Summer 7-26-2016

Japanese Dialect Ideology from Meiji to the Present

Nao Okumura
Portland State University

Japanese dialect ideology from Meiji to the present

by

Nao Okumura

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Japanese

Thesis Committee:
Patricia J. Wetzel, Chair
Jon Holt
Suwako Watanabe

Portland State University
2016

Abstract

The intent of this study is to examine the trajectory of ideology regarding standard Japanese and dialects from the historical perspective, and also to discuss the cause of the post-war shift of the ideology. Before the war, the government attempted to disseminate *hyōjun-go* aiming at creating a unified Japan in the time when many countries were developing to be nation states after industrial revolution. After the Pacific war, the less strict-sounding term *kyōtsū-go* was more often used, conveying an ideology of democratization. Yet despite the difference in the terms, speaking a common language continues to play a role of unifying the country.

Today there is great interest in regional dialects in Japan although *kyōtsū-go* (common language) although most people, especially in urban areas, are familiar with (if not fluent in) *kyōtsū-go*. Due to the development of media and mobilization there are few people who cannot understand *kyōtsū-go*. However, until around the 1970s people were more likely to believe in the superiority of standard Japanese (*hyōjun-go*). Standard language was believed to be superior as a result of language policy that had its origins in Meiji and lasted through WWII. This included education policy that required school children to learn *hyōjun-go.* After the war, in a process of democratization there emerged greater acceptance of language variety: dialect. Thus, there has been a shift in language ideology in Japan, and the people's interests in dialects is one indicator of this. This shift is analyzed here from the perspective of Bourdieu's notion of social and linguistic capital, tying it to policy, historical events and societal change.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my advisor, Dr. Patricia Wetzel, without whose understanding, patience and encouragement I could not have completed this thesis. Since I met her in the 2011 ALLEX program, her inspiration and support were a major factor in my choosing to pursue a graduate career in Japanese. I truly cannot thank her enough. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. Jon Holt and Dr. Suwako Watanabe for helping me develop my current fascination with Japanese literature and linguistics. In addition, I would like to acknowledge Dr. Larry Kominz for his support of my teaching. He has provided a great inspiration through his amazing Kabuki performance and guidance. My special thanks go to Dr. Larry Crawshaw and Douglas Walker, who offered me insights and generous assistance with my thesis. I am also indebted to my numerous friends and colleagues who shared their invaluable thoughts and supported my teaching and study. There are so many. An incomplete list would include Benjamin Burton, Nobuko Horikawa, Natsuko Llewellyn, Tomomi Matsumura, Paolo Menuez and Kumiko Takizawa.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Introduction

Japan has a variety of local dialects that differ significantly from each other —frequently to the point of being mutually unintelligible. Today people have a great interest in the variety of regional dialects, and being able to speak dialect other than standard Japanese is often praised especially in big cities where people mainly speak *kyōtsū-go* (common language). However, until around the 1970s, people were more likely to adhere to an ideology that saw standard language as superior. The dominance of standard language stems from the late 19th century movement to promote *hyōjun-go* (standard language) and the implementation of language policy. The promotion of standard language and eradication of dialect were led by the government in education from Meiji through the end of WWII (1945). But dialect has achieved acceptance in the process of post-war democratization. This thesis investigates how government policy regarding Japanese dialects has changed over time. In doing so it also examines the shifting language ideology of modern Japan.

Chapter 1 of this work reviews the literature on dialect and ideology. Although scholars do not agree on a distinction between dialect and language, Haugen (1966) discusses it in terms of structural and functional dimensions. Given that there are many countries that have a language continuum with the adjacent countries, there is a distinction to be made in the case of Japan since there is a clear linguistic and geographical border with other countries (Shibatani, 1990, p.89). Regarding ideology, Woolard (1998) argues that it "has to do with consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas" (p. 5), which can be extrapolated to the discussion of language ideology.

The ideologies of standard language and dialect are inextricably linked. Siegel's discussion about standard language ideology (2010) and Watts' (1999) study of dialect ideology in Switzerland are beneficial for the study of ideology regarding standard language and dialect in Japan.

In chapter 2, the history of language policy in Japan is the focal point. The movement to promote standard Japanese that started in the late 1800s was led by the linguist Kazutoshi Ueda, who played a formative role in establishing *kokugo* (national language). He set out the notion that Japanese language was the spiritual blood of the people; this popularized an ideology of *kokugo* that supported nationalism (Ramsey, 2004, p.95). Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1895) further heightened Japanese consciousness of the need for a unified sense of nation, at which point the government began to implement policies regarding *kokugo*. This included bringing *kokugo* in the form of *hyōjun-go* into the school curriculum starting in 1900 (National Institute for Educational Policy Research, 2002, p.3). From that time until the end of World War II, the government took various actions to promulgate standard Japanese and to eradicate regional dialects. Such attempts included the daily practice of standard pronunciation at school and the use of corporal punishment (Ramsey, 2004, p.98). In addition, the government attempted to spread standard Japanese through radio programs. The *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai*, the broadcasting institution established by the government in 1926 (Ramsey, 2004, p.101). Most scholars conclude that the policy to eradicate dialects and promote the diffusion of standard Japanese through the media planted a sense of inferiority in the minds of people who originally spoke regional dialects.

Chapter 3 takes on the post-war situation of standard language. After WWII, policy regarding dialects eased and people came to have a more positive attitude towards the regional variants. The term *hyōjun-go* acquired a negative image and since the early 1950s, has been replaced, first in official circles and then more generally, by the revised concept of *kyōtsū-go* (common language) (Yasuda, 1999). Numerous dialect studies have been conducted since the end of the Pacific War, and in the 1980s scholars began to talk about "rehabilitation of dialects" (*hōgen no fukkō*), which designates a movement toward rediscovery of regional dialects. Scholars such as Shibata (1965) discuss dialect in terms of democracy, the climate of decentralization of authority, and the disappearance of "thick" dialect (Yasuda, 1999, p. 322).

More recently (after 1970s) we can see souvenirs and trinkets that highlight dialectical differences and TV programs that feature regional dialects. Also, the old policy that suppressed regional dialects is considered to be an unpleasant symbol of an earlier autocratic era. Among scholars there is a sense that regional dialects are acquiring the characteristics of social dialects. The analysis of this new linguistic movement and the observation of history will give us insight for better understanding the shifts in standard language and dialect ideology in Japan.

1. Definition of Dialect and Ideology

1.1. Regional Dialect, Social Dialect, Register.

The term "dialect" has most commonly been used to refer to regional differences within a language (Petyt, 1980, p.27). For instance, in the United Kingdom there are many regional dialects including Northern and Southern dialects, Yorkshire, Lancashire and Northumberland dialects, and so on (Petyt, 1980). Kretzschmar (2004) mentions that while all American English speakers share a lot of words, core grammar, and the same sound system, there is a variety in speech among American English speakers (p.40). As an example of regional differences in vocabulary, Kretzschmar presents a map of the Eastern states that shows different words for "dragon fly." According to the map, some people call a dragon fly "dragon needle" more than other regions and in some other regions "mosquito hawk" is more often employed to refer to dragon flies than other regions (p.45). Japanese also has a significant amount of variation in speech depending on region. For example, for the verb for "throw away," people use the verb *suteru* in the standard Japanese. However, in Kansai dialect people use the verb *hokasu*, while in Hokkaido the verb used is *nageru*.

Although the focus here is on regional dialects, mention should be made of "social dialect" which is frequently considered to be crucial to dialect study and is important in the study of sociolinguistics. Siegel (2010) claims that "in contrast to a regional dialect, social dialect is a variety of a language spoken by a particular group based on social characteristics other than geography" (p.5). Wolfram (1998) argues that "generally speaking, the term social dialect is used to refer to differences that are associated with groups that are unequal in status and power" (p. 59). For instance, the

speech that is particular to a certain social class, sex, or age can be labeled a social dialect. However, as Wolfram (2004) says the reality of social dialect differentiation is complicated because different linguistic variables are co-related to many different factors such as social-status groupings, varying histories of dialect contact and changing group relations (p. 60).

Among other linguistic terms that refer to different speeches in different environments, there is also a term "register." Malkiel (1984) illustrates the difference between social dialect and register. He claims that "we apply 'register' to the peculiar way an individual will be tempted to speak or to write under varying social conditions, e.g., in contrast with his equals, with his superiors, and with this inferiors; with authorities, on the job, and in the relaxed atmosphere of his family environment" while "a social dialect, conversely, is not attuned to the verbal pirouettes of an individual speaker, but to the communicative idiosyncrasies of a class or layer; it represents an average (p.53)." This thesis will focus on regional dialects, and no longer address social dialects or register.

1.2. "Language" and "Dialect"

People use the words "language" and "dialect" on a daily basis, but not many people are able to provide a clear answer to the question, "What exactly are language and dialect and how are they different?" In fact, there is no agreement on the definition of "language" or "dialect" among scholars, and thus it is impossible to specify how many languages or dialects are there in the world. Haugen (1966) mentions that these two

words are used to distinguish phenomena in several different dimensions, and as a result, there is confusion and overlap (p.922). In his article "Dialect, Language, Nation." (1966), he claims that among the various ways that "language" and "dialect," are used, there are two different dimensions: a structural dimension and a functional dimension. The structural dimension is descriptive of the language itself, while the functional dimension is descriptive of the language's social uses in communication (p.926).

In the structural dimension, one clear pattern in the usage of "language" and "dialect" is that "language" always has a superordinate position while "dialect" is a subordinate term (Haugen, 1966, p.923). Haugen states that "every dialect is a language, but not every language is a dialect" (p.923). In a logical format, this states that "X is a dialect of language Y" is possible although people cannot say "Y is a language of dialect X." Thus, a dialect always has to belong to other dialects or languages.

1.3. Structural dimensions of dialect

Although dialects represent different forms of the same language according to Haugen's statement about the structural dimension, Petyt (1980) raises two questions about this definition. First, Petyt points out that it is difficult to define "a different form of a language" (1980, p.11). For instance, while "Yorkshire" is a different form of English than "Berkshire," "Yorkshire" itself has "different forms" (p.11). Furthermore, one can keep finding "different forms" in one of the regions in Yorkshire by comparing each one to adjacent areas within Yorkshire. Thus, one can distinguish an infinite number of "different forms" of any language (p.12). There can be even more possibilities of

"different forms" if one takes into consideration various linguistic features such as idiosyncratic pronunciation.

Thus, speech can be categorized into smaller and smaller groups, and ultimately one reaches the speech of an individual. This is called idiolect (Petyt, 1980, p.12). Petyt states that the reason why people keep the term "dialect" instead of idiolect is because there is an important degree of linguistic unity (p.12). Petyt provides an example: Sometimes one speaks "Yorkshire dialect," implying that the shared features by all Yorkshire speakers in contrast to outsiders are important, and other times one speaks "Dentdale dialect" to highlight the importance of speaking more a specific variety with details that differ from the rest of the Yorkshire speakers (p.12). The following passage summarizes the arbitrariness of "dialect":

So in a sense a dialect is an abstraction, based on some set of features chosen in a way which is essentially arbitrary: we have simply decided that we are going to take note of some features and ignore others when calling something a 'different form of a language' (Petyt, 1980, p.12).

Certainly it is human judgement that distinguishes dialects as different from one another, but it seems radical to say that the criteria for distinguishing them are "essentially arbitrary." I will argue that ideology comes into play when dialects are categorized. For instance, in modern Japan *kyōtsū-go* "common language" is based on the Tokyo "dialect," and it is this variety of Japanese that is observed on public media. Other dialects are recognized and characterized based on the values and characteristics that are associated with their region. For example Osaka dialect is commonly used for *manzai*

(stand-up comedy) and it carries an image of Osaka's culture of laughter in daily life (Inoue, 2006). Further, Kyoto is geographically close to Osaka and there are commonalities in their speeches, but people living in Kyoto and Osaka consider their dialects to be as different from each other as each is from Tokyo. Using Kyoto dialect implies that people from Kyoto have a pride for their origin; Kyoto natives want their speech to be recognized as different from Osaka's, and vice versa. Thus, the distinction among dialects is not always made arbitrarily, but made with regard to the ideology of each group.

The second question Petyt asks is how one can decide if different two forms are different languages rather than just dialects (p.12). One of the distinctions between dialect and language is based on "quantitative manner" (p.13). For instance, while Cornish and Geordie, the speech spoken in North Eastern England, have differences, they are not different enough to be called separate languages. On the other hand, English and German while originally the same language, are now considered to be distinct languages since they are quite different despite some similarities in grammar and vocabulary. When looking at the speech spoken by Americans and the language spoken by the British, it seems difficult to legitimize them as separate languages.

According to Petyt (1980), many people believe that mutual intelligibility is the essential criterion for saying that "dialects are different but mutually intelligible forms of speech" (p. 13). Employing this criterion, one can say that English people and Germans cannot understand each other, therefore they speak different languages. On the other hand,

British people and Americans can understand each other, so they both speak English (p.13).

However, Petyt (1980) further questions this mutual intelligibility criterion because there are degrees of comprehension between speakers (p.13). Also, intelligibility might not be the same if the direction is reversed. For example, a speaker of Geordie, the speech of North Eastern England, may understand Standard English, but the speaker of Standard English may not understand Geordie. Regarding this, Petyt (1980) mentions a dialect continuum, which refers to a succession of dialects along geographically-adjacent areas (p.14). For instance, such a dialect continuum extends from Northern France to Southern Italy, and various dialect speakers understand the dialects of neighboring areas within a certain geographical proximity, but the speakers of the dialects furthest removed from each other cannot understand each other. Then, when it comes to a language boundary between France and Italy, while it is generally held to be somewhere along this dialect continuum, people in the adjacent areas of the boundary still understand each other. Therefore, Petyt (1980) claims that one cannot rely on mutual intelligibility for the means of defining language and dialect.

