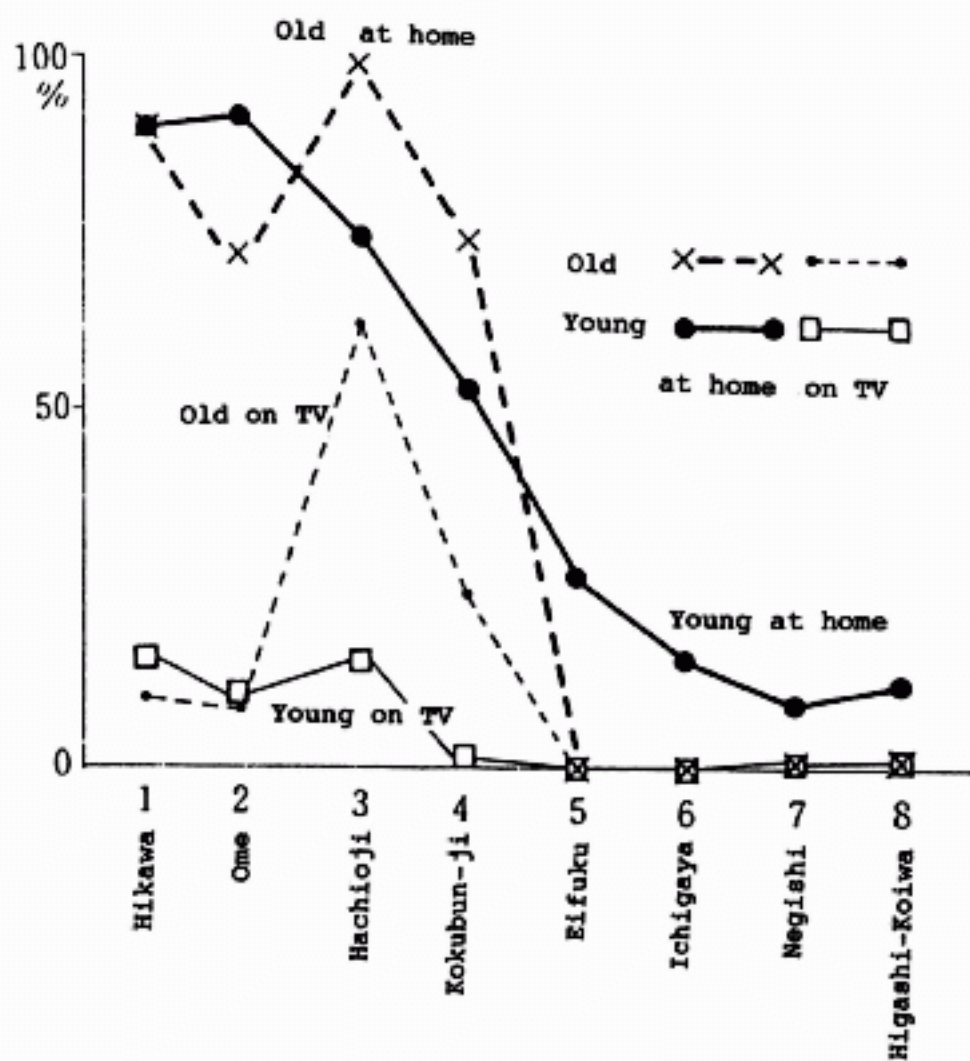


Fig. 4. UZATTAI
Use of UZATTAI in eight localities in Tokyo, 1983

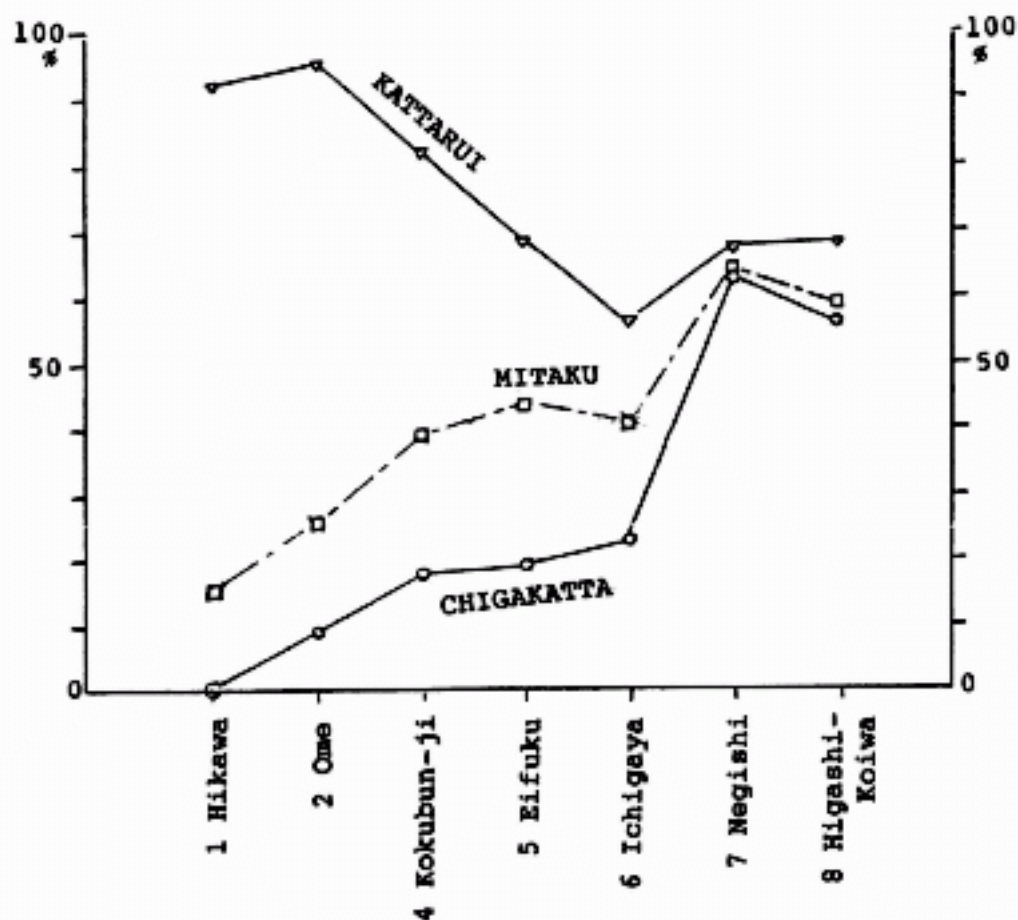


Fig. 5. MITAKU, CHIGAKATTA and KATTARUI
Use of 3 new dialect forms in eight localities in Tokyo, 1983
(Young at home)

