DIALECT LEXICOGRAPHY AND THE STANDARD LANGUAGE

— WORDS FOR *SNOW* AND SUBURBAN TOKYO DIALECT —

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with dialect glossaries of locations near Tokyo which have close relationships with standard language dictionaries. The lexicon of a dialect is worth studying in its own right; however if it is investigated in a wider context, it will bring more fruitful results. The contribution of dialect lexicography can be divided into four categories: (1) Lexicon as an index of culture, (2) Lexicon for contrastive study (3) Lexicon and style (4) Lexicon in dynamic relation to standard language. These four approaches will be discussed in sections 1 to 4 in this paper. The order is from simpler description of individual words to complicated contrastive and historical analysis of vocabulary as a whole. The attempt in this paper is based on Japanese language data, but the methodology and technical terms can be applied to many languages. The relationship between dialects and standard can be studied against a larger theoretical background of sociolinguistic typology of standard languages.

LEXICOGRAFÍA DIALECTAL Y LENGUA ESTÁNDAR

— PALABRAS PARA REFERIRSE A *NIEVE* Y EL DIALECTO SUBURBANO DE TOKIO —

Resumen

Este artículo trata sobre glosarios dialectales de localidades cercanas a Tokio, los cuales tienen una estrecha relación con diccionarios de la lengua estándar. El léxico de un dialecto es digno de

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estudio por sí mismo, pero si se investiga en un contexto más amplio, aportará resultados más fructíferos. La contribución de la lexicografía dialectal se puede dividir en cuatro categorías: (1) el léxico como índice de cultura, (2) el léxico para estudios contrastivos, (3) el léxico y el estilo, (4) el léxico en relación dinámica con la lengua estándar. Estos cuatro aproximaciones se discutirán en las secciones 1 a 4 de este artículo. El orden es desde la descripción más simple de palabras individuales a complicados análisis contrastivo e histórico del vocabulario en su conjunto. La tentativa en este estudio se basa en datos del japonés, pero la metodología y los procedimientos técnicos se pueden aplicar a muchas otras lenguas. La relación entre dialectos y estándar puede ser estudiado próximo una gran base teórica sobre la tipología sociolingüística de las lenguas estándar.

Palabras clave

glosarios dialectales, hipótesis de Sapir-Whorf, nieve, lengua estándar, campo semántico

1. Introduction to Japanese dialect lexicography

Basic information in English on Japanese dialects is available in Shibatani (1990) and Kunihiro *et al.* (1998). Information in English on dialect division and perception is reported in several articles by Inoue, most of which are accessible on the internet.[2] There are at least two multi-volume nationwide dialect dictionaries[3] and many dialect dictionaries for individual prefectures and smaller areas. There are several large glossaries of the language of an individual person which can be interpreted as a lexical description of a dialect. There are also nationwide dialect dictionaries for special fields, for example fish names, wind names, child care terms, swearing terms, new dialect forms and so on.

1.1 Alphabetical order vs. semantic order of dialect glossaries

Dialect dictionaries and glossaries are usually arranged by alphabetical order (more precisely by Japanese *Kana* syllabary) only for convenience. This alphabetical

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[2] http://dictionary.sanseido-publ.co.jp/affil/person/inoue_fumio/index_eng.html
[3] One multi-volume dialect dictionary (Hirayama 1992-94) is based on a nationwide field survey of basic words, so that basic descriptive data of dialect lexicography has been accomplished. Lexical systems can be analyzed from the standpoint of semantic field as will be discussed below in this paper.

order is convenient because it is agreed by everyone. In the terminology of Saussure this means that words are arranged according to the "*signifiant*" side of a word form, not the "*signifié*" side of meaning. In the field of lexicology, if words are arranged by meaning as in a thesaurus, the relationships with synonyms will be clearer. For this purpose a universal thesaurus system according to semantic principles should be adopted. Tajima (1999) has adopted this semantic principle and attempted a contrastive lexicography on the basis of a Japanese thesaurus. However this approach has not yet been applied to Japanese dialects. By adopting the system of universal semantic field as a part of a universal thesaurus, lexical characteristics of Japanese dialects will be ascertained and presented more impressively.

1.2 Four contributions of dialect lexicography

Dialect lexicography has always been the starting point and the mainstream of dialectology. Dialect glossaries offer a basic source of information as data. Surveys of linguistic geography have mainly been based on lexical items, though phonetic and grammatical information is analytically displayed on maps. The contribution of dialect lexicography can be divided into at least four categories, as follows:

(a) Lexicon as index of culture

Dialect lexicon can act as an index to a certain culture, as dialect lexicon often reflects people's ideas or the natural environment of the region. Static description of lexicon is itself an index of culture. Lexical items are treated quantitatively as a mass in this article.

(b) Lexicon for contrastive study

Contrastive study with other lexical systems, especially with the standard language, is more fruitful. Lexical items are treated qualitatively as composed of semantic fields in this article. Actual examples will be discussed in section 2.

(c) Lexicon and style

Lexical items can be studied against a background of stylistic differences. Most natural languages have differentiations from low to high styles like vulgar, slang, patois, colloquial, vernacular, informal, formal, classical, literary, poetic, and so on. The dialectal level can also be understood as forming "coexistent styles" in a region. This is the approach from the viewpoint of stylistics or sociolinguistics. These three approaches are static.

(d) Lexicon in dynamic relation to standard language

Lexical studies can further be pursued under a dynamic approach. The lexical historical relation of dialectal words with standard language is most interesting. Language standardization is a topic which should be pursued in any language. On the other hand, dialectalization or the increase of new dialect is still more interesting from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics. This is a dynamic or historical approach.

These four approaches will be discussed in sections 1 to 4 in this paper. A common undercurrent is the contrast between local dialects and the standard language (with the dialects in the suburbs of Tokyo in between). The order is from simpler description of individual words to complicated contrastive and historical analysis of vocabulary as a whole.[4] Research fields of sociolinguistics can be divided into four fields (Inoue 2006: 199). The first two are concerned with competence (1. Language and society, 2. Language variation), and the other two are concerned with performance or discourse (3. Discourse analysis, 4. Performance of variation). The first two sections in this paper are connected with the first field of "Language and society" and third and fourth sections are connected with the second field of "Language variation". The third and fourth fields of discourse are rather far removed from ordinary lexicography.

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[4] Linguistic data usually consists of a matrix of linguistic items (e. g. words or sentences) and informants (or localities). It is ideal to treat all the words of all the residents, but this is not practical. In the four approaches in this paper, the first approach is based on small number of words in the semantic field of "snow" over a large area (like surface collection in geology), and the last approach is based on large number of words in a small number of dialects (like a boring survey in geology). The second and third approaches are situated between these two extremes.

2. Number of words as index of culture

In this section some examples will be given to show that dialect lexicographical data can provide information about the conceptual or cultural background of the lexical system. To give concrete examples, phenomena independent from the linguistic (phonological or grammatical) system are impressive and also phenomena with great inter-dialectal differences are more appropriate as examples. Words for snow and terms for honorifics will be discussed here in order to present examples of lexicological characteristics of Japanese dialects.

A linguistic system often reflects a cultural or social background, so that language can be said to be an index of culture. There is a long tradition of discussions on the applicability of linguistic relativity or the so-called Sapir-Whorf hypothesis. At least a weaker hypothesis (extra-linguistic matters influence language) is possible in the field of vocabulary (Inoue 2000: 80). A number of words often show a close connection with climate, customs, social structure or culture in general. The existence of a large number of words for some semantic field in a dialect often implies minute distinctions of meanings of words.