In Japan, due to its mountainous land features and a number of islands, there are dialectal variations, and different dialects are often mutually unintelligible (Shibatani, 1990, p.185). For instance, the Kagoshima dialect, which is spoken in the southern island of Kyushu, cannot be understood by most of the people on the main island of Honshu (p.185). Similarly, the speakers of the dialects of northern parts of Honshu such as

Aomori and Akita prefectures may not be always understood by people in Tokyo or those who are anywhere in the western regions of Japan (p.185).

1.4. Functional (Non-linguistic) Dimensions of Dialect

Lastly, Petyt (1980) states that whether there is a standard language or a written form shared by a set of speakers may be a criterion for the distinction between language and dialect. For instance, people from Liverpool and the Cockney speakers of London have different speech styles, but they both listen to and understand the standard form of their language as spoken on the BBC news. Similarly, people from Kyushu and people from Aomori have different speech styles but both listen to and understand the standard form of Japanese that is used on NHK. They also read the same written form of language in their local newspapers. As a result, the speakers from the two areas are considered to have different dialects of the same language.

Another potential situation is when two types of speech along the national border between two countries are mutually intelligible. In which case, they are defined as different languages. In Scandinavia, people say that there are three languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) since the standard forms are different. Nevertheless, there is a certain degree of mutual intelligibility among these three and their dialects, and also among their standard forms (Petyt, 1980, p.15). China has an exceptional situation, because there are various "standard languages" for speech that are not mutually intelligible. However, they share the same written form, and thus are considered to be "dialects" in China.

Petyt (1980) further holds that certain non-linguistic dimensions, such as "the consciousness of the speakers" in terms of a common cultural and political sense, should also be considered among criteria for distinguishing between language and dialect (p.15). For example, Danes and Norwegians can understand each other, but some may think that since they belong to different nations which have different cultures, their speech should be categorized as different languages. Petyt draws another example from the Zulu and Xhosa of Africa. Speakers of Zulu and Xhosa can understand each other, but because they have different cultural heritages, they have a feeling that they speak different languages.

Although our understanding of dialect may vary in terms of many factors such as their mutual intelligibility, dialect continuum, and their relationships with standard languages, we can say that "regional dialect" is a term that is based on geography as a unifying factor. I will employ Siegel's definition of regional dialect: "in contrast to a national dialect, a regional dialect is spoken in one particular area of a country" (2010, p.5).

1.5. The case of Japan

Linguistically speaking, Shibatani observes that there is a language continuum between Germany and the Netherlands and it is impossible to draw a clear linguistic borderline separating the Dutch-speaking area from the German-speaking area, but there is a division between Japan and other countries which marks a clear linguistic border (similarities to Korean nothwithstanding) (Shibatani, 1990, p.89). Shibatani also

mentions that Japanese is not used as either a first language or a second language in any other country although there are a few communities of Japanese immigrants in Hawaii, North and South America, in which Japanese descendants speak Japanese on a daily basis (p.89).

Mention should be made of the Ainu language, which is spoken by the Ainu people living on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, with geographical proximity to Japanese. But the two are linguistically unrelated (Shibatani, 1990, p. 5). Even early linguists such as Chamberlain and Kindaichi acknowledge that Ainu has a linguistic structure quite distinct from Japanese, and that Ainu is a language-isolate (Shibatani, 1990, p.5).

As mentioned earlier, Japanese has a variety of regional dialects, and these different dialects are not always mutually intelligible. Shibatani (1990) states that communication among people who speak different dialects is made possible by so-called *kyōtsū-go* (common language), which Shibatani defines as "a form of Japanese used by dialect speakers in communication with speakers of other dialects but [which] is not the same as the Tokyo dialect or the standard language" (p.186). In sum, we can say that there are recognizable regional dialects in Japan and that the speakers of these dialects are able to communicate through the use of *kyōtsū-go*.

1.6. Definition of Ideology

Woolard (1998) discusses four recurring themes in ideology that are mentioned by many scholars. The first is an understanding of ideology as a conceptual phenomenon:

12

"ideology has to do with consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas" (p. 5). However, she also mentions the shift of the use of this term that is seen recently. According to her, ideology is not necessarily discussed as conscious or systematically organized thought in recent theory, but as behavioral, practical or structural (p. 6).

The second theme is a conceptualization of ideology as reflective of the experience or interests of a particular social position that represents itself as universally true (Woolard, 1998, p.6). She reminds us that ideology depends on the material and practical aspects of human life to some extent (p.6).

The third theme is ideology's direct link to "inhabitable positions of power – social, political, economic" (Woolard, 1998, p.7). While ideology may be used by any protagonist who desires to contest power, mostly "ideology is the tool, property, or practice of dominant social groups: the cultural conceptions and practices of subordinate groups are by definition nonideological" (p.7).

For the fourth major theme she draws on Thompson's (1984) account, which characterizes ideology as distortion, illusion, error mystification or rationalization (Woolard, 1998, p.7). To explain more, Woolard refers to Parsons's (1959) argument, saying that in ideologies cognitive distortion always exists, and the deviation from scientific objectivity is an essential criterion of ideology (p. 294). Woolard's original definition above ("ideology has to do with consciousness, subjective representations, beliefs, ideas") forms an adequate backdrop for discussion of language ideology.

1.7. Language Ideology

Regarding the term "language ideology," Woolard (1998) contends that it has anthropological importance because it functions as a mediator between social structures and forms of talk (p.3). She also mentions that "[ideologies of language] underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group, as well as such fundamental social institutions as religious ritual, child socialization, gender relations, the nation-state, schooling, and law" (p.3). This tells us that ideologies of language cannot be talked about without considering the social interactions among people, social groups and social institutions.

Kroskrity (2000) suggests thinking of "language ideologies" as a cluster concept with a number of converging dimensions. He introduces four interconnected features of language ideology that are frequently acknowledged:

1. Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group (p. 8).

2. Language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple because of the multiplicity of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups that have the potential to produce divergent perspectives expressed as indices of group membership (p. 12).

3. Members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies (p. 18).

4. Members' language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk. (p. 21)

Wetzel in a study of *keigo* ideology points out that while Woolard views ideology as a reflective phenomenon, Kroskrity considers it as an operational one, saying that ideology is a tool that the users can shape according to their needs (2008, p.114). Thus, the dominant ideology benefits the most influential while it exploits the less influential (Wetzel, 2008, p. 114). Further Wetzel contends that although it is very complicated to know the relationships between people's attitudes or beliefs and particular ideologies, it is possible to assess people's attempt to use ideology in order to further some cause (p. 114).

In her discussion of language ideology, Woolard (1998) cites the work of Rumsey (1990) Silverstein (1979), and Heath (1989). Rumsey (1990) defines linguistic or language ideology broadly as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world" (p. 346). For a definition that has more emphasis on linguistic structure, Woolard cites Silverstein: "[language ideologies are] sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979, p.193). Woolard (1989) assesses Heath's account as one with greater attention to social dimensions of language: "[Ideology refers to] self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning the roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group (Heath, 1989, p. 53)." Similarly, "[language ideology comprises] the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" (p. 255).

As Heath contends, one of the attributions of language ideology that is frequently discussed is its ability to cohere a group whose members speak the same language. This dimension of language ideology is transferable to dialect ideology because a dialect speaker is a member of particular social group that shares linguistic conventions. However, Wolfram (1998) claims that this characteristic of language ideology could set language apart from some other domains of knowledge (p. 110). Wolfram (1998) states his definition of language ideology in his article about the Oakland Ebonics resolution: "[language ideology is a] consensual belief system about the way language is and is supposed to be. In its most pervasive form, language ideology is unquestioned and appears to make 'common sense' so that no specialized knowledge or information is required to understand fundamental 'facts' about language and its role in society" (p. 110). He goes on to argue that "language is considered to be at once collective and personal, a symbolic token of group identity as well as personal character" (p. 110) and because of its collective capacity, it tends to be shared as an ordinary commodity. His argument tells us not only about the characteristics of language ideology as a collective capacity to language groups, but also its potential for reproducing itself. These ideas can be applied to both standard language ideology and dialect ideology.

1.8. Standard language ideology

Siegel (2010) introduces "standard language ideology" as a focus of attention (p. 186). He contends that standard language ideology is "the pervasive belief in the superiority of the abstracted and idealised form of language based on the spoken

language of the upper middle classes –i.e. the standard dialect" (p. 186). As will be discussed below, in the case of Japanese "standard language" (*hyōjun-go*), Tokyo elites' dialect in Meiji era was selected as the basis for the standard language by the Meiji government. Siegel focuses especially on the media and the education system as mainstream institutions that maintain beliefs about the superiority of the standard and the inferiority of other varieties (2010, p. 186).

As one of example of the media's role in stigmatizing unstandardized varieties, Siegel (2010) mentions Hawai'ian Creole, which has historically been denigrated in the media as "sloppy" and "slothful" (p. 186). With regard to the role of the education system, Siegel (2010) states that "students who speak unstandardized dialects are taught that the standard is superior in both structure and importance (e.g. for getting a good job)" (p. 186-187). He further argues that the belief that unstandardized dialects are inappropriate in formal settings is perpetuated because the education curriculum excludes them (p. 187).

Furthermore, Siegel (2010) introduces the concept of "monoglot ideology," which does not allow for unstandardized dialects in the education system (p. 197). This, he says, is a belief especially prevalent in English-speaking countries; that is, monolingualism is perceived to be the normal condition in which standard English is the ideal (p. 197). According to this ideology, bilingualism or bidialectalism is not favorable because it is seen as divisive for the monolingual country and as impediment to education and communication (p. 197).

Siegel (2010) critiques monoglot ideology and says that many unstandardized dialects are an important part of their speakers' social identity, and it is a shame that

speakers would often have to give up their identity when they feel compelled to learn and use another variety. He claims that "it is common to have complex identities" and "[dialect speakers] can become bilingual or bidialectal and still maintain their original vernacular identity" (p. 188).

1.9. Dialect ideology

Compared to standard language ideology, there are few studies that deal specifically with dialect ideology. Certainly, the ideology of standard language and dialect are inextricably linked, but additional attention to the ideology of dialect would be valuable because it has characteristics that are distinct from the standard language ideology.

Watts (1999) studies the "ideology of dialect" in Switzerland. In Switzerland German, French, Italian and Romansch are recognized as national languages, and Watts especially focuses on the relationship between standard German in Switzerland and the Swiss German dialects. Watts (1999) defines the term "ideology of dialect" as "any set of beliefs about language in which, in a scenario in which a standardized written language coexists with a number of non-standard oral dialect varieties, the symbolic value of the dialects in the majority of linguistic marketplaces in which they are in competition with the standard is not only believed to be much higher than that of the standard but is also deliberately promoted as having a higher value" (p. 69). In Switzerland localized dialects such as "*Schwyzertüüsch*" are considered as the "mother tongue" of the speaker, and standard German tends to be viewed as the "first foreign language" (p. 74). Watts (1999)

argues that a part of the ideology of dialect is a conviction that Swiss German is more down-to-earth and more communicative than standard German, and this notion is also shared by speakers of Romansch dialects (p. 75). In other words, Swiss German dialect functions as "a badge of Swissness" or "an emblem of 'belonging' to Switzerland" (p. 75).

Watts (1999)'s argument about the perpetuation of the ideology of dialect has similarities with what Siegel (2010) claims regarding the relationship between standard language ideology on the one hand and the education system and media on the other. Watts (1999) contends that the ideology of dialects in German-speaking Switzerland has become stronger every year because "it has become institutionalized in the educational system and is at present becoming institutionalized in the non-print media" (p. 94-95). Although standard German is the official language of public education, when primary school teachers tend to correct the pupils' answers in Swiss German to standard German, "standard German is framed as the language variety in use for the purposes of writing/reading and for highly formal occasions, whereas Bernese German [(Swiss German dialect)] is framed as everyone's 'mother tongue'" (p. 91). Thus, standard German is presented as if it were a foreign language.

While major channels of the public radio service and television networks in Switzerland broadcast their programs mostly in standard German, the ideology of dialect is presented in a number of private local stations in which the local dialects are used overwhelmingly, in the words of the director of Schweitzer Radio DRS, and other stations. Watts (1999) argues that the radio station SR DRS finds itself in a

compromising position because while they have to present standard German as a communication medium within Switzerland, they simultaneously have to promote the image of being Swiss German radio, and use dialects in other types of programs than those which have official nature such as news and politics (p. 93). Despite the situation that standard German is necessary for the different dialect speakers to communicate, we can say that the effort of the media to use local dialect as much as possible reinforces the ideology of dialect.

According to Siegel (2010) and Watts (1999), standard language ideology and ideology of dialect both tend to be perpetuated through the education system and media. However, while the standard language ideology which Siegel presents seems to be able to coexist with the ideology of dialect in Switzerland, it is interesting that speaking Swiss German dialect has great power as a badge of Swissness rather than being considered as a stigmatized language compared to the standard. In fact, the case of Switzerland can represent Siegel's argument that people can preserve their original vernacular identity being bilingual or bidialectal at the same time. However, the situation in Switzerland may be unique in the context of Europe, or other parts of world—and thus in the context of language ideology in general. Nonetheless there are lessons to be learned about language ideology in Japan from the case of Switzerland. History leaves its legacy in language conventions.