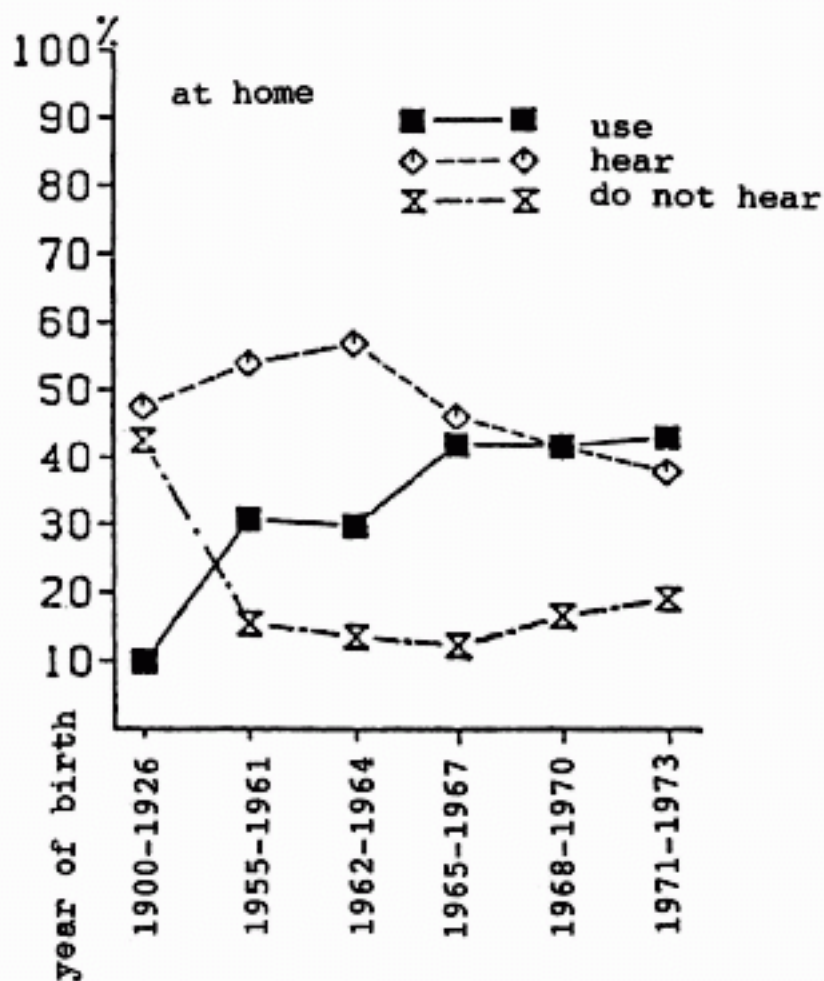


Fig. 6. IKU NAI
Use of IKU-NAI in eight localities in Tokyo, 1983, by 6 age-groups

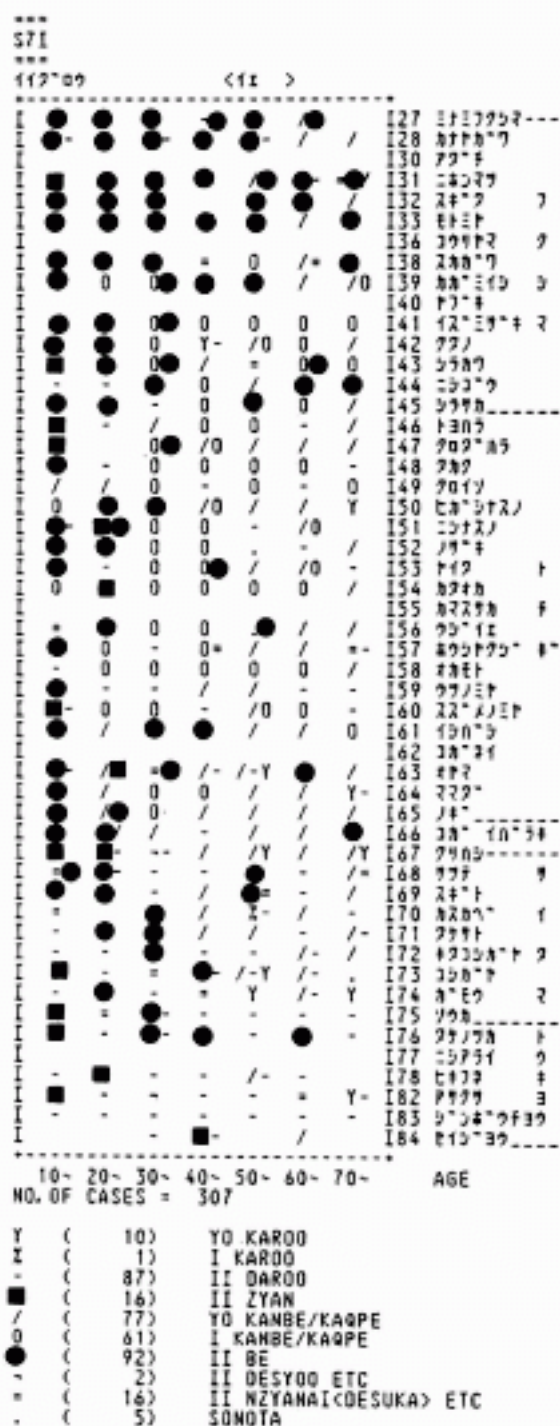


Fig. 7. II DAROO
Glottogram (age-area survey) between Fukushima and Tokyo
1982-1983