2.1 Words for snow in Japan and cultural background

In introductory books of linguistics examples of words for snow among Inuit (Eskimo) are referred to (Sapir 1921), but dialectal differences in Japanese are great enough to show the correlation between language and nature. Before entering the topic of semantic differentiation, let us ascertain the mutual relationship between the frequency of usage of words and the outside world. There is a great difference in snowfall within the Japan archipelago. In snowy regions (the Japan Sea side with seasonal winds from Siberia), heavy snowfall of 3 or 4 meters is observed. This relation is shown for individual lexical items using the recent information search technique of

Google trends[5] in Map 1 for *yuki* 'snow'. When compared with actual levels of snowfall shown in Map 2, a close correlation can be detected with the frequency of usage.[6] A weaker correlation can also be found in the geographical distribution for 'snow' in the US using Google trends.[7]
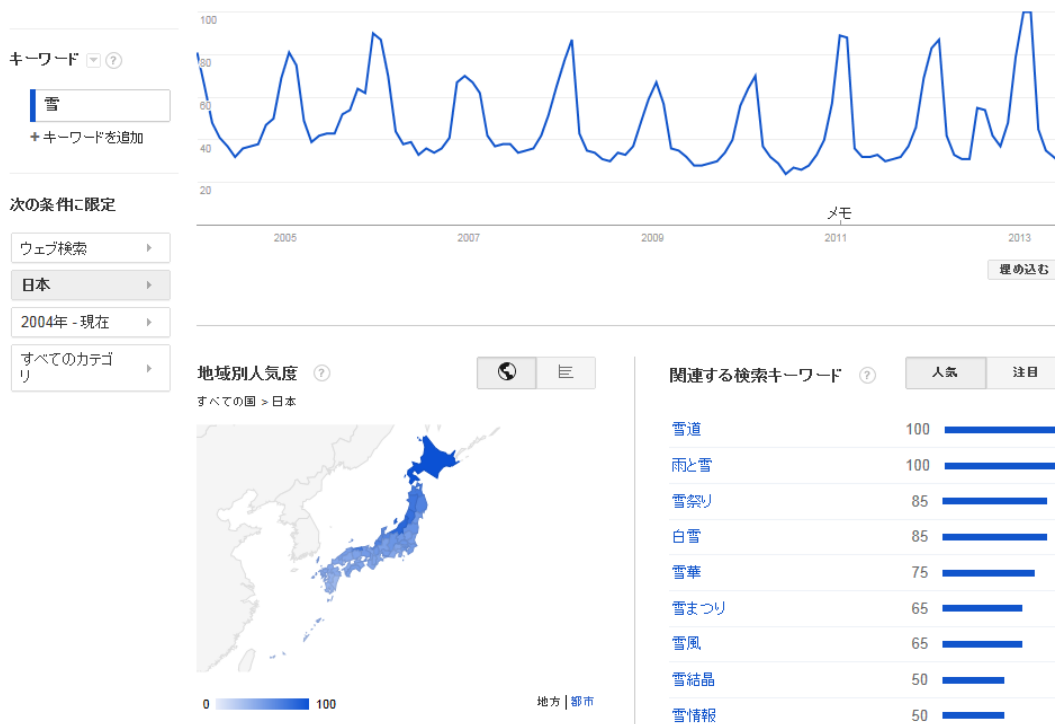
Map 1. Distribution of *yuki* 'snow' in Japan according to Google trends

In these snowy regions, not only is word frequency large but words related to snow are more numerous; and many words for snow have been recorded in glossaries.

In order to show the relationship of snow itself and words for snow, a descriptive study of the dialect lexicon of many locations was attempted. Map 2 shows the relation between snowfall and the number of words for snow in various regions in

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[5] The information in "Google trends" is based on frequency of usage of expressions for Google search since 2004.

[6] Naturally enough, word frequency shows seasonal vicissitude as the upper graph shows.

[7] The internet search engine "Google trends" gives interesting word maps at once. In Japan maps from "Google trends" of words for snow and snow-related words show a clear correlation with annual snowfall. Other words (like ice, icicle, melting snow, clearing snow etc.) show similar but less clear correlations. A search for "snow" and "snowstorm" showed that these words are used more often in the northern part of the United States. On a global scale these words are rarely used in warm countries.

Japan.[8] The dialectal data were acquired from descriptive studies of lexical items related to snow (Inoue 2000). Fieldwork was carried out in 1981 and 1982 in snowy areas along the coast of the Japan Sea and the almost snowless Pacific Ocean side. The numbers of the legend in the right hand below show the words for snow listed in large dictionaries of Japanese.[9] A solitary mark on the rightmost side (Kuril Islands) shows the words for snow in a dictionary (Kenbo *et al.* 1992) which is said to reflect daily Japanese in Tokyo.[10]
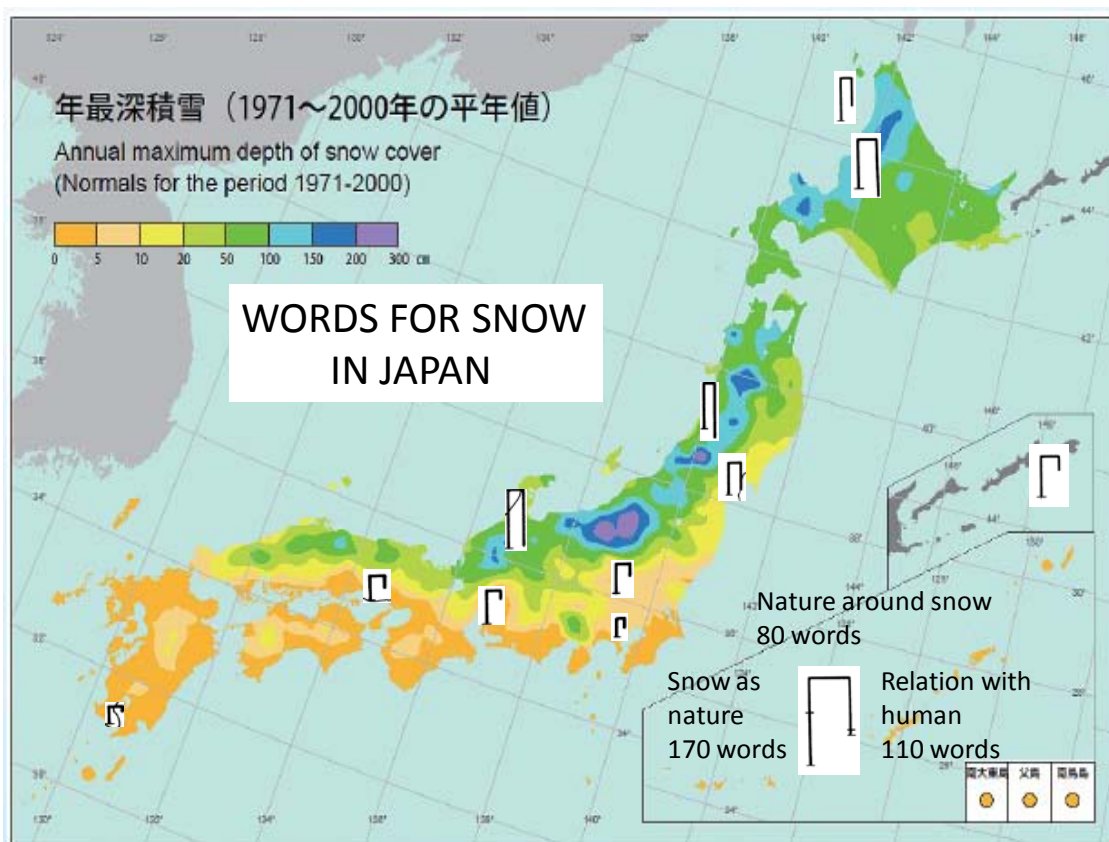
Map 2. Words for snow in Japan

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[8] A similar map can be made irrespective of linguistic classification. A simple map based on information from foreign students in Japan showed a vague correlation. The map of "snow" in *Atlas Linguarum Europae* can be interpreted with a fresh eye (Viereck 2006).