In current Japan too, standard language (*kyōtsū-go*) and a variety of regional dialects coexist. However, dialects have not achieved a status in which they are officially used in media, education or public occasions. Also, considering that Japanese language is

not an official language of any other country, Japanese dialects do not play a role of representing a nationality other than Japan. Nonetheless, inside of Japan dialects certainly express the speaker's association with a region. Regional dialects have also morphed into what is often called social dialects. This will be discussed in what follows.

2. Through World War II

2.1. Introduction: Geographic Varieties of Dialects

Today the standard form of Japanese (*hyōjun-go*), as designated by National Language Research Council in 1916, is widely used and understood throughout the archipelago (Gottlieb, 2005, p.7). In addition, in casual interactions people use the common language (*kyōtsū-go*), which is similar but not as formal as *hyōjun-go* (p.7). *Hyōjun-go* and *kyōtsū-go* will be described in more detail later in this chapter. It should also be pointed out that these two terms are used primarily by scholars and policy makers, and ordinary citizens are not usually aware that their speech is categorized in this way. A variety of regional dialects still remain in Japan, and some of them are different enough from the standard that people who do not speak the dialect have difficulty in understanding it (p.7). For example, speakers of the Kagoshima dialect, which is found in the southern part of Kyushu, might not be understood by people in Honshu, the main island (Shibatani, 1990, p.185). According to Shibatani, besides the Ryukyuan dialect of the Okinawa prefecture, dialects in the mainland are divided into three large groups: Eastern Japan, Western Japan and Kyushu (p.196). Shibatani also mentions that there is a deep dialectal gulf that divides the Eastern group from the Western group. Tokugawa (1981, cited by Shibatani p. 197) offers a map (Figure 2.1-1) that displays isoglosses that run through the area of Nagano Prefecture and Gifu Prefecture in terms of differences in verbal inflections.
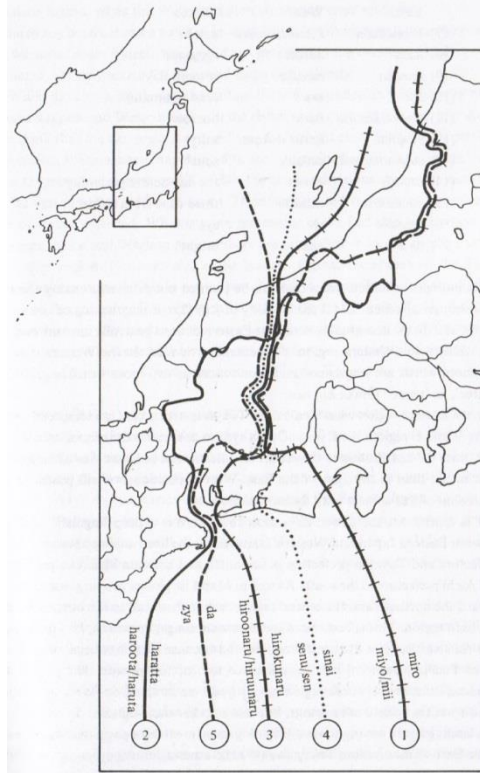
Figure 2.1-1. Isoglosses that separate the Western dialect and the Eastern dialects.

(Shibatani, 1990, p. 197)

Dialects of the present Okinawa prefecture were sometimes called *ryūkyū-go*

(Ryukyuan or Luchuan), as opposed to *nihon-go* (Japanese) (Shibatani, 1990, p.189). For

example, scholars such as Chamberlain (1895) and Miller (1971) considered Ryukyuan to

be a sister language to Japanese (p. 189). In fact, from a historical perspective, the

Ryukyuan dialect can be seen as an independent language from Japanese. Ryukyu used to

be an independent kingdom that was established at the beginning of the fifteenth century,

and had its own relations with Japan and China until 1609, when the Shimazu clan of

Kagoshima took it over. Ryukyu became designated as Okinawa prefecture in 1867

during the Meiji Restoration, but following WWII the prefecture experienced American

occupation before being eventually returned to Japan in 1972 (Shibatani, 1990, p.191).

Perhaps this complexity of history contributes to the uniqueness of the Ryukyuan

language, which is often unintelligible to speakers of the mainland dialect. To make

matters more complicated, speakers of the various Ryukyuan dialects often cannot

understand each other (p.191).

Japanese dialectologists generally consider the Ryukyuan dialects to be a group of

Japanese dialects. This is almost surely an artifact of Tōjō's work on dialect divisions

which appeared in 1927; since then it is rarely discussed in *kokugo* circles whether

Ryukyuan dialects are dialects or independent languages (Shibatani, 1990). Yet, some

scholars such as Hattori (1976) continue to conduct detailed research on the similarities

and differences in elements like syntactic systems and morphological aspects between

Ryukyuan dialects and Japanese (Shibatani, 1990, p.191). This can also be tied to Tōjō's

contentious claim that Ryukyuan is a dialect of Japanese; his research was conducted

during the linguistic unification (standardization) of Japan in the late 1920s. I will talk

more about dialect ideology before the end of WWII in section 3.

2.2. Differences in Linguistic Elements

Japanese dialects can differ from each other in several linguistic elements.

Gottlieb (2005) mentions that they vary in terms of "(1) lexical items (including, of

course, the names of items that are specific to that particular region, such as particular

local foods and drinks), (2) verbal inflections and (3) particles" (p. 10). In addition to

these elements, Kindaichi (1977) notes that differences in (4) the phonetic system and

accent across dialects should be considered part of the components of a dialect because they can communicate important meanings (p.10). I present examples of each linguistic element below.

1. Lexical items: as Gottlieb mentions, there are a number of items that are specific to particular regions. For example, *chanpurū* (チャンプルー) is the name of a dish in Okinawan dialect. *Chanpurū* means stir-fry dishes in general. Although similar types of food are found in other parts of Japan, many people recall Okinawa-specific stir-fry dishes like *gōya chanpurū* (bitter gourd stir-fry) when they hear *chanpurū*. Another example is the verb for 'throw away'. In standard Japanese, people use the verb *suteru*. However, in Kansai dialect people use the verb *hokasu*, while in Hokkaido the verb used is *nageru*. Similarly, in Miyagi dialect *bikki* can be used instead of the standard *kaeru* for 'frog,' and *ango* for the same thing in Chiba Prefecture's Chikura dialect (Gottlieb, 2005, p.10). The words that are seen only in specific dialects are called *rigen* (俚言) (a combination of the morphemes meaning "rustic" and "language") or *dogo* (土語) (a combination of the morphemes meaning "earth/soil" and "language") (Kindaichi, 1977, p.10).

2. Verbal inflection: Examples of differences in verbal inflection include *-mahen* used in the Osaka dialect instead of *-masen* for the negative inflection (Gottlieb, 2005, p.10). Also, in keeping with the two-way division (Eastern Japan and Western Japan) suggested by Shibatani (1990), verbs differ in morpho-syntactic domains such as '"(1) the

imperatives of the vowel-final verbs; (2) the t-initial suffix forms of the w-final verbs; (3) the adverbial forms of adjectives; (4) the negative endings; (5) the copula forms; and (6) the forms of the s-final verbs" (p. 196). See Table 2.2-1.

		East	West	Glosses
(1)	imperatives	*miro*	*miyo/mii*	'look'
(2)	verb forms	*haratta*	*harōta/haruta*	'paid'
(3)	adverbial forms	*hirokunaru*	*hirōnaru/hirūnaru*	'become wide'
(4)	negatives	*nai*	*nu/n*	
(5)	copulas	*da*	*zya/ya*	
(6)	s-final verbs	*otosita*	*otoita*	'dropped'

Table 2.2-1. Verbal inflection in the East and the West. (Shibatani, 1990, p.196)

3. Particles: The particle *yo* for emphasis in standard Japanese appears as *-ccha* in the Miyagi dialect while an elongated *yō* is employed in the Nagoya dialect (Gottlieb, 2005, p.10).

4. Phonetic systems and accent: The pronunciation and the intonation of individual lexical items can vary depending on the region. For instance, the pitch patterns of Kyoto and Tokyo are strikingly different and they even appear to be almost mirror images of each other according to Ramsey (2004, p.159). Figure 2.1.1-2 shows some examples.

Gloss	Kyoto	Osaka
Edge (+subject marker)	hashi-ga	hashi-ga
bridge	hashi-ga	hashi-ga
chopsticks	hashi, hashi-ga	hashi-ga

Table 2.2-2. Pitch patterns of Kyoto and Tokyo. (Ramsey, 2004, p. 159)

According to Kindaichi (1977), some scholars, especially folklorists and linguists who are interested in vocabulary, tend to support a conceptualization of dialectology that deals only with the differences in lexical items. However, Kindaichi disagrees and suggests that "dialect" is a term for whole systems of language in dialectology and the study of a national language, and thus it is important to consider differences in other categories such as verbal inflection and accent (Kindaichi, 1977, p.10). Moreover, as we shall see, language policy has always taken these various differences into account.

2.3. Regional Dialects in the Past: Before 1800s

According to Shibatani (1990), the anthology of Japanese verses, *Manyōshū* (Collection of a Myriad Leaves) (A.D. 759) tells us about the existence of the dialects of Japanese (p. 185). The so-called *azuma uta* "eastern songs" and *sakimori uta* "songs of the garrison soldiers" show the traits of the Eastern dialect, which are different from the dialect of Nara, the capital at the time (Shibatani, 1990, p.185).

In the early seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries from Portugal completed two books: *Nippo-jisho* (Japanese-Portuguese Dictionary) published in 1603 and *Nihon daibunten* (*Arte da Lingoa de Iapam*) published in 1604-08 (Sanada, 1991, p. 11). Missionaries needed to understand various Japanese speech styles so that they could handle all types of language and thus understand which variety of the language they should use. For example, priests needed to listen to local villagers' confessions, which tended to involve dialect and slang. On the other hand, in preaching they were required to be able to utilize more standardized Japanese so that they could appeal to people in the upper classes and intelligentsia (Sanada, 1991, p. 12). In fact, the *Nippo-jisho* contains around 400 words of the Kyushu dialect that clerics were often exposed to. These words are accompanied by a note saying "*Shimo* (下, Ximo)" as opposed to Kyoto dialect, which was called "*Kami* (上, Cami)" (Sanada, 1991, p.13).

According to Sanada (1991), *Nippon daibunten* shows the author Rodrigues's perspectives regarding standard Japanese (p. 24). First, Rodrigues holds that the standard type of Japanese language should be the language that upper-class people in Kyoto use, while the decent and elegant language is classical Japanese (p.24). Also, he contends that there are a variety of ways of talking and using vocabulary that are unique to each particular region, and that there are many kinds of accents. Further, he notes that since these dialects are "rough and harmful" (粗野 *soya* and 有害 *yūgai* in Japanese according to Sanada's translation of the Portuguese) it is necessary to understand them in order to be able to avoid using them (p. 25). Sanada points out that Rodrigues's point of view was likely shared with many Japanese people at that time (p. 24).

2.4. Dialects in the Establishment of Standard Japanese: Edo Era (1603-1868) and Early Meiji

In 1603 Tokugawa Ieyasu (徳川家康) established a feudal government *(江戸幕府, Edo bakufu)* in Edo (current Tokyo), moving the capital of Japan from Kyoto to the north. During this time Japan was partitioned into various separate domains that were governed by *daimyō*, military lords serving the *shōgun* (Ramsey, 2004, p.86). While the Kyoto dialect remained more prestigious at first, the Edo dialect developed into a unique dialect, and gradually came to influence other parts of the country through the constant movement of people, including *bushi,* between the capitol and the domains (Sanada, 1991, p. 59). The majority of travelers were *daimyō* households, who were required to live in Edo and their domains in alternate years under the system of *sankinkōtai* (参勤交代) (Ramsey, 2004, p.86). Since Edo was the nexus of all this travel and exchange, the Edo dialect progressively developed the traits of a common language that could be used across the country (p. 59).

Shokoku Hōgen Butsurui Shōko (諸国方言物類称呼, What to Call Things in Regional Dialects), written in 1775, is recognized as Japan's first dialect dictionary encompassing the whole country (Sanada, 1991, p. 65). Sanada mentions that this book tends to explain Kyoto, Osaka and Edo dialect in contrastive pairs although pronunciation in Kyoto is claimed to be the norm against which others are compared (p. 68).

Sanada (1991) suggests that locally produced 方言書 (*hōgen-sho*, dialect books) can tell us about the transition of the standard language from Kyoto to Edo dialect (p. 60). *Hōgen-sho* were used to record differences among regional dialects for use in translation. According to Sanada, until the mid-Edo era Kyoto dialect had been used for comparison in *hōgen-sho*. Then in the mid-nineteenth century author-compilers began switching to Edo dialect for comparison (p. 61, 63). This is a clear indication of the hegemonic shift from Kyoto to Edo.