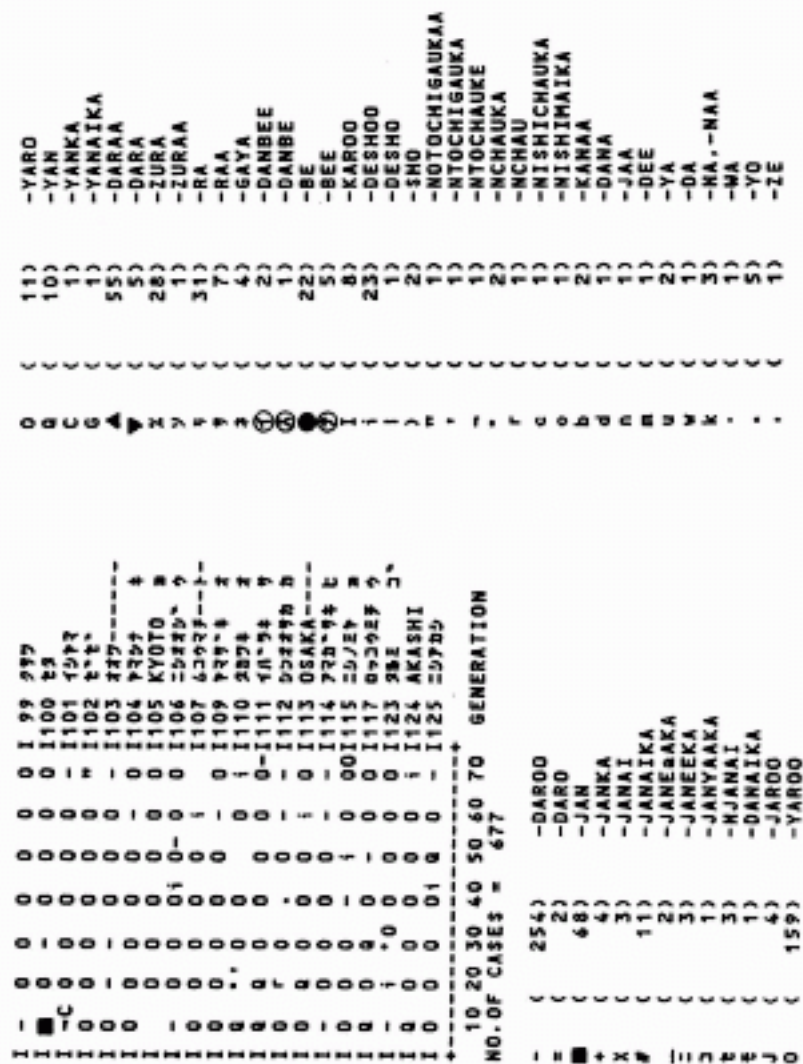


Fig. 8. (II) DAROO
Glottogram (age-area survey) between Tokyo and Akashi 1986-1988

Feature	10	20	30	40	50	60	70
-DAROO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DEAROO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-JAN	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-JAMA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-JAMAIIKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-JAMEEKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-JANAIDESUKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-NJANAIDESUKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-YAROO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-YARAIIKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DARAA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-ZURA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-RA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-GAYA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-BEE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-KAROO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DESHOO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DESHO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DESUKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DESUNE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-DESUYO.--DEWANAIDESUKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-NOTOCHIGAIMASUKAA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-NCHAUKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-TOCHIGAIMASUKA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-O	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-NISHIMASHOO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-WA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-YO	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
-KA	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

NO OF CASES = 677

GENERATION

Fig. 9. (II) DAROO
Glottogram (age-area survey) between Tokyo and Akashi 1986-1988

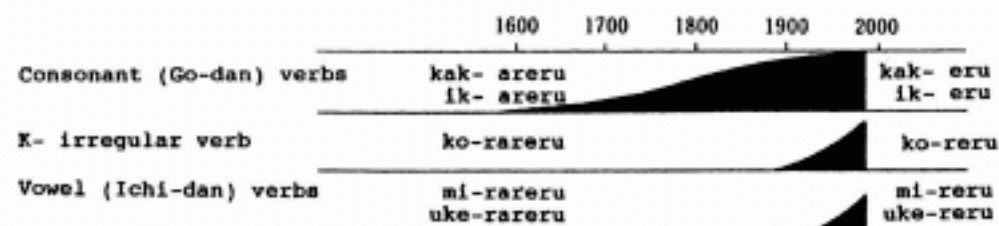


Fig. 10. Historical change of potential verbs (Kanô-doshi)

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