[9] The number of words in the legend at the same time shows data of several large Japanese dictionaries. The numbers are larger than those of any dialect in Map 2 due to the inclusion of classical, elegant and technical words. In addition, many of the words are of Chinese origin (*kango*) and not used in daily life.

[10] The map shows only numbers of words, but words form lexical (semantic) systems, as will be discussed in the next section.

As Map 2 shows, the correspondence between the maximum depth of snow-cover and the number of words related to snow is obvious. This can be interpreted as evidence of (a weaker version of) linguistic relativity or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Inoue 2000). Comparison with the dictionary and also among various dialects shows overall differences in the numbers of words. The words were further classified into the three groups of "snow as nature", "nature around snow" and "relation with human (life)" using three lines like a broken tree in the legend on the lower right hand side. In a dialect (or more exactly an idiolect) in a snowy region in Central Japan (Shokawa Village, Gifu Prefecture), a total of 256 (112 + 34 + 110) words related to snow were attested.[11] This is quite different from Tokyo (New Yamanote) where only 65 (29 + 15 + 21) words were attested. The contrast is still more impressive if the Japanese language spoken in Hawaii is taken into consideration.[12]

When we compare the three subdivisions of words, correspondence with snow fall seems to be greater in the third subdivision (vertical bar on the right hand side); i.e. "relation with human (life)". In contrast, words for snow as a natural phenomenon (vertical bar on the left hand side) show a less clear correlation. This suggests that natural phenomena do not directly influence the lexical system, but the existence of human perception (or concept) is crucial as a medium (or connecting point) for the formation (and retention) of lexical items.[13] People adopt words when it is necessary to communicate. Not only is the number of words related to snow large in snowy areas, but the lexical subdivision of the semantic field is minute. In many glossaries and dictionaries published in the snowy areas we encounter words related to snow, some

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[11] There is a dictionary of words for snow in Niigata prefecture which is the snowiest region as Map 1 shows. The dictionary lists as many as several hundreds of words. In contrast a descriptive study of a southern island has revealed that there are only a few words related to snow.

[12] A glossary (Inoue 1991) of the first and second generation Japanese immigrants in Hawaii (Yamashita 2012) showed no words related to snow or ice (the only exception was "ice box").

[13] In order to present concrete examples of dialectal distribution over the whole of Japan, a map of "icicle" in LAJ is a good example. The map shows a variety of word-forms. However, from the standpoint of lexical system, at least two types can be observed. First the mark "N" shows the place where no expressions were produced. These locations are distributed mainly in southern Japan where icicles are rarely observed. For this dialect standard language has the "peculiar" relation. In contrast, marks representing *SUGA* are distributed in northern Japan. In the same area, 'ice' is called *SUGA*, so that there is no distinction between 'ice' and 'icicle', though speakers can differentiate the two by adding different verbs. *SUGA HARU* 'ice spreads', *SUGA SAGARU* 'ice=icicle hangs'. These dialects are in an "inclusive" relation to the standard language. Ideally the symbols (marks) used on this map should have been a little different in order to show lexical relations with standard Japanese. The terms related to snow are more minutely analyzed in northern Japan (Inoue 2000).

of which do not have a corresponding standard Japanese word ('peculiar' words). These words need long explanations or paraphrase. This is in sharp contrast to standard Japanese which developed in snowless areas.

2.2 Honorific terms and cultural background

Lexical items for honorifics will be presented as another example of the relation between language system and society. Honorific terms are grammatically integrated in Japanese. There are great dialectal differences and they are closely connected with social stratification. The honorific system is complicated in central Japan near the old capital Kyoto, and is simpler in northern part of Japan (Inoue 2013). Honorifics in the new capital Tokyo were formed by importation from the West (Kyoto) dialect after the Middle Ages. The classical system of usage of honorifics is retained both in northern and southern parts of Japan. Linguistic and social reasons can be given for this distribution.[14] When this overall pattern has been established, the appearance of honorific terms in any glossary (e.g. words with honorific prefix "o - ", and special honorific forms of verbs like *oideru* 'come', *koransho* 'please come!' etc.) suggest degrees of development of honorifics in the dialect in question.[15] Just as in the case of words for snow, words for showing respect are indexes of culture of the dialect. If we adopt the classification which will be introduced in the next section, the semantic types of 'peculiar' and 'separating' can be identified in the complicated Kyoto honorific system, and 'lacking' and 'inclusive' can be identified in the simple honorific system of northern Japan. Thus a weaker version of linguistic relativity or the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is applicable to honorifics.[16]

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[14] The correspondence between dialect and language history can be explained if we adopt the hypothesis of a diffusion speed of 1km per year (Inoue 2003, 2008).

[15] Actual usage of honorifics is changing after the Second World War as shown by large scale surveys in Okazaki (Inoue 2013). There are fewer chances of dialectal honorific words appearing in dialect glossaries.

[16] However the concept of "semantic field" or idea of "universal thesaurus" cannot be straightforwardly applied to honorific terms, because honorific terms are differentiated at the level of style.

3. Semantic contrastive lexicography

3.1 Four types of semantic contrast

In this section, ideas or techniques of structural linguistics will be utilized. If we make use of the concept of "semantic field", the difference or contrast between two linguistic systems can be typically divided into the two types of (non)existence and subdivision. When the basis of comparison is considered, however, the relationships between the two systems can be relative or reciprocal, so that the contrast can be divided into four, as shown in the graphs in Figure 1.

Use of these terms is relative. In order to avoid misunderstanding and contradictory usage, we apply these terms using standard Japanese as a reference point (basis). Also "words" should be used as a basis; paraphrase or lengthy expressions for the same meaning should be treated as exceptions. Though not indicated each time, the four types of contrast are believed to reflect the non-linguistic (social or conceptual) differences of the linguistic community.

The four types are shown in Figure 1 with English and Japanese typical examples.

A. A *peculiar* word is a word which is used in the (dialectal) linguistic system in question, but is lacking in the standard Japanese system. In dialect surveys appropriate words are answered if appropriate questions are asked by a researcher, and marks or symbols are usually shown on maps.

B. A *lacking* word is the opposite of a peculiar word in that such a word is not used in the (dialectal) linguistic system in question, but exists in the standard system. In dialect surveys informants will say "I don't know", and marks or symbols for NR (No Response) are usually shown on maps.

C. A *separating* word is in the relation of distinction, difference, division, classification or separation of a (dialectal) semantic field. It can also be called divisive, differentiating or splitting. In field surveys several word-forms are given as answers for one question by clever informants and they will explain the differences between the word-forms. If both the investigators and informants are not cautious, random distribution of many word forms will appear on the dialect map.