According to Sanada (1991) in the late Edo era, the Edo dialect began to be used more commonly among the intellectual classes all over Japan. In *Konjaku Kurabe* (今昔較, Comparison Between the Past and Today), Oka Sankei (岡三慶) (1874) writes, "…かく八々州に広く通ずる江戸詞故、今にては日本の普通詞となるを以て、六十余州の人の言語、次第次第に江戸詞の一に帰するの勢あり。" ("…Because this Edo language can be understood in other states widely, it is now a common language (*futsūkotoba*) of Japan, and thus there is a movement for languages of people from all over Japan to be progressively integrated into the Edo language" (Oka, 1874). Moreover, a well-known American missionary, James Curtis Hepburn, who stayed in Japan for 33 years beginning in 1859, stated that although Kyoto dialect still had the highest authority, those who spoke Edo dialect could communicate with educated people anywhere in Japan without any problem (Sanada, 1991). Thus, we can conclude that Edo dialect was functioning as a de facto common language in Japan as early as the mid-nineteenth century despite a lack of official recognition as a standard language (Sanada, 1991, p. 72).

Certainly, as time progressed the Edo dialect spread to other regions of Japan and developed more of the traits of a common language during the Edo period. But at the same time, Japan became more fragmented. Ramsey (2004) observes that since most people, excluding *daimyō* households, were rarely permitted to travel, the "political boundaries cut off communication between the people living in one *daimyō*'s domain from the people living in neighboring areas (p. 86)." Further he claims that this led to a situation in which the linguistic differences in the languages spoken in different domains grew because 'the language spoken in each domain remained fairly cohesive' (p. 86). Ramsey (2004) draws an example of the travel diary of Furukawa Kosokan, a government inspector who was originally from Okayama and traveled to Tohoku. Furukawa (1783) says that he had trouble communicating every place he went and could not even understand numbers (Ramsey, 2004, p.87). Ramsey also notes that the linguistic fragmentation became apparent when "the *shōgun*'s control finally collapsed, and civil war and political turmoil brought armies and factions from different areas into contact" (p. 87). It is notable that great differences among regional dialects remained among the ordinary people while the Edo dialect became a common standard among upper-class people and intellectuals before Meiji. This situation is key to understanding the coming problems with standardization of the language and stigma around regional dialects in the early 1900s.

In very early Meiji, a movement for unification of the Japanese language (*genbun-icchi*) emerged among scholars and politicians. At the end of the Edo period, spoken language in Japan was split into a number of regional dialects because interaction

among domains was prohibited. Furthermore, each dialect had distinct speech styles depending on the four social classes: "samurai, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants," as described by Fukuzawa Yukichi (福沢諭吉) in his *Kyū han jō* (旧藩情, Matters of Old Domains) in 1877 (Lee, 2010. P. 38). Therefore, when the people of Japan began to communicate with each other as the Meiji era dawned, "there was a need to establish a form of expression with style and vocabulary comprehensible to all" (Lee, 2010, p.39). In other words, according to Lee, given the situation that a speaker's language announced his/her region and social class, "it became necessary to create an image of the language that was spoken by an anonymous 'nation-people,' an indefinite 'somebody' who could be anyone from the upper or lower class of samurai, merchants, or peasants" (p. 39).

Genbun-icchi (言文一致) refers the Japanese language modernization movement that began in the Meiji period. Imagining a unified language was mostly focused on the written form (Heinrich, 2012, p. 42). *Genbun-icchi* aimed at adopting a colloquial style for writing, which at the time employed a greatly different style from the spoken language. This movement was strongly linked to the standardization of regional dialects because there was a need to select a model for *gen* (spoken language) (Lee, 2010, p.41). Maejima Hisoka (前島密)'s petition for the complete abolition of kanji in 1866 was one of the foundations of *genbun-icchi*. Later scholars such as Kanda Takahira (神田孝平) (1875), Mozume Takami (物集高見) (1886) and Basil Hall Chamberlain (1887) also advocated *genbun-icchi*.

Author Yamada Bimyo (山田美妙) argued that *genbun-icchi* should adopt Tokyo (formerly Edo) language as its standard in *genbun-icchi-ron gairyaku* (言文一致論概略,

Outline of *genbun-icchi* theory, 1887) (Lee, 2010, p. 45). He was against *futsū-bun* (普通文, common written style) advocates, who "attempted to bring the spoken language close to the written" (Lee, 2010. P. 45). Yamada argued that "various expressions particular to each dialect, regardless of their roots in classical language, cannot be regarded as 'common' usage of the language," and suggested that Tokyo language would meet the need for the role of common language because "there is hardly any place where Tokyo language is not at all understood" (p. 235) (Lee, 2010, p. 46). Another example that indicates the diffusion of Tokyo language is an article *Tokyo-go no tsūyō* (東京語の通用, Common use of Tokyo language) written by an author pen-named Asanebo (朝寝坊) (A Late Riser) in 1885. Asanebo wrote that "if anybody asks me which one of the local languages of daily use will become common Japanese, I would readily answer that it would be the Tokyo language" (Lee, 2010, p. 47). In fact, novels written in *genbun-icchi* became one of the main forces that promoted the Tokyo language (Lee, p.48). Novelists including Futabatei Shimei (二葉亭四迷), Mori Ogai (森鴎外) and Ozaki Koyo (尾崎紅葉) explored writing styles that were influenced by Tokyo language, and thereby promoted dissemination of Tokyo language for reading and writing (Sanada, 1991, p. 88).

2.5. Ueda Kazutoshi (1867-1937).

Ueda Kazutoshi (上田万一), arguing from linguistic and political perspectives, provided the central idea of Japan establishing a national language (Heinrich, 2012, p. 59).

Ueda aimed to create a true national language (*kokugo*, 国語) and also molded a

discipline, *kokugogaku* (国語学) (Ramsey, 2004, p. 95).

Ueda traveled to Europe to study linguistics in 1880, and developed his

understanding of language as it was understood at that time (Heinrich, 2012, p. 60). His

objectives included examining how Japanese language could be adapted for the modern

age and how a standard grammar of Japanese could be created (p. 60). He also became

conversant with 'the ideas of speech community (*Sparachgemeinschaft*) and national

community (*nationale Gemeinschaft*)' (Heinrich, 2012, p. 61). Thus, Ueda became more

familiar with the notion that a national language might become a powerful symbol of

national unity (Heinrich, 2012, p. 61).

One of the key concepts he addressed in his lecture, "National language and the

state" (*Kokugo to kokka to*, 国語と国家と) (Ueda, 1895), was that of the mother tongue

(*Muttersprache*) (Heinrich, 2012, p. 62). Ueda (1895) states that "[the mother tongue]

accompanies its speakers from their first day to their last, thereby nurturing love and

respect for the Japanese nation." Therefore, he goes on, "[all Japanese] should respect

their mother tongue, their national language" (Heinrich, 2012, p. 63). According to

Heinrich (2012), Ueda's premises for language ideology are summarized in his 1895

book *For the national language* (*Kokugo no tame*, 国語のため) (p. 63).

Ueda contended that Japanese should be liberated from "what he perceived as the

yoke of Chinese loan words" or Sino-Japanese words (*kango*) (Heinrich, 2012, p. 64).

This was because Ueda thought that in order to raise Japan's status to that of an imperial

world power the national language ought to be worthy of that glory, and should be

34

refined by cleansing it of foreign words. Accordingly, Ueda's promotion of Japanese as

the national language was accompanied by a deliberate effort to weaken the status of

Chinese and western languages in Japan (Heinrich, 2012, p. 63). Moreover, "Ueda chose

to ignore all of Japan's linguistic and cultural minorities" (Heinrich, 2012, p. 65).

Another contribution that Ueda made for the promotion of the national language

was his support for the idea that compulsory school education should focus on the

national language instead of Sino-Japanese writing (Ueda, 1985). This movement was an

important part of establishing *kokugo* (national language). It also tells us that Ueda had a

vision that the national language should be established not only for the educated elite, but

for the entire Japanese population (Heinrich, 2012, p. 65).

The first person who used the term *hyōjun-go* for the translation of "standard

language" was Okakura Yoshisaburo (岡倉由三郎) (Sanada, 1990, p. 91). In

"*Gengogaku ippan* (言語学一班)" (1890), Okakura states that the selection of a standard

language should be based on external factors such as politics rather than internal factors,

arguing that one language itself is not superior or inferior to others (Sanada, 1990, p. 91).

As a result, the concept of *hyōjun-go* was introduced and became well-known through

Ueda's 1895 lecture *Hyōjun-go ni tsukite* (標準語につきて, About the standard

language) (Lee, 2010, p. 98). Ueda (1895) argues that it is necessary to first establish

hyōjun-go, referring to Tokyo language as a model language with some refinement (Lee,

2010, p. 102). Although Ueda mentions that "the people will be able to develop it

[*hyōjun-go*] freely" (1895), he finds it important to establish a concrete standard language

and have an authority to disseminate the language through educational institutions (Lee,

2010, p. 102). In 1899, Ueda proposed the establishment of a state-funded institution that

would research national language, and the National Language Council (国語委員会,

Kokugo īnkai) was established by the Ministry of Education (Heinrich, 2012, p. 70). This

institution marks "the beginning of organized, structured, state-supported language

planning in Japan" (Heinrich, 2012, p. 70).

2.6. The National Language Research Council

After the National Language Council was dissolved due to a lack of funding, the

Genbun-icchi Club (*genbun-icchi-kai*) drafted a petition for the establishment of state-

funded language research for the purpose of contributing to "the cause of national unity

and civilization of Japan through the simplification of Japanese" (Heinrich, 2012, p. 71).

This petition was passed in March 1902, and in the same year the National Language

Research Council (国語調査委員会, *Kokugo Chōsa Īnkai*) was established as an

advisory body to the Ministry of Education (Heinrich, 2012, p. 71). Until the council was

disbanded in 1913, its research activities advanced steadily despite occasional

disagreements among its members (Heinrich, p. 71).

According to Ono (1976), the council's research agenda, created in 1902, includes

a study of: "Japanese dialects, with the aim of creating a standard language" as well as

the use of alphabetic writing systems and *genbun-icchi* (Heinrich, 2012, p. 72). The

obscurity of the research agenda is pointed out by some scholars. For example, Yasuda

(1999, cited by Heinrich, p. 72) states that the aims of the research were unclear: it was

not clear whether a hybrid of several dialects would develop into one standard language

36

or one dialect would be chosen to fulfil that role. Furthermore, Heinrich points out that "the language variety of the Tokyo educated is never explicitly mentioned" by the *Kokugo Chōsa Īnkai* (p. 72). In fact, in 1902 the language variety of Tokyo was already the medium of compulsory education as a result of the Elementary School Ordinance (小学校令, *Shōgakkō-rei*) of 1900 (Heinrich, 2012, p. 72). After one of the members, Hoshina Koichi (保科孝一), conducted a survey, he suggested that "the Tokyo variety was already considered Standard Japanese by the council members" (Hoshina, 1902). In fact, Hoshina (1902) argued that Tokyo language was the most appropriate for the unification of Japan's language, and the research on local dialects was meant to be a reference for polishing the standard language. Yasuda (1999) points out the similarity between Hoshina's argument and Ueda's, and argues that the *Kokugo Chōsa Īnkai*'s intention was to create a standard Japanese by enhancing the Tokyo dialect. This had advantages in being the center of the economy and politics of Japan, and having potential for dissemination (p. 106).

According to Heinrich (2012), three of the council's publications are particularly important in terms of the establishment of standard Japanese: *Dialect survey handbook* (*Hōgen saishū-bo*, 方言採集簿) of 1904, *A Grammar of Spoken Language* (*Kōgo-hō*, 口語法) of 1916 and *Supplement to the Grammar of Spoken Language* (*Kōgo-hō bekki*, 口語法別記) of 1917 (p. 74).

The Dialect Survey Handbook was distributed to schools across Japan for the purpose of collecting data on local language varieties for their 310-page glossary (Heinrich, 2012, p. 75). It was created based on two models, one provided by Ueda's

instructor, Georg von der Gabelentz entitled *Aufnahme der fremden Sprachen* (Survey of foreign languages) (1892) and the other an Outline Dictionary (1867) by Oxford University's Max Müller (Heinrich, p. 75). Heinrich (2012) points out that this domestic survey embodied an ideology in which all the local varieties are rendered as variants of a unified national language, in this case the Tokyo language (p. 75). Yasuda (1999) also argues that surveying the local dialects in reference to the Tokyo language proposed a new structure of research in contrast to the previous researchers' stance which was to collect the data of local dialects as something rare (p. 112). This is because the research committee settled on the Tokyo language variety for writing conventions (following the Elementary School Ordinance) before starting the survey (Heinrich, 2012, p. 75). It indicates that the Dialect Survey Handbook might have been intended to reinforce the ideology of the unified national language by having local school teachers compare local language varieties to the Tokyo language.

However, the standard forms in the handbook did not necessarily become standard Japanese, and some are no longer used today, or are used only in formal or literary contexts (Heinrich, 2012, p. 76). For instance, the handbook shows *naji* for second personal singular personal pronoun, and *nanjira* for second person plural (p. 75). Both of these became outmoded forms. Other examples are *moshiku wa* (or), *narabi ni* (and), *sikaru ni* (but, however) and *sarinagara* (yet) (Heinrich, 2012, p. 76). These are seen today only as elements of literary language (p. 76).