D. An *inclusive* word is in the opposite relation to a separating word. It is in the

relation of grouping and inclusion, and can also be called a comprehensive word. In field surveys, the same word-form may be given by informants for two or three questions. The same symbols are given for more than one map and a similar distribution will appear on a series of maps.

A	Peculiar	Japanese	English		Standard	Dialect
		NR	gentleman		NR	shibareru

B	Lacking	Japanese	English		Standard	Dialect
		sushi	NR		yanoasatte	NR

C	Separating	Japanese	English		Standard	Dialect	
		omiyage	present		katsugu	tsuru	
			souvenir			ninau	
						kaku	

D	Inclusive	Japanese	English		Standard	Dialect	
		ine			yaru		
		kome	rice		kureru	kureru	
		gohan					

Figure 1. Four types of semantic contrast

Next, these four types will be explained with more concrete examples of Japanese vs. English, and standard Japanese vs. dialects.[17]

A. Peculiar word

When standard Japanese is set as a basis of comparison, a good example of a peculiar word in English in contrast to Japanese is *gentleman* which was lacking in Japanese in the past. This phenomenon can be treated as a "semantic hole". But nowadays this word has been borrowed and is now used often. *Hamburger, internet, angel* and so on are also examples.

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[17] Nowadays languages are bought and sold in the "language market" in the world, and dialects also have "market values" (Inoue 2012a). Dialectal words are now exhibited as "dialect messages" on the street, and are sold as "dialect goods" in souvenir shops. But the words and expressions used are mostly directly translatable into standard Japanese, so that examples of "peculiar words" are hard to find. "Separating words" can sometimes be found. In the meantime, examples of "lacking words" cannot logically be used, but "inclusive words" can appear.

Peculiar words are also found in Japanese dialects in contrast to the standard Japanese. A typical example of a peculiar word in a Japanese dialect is *shibareru* which is used in northern Japan to signify 'severe cold'. Many other examples are found in the field of snow (Inoue 2000). For example in some parts of snowy areas 'mass or lump of snow floating on the surface of a river' has a special name. 'Hard and slippery snow road' also has a special name, and so on.[18] Also there are expressions for 'wet and uncomfortable' in both northern (*yabatsui*) and southern Japan (*shiroshii*), but the corresponding expression is lacking in standard Japanese. A typical example of a peculiar word in the *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* which will be discussed in the next section is *hokiru*[19] 'grow thickly''. This term is useful and necessary in pastoral areas.

It is difficult to find suitable examples of peculiar words in LAJ (Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo 1966-1974) because most of the survey items were planned in Tokyo by speakers of standard Japanese.[20] The survey items in LAJ can all be represented by single words in standard Japanese. In other local linguistic atlases peculiar words are surveyed, and the titles of the maps are sometimes given using paraphrases or explanations of the meaning. For peculiar words, linguistic maps show blanks or NR marks near Tokyo.[21]

B. Lacking word

A typical example of a lacking word familiar to English speakers would be *sushi*, which was peculiar in Japanese cuisine, but later exported (and also adopted) in America. Other cuisines like *Teppan* or *Teri* followed the same pattern. Spiritual or intellectual concepts of *wabi, sabi* or *zen* were borrowed into English. Historical political terms like *Mikado* are also listed in dictionaries and utilized for commercial

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[18] *Wakanachi* used in the Southern Islands has no corresponding expressions in the standard language, though the term can be literally translated into *wakanatsu* 'young summer', and is easily understandable as the period of hot weather before the rainy season at the beginning of summer.

[19] Used in suburban Tokyo and on the Kanto Plain. *habikoru, nobiru* and *hanmosuru* are similar but not exactly the same in meaning. None is an appropriate translation-equivalent.

[20] In contrast, survey items of *Atlas of Japanese Folk Culture (*Bunkacho 1969-2000) include peculiar words in traditional (rural) Japanese society. However dialectologists have not paid sufficient attention to this kind of distribution.

[21] However for young speakers of Japanese, the survey items of LAJ have become old-fashioned and no answers were given. Terms connected to ethnological items are such examples, like containers for uncooked and cooked rice. These old items will become "peculiar" words in the future.

purposes in names of shops and food. Lacking words are sometimes adopted in the form of loanwords in foreign languages (Inoue 2012b). Borrowings for lacking words often occur between languages because translation is difficult for this kind of semantic relationship.

Lacking words in dialects are plentiful. In this case dialectal expressions are lacking. If these terms are asked, informants cannot think of appropriate answers, and "No Response" symbols will be shown on maps. In standard Japanese, for example, 'two days after tomorrow' (next day after *asatte*) is *shiasatte* and 'three days after tomorrow' is *yanoasatte*. However the term for 'three days after tomorrow' is lacking in many dialects in Japan.[22] In LAJ when no answers were given, the symbol N is marked on the map.[23] Logical and formal expressions (or distinctions) used in law or formal documents like *nimo kakawarazu* 'nevertheless, irrespective of' and *sorenimo mashite* 'furthermore, above all',[24] are lacking in dialects.[25] However items (questions) of lacking words are rare in the LAJ survey (and many other linguistic atlas surveys) because answering questions to which no words can be thought of is dull and time-consuming.[26]

C. Separating word

Separating words in English in comparison with Japanese are *omiyage* 'present & souvenir', *kyaku* 'guest & customer & passenger', and *hayai* 'early & quick'. Japanese speakers of English are often not aware of the distinctions so that they give sometimes awkward impressions (or cause misunderstanding) to native English speakers.

Separating words in Japanese dialects which are shown in LAJ maps are: standard *katsugu* 'carry' vs. dialectal *tsuru* & *ninau* & *kaku*. There are many separating words in

[22] There is no name, or in some dialects various other names are given.
[23] This kind of map shows an "A0" (A zero) distribution while usual dialect maps show an AB or ABA distribution.
[24] Terms used in Tokyo metropolis are also lacking in other dialects, like the now obsolete word *don* 'sound of gun at mid noon' in the past, if we take examples from the *Tokyo Speech Dictionary*.
[25] These formal expressions may be adopted in dialects as style shift in the process of standardization.
[26] The author attempted to compare the lexical system of words for snow in Japan as a whole. It took long hours to acquire full lexical information in snowy areas in northern Japan, but it was psychologically difficult to get "Do not use" answers in southern snowless areas. In southern Japan snow terms are "lacking words".

snowy areas. 'Avalanche' is differentiated into two (surface and whole avalanches), and 'snowstorm' (blizzard) is also divided into two types (falling snow snowstorm and surface snowstorm). If we take examples from the *Tokyo Speech Dictionary*, standard *tagayasu* 'cultivate' vs. *unau* & *sakuru* (Tokyo suburbs) is a case in point.[27]

D. Inclusive word

Inclusive words in English in comparison with Japanese include the distinction of *ine* & *kome* & *meshi (gohan)*[28] in contrast to one word, *rice*, in English. Also *mizu* & *yu* are distinguished in Japanese while in English *water* is used without distinguishing between high and low temperature.

Inclusive words in dialects are found abundantly. Distinction in the standard Japanese of *yaru* 'give in the direction from the speaker' & *kureru* 'give in the direction of the speaker' vs. *kureru* 'give without distinction' in dialects can be observed in LAJ maps. More examples can be found in LAJ. The distinction of *aza* & *hokuro* & *aotan*[29] in standard Japanese vs. *aza* in dialects, the distinction of standard *gomi* & *hokori* vs. dialectal *gomi* 'dust, dirt', and the distinction of standard *niru* & *taku* vs. dialectal *niru* 'cook'. If we take examples from the *Tokyo Speech Dictionary*, standard *doro* 'mud' & *tsuchi* 'soil' vs. *doro* 'soil and mud' (Tokyo suburbs and Saitama) is a case in point.