A Grammar of Spoken Language (*Kōgo-hō*, 口語法) was written by Otsuki Fumihiko (大槻文彦), head researcher of the National Language Research Committee in

1917 (Heinrich, 2012, p. 76). It is notable in that the language of the Tokyo elite is claimed to be the model for standard Japanese, and any historical, social or regional variation are covered in a partner work, *Supplement to the Grammar of Spoken Language* (口語法別記) (Heinrich, 2012, p. 76). Twine (1988) states that these two publications are significant in the standardization process because the state authority's definition of *Tokyo-go* as the standard brought an end to the first phase of language modernization (Heinrich, 2012, p. 76-77). Furthermore, *A Grammar of Spoken Language* played an important role in the codification of standard language according to Heinrich (2012, p. 77). For example, it shows personal pronouns with the consideration of the addressee's social status, and those forms are close to those of today's standard Japanese (Heinrich, 2012, p. 77). However, Heinrich (2012) argues that the book has some issues, such as the cursory coverage of honorific language and the absence of the gendered use of particles (pp. 78).

Supplement to the Grammar of Spoken Language (1917) describes forms that are to be regarded as historical, regional or formal (Heinrich, 2012, p. 79). For example, this book includes many glosses from the Muromachi period (1338-1573) to the Edo period (1602-1868), which were not found in *A Grammar of Spoken Language* (Heinrich, 2012, p. 80). Heinrich cites the example of personal pronouns, and mentions that not all forms such as *ore* and *nishi* (first person singular), *aitsu* (third person singular), and *watsura* (first persona plural) have fallen into disuse, but have become features of "non-standard" Japanese (p. 80). Today *ore* is informal style, *nishi*i is historic, *aitsu* is considered slang, and *watsura* is a feature of regional dialects (p. 80). According to Heinrich, the fact that

"these forms were not part of Standard Japanese did not imply that they were also not part of a unified language" (p. 80). Rather he argues that their disassociation from "standard" represented a fundamental shift in language ideology—that is, one which recognizes variation in language and does not see it in contrast to the idea of a unified national language (p. 80).

In sum, *Kokugo Chōsa Īnkai* was established based on Ueda's proposal, following the argument for compliance with Tokyo language (東京語準拠論, *Tokyo-go junkyo-ron*) (Sanada, 1990, p. 93). Sanada (1990) claims that the *Grammar of Spoken Language* and the *Supplement to A Grammar of Spoken Language* had a significant impact on the teaching of grammar at schools (p. 97). Furthermore, he argues that *Tokyo-go junkyo-ron* settled the discussion regarding *hyōjun-go*, and gave a direction for policy and education about *hyōjun-go* through Taisho and Showa (p. 97).

2.7. Dialect Divisions

According to Yasuda (1999), there were three important leaps in the modern history of Japanese dialectology (p. 18). The first change took place around 1900. This change was greatly influenced by Western linguistics and the cause of the formation of nation sate in Meiji (Yasuda, 1999, p. 145). The second change started from early Showa (1926-1989) when the study of dialects flourished in terms of folklore (p. 145). Thus, not only linguists and *kokugo* scholars, but also many folklorists got involved in Japanese dialectology around this time. The third change was seen after WWII when Japan was in

the transition to a 'democratic state' (p. 18). Of relevance here is the second change, in which studies of dialect divisions were popular.

Specialists in Japanese dialectology drew maps showing their proposed divisions of Japanese dialects, but these were different depending on the scholar. These maps are called *hōgen kukaku* (方言区画), meaning regional dialect classification. The Japanese linguist Kindaichi (1977) claimed that *hōgen kukaku* are necessary for understanding regional differences in the Japanese language across the nation. He also mentions the possibility that *hōgen kukaku* contribute to education and the policies involved with *kokugo* (the national language).

Unlike the previous *hōgen kukaku* that were suggested by some linguists (including Tōjō), the one that Kindaichi constructed in his 1937-1977 work focused on the "core part (根幹的部分, *konkanteki bubun*)" of the dialects (1977, p.65). He compared the core aspects of accent, phonological systems (音韻) and syntax (語法), and classified Japanese dialects into three major groups. These groups are *nairin hōgen* (内輪方言), *chūrin hōgen* (中輪方言) and *gairin hōgen* (外輪方言) (p.77) (see figure 2.2.4-1). To cite one example, Kindaichi considers the variety of accent patterns between two groups of dialects, *kōshu hōgen* (甲種方言) and *otsushu hōgen* (乙種方言) groups to be a core part of accent. Although this map is similar to Yanagida's *hōgen shūken-ron* (方言周圏論)—because there are divisions surrounding Japan's old cultural center, Kyoto and Osaka area—Kindaichi claims that he leans toward an interpretation that dialects that are

closer to the center have more conservative characteristics, and the ones that are far have
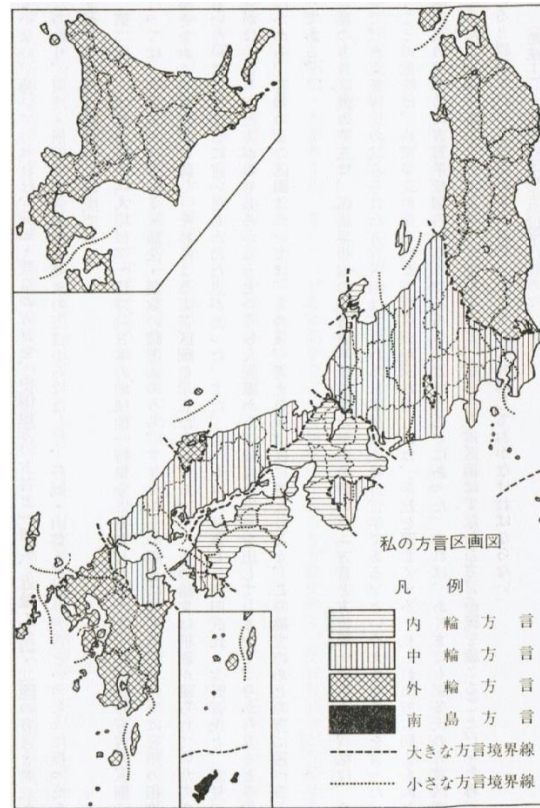
been developed into different forms (p. 79).

私の方言区画図

凡　例

内　輪　方　言
中　輪　方　言
外　輪　方　言
南　島　方　言
大きな方言境界線
小さな方言境界線

Figure 2.7-1. *Nairin hōgen* (内輪方言), *chūrin hōgen* (中輪方言) and *gairin hōgen* (外

輪方言). (Kindaichi, 1977, p. 55)

The folklorist Yanagita Kunio (柳田国男) proposed his own *hōgen shūken-ron*

(方言周圏論, theory of peripheral distribution of dialectal forms) which shows different

dialect patterns as well as *hōgen kukaku* (Shibatani, 1990, p.201). *Hōgen shūken-ron* is

often considered to be a kind of dialect distribution map that is opposed to *hōgen kukaku*,

but it is in fact more a theory about how words spread from a central area to the

peripheral locations. Yanagita studied various local words for 'snail,' and found that

42

Kyoto, which is the old capital city of Japan, had the newest form, while a couple of different older forms could be found in outer locations in a concentric pattern. To Yanagita, this indicated that older forms tend to be seen in the areas more distant from Kyoto because it takes time for new words that appeared in Kyoto to progress to the peripheral areas and become established (Shibatani, 1990, p.201). Although Yanagita's *hōgen shūken-ron* is often considered to reflect his opposition to *hōgen kukaku*, Kindaichi (1977) thinks that Yanagita simply does not agree with Tōjō's theory of the division of the East and the West, and *hōgen shūken-ron* is simply an alternate way to classify the Japanese dialects (p.61).

2.8. Eradication of the Dialects from 1900s through 1940s

Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War (1845-1895), and this victory went hand in hand for the people of Meiji with national consciousness and "their nation's new-found power and prestige" (Ramsey, 2004, p. 96). After the Sino-Japanese War followed by the Russo-Japanese War (1904), because the language was still deeply divided by regional dialects, government authorities decided to require that all Japanese citizens speak "only one Japanese language" in order to unify Japan (Ramsey, 2004, p. 97). The idea of eradicating regional dialects and promoting standard Japanese was accompanied by slogans such as 方言矯正 (*Hōgen kyōsei*, correct the dialects) and 方言撲滅 (*Hōgen bokumetu*, eradicate the dialects) (Ramsey 2004, p. 97).

Ramsey (2004) mentions the Western antecedents of this movement, which Ueda and other scholars had learned about and adopted in their travels abroad (p. 97). The idea

of *langue national* was advocated during the French Revolution of 1848 by social radicals, claiming that using only one speech brings equality because the prejudices and inequalities stemming from differences in speech would be eliminated (Ramsey, 2004, p. 97). However, the unification of speech Ueda proposed was based on "the notions of 'purifying' and 'preserving the beauty' of the language" (Ramsey, p. 98), which were strong in nineteenth-century France and Germany. Efforts to eradicate the dialects were embarked on in order to have all Japanese citizens speak the same standard language, with the goal of making the nation more unified.

According to Ramsey, the government attempted to eradicate the dialects mainly through school policy. One of the measures, *kōshūkai* (講習会, the study institute), was first established in 1900 in Higashitagawa District, Yamagata Prefecture. Through this *kōshūkai* the elementary school students in this area attended conversation practice sessions once a week to correct pronunciation. The parents were involved also, and were instructed during separate sessions in how they could help their children to improve their pronunciation. The institute actively implemented these measures beginning in 1908 (Ramsey, 2004, p. 98).

One of the specific methods employed for pronunciation practice was *kuchi no taisō* (口の体操, oral calisthenics) (Ramsey, 2004, p. 98). Typically, primary school children gathered each morning and recited the syllabic units of the traditional syllabary such as *a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*, *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, *ko*, as *kuchi no taisō*. Later, the children began reciting individual words, but they once again practiced *kuchi no taisō* all together in the

afternoon. As is clear from its name, pronunciation practice was treated like physical training (Ramsey, 2004, p. 98).

Another method employed for the purpose of eradicating dialects was so-called *hōgen-fuda* (方言札, dialect board) (Shibata, 1978, p.426). Many regional schools used this method as a sort of punishment: pupils who were caught speaking dialect were given a *hōgen-fuda* to hang on their backs. This punishment made the child an object of ridicule by both peers and other teachers. *Hōgen-fuda* were used to punish the use not only of regional dialects but also of 'vulgar words' such as *baka* ('idiot') and *yatsu* ('guy') (Shibata, 1978, p. 426).

According to Ramsey (2004), the harshest standard language education was conducted in Okinawa, and there was resistance. Okinawa's dialect is very different from Tokyo language. *Hōgen-fuda* were introduced in Okinawa around 1907, and their application was so cruel that even the pupil's parents were dealt this punishment. Although considerable numbers of people were eager to learn "ordinary language" (*futsū-go*[1], as the standard was called in outlying regions), *hōgen-fuda* punishment was viewed as excessively punitive by students, and a movement to resist the system and speak Okinawan dialect openly in the schools emerged. To deal with this resistance, the Dialect Control Edict was laid down in 1917, and the punishment for dialect use was actually increased. It is said that the students more often ended up failing or being expelled from school—a much stricter censorship than that applied to other kinds of transgressions (Ramsey, 2004, p. 99).

---

[1] The term *futsū-go* has never been officially recognized or used in governmental documents.

2.9. The Local Authorities' Support

While *hyōjun-go* education was encouraged, there were various discussions regarding the methods of *hōgen kyōsei* (correcting dialects) and how the dialects should be treated (Yasuda, 1999, p. 196). *Sēkatsu tsuzurikata undō* (生活綴方運動, writing training for daily life) is an educational method that aims at socializing children by having them write essays based on their daily lives and discuss them with their peers (Kawachi, 2004, p. 131). This movement became popular in the 1930s. Yasuda (1999) introduces some conversations about dialect correction found in a journal, *tsuzurikata Gakkō* (綴方学校) (1939). For example, there is a discussion about how dialect might be allowed as a method of expression within the norm of *kokugo* (Yasuda, p. 197). A school teacher named Kondo from Nagasaki mentions that talking about the use of dialects is not avoidable when teachers discuss *tsuzurikata* education (p. 197). According to Kondo, opponents of dialects argue that dialects are inferior to standard language, and so they are considered morally wrong and hateful (p. 197). But Kondo further argues that even if children occasionally use dialect, they will soon realize the "inferiority" (立ちおくれ, *tachiokure*) of dialect and start to use standard language themselves (Yasuda, 1999, p. 198). Kondo's (quite modern) attitude held that, since dialect was merely a means for improving students' powers of expression, it stood to reason that the more students were aware of their dialect through written exercises, the more they would seek to use standard language. Thus allowing the students to use dialect would result in their own motivation for learning standard language (in contrast to punishment such as *hōgen-fuda)* (p. 199).

Although *hōgen kyōsei* (correcting dialects) was originally led by the government, local authorities also actively took an action to eradicate dialects and spread *hyōjun-go*. Yasuda (1999) claims that the ideological argument promoted by the central government emerged also among the local institutions. He draws on the example of *Saga Prefecture Dialect Dictionary* (佐賀県方言辞典, *Saga-ken Hōgen Jiten*) published by the Saga prefecture educational board in 1902. This dictionary is a collection of vocabulary from each city or county in the prefecture. Yasuda notes that the authority of Ueda Kazutoshi was brought to bear in its publication since Ueda provided comments for the book (p. 118-121). In those comments, Ueda mention the importance of studying dialect for standard language education, but he does not necessarily contend that dialects should be completely eradicated (Yasuda, 1999, p. 119). However, following Ueda's words the head of Saga-prefecture education organization (佐賀県教育会) Ejiri Yōichirō (江尻庸一郎) writes: "方言は、何に由りて、矯正せざるべからざるか。曰く。方言を矯正せざれば、国語の統一、得て望むべからず。教育の効果、完全なること、能はざればなり。" ("Why should dialects not be corrected? It is said that if dialects are not corrected, we can never achieve the unification of national language. Thus, if dialects are not corrected, the effect of education cannot be perfect.") (Yasuda, 1999, p. 118). According to Yasuda (1999), equating the unification of *kokugo* with the eradication of dialects had the effect of increasing negative pressure on dialects, although they actually do not mean the same thing (p. 119). The 1902 publication of a supplement to *Saga Prefecture Dialects Dictionary*, *Suggestions for Correcting Dialect* (方言改良の方案, *Hōgen Kairyō no Hōan*) represents the local enthusiasm for correcting dialects (p. 121).