Logical and formal expressions (or distinctions) used in law and formal documents are lacking in dialects:[30] *oyobi* & *narabini* 'and', and *matawa* & *moshikuwa* 'or'.

3.2 Utilization of semantic contrast in dialect glossaries

By analyzing relationships between standard and dialect like this, lexical characteristics of standard Japanese become clearer. Many other semantic fields can

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[27] However, standardization may send these minute differences into oblivion.

[28] *ine* is the plant, *kome* is the grain, and *meshi (gohan)* is the cooked food.

[29] *Aotan* is a new dialect form which was first adopted in northern Hokkaido and spread to Tokyo and the other areas of Japan. This term is convenient because it can signify a bruise in distinction to a birthmark which could not be distinguished in the past. This is an example of the appearance of a new "separating word".

[30] This kind of expression is also lacking in old Uptown Yamanote speech, although it is said to be birthplace or citadel of the standard language. Influences from written language should be reconsidered.

be treated like this. Cultural background can be studied based on these contrasts. Semantic relations like these four types are not clearly shown in dialect glossaries, and it is the duty (and privilege) of dialectologists to identify cases when reading the basic data. We cannot accuse dilettante dialect lexicographers because even in English and Japanese dictionaries these semantic relations were not suggested until recently.[31] The development of contrastive linguistics (semantics) was necessary to propagate the results of this kind of investigation.

The approaches of these two sections are related to the first field of sociolinguistics, and also with the hypothesis of linguistic relativity. The approaches of the two sections below are related to the second field of sociolinguistics of variation studies.

4. Tokyo dialect and "coexistent styles"

*4.1 Relations of standard Japanese with other dialects*

The above classification into four semantic types is still static. If we want to observe the mechanism of linguistic change, the pattern of adoption should be observed more carefully. In this section problems of style will be taken into consideration. This is a dynamic approach to the dialect lexicon.

Dialect lexicon can contribute to the study of standard language in a different way. Dialects are mostly used as spoken language, whereas standard language is used both in written and spoken styles (Inoue 2011). This difference provides a side-effect of style differences. Dialectal expressions are often connected to vernacular style, and contrarily, vernacular expressions are sometimes (mis)interpreted as dialectal. This intimate relation of vernacular and dialectal is observed if we look at dialect glossaries (dictionaries) of Tokyo and its suburbs.

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[31] The field of lexical history based on historical documents is similar in this sense. The words investigated are mostly synonyms. Historical separation (differentiation) of a word and inclusion of several meanings in one word is rarely surveyed. The study of dialect lexicon is exceptional, and there are several papers pointing at historical change in the direction of separation from one semantic field into two or more.

In this section several dialect dictionaries published near Tokyo will be analyzed from the standpoint of style differences. All these dictionaries are collections of (mostly small) glossaries. (1) Metropolitan Tokyo (Kanehata 2012). (2) Saitama prefecture (Teshima 1989) to the north, and (3) Kanagawa prefecture (Hino and Saito 1965) to the south.

Map 3 shows regional divisions of Tokyo adopted for *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* (Kanehata 2012). Tokyo is divided first into Central Tokyo 23 Special Wards and Suburban 3 Tama Areas. These two areas are subdivided using divisions in use before the Second World War, and the same geographical order is used in Figure 4.
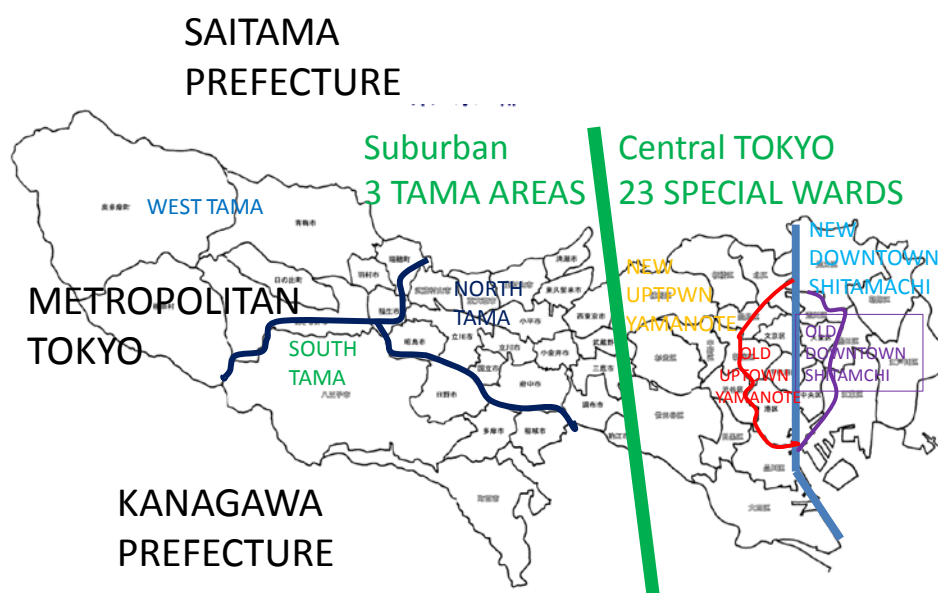
Map 3. Regional division of Tokyo

4.2 Analysis of Tokyo Speech Dictionary and colloquialism

The basic data for *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* has been transformed into digitized form after publication. Popular dialectal words (that is, frequently included words in glossaries) were sorted out making use of the digitized data. The top 38 words will be analyzed here as shown in Figure 2.

In the central column of "relations" in Figure 2, the 38 words were classified into four categories according to the relation with standard language.

Vernacular is a difference of style. These words are intelligible to ordinary Japanese speakers. The word forms are used in Tokyo, but in a lower style. Most of the words in these dialect glossaries are actually listed in a Japanese language dictionary (Kenbo 1992) but mostly with annotation of "vernacular". These words are not usually listed in glossaries of dialects located in the countryside. It is specific to glossaries in Tokyo that nearly two fifths of the 38 words are intelligible vernacular words.

order	Tokyo total	center	Tama suburbs	dialectal words	relations	standard forms	meaning	Standard	Saitama	Kanagawa
1	13	4	< 9	memezu	≒	mimizu	earthworm		1	1
2	12	5	< 7	kusuneru	↓	kusuneru	steal	vernacular	1	
3	12	4	< 8	unto	↓	unto	much	vernacular	1	
4	12	5	< 7	yunbe	≒	yuube	last night		1	1
5	12	5	< 7	gachagacha	†	kutsuwamushi	giant katydid	vernacular	1	1
6	11	4	< 7	suttenten	↓	suttenten	penniless	vernacular	1	1
7	11	3	< 8	nenjin	≒	ninjin	carrot		1	1
8	11	4	< 7	sabui	≒	samui	cold		1	
9	11	3	< 8	unau	■	tagayasu	cultivate		1	1
10	11	1	< 10	tsukute	■	taihi	compost		1	1
11	10	5	5	shirabakkureru	↓	shirabakkureru	play innocent		1	
12	10	5	5	zubu	↓	zubu	complete		1	
13	10	5	5	sugee	≒	sugoi	terrible			1
14	10	3	< 7	igoku	≒	ugoku	move		1	1
15	10	2	< 8	okosama	■	kaiko	silkworm		1	1
16	10	3	< 7	konasu	†	kenasu	abuse		1	1
17	10	2	< 8	chittonbee	†	chottodake	a litttle		1	
18	9	7	2	utcharu	↓	utcharu	throw away	1	1	1
19	9	6	3	ore	↓	ore	I	vernacular		1
20	9	5	4	choromakasu	↓	choromakasu	embezzle	vernacular	1	1
21	9	5	4	shoppana	↓	shoppana	beginning	vernacular	1	1
22	9	4	< 5	shoppai	↓	shoppai, shiokarai	salty	1	1	1
23	9	3	< 6	enko	↓	enko	sitting	child	1	1
24	9	3	< 6	tanto	↓	tanto	much	child	1	1
25	9	4	< 5	kakkomu	↓	kakkomu	eat hastily	1	1	
26	9	1	< 8	ooshintsuku	↓	tsukutsukubooshi	a kind of cicada		1	1
27	9	4	< 5	okowa	(↓)	okowa	red rice	woman	1	
28	9	4	< 5	furushiki	≒	furoshiki	cloth wrapper		1	
29	9	2	< 7	mee	≒	mae	front		1	
30	9	4	< 5	hidee	≒	hidoi	cruel		1	
31	9	3	< 6	suku	≒	shiku	spread		1	
32	9	2	< 7	oronuku	■	mabiku	thin out		1	1
33	9	2	< 7	hokiru	■	habikoru	grow thickly		1	1
34	9	0	< 9	tappe	†	shimobashira	ice needle		1	1
35	9	1	< 8	kagamitcho	†	tokage	lizard		1	1
36	9	1	< 8	sena	†	ani	elder brother		1	1
37	9	5	4	kuchii	†	hara ippai	fully fed	vernacular		1
38	9	2	< 7	keeko	≒	kaiko	silkworm			
TOTAL	375	131	244					14	34	26

15	↓	vernacular	intelligible	3+v8+c2+w1
11	≒	deformed	imaginable	
5	■	pastoral	uninteligible	
7	†	obsolete	uninteligible	
38		TOTAL		

Figure 2. Characteristics of popular dialectal words

Deformed is midway between intelligible and unintelligible. The form is similar to the standard and meanings are imaginable. They may be reflections of individual phonetic changes. These half-intelligible words are numerous in Tokyo when compared with other dialect glossaries.

The next two types may be unintelligible. *Pastoral* are words that are not used at all. These words have no relation to urban life. Pastoral words are "peculiar" in suburban (former agricultural) Tokyo. If this kind of "peculiar" word is surveyed in a dialect geographical survey of metropolitan Tokyo, A0 type of distribution of (non-) existence of a word will appear within a rather small area. A group of words related with frost and wind, albeit "peculiar", were found in the Tama suburban area, though they do not appear in Figure 2. However, very few words related to snow were found here. This again shows the influence of climate on lexicon.

Obsolete are the words which may have been used in the past but became obsolete partly because the *realia* has become old-fashioned or newer alternative expressions have taken their place. Dialect glossaries of distant areas are full of these unintelligible words.

4.3 Relation of Tokyo speech with surrounding dialects

Next, the lexical characteristics of the top (most popular) 38 words in *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* will be analyzed, because these popularly included words in glossaries are expected to reflect people's (and editors') idea of dialect and standard in the Tokyo metropolitan area.

The right hand side of Figure 2 shows the results of comparison of three dictionaries. Words found in the Saitama dictionary are 34 among 38 words, and words in the Kanagawa dictionary number 26 among 38 words. The editorial approach to the Tokyo and Saitama dialect glossaries seems similar. Items common to the Kanagawa dialect dictionary are fewer, but this is no doubt due to the smaller size of the Kanagawa dialect dictionary. Thus factors shared by the suburban (Tama) Tokyo dialect and Saitama dialects are found. They both belong to Western Kanto Plain dialects.

Most of the 38 words are shared across the vast Kanto dialect.[32] Where Tokyo speech is different from the surrounding areas, it is as a result of having been created as a "language island" in the formation period of Edo city at the beginning of the Edo era in the 17th century.

4.4 Popular dialectal words and "coexistent styles"

The perception of editors of glossaries of the Tokyo dialect seems to reflect the perception of ordinary speakers. For individual words consciousness may differ according to person, age, or history. Either way, glossaries provide concrete data and actual evidence for people's perception of dialectal, colloquial, and vernacular terms. Style shift in the area of suburban Tokyo is not as clear-cut as in dialects far from central Japan.[33]
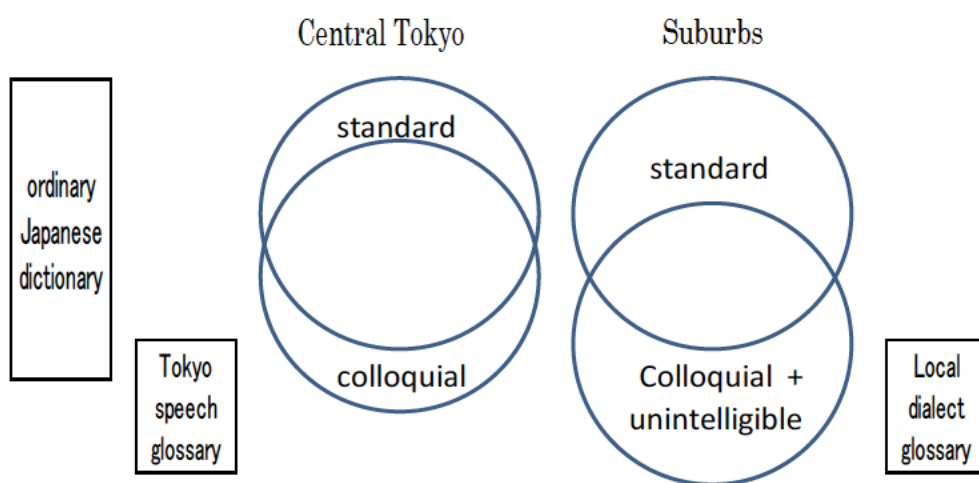

Figure 3. Coexistent styles in Tokyo and suburb

This relation can better be explained if we utilize the idea of coexistent systems (Fries & Pike 1949, Inoue 2000: 369) and diasystems (Weinreich 1953, Inoue 2000: 524) which were discussed in the era of structural linguistics. Coexistent phonemic systems can be extended to coexistent styles of a dialect. The relationship is shown in

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[32] Even if actual concrete words are different, they are similar in lexical semantic characteristics.
[33] As a concrete example, three words are used in Tokyo for the meaning of 'frightening': *osoroshii*, *kowai* and *okkanai*. These words can be classified as standard language, common language and Tokyo dialect respectively. However this analytical perception is not usual for ordinary people.

Figure 3. Any Japanese dialect speakers (both in Tokyo and suburbs) can now use two styles of local dialect and standard Japanese to some extent. In a word, they are becoming bidialectal. Coexistent systems are shown by two circles: shared items are usually large and special items for individual systems are small. This applies to coexistent styles too. Most lexical items of the standard (formal) style are the same as the colloquial style. An ideal lexical description should record all the words used in daily colloquial style including basic vocabulary, but this is rarely attempted. Usually only words not used in standard Japanese are recorded in dialect glossaries. In most cases colloquial words used in Tokyo are excluded from dialect glossaries, and only unintelligible words for ordinary Japanese speakers are included in glossaries. This reflects the attitude of editors who want to list only "pure dialect" forms which are quite different from the standard language.