Suggestions for Correcting Dialect (1902) states the reason why the unification of *kokugo* is necessary –it says that dialects should be corrected in order to "propagate our national language to foreign countries, or educate the foreigners with our national language" ("我が国語を外国に伝播し、或は我が国語を以て、異邦人を教育する") (Yasuda, 1999, p. 122). This argument was also repeatedly presented by the central government. This implies that the government's structural view on regional dialects with regard to Japan's imperial power overseas was adopted by the local government (Yasuda, 1999, p. 122). In sum, as seen in the case of Saga prefecture, the ideology of eradication of dialects was strongly supported and discussed by the local authorities, in communication with the central government.

Thus beginning in the Edo period, Tokyo dialect gradually gained the status of common language incorporating other regions' dialects, and in Meiji the government started to authorize Tokyo dialect as standard language of Japan, influenced heavily by the aim at making a unified nation state. Scholars including Ueda brought the notion of national language from the West, and this had a significant influence on language policy. In order to disseminate standard language and enhance its status, dialects were suppressed by means of measures such as *hōgen-fuda* and *kōshūkai* at school. As a result, there gradually grew a collective consciousness about the superiority of standard language, and standard language in turn gave access to power in the society.

3. 1945-Present

3.1. People's Consciousness of *Kokugo* and Dialects

With the end of WWII (August 15th, 1945) the situation surrounding Japanese language changed greatly (Yasuda, 1999, p. 246). The Potsdam Declaration (1945) announced that "Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we [the United States, Britain and China] determine" (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1966). According to Yasuda (1999), while dialectology in Japan continued to evolve after the war, people's perception of dialects in *hyōjun-go* education did not change very much at the outset (p. 246). Dialect continued to have a negative image. With regard to the shift in the environment surrounding dialects, Yasuda (1999) points out that after the war there was increasing interest in issues of national language and national script (国語国字問題, *kokugo kokuji mondai*) in accordance with a dramatically changed national awareness (p. 247)—an awareness that was encapsulated in the term "democratization" (*minshuka*, 民主化).

Japan took up the Occupation inspired notion of democratization. Yasuda (1999) argues that people took more interest in *kokugo kokuji mondai* after the war because they considered it to be an important part of democratization (p. 247). For example, in *The History of Kokugo Kokuji Mondai* (国語国字問題の歴史, 1948), *rōmaji* (Roman script) advocate Hirai Masao says that, since Japan's peaceful democratization was in process after the war and the general public gained basic human rights, *kokugo kokuji mondai*, which used to be considered an aspect of regressive policy, became a popular discussion topic in society and in policy circles. According to Yasuda (1999), although people did

49

not have direct influence on language policy, Hirai captures the common understanding

of *kokugo kokuji mondai* (p. 247). Yasuda further argues that the basic issues in *kokugo*

kokuji mondai after WWII centered on the democratization of *kokugo* (国語民主化,

kokugo minshu-ka), which aimed at rationalizing the script and ancillary conventions so

that citizens could use them without difficulty (1999, p. 248). Moreover, Yasuda

contrasts democratization after WWII and the prewar "feudalistic" (封建的, *hōkenteki*)

society as "bright image" (明るいイメージ, *akarui imēzi*) in contrast with "dark image"

(暗いイメージ, *kurai imēzi*) respectively (1999, p. 250). This contrast of Japanese

society and people's notion about *kokugo* is crucial to consider when discussing the

postwar situation surrounding dialects.

3.2. The Result of Government Policy for Eradication of Dialects

In spite of prewar government enforcement of measures for eradicating dialects

such as *kōshūkai* and *hōgen-fuda*, not many local children became able to speak standard

Japanese (Sanada, 1991, p. 106). Shibata (1978) states that most dialect speakers ended

up developing an abject sense of defeat toward their "mother tongue" ("自分たちの母語

に対する卑屈な敗北感") (p. 426). Shibata uses the term "*hōgen* complex" (方言コン

プレックス, dialect complex), and also mentions "*hyōjun-go* complex" (標準語コンプ

レックス, standard language complex) that were likely to occur among those who grow

up in Tokyo (p. 430). *Hōgen* complex can be considered both a reason for and a result of

50

government policy for efforts in the eradication of dialects that were conducted before

WWII.

Reflecting the spirit of the postwar era, Shibata (1958) points out that once

people's use of dialect is ridiculed, they get a strong sense of inferiority about their

dialect as well as themselves (p. 90). Shibata introduces an example of junior high school

students from Aogashima, a small island located in the Philippine Sea. They came to

Tokyo for a school trip, and a reporter from broadcasting asked them some questions. But

the students were so afraid of speaking their dialect that they ended up saying only "*hai*,

hai…" (yes, yes…) (Shibata, 1958, p. 90). Another extreme case of people who struggled

with *hōgen* complex appeared in *Tokyo Shimbun* in 1953. It told of a young mother who

committed suicide. She suffered from an emotional breakdown when her child's use of

dialect was laughed at by children in their neighborhood. They had been living in Tokyo

for half a year at that point after moving from Shimane (Shibata, 1958, p. 94). Shibata

observes that people might laugh at others' local dialect instead of directly laughing at

their country ways (p. 92).

Shibata also mentions that people who speak *zū-zū-ben* (ズーズー弁, *zū-zū*

dialect)[2], which is how dialects in Tohoku area (north eastern Japan, including northern

Kanto area and Niigata prefecture) are identified, especially tend to experience *hōgen*

complex (1958, p. 90). On the other hand, according to Shibata (1958), people from

Kyushu were likely to have less *hōgen* complex (p. 94)—probably because the

---

[2] So-called *zū-zū ben* is marked by neutralization of the high vowels "i" and "u" after alveolar consonants.

discrepancy between Kyushu and Tokyo is not as great as that between Tōhoku and Tokyo (p. 98).

Yasuda (1991) criticizes Shibata's unfortuitous parallel between criticizing another's dialect and picking on a person's facial birthmark (both are considered to be inconsiderate behavior) (Shibata, 1958, p.92). According to Yasuda (1991), this comparison assumes that dialects are something abnormal, and that people are encouraged to ignore these external characteristics (p. 318). Yasuda further argues that if Shibata is correct dialects might be expected to disappear in the future, and so he calls it "cold apathy" (冷徹な無関心, *reitetsu na mukanshin*) (p. 318).

Furthermore, Yasuda (1991) suggests that the word "complex" is also problematic. Since "complex" is something to be overcome, we cannot resolve people's *hōgen* complex simply by not laughing at it (p. 318). Yasuda mentions that if we call it a complex, the only solution would be having dialects blend into standard language completely. Further he argues that this cold apathy is a symptom of the structure of the 'new' nation state (Japan) that has taken control of dialects (p. 319).

As mentioned earlier, *hyōjun-go* education at schools did not have success in producing children who could speak *hyōjun-go* (Shibata, 1978, p. 431). Apparently, the diffusion of radio did not help local people to learn how to speak *hyōjun-go* either (p. 431). Shibata (1978) claims that in order to be able to converse in *hyōjun-go*, people needed to have more experience of interactive communication rather than one-way communication (p. 431). In fact, according to Shibata, the progress in *hyōjun-go* dissemination would have resulted from massive population mobility and people's

interaction during the war (such as military draft, mobilization and evacuation) (Shibata,

1978, p. 432). Also, he points out that after the war an increasing number of local young

people started to go outside of their home localities for work (*dekasegi*, 出稼ぎ, working

away from home) and people had more interaction with those who were from different

places. The statistics show that in 1962 there were 1,180,000 seasonal workers and

1,760,000 temporary workers, and 70 percent of them were working in the Tokyo-

Yokohama area (Shibata, 1978, p. 433). The most common place of origin of the workers

was Tohoku (north eastern Japan) and the second was Hokuriku (north western part of

Honshu) (p. 433).

3.3. Diffusion of *kyōtsū-go*

After WWII, the term *kyōtsū-go*(共通語, common language) came to be used

more often, which brought a change in *hyōjun-go* education (Shibata, 1978, p. 435). The

term *kyōtsū-go* first appeared in a government source in a 1950 report from the National

Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (国立国語研究所) (p. 435). *Kyōtsū-go* is

defined as "language through which people can communicate with each other across

regions that have different dialects" (国内に言語差があっても、それを越えて異なっ

た地方の人々が意志を通じ合うことのできる言語) according to *Kokugogaku*

Kenkyū Jiten (国語学研究辞典). The National Institute for Japanese Language and

Linguistics' report said that *hyōjun-go* did not exist yet, but should be considered a

normative language that would be established somehow by the national government in

the future (Shibata, 1978, p. 435). After scholars of *kokugo* education used the term

kyōtsū-go and the term became widespread, some confusion erupted. For example, there was a misunderstanding that *kyōtsū-go* was just a replacement for *hyōjun-go*. Also, some people mistakenly understood that people must not use *hyōjun-go* because it implies a militaristic connotation, which Shibata calls an extreme interpretation (1978, p.435). Shibata suggests that this interpretation was not unreasonable since the term *kyōtsū-go* was welcomed in education since after the war people's values were changing, and the militaristic implication in *hyōjun-go* was not favored. Furthermore, with *kyōtsū-go* it is easier to reach the goal of *kokugo* education because students are not expected to master an ideal, very sophisticated language (Sanada, 1991, p. 205). Thus it seems that the spread of the term *kyōtsū-go* eased people's conception of *hyōjun-go* and dialects after the war. Since many people started to speak language that was a hybrid of Tokyo-go and their local dialects due to the increase of mobilization, *kyōtsū-go* was a convenient word to describe their languages.

Shibata (1958) explains further about *chīki kyōtsū-go* (地域共通語, local common language), saying that when thinking of town A, people speak both the dialect of town A and *kyōtsū-go* of town A. People in village B speak both dialect of village B and the *kyōtsū-go* of village B. For example, in some parts of Itoigawa City in Niigata prefecture, icicle is called *kanekōri* in dialect. However, they use the word *tsutsura* or *tsuzura* for *chīki kyōtsū-go* since it is closer to the national *kyōtsū-go* word for icicle, which is *tsurara* (Shibata, 1958, p. 38). Furthermore, in Tokyo people speak both Tokyo dialect and Tokyo *kyōtsū-go* (Shibata, 1958, p. 36). The *kyōtsū-go* of all the regions in Japan vary in their degrees of commonality (p. 37). Since Tokyo *kyōtsū-go* has the

highest degree of commonality, Tokyo *kyōtsū-go* plays a virtual role of national *kyōtsū-go* (p. 37). Thus, there is a variety of *kyōtsū-go* besides Tokyo *kyōtsū-go*, and they have various degrees of intelligibility across Japan.

Many of Shibata's assumptions about *chīki kyōtsū-go* are outdated. For example, although he mentions that *tsutsura* (Itoigawa City region's *chīki kyōtsū-go*) was incorrectly adopted from Tokyo dialect, there is no evidence for this. Also, it is questionable to conclude that Tokyo *kyōtsū-go* had the highest degree of commonality. For ideological reasons it certainly enjoyed hegemony over other varieties. This is not part of Shibata's consideration. However, his portrait of variation gives us a good picture of the variation that people had to deal with post-war.

3.4. Social Situations with *Kyōtsū-go Jidai* (共通語時代, Common Language Era)

Shibata (1978) mentions three factors that contributed to the diffusion of *kyōtsū-go*. First, he claims that democracy helped *kyōtsū-go* to disseminate because democracy encourages people to speak regardless of their ability to speak *hyōjun-go*. Therefore, *hyōjun-go* policy was no longer a factor in people's mind (p. 439). Shibata does not mention anything about *hōgen* complex here. It seems that even in a democratic atmosphere some people might have hesitated to speak their local common language due to dialect complex. Second, he mentions that a climate of local autonomy, which continued for a while after the war, contributed to drawing people's attention to local culture and regional dialects (1978, p. 439). Third, Shibata mentions that the disappearance of "heavy dialects" (ひどい方言) worked in favor of discovering the

value of dialect (p. 439). He also notes that dialects were highly valued in *kyōtsū-go jidai* (p. 439).

Yasuda (1991) points out that Shibata ignored the fact that democracy brought unification to all of Japan, but instead illogically argued that values of dialects became recognized because of the rise of local autonomy (p. 323). Nonetheless, Yasuda (1991) admits that Shibata's points still help to explain the fundamental meaning of "dialect rehabilitation" (方言の復権, *hōgen no fukken*), which came under discussion in the1980s (p. 324).