Glossaries of locations near Tokyo cannot maintain this narrow and pure principle. In some dialect glossaries only "unintelligible" words in Figure 3 are listed. In this case the colloquial components of the dialect in question are not fully represented. If they exclude words which are similar and intelligible, the number of words becomes small and daily use of words cannot be fully reflected. The dialectal level (or repertory) in and around Tokyo is interpreted as the "colloquial" level of speech.[34] Usual dialect glossaries list words of this level in the suburbs of Tokyo; that is, not only words which are unintelligible for outside speakers but colloquial words are included.

Meanwhile, ordinary (standard) Japanese dictionaries list both standard and colloquial words. Thus we can find common "colloquial" words in dialect glossaries of the suburbs of Tokyo. This means that there is a continuum between local dialects and the daily colloquial speech of Tokyoites. This close relationship of Tokyo speech and local dialect is the fundamental mechanism behind the introduction of local dialect forms into Tokyo and of the formation of "Tokyo new dialect" (Inoue 2010b, 2011).

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[34] Colloquialisms in Tokyo are not only lexical. Systematic phonemic or grammatical phenomena are also widespread; for example, the contraction of *"-ai"* into *"-e"* and so on.

5. *Yamanote* speech and Standard

5.1 Lexicon of Uptown Yamanote speech and standard

All the words listed in *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* will be analyzed next to see the general tendency. The first section of this paper began with a limited portion of vocabulary and in this fourth section the whole vocabulary of a limited geographical area will be analyzed. The approach in this section is dynamic in the sense the formation process of standard Japanese will be discussed. But the data is not historical or diachronic because dialectal data of suburban areas in the remote past are incomplete.

As *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* is digitized data, further quantificational analysis is easy. Binary division of central Tokyo (23 Special Ward) areas into western Uptown Yamanote (middle class) and eastern Downtown Shitamachi (working class) areas will be crucial.

A total of 17,000 words listed were classified into three groups of words.

1. Lexical items which are shared with standard Japanese including vernacular (child, female) words.

2. Lexical items which are shared with other areas of Tokyo (mostly Kanto) dialect.

3. Lexical items which are not present in either standard or other areas; in other words, forms which are peculiar to the area.

In Figure 2 the areas of Tokyo were divided into central Tokyo and suburban Tama. But people are more aware of differences in the speech of the Uptown Yamanote and Downtown Shitamachi areas of central Tokyo.

In Figure 4 the areas were ordered from west to east approximately by the geographical positions in Map 3. Numbers at the end of area names show the total number of words listed in the *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* for each area. More than 17,000 words were listed in the dictionary.

Patterns of the graph show that old Uptown Yamanote is quite different from the

other areas.[35] First, the ratio of words shared with standard Japanese is as high as half of the vocabulary. Second, words not present in either the standard or other areas are almost non-existent. The words used in old Uptown are either standard or shared with the surrounding areas. No peculiar words are found here. This is in accordance with the general intuition of Japanese people that standard Japanese has a close connection with Uptown Yamanote speech.
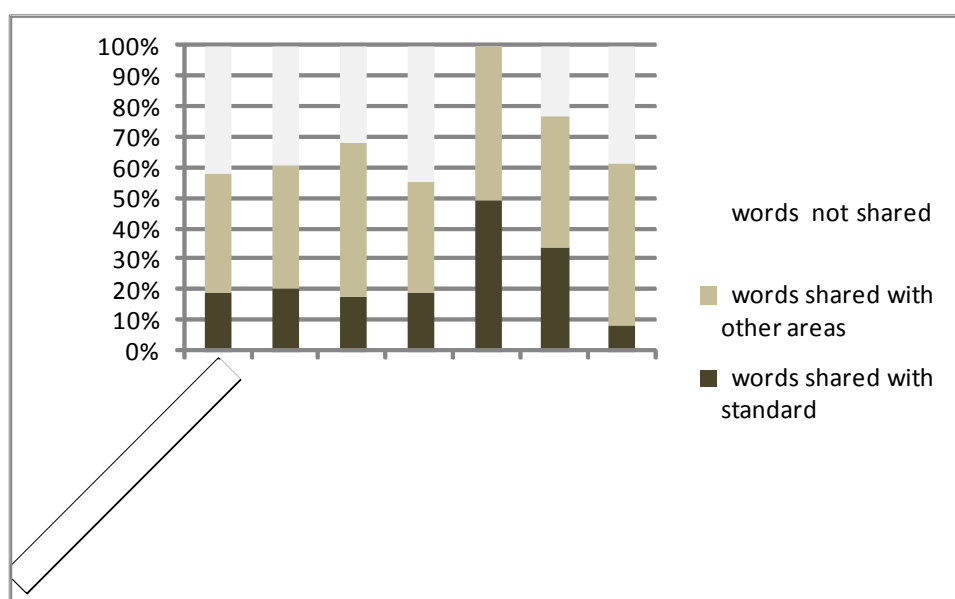

Figure 4. Yamanote speech and standard

Old Downtown is partly similar to old Uptown. Other five areas of west Tokyo (three Tama areas and new Uptown) and east Tokyo (new Downtown)[36] share similarities. They share nearly 40 percent of vocabulary between them, and less than 20 percent of vocabulary with the standard. These words are actually common to the dialects of the Kanto area. However each area lists a considerable number of words peculiar to the area. This may be because the dialect glossaries recorded rarely used words independently.

After observing Figure 4, characteristics of Uptown Yamanote dialect are now

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[35] Actually no glossary of Old Uptown Yamanote area was available, so that information from an informant who was brought up in Kojimachi, Chiyoda Ward was utilized. He checked every word he knows in the draft of *Tokyo Speech Dictionary.* He added only one new word which had not been listed in the dictionary. This is different from the informant of Old Downtown Shitamachi area who added several new words.

[36] In new Downtown only one glossary was published.

clear.[37] Tokyo speech is said to be a "language island" formed at the beginning of the Edo Period (1603-1868) in the ocean of Kanto dialect; however, actually only old Yamanote dialect is the language island. Downtown Shitamachi and suburban Tama areas are similar to each other. Downtown Shitamachi dialect is said to have characteristics in common with the Kanto dialect. This has been corroborated by lexical data of these dialect glossaries. It is interesting that this special characteristic is retained and repeated even today in the geographical distribution of new words (new dialect forms) adopted in Tokyo at the end of 20th century (Inoue 1998). This suggests that linguistic differences are influenced not only by geographical factors but also by stylistic and social factors.

5.3 Dialect perception in Linguistic Atlas of Tokyo Metropolitan Area

The lexical characteristics of glossaries of Uptown Yamanote speech can be found in another kind of dialectological study: perceptual dialectology (Preston 1989). In *Linguistic Atlas of Tokyo Metropolitan Area* (Tokyoto 1986) several questions on peoples' image of the standard language and speech of Tokyo metropolis were asked. The maps show clear geographical differences.

In general, informants in the old central Tokyo area (prewar 35 wards) consider that they use standard language. In the eastern part, however, use of Shitamachi (Downtown) speech[38] was admitted, while in the western part use of Yamanote (Uptown) speech[39] was admitted. People's perception is clear though it is difficult to find a clear-cut geographical boundary between Uptown and Downtown.