3.5. The Current Climate: 'Dialect Rehabilitation'

Dialect rehabilitation is often discussed in terms of *hōgen būmu* (方言ブーム, dialect boom) in Japan. Sato (2006) suggests that a Japanese language boom and dialect boom began around 2006; he mentions the increase of media production related to Japanese language and dialect (p. 60). For example, five commercial TV stations had regular programs on Japanese language, including a popular program *namari tei* (なまり亭, accent house), in which Japanese celebrities speak in their hometown dialects (Sato, 2006, p. 60). Further, Sato points out that dialect boom-like movements were observed even before this. For instance, in 1978 there was a two-hour radio program called *Kutabare Hyōjun-go* (Beat Standard Japanese) introducing local dialects (Sato, p. 60). For this program, local commercial radio stations collaborated and introduced their dialects under various topics such as the weather forecast in dialect and live reports of sumo in dialect. In fact, according to Sato (2006), there was a total of 72 programs

featuring local dialects in Japan in the 1970s and 80s (p. 61). The more frequent appearance of dialects suggests that attitudes were changing starting in the late 1970s.

Sato (2006) talks about an annual national dialect convention which took place in Mikawa-machi, Yamagata, from 1978 through 2003 (p. 61). This convention was proposed and implemented for the purpose of promoting the town. The program had a variety of content such as storytelling by local dialect speakers from different towns in Japan and a talk show with dialect experts. The convention was a rousing success and contributed to Miakawa-machi's revenue and its promotion. Sato suggests that the convention was halted because the committee ran out of topics and grew tired of the task (p. 64), but it is also the case the funding from the central government for local initiatives was severely curtailed when the Japanese economic bubble burst in the mid 1980s. Whether or not the discontinuation of the convention is related to the decline of dialect boom is uncertain, but the success of the annual dialect convention also indicates people's increasing interest in dialects.

Jinnouchi (2006) argues that the dialect boom is influenced by a change from the "time of standardization" (*hyōjun-ka no jidai*, 標準化の時代) (modern) before the 1970s to the "time of destandardization" (*hi-hyōjun no jidai,*非標準の時代) (post-modern) during the 1980's and after (p. 44). He argues that norms held the most sway from Meiji through the 1970's. Beginning in the 1980's more and more people valued individuality, diversity and non-standardization (p. 44). According to Jinnouchi, due to the changes in people's values in Japan the generation that was born after 1970 grew up with different linguistic perspectives and it is exemplified in their linguistic lives (p. 46). Also, the

development of national media and the economic growth in the early 1970s are considered to be contributing factors for *hōgen būmu*.

Jinnouchi also mentions increasing interest in dialects among young people in the Tokyo metropolitan area, which is suggested in many newspaper articles from the 2000s (p. 46). He states that young people today tend to use dialect as a way of expressing their individuality (p. 46). Jinnouchi draws an example of a youth's text message shown in Yomiuri Shimbun (2005, October 27) (Figure: 3.2.1-1). In this message, typical sentence-ending forms of Tohoku dialect, Kyushu dialect, Kansai dialect and Okinawa dialect are used together. Jinnouchi states that this mixed use of dialects is similar to *komyunikēshon kozumetikkusu* (コミュニケーション・コズメティックス, communication cosmetics) (Yamane, 1986), which explains young people's use of *marumoji* ('rounded handwriting') in an attempt to convey cuteness (Jinnouchi, 2006, p. 47). Kobayashi (2004) uses the term *hōgen no akusesarī-ka* (方言のアクセサリー化, accessorization of dialects) to describe young people's use of not only *kyōtsū-go* style but also some dialect elements to add psychological effect[3]. It is notable that today numerous Japanese linguists (Kobayashi, Inoue, Sanada) look at the phenomenon of dialect as a process by which some regional dialects are turning into social dialects.

---

[3]This interpretation is based on the notion that young people in Tokyo metropolitan area mainly use *kyōtsū-go* and use dialects as 'accessories.' But it does not apply to young people in Kansai (or other regions) because their dialect still functions as a style and also system, (Jinnouchi, 2006, p. 47)

日曜に見る映画ど
うすっべ?何見た
いと?ウチはなん
でもかまへんよー
（・▽・）　返事
待ってるさぁ〜
☆

Figure: 3.5-1. Young people's text message. (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2005, October 27)

Okamoto (2008) claims that the dialect speakers' use of dialect and standard Japanese is not random, but is functionally motivated, and "it can be a resource for style management as it relates to formality of style" (p. 247). There have been studies on the use of regional and standard Japanese in terms of code—or more specifically style—switching. For instance, a group of researchers at Osaka University examined dialect speakers' use of linguistic forms related to formal and informal styles when talking to a familiar person, and when talking to a strange person. They report many cases of the use of these two speeches as style switching (Okamoto, 2008). Okamoto (2008) takes this further and examines people's use of Yamaguchi dialect and standard Japanese in relation to the nature of conversational context and the notion of formality of style (p. 230). She concludes her paper by mentioning the complexity in studying the relationship between code-switching and use of dialect. For instance, since what is considered Yamaguchi dialect or standard Japanese forms may vary across the individuals and time, it is difficult to identify pure varieties of those speeches. Thus, certainly use of dialect can be

discussed in terms of style management as it relates to formality of style, but Okamoto's

suggestion about the complexity regarding numerous factors is also notable.

In its report of 1995, the *Kokugo Shingi-kai* (国語審議会, National Language

Advisory Board) includes a section *hōgen no sonchō* (方言の尊重, respect for dialects)

and discusses the importance of respecting dialects as a part of a "beautiful and rich"

language (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2001, p. 290). However, they state that *kyōtsū-go*

(common language) offers a base of communication on a nationwide scale. Further, they

argue that it is ideal to let common language and dialects keep different roles and coexist

(p. 290). As for developing people's understanding of respect of dialects, they suggest

that young students get exposed to dialects through local folklore, tradition and

communication with elderly people. They also mention the importance of academic

research on dialects as an essential part of national language study (p. 290). The

continuing dialect boom and the increase of exposure of local dialects in the media seem

to meet what the *Kokugo Shingi-kai* aims at in the report. It is worth observing that the

playful use of dialects by the youth in the Tokyo metropolitan area might not have been

expected by the *Kokugo Shingi-kai*.

3.6. Yasuda: Nishijima and Multilingualism

Yasuda (1991) mentions that people began to talk about "dialect rehabilitation" in

the 1980s, and introduces critic Nishijima Takeo's observations (p. 324). Nishijima states

that all the Japanese people become familiar with *hyōjun-go* due to the centralization of

media, and that they therefore started to see dialects as rare (Yasuda, 1991, p. 324). Given

that, Nishijima argues that dialect rehabilitation is similar to people's favor for cultural

pluralism because people find nostalgic feelings (レトロ感覚, *retoro kankaku*) in

dialects while *hyōjun-go* is considered to be unmarked (p. 324). Furthermore, Nishijima

suggests that diversification of Japanese language is required in addition to

bilingualization (二重言語化, *nijū gengo-ka*) of Japanese and English (p. 325). People

find it important to keep Japanese language diverse, with the aim of maintaining the

richness of Japanese culture rich. Underlying this is a fear that Japanese culture is

becoming more and more homogeneous (p. 325).

Yasuda (1991) critiques Nishijima's argument. He observes that the term

"rehabilitation" or "restoration of rights" (復権, *fukken*) implies that people's action

against the homogenization of the language (p. 325) is a recent development. He also

disagrees with Nishijima's assumption that this movement is merely cultural activity and

not political (p. 325). Furthermore, Yasuda argues that dialects should obtain equal rights

to those of *hyōjun-go* in order to achieve "multilingualism" (多言語主義, *tagengo shugi*)

(p. 326). Japan has a history of language hierarchy in which Japanese has a position of

supremacy suppressing other languages—for example in Manchukuo (1932-1945) (p.

326). Yasuda suggests that it is necessary to create a concept that is different from the

historical perspective on "multilingualism" (p. 326). Thus, the key is to get away from

the dominant perspective in which dialects are assessed based on a certain standard.

Deeper consideration is necessary rather than just "respect for dialects" if we are to

discuss rehabilitation of dialects and bilingualism. It is notable that Yasuda argues this

fundamental issue with a continuing perception of dialect based on a standard.

3.7. *Shin-hōgen* and *Neo-hōgen*

More recently, scholars have offered some new ways to look at *hōgen*, seeing them not just as regionally different speech styles. Yasuda (1991) mentions *shin-hōgen* (new dialect) and *neo-hōgen* (neo-dialect) (p. 327). *Shin-hōgen* was first suggested by linguist Inoue Fumio (Yasuda, 1991, p. 327) who defines *shin-hōgen* as (1) speech that is increasingly used by young people, (2) speech whose users themselves recognize it as a dialect, and (3) speech that is not used in *kyōtsū-go* (Yasuda, 1991, p. 327). For example, *uzattai* (annoying) comes originally from a regional dialect used in the Tokyo Tama area, but now it is widely used in Tokyo metropolitan area especially among young people (p. 327). In fact, *uzattai* was added to *Kōjien* (one of the most common Japanese dictionaries) in 2008. Another example of *Shin-hōgen* is *aotan* (bruise). This term was slang used at prisons in Hokkaido at first, but now is widely used by the young generation (p. 327).

Yasuda (1991) makes an observation that *Shin-hōgen* is different from regional dialects in the sense that people tend to care less about its origin and history (p. 327). According to Yasuda, since regional dialects are attached to tradition, culture and people's lives in particular regions, they are often perceived as stagnation (*teitai*, 停滞) and are seen as artifacts in the quest for the origin and history of the Japanese language (p. 237). Thus, it is notable that *Shin-hōgen* does not have an implication of stagnation in contrast to *hōgen* with which Japanese people have been familiar.

Sanada (1996) suggests *neo-hōgen*, which is a transformation of dialects because of interference from *hyōjun-go* (Sanada, 1991, p. 328). As shown in the figure 3.2.3-1, there are three varieties; dialects, neo-dialects and standard Japanese. In terms of speech style, dialect is used in informal settings, standard Japanese is used in more formal settings, and neo-dialect is used in situations in-between (p. 328). Although *shin-hōgen* is limited to vocabulary, *neo-hōgen* is a code that includes vocabulary and speech style. Therefore, the term *neo-hōgen* can be used to refer to people's speech at settings like schools, offices and media. For example, Sanada (1996) draws an example of Osaka dialect from Tanabe Seiko's book *Osaka-ben Omoshiro Zōshi* (1985). For the "pure Osaka dialect" (純粋大阪弁, *junsui Osaka-ben*) the standard *dame ja nai no* (ダメじゃないの, That is bad, you know.) would be *akan ya nai ka* (アカンやないか) or *akima hen gana* (あきまへんがな). But young women from Osaka are not comfortable to use these expressions today, and they are likely to say *akan ya nai no* (アカンやないの), which seems to be a compromise. Sanada calls this kind of new expression *neo-hōgen* (Sanada, 1996, p. 8). The term "pure Osaka dialect" sounds a little radical to describe dialects that have very different features from *hyōjun-go*, but Sanada's idea of *neo-hōgen* is useful in referring to the spectrum between standard Japanese and dialect.
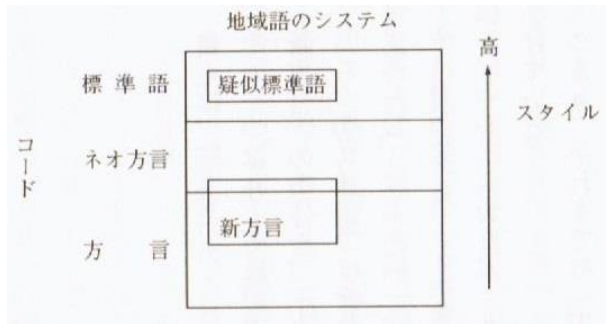
Figure 3.7-1. *Neo-hōgen*. (Sanada, 1996, p. 10)

3.8. Yasuda's Argument

Clearly *hōgen* has been discussed from numerous perspectives by scholars. Yasuda (1999) argues that dialects in Japan have been talked about in terms of two major points of view. One perspective is to consider dialects as something to be removed from arguments over *hyōjun-go* dissemination. The word *hōgen* is often used when the nation state wants to construct its language as synchronic (共時的) and universal (普遍的). Therefore, in this perspective dialects have an image of exclusion (排除のイメージ, *haijo no imēji*) (Yasuda, 1999, p. 21). The other perspective considers dialects as something romantic because they maintain some original elements of older Japanese. It is often used when the nation state attempts to construct "Japanese language" in a diachronic (通時的) and historic (歴史的) way. From this viewpoint, dialects carry an image of inclusion (包摂のイメージ, *hōsetsu no imēji*) (Yasuda, 1999, p. 21).

Yasuda (1999) critiques scholars who have discussed dialects only from an "uniform" (画一性, *kakuitsu-sei*) perspective—which is to say that while dialects used to be oppressed, now they are respected and promoted (p. 20). Yasuda (1991) cites Sato

64

(1996) and Kobayashi (1996). Sato (1996) claims that the historical categorization of

dialects can be divided into three periods:

Pre-1960: the period of dialect eradication

1970's and 1980's: the period when dialects were rediscovered

1990's and beyond: the period when dialects and *kyōtsū-go* coexisted (Yasuda,

p.19)

Kobayashi (1996) analyzes dialects from several points with four different time periods

(See Table 3.8-1.).