These perceptions of speech are surely connected with the attitudes or principles adopted by the editors of dialect glossaries in Tokyo areas, because they are mostly laymen (dilettante) interested in dialect.

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[37] This approach is dynamic, but it is not diachronic in the sense of Saussure. Diachronic aspects can be detected in the *Tokyo Speech Dictionary* since glossaries covering a time-span of over 70 years have been included in the dictionary.
[38] Shitamachi speech is also called *beranmee* speech and is connected with working-class males.
[39] Yamanote speech is also called *zaamasu* speech and is connected with middle-class females. But this has become a stereotype and it is now difficult to find a person who actually uses these expressions.

5.4 Stylistic upgrading of new dialect forms

Another kind of dictionary for comparison is generationally and stylistically conditioned, rather than geographically conditioned: *Dictionary of new Japanese* (Inoue & Yarimizu 2002) which lists new dialect forms reported in all the areas of Japan.[40]

New dialect forms are reported in almost every area of Japan, and some of them are adopted in Tokyo. This process of adoption of local dialect by Tokyoites is shown in the "umbrella model" (Inoue 2010a: 60, 2010b: 99, 2011: 122). Recent trends of increase of usage are amply observed in many areas in Japan, and when increase is observed in Tokyo, stylistic ascent (upgrading) is also observed; that is, new dialect forms are later used in the higher style of written documents.[41] Among the new dialect forms imported into Tokyo from the outside areas, *uzattai* 'uncomfortable' is typical. The form was created and used in the former South Tama area and was adopted in new Uptown and later in old Uptown areas.[42] The shortened form *uzai* appeared later and was subsequently adopted in serious contexts in articles and novels. These words are now listed in several dictionaries.

Other new dialect forms (Inoue 2010b) like *jan* 'isn't it' were adopted from the west (Chubu district) and *ikatta*, *chigakatta* etc. were adopted from the north (Kanto district). This type of opposite trend of movement from the countryside into Tokyo is not an extraordinary exception. The same opposite trends must have also occurred in the past. For example *totemo* 'very' was reported to have been used in Nagano prefecture in the early 20th century and was used by young Tokyoites in the 1920s (Inoue & Yarimizu 2002). It was later adopted by larger number of people, and used in serious contexts. It has now become a normal standard expression. So-called *ranuki-kotoba* 'ra-deletion' is following a similar pattern. Stylistic upgrading is necessary for colloquial or dialectal expressions to be adopted in the standard language. Thus, Tokyo

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[40] The preliminary version is accessible on the internet and an enlarged version was published in a book form. A revised and enlarged version is in electronic form and is being extended from time to time.

[41] Recent increase and stylistic upgrading can now be investigated on the internet if we make use of "Google trends" for example (Inoue 2012a, 2012b).

[42] *Uzattai* is a rare empirically corroborated case of suburban Tokyo dialect being adopted in central Tokyo. One contends that movement of universities to the suburbs (especially the Hachioji area) may have influenced the adoption of this Tama dialect expression by Tokyo youngsters.

new dialect is not new, but is a continuation from the olden days. This can be explained by the uniformitarian principle (Labov 1972). The increase of Tokyo new dialect forms can be observed if we make use of Google trends (Inoue <u>2012a</u>: 128). Tokyo new dialect as a whole was analyzed by a multivariate analysis (Inoue 2010b).

5.5 Standard and dialectal words

In the beginning of this paper standard language was taken as the basic frame of reference for lexically *peculiar* words and *separating* words. The lexical relationship of standard language and dialects should be reconsidered in order to account for literary expressions.

standard and dialect

Lacking

Literary and formal — standard

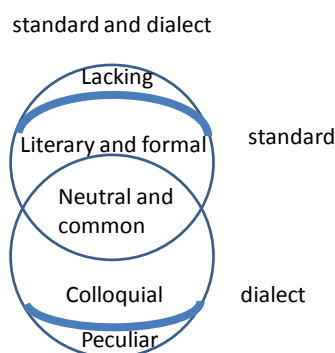Neutral and common

Colloquial — dialect

Peculiar

Figure 5. Semantic field of standard language and dialect

This relationship is shown in Figure 5. Standard and dialect each have their own circle. The common portion in the middle consists of words which are commonly used in both varieties. In many languages basic words tend to be stylistically neutral and common to standard and dialect. The lower part of the diagram shows the words used only in dialects. They are often referred to as colloquial. At least some of these dialectal words are semantically peculiar if compared with standard language, as shown in the periphery of the lower circle. The upper part of the diagram shows words which are not used in dialects: literary and formal expressions. If we take a certain dialect as a reference point, there are also peculiar words and separating words in

standard language, e.g. technical terms, literary words and formal expressions. These words are also semantically lacking in dialects.

Additionally, standard language is positioned on top because, as per the theory of diglossia, standard is always considered to be High and dialect to be Low in terms of social status.

Concrete examples of the above relations are shown in the following webpage (available in Japanese only): http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/shutoken/.

6. Beyond descriptive lexicography. Significance of contrastive lexicography

Thus far several characteristics of the Japanese language from the standpoint of dialect lexicography have been discussed. A dialect glossary or dictionary is in itself interesting, but when compared or contrasted with other glossaries or dictionaries, the contribution becomes larger. Lexical items can be compared in the dimension of structural description by taking into account semantic field, and utilization (development) of a universal thesaurus is awaited. The historical or etymological background and formation process of standard languages is also interesting. In other words, lexical studies can be further pursued as dynamic movement and as a part of lexical history. The relationship with standard language is interesting from the point of view of sociolinguistics: mutual influence and standardization is a topic which should be pursued in any language. On the other hand, dialectalization or increase of new dialect forms is still more interesting from the viewpoint of sociolinguistics. Further research is awaited.

Dialect glossaries edited by lay people are often considered to have lower value if analyzed in isolation. But if assembled and processed as mass data, and computerized like *Tokyo Speech Dictionary*, certain tendencies can be detected, and this may contribute to a general theory of language. Cautious observation of any dialect glossaries will show that there are contrastive differences in semantic fields. These differences often reflect cultural characteristics of the speakers of the dialect in question.

In this paper the topic of stylistic issues of dialects was also discussed. Two kinds of dialect dictionaries were investigated. One is the dialect dictionaries of the Tokyo metropolitan area and the other is a dictionary of new dialect forms from all over Japan. Both dictionaries have given deeper insights into standard Japanese in showing stylistic characteristics of Tokyo speech.[43] Lay Tokyoites are often unaware of the stylistic repertories of Tokyo speech, just because they are told that Tokyo speech is virtually equal to standard. But analysis of dialect glossaries has shown that there is a vast difference of style in Tokyo speech. The concept of "coexistent styles" will better explain the linguistic situation. Dialect lexicography is important in itself for description of existing dialects, but it is also useful to investigate into the dialect in question and the corresponding standard language.

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[43] The original glossaries of these dictionaries were published over a period of decades. However this real-time information is further influenced by apparent time information of the author's age. Multivariate analysis of the whole data may make the overall pattern of age and area distribution clearer. Trends of overall "dialect attrition" of the area, reflecting language standardization, may emerge; this is an opposite change to new dialect formation. Most Japanese dialects are on the way to extinction (as endangered dialects) because of standardization. Semantic fields expressed in dialects are becoming similar to those of standard Japanese. It will be interesting to find out which semantic fields (or concepts) will remain "peculiar" in different Japanese dialects.

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