	近世以前 (-1867) (Before the early modern period)	近代 (1867-1945) (The early modern period)	現代 (1945-2000) (The modern period)	将来 (2000-) (Future)
方言の使用状況 (Situation of the use of dialect)	活発 (Active)		衰退 (Declining)	さらに衰退 (More declining)
共通語化 (Development to common language)		開始 (Inception)	進行 (Progress)	さらに進行 (Further progress)
方言の社会的評価 (Social valuation of dialect)	低い (Low)	極端に低い (Very low)	高い (High)	
方言をめぐる活動 (Activities regarding dialect)		撲滅運動 (Eradication movement)	保護普及活動 (Preservation and dissemination movement)	文化財的保存 (Preservation as cultural asset)
方言の性格 (Characteriastics of dialect)	システム (System)		スタイル (Style)	
方言の機能 (Functions of dialect)	思考内容の伝達 (Conveyance of content of thought)		相手の確認と発話態度の表明 (Confirmation of interlocutor and presentation of conversation attitudes)	

Table 3.8-1. Kobayashi (1996)'s historical categorization of dialect perspectives. (p. 16)

Yasuda (1999) argues that both Sato and Kobayashi's view of dialect appears to

be too simplistic (p. 20). Their understanding that dialects used to be suppressed but now

respected is, he says, a modern perspective. For instance, they tend to consider *hōgen-*

fuda as a representation of the oppression and eradication of dialects. However, they

ignore the role of norms and ritual education that *hōgen-fuda* served (Yasuda, p. 20).

Yasuda (1999) observes that perspectives on dialect have changed over the time—dialect when Japan was transforming into an imperial country, dialect when Japan was a "new" nation state, and dialect when Japan was restructuring itself are all different (p. 20).

Consequently, Yasuda (1999) claims that talking about "dialect" always takes it for granted that there are certain standards to compare, and addressing dialects as dialects is to employ and further encourage its relationship with some other standard (p. 332). Today in Japan dialects no longer appear to be a subject of eradication, but dialects are continuously discussed with regard to the standard (*hyōjun-go* or *kyōtsū-go*). In this sense, the framework for discussing dialect has not changed since before the 1950s (Yasuda, 1999, p. 333). Also, Yasuda (1999) contends that the value of dialect has been decided by the nation state at its convenience, regardless of whether dialect has a positive value or not (p. 333). Yasuda draws an example of one scholar's statement: *hōgen* as a daily-life language should be taught to Japanese people today (p. 333). Yasuda states that this scholar is not aware of the social structure in which dialects are subordinate to the standard. Hence, correction of *hōgen* (方言矯正) and coexistence with *hōgen* (方言共生) are discussed from the same perspective, still ignoring the hierarchy of the standard and the dialects (p. 334).

According to Yasuda, even advocating for "dialect rehabilitation" and raising a question of whether or not people should use dialects are greatly influenced by the nation's ideology and norms (1999, p. 333). Yasuda suggests that political activities can be instrumental in gaining independent language status for a dialect. Such activities

include studying the systems of writing, phonology and grammar of a dialect so that it gains higher status in Japan, or gains independence from Japanese (p. 334). Yasuda also suggests that learning to appreciate one's own language would be one solution to protecting the right of speaking one's own words. He states that it is important to respect others' speech, and it is an obligation to protect the right of speaking one's own language (p. 335).

Certainly, dialects in Japan have not escaped from the hierarchy that dictates their subordination to standard language. For example, "accessorization of dialects" (discussed earlier) reflects the hegemony of the standard language because dialects are seen as additional linguistic accessories to some standard. However, it is difficult to fight against standard language ideology by just respecting our own and others' speech when linguistic unity is still to be desired.

3.9. Discussion

In this section I will talk about standard language ideology and dialect ideology in Japan focusing on Bourdieu's social theory of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu (1986), capital exists in objectified or embodied forms, and has a "potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded forms" (p. 241). The concept of capital is also referred as "the collection of symbolic elements such as skills, tastes, posture, clothing, mannerism, material belongings, credentials, etc. that one acquires through being a particular social class" (Routledge, n.d.). In his book *Forms of Capital*, Bourdieu (1986) suggests three kinds of capital; economic capital, cultural

67

capital and social capital (p. 243). Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; cultural capital is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; social capital is made up of social obligations ("connections"), which are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital (p. 243).

Bourdieu (1986) asserts that cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, the objectified state, and the institutionalized state (p. 243). The embodied state is "the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243), and one's accent or dialect is an example (Routledge, n.d.). The objective state is "the cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc." (p. 243). An example might be the modern use of Osaka dialect by entertainers or in manga. The institutionalized state is a form that consists of institutional recognition, and it refers to credentials and qualifications such as academic degrees, which symbolize cultural competence and authority (Routledge, n.d.). Language policy might be an example of institutionalized state of cultural capital, such as the Japanese government's encouragement of use of *hyōjun-go* in Meiji and the national lists of Chinese characters in common use (*jōyōkanji*, 常用漢字) proposed by Agency for Cultural Affairs today.

Linguistic capital is a form of cultural capital; it is a capacity to produce linguistic expressions for a particular market (Thompson, 1991, p. 18). According to Bourdieu (1991), the social uses of language owe their social value to the fact that they tend to be

68

organized in systems of differences, which reproduce the system of social differences

from whence they emanate (p. 54). For example, people who speak socially-legitimized

language with "correct" grammar and "cultivated" vocabulary tend to have more

credibility than those who do not. Accordingly, the relationship between the system of

linguistic differences and the system of economic and social differences can be viewed as

"a hierarchical universe of deviations with respect to a form of speech that is (virtually)

universally recognized as legitimate" (p. 56). According to Bourdieu (1991) the

competence necessary in order to speak the legitimate language depends on social

inheritance, and re-translates social distinctions into the symbolic logic of distinctions (p.

55).

3.10. Japanese Language Ideology's Shift

I would argue that the ideology of standard language and dialect saw three periods

that can be viewed in terms of changes in linguistic capital: pre-war (before 1945), post

war (1945-ca.1970s), and today (late 1970s and after. Before the war standard language

gained hegemony along with the rise of the nation state and speaking dialects was

associated with shame. In this way, standard Japanese became the bearer of cultural

capital. After the war, with democratization, dialects were able to shed their taboo status,

and achieved acceptance among people. Post-war democratization in Japan opened the

gates to a smoothing (but not elimination) of the cultural capital associated with a single

standard language. This went along with changes in the status of women's rights in the

workforce, politics and education, the reformation (liberalization) of the education system

and increasing diversity. Today, although *kyōtsū-go* still has hegemony in society, there are more occasions when people show their acceptance of and interest in dialect.

The industrial revolution (from the late 1700s to the early 1800s), which started in the United Kingdom, spread to other countries, and concomitantly successful countries developed into nation states. This represents the first unification of language and capital. As for Japan, Meiji (1868-1912) is when the concept of standard language was introduced from western countries and Tokyo dialect gained linguistic capital through its legitimation as a standard language. Ueda Kazutoshi had a key role in establishing the national language as Japan too became a nation state. The standardization and legitimation of Tokyo dialect began its march to hegemony in the 1899 establishment of the National Language Council. It should also be observed that with Sino-Japanese War (1845-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904), there was a growing awareness about other nations, which further strengthened Japanese consciousness of nationhood. Hence, the ideology of unification of national language was exercised as one of the tools of establishing Japan as a nation state. As an offshoot, the government implemented language policy for *hyōjun-go* promotion and dialect eradication in education, and thus *hyōjun-go* gained linguistic capital as an authoritative language. In this we see the process by which cultural capital is formalized and achieved.

Although the obvious dialect boom started in the late 1970s, the key of the shift in ideology and the change in linguistic capital derive from post-war democratization (*minshuka*, 民主化). The Japanese political system (including the emperor system) was overturned in 1945, and the new Japanese constitution was passed in 1946. This was

followed by the establishment of a 'democratic' system under the influence of American

Occupational Force. Human rights were declared to be inviolable, and the militaristic and

authoritarian power structure was dismantled (Saito & Imai, 2004). Eventually, "the term

'democracy' acquired a certain vogue and the idea became a national preoccupation"

(Saito & Imai, 2004, p, 584). As a result, the shift of people's values toward democracy

was underway, and a new ideology was born.

There were democratic changes in multiple fields. For instance, the current school

system of providing 6 years of elementary school, 3 years of junior high school and 3

years of high school was implemented by the Ministry of Education, whose members

were democratically elected (Saito & Imai, 2004, p. 585). Teachers were given expanded

freedom in the conduct of their work (p. 585). Although in the early post-war era the

government still encouraged use of standard language in education, forceful eradication

of dialects declined. Also, enhancement of women's rights was one of the major targets

of GHQ/SCAP's democratization policies (Matsuda, 2012, p. 519). In sum, despite the

on-going issues with Japan's attitudes toward minorities and diversity, Japan had fewer

feudalistic characteristics after the war. Moreover, growing numbers of people came to

acknowledge diversity in values, gender, nationality and culture that were acquired

through democratization.

This writer believes that democratization led to greater acceptance of linguistic

diversity: dialect. The change in terms from *hyōjun-go* to *kyōtsū-go* starting from 1951 is

one harbinger of this change. Under the ideology of constructing a unified nation during

the war, dialect was suppressed for the purpose of unifying the country. After the war,

democratization led to a loosening of strict standards. According to Jinnouchi (2006), more and more people value dialect because the generation that was born after 1975 grew up in the postmodern language life, in which non-standard things are more appreciated.

Today dialect has acquired value—it holds linguistic capital. By speaking dialect a speaker demonstrates the ability and knowledge of different speech from different regions. Before the war, dialect tended to bring up an image of "unsophistication," but today ability to handle dialect is considered as skillful. Moreover, dialect represents the regional identity of its speaker, and this is now valued as one element that constitutes Japan's diversity. Passi (2003) defines regional identity as 'an interpretation of process through which a region becomes institutionalized, a process consisting of the production of territorial boundaries, symbolism and institutions (p. 3). Radcliffe & Westwood (1996) mentions that expressions of regional identity are found all over the world, and 'belonging to a region may raise a sense of identity that challenges the hegemonic identity narratives (p. 109). Le-Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) see "linguistic behavior as a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (p. 14). Hence, speaking dialect reflects the speaker's identity and attitude towards place. Being able to speak is a valued cultural capital in contemporary Japan.

Earlier it was mentioned that some scholars observe the phenomenon that regional dialects have turned into social dialect. This also appears to be a symptom of regional dialects acquiring linguistic capital. For instance, among young people who mainly speak *kyōtsū-go*, it is observed that they insert some elements of different dialects into the

positions of end of sentences and emotion words. Kobayashi (2004) calls this "accessorization of dialects" because dialects are more likely to function as style markers rather than actual reginal identifiers. This phenomenon can also be regarded as the speakers' exercise of in-group marker. According to Labov, "Markers are sociolinguistic variables that show variation in both social and stylistic dimensions" (Labov 1972, cited by Coupland, 2007, p. 93). This implies that the cultural capital of dialect goes beyond geography.

This is not to suggest that *kyōtsū-go* no longer has hegemony in Japan. While *hyōjun-go* ideology was manipulated by the government for the purpose of unifying Japan as a nation state before the war, *kyōtsū-go* continued to play a similar role under the ideology of democratization. If *hyōjun-go* enforces the unity with its authority as a top-down strategy, ideology of *kyōtsū-go* can be called bottom-up strategy because citizens willingly speak *kyōtsū-go* and contribute to the unification of Japan, favoring the idea of democratization. In fact, today almost all Japanese people are capable of handling *kyōtsū-go*, and not being able to speak *kyōtsū-go* would be an issue that constrains a speaker in terms of social and economic success.

In conclusion, dialects in Japan have acquired linguistic capital and gained people's acceptance as an offshoot of the post-war democratization in society. At one time people viewed dialects in terms of a simple dichotomy between eradication and preservation. However, today dialect gives people access to power in society, and goes beyond geography. In fact, with the growing influence of media and internet, people are

exposed to linguistic diversity more than ever before. We must keep our attention on the

changing values of regional dialect and its divergence in the future.

Reference

Agency for Cultural Affairs (2001). 国語審議会答申・建議集 [Report of the Japanese language council].

American Psychological Association. (n.d.). Social theory re-wired. Cultural capital. Retrieved from http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital. Accessed 06.12.16.

Ball, C. (2004). Repertoires of registers: dialect in Japanese discourse. *Language and Communication*, 24, 355-380.

Beer, W & Jacob, J. (1985). *Language policy and national unity*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld Publishers.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.). (1985). *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.

Chamberlain, B. (1985). Essay in Aid of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Luchuan Language. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan,* 2.

Clark, P. (2009). *The Kokugo revolution*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies.

Coupland, N. (2007). *Style*: Language variation and identity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gottlieb, N. (2005). *Language and society in Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gottlieb, N. (2012). *Language policy in Japan*: The challenge of change. New York:

    Cambridge University Press.

Hanks, W. (2005). Pierre Bourdieu and practice of language. *Annual Review of*

    Anthropology, 34, 67-83.

Haugen, E. (1966). Dialect, language, nation. *American Anthropologist*, 68, 922-035.

Heinrich, P. (2012). *The making of monolingual Japan: Language ideology and Japanese*

    modernity. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Heath, B. (1989). Language ideology. In E, Barnouw. & G, Gerbner, et al (Eds.). (1989).

    International Encyclopedia of communications. (pp. 393-95). New York: Oxford

    University Press

 Hepburn, J. (1872). *和英語林集成* [Japanese-English and English-Japanese Dictionary].

    Yokohama: American Presbyterian Mission Press.

Hoshina, K. (1902). 国語調査委員会決議書について [On decisions taken by the

    National Language Research Council]. *言語学雑誌* [Journal of Linguistics] 3,

    70-86.

Kindaichi, H. (1977). *日本語方言の研究* [The study of Japanese dialects]. Tokyo:

    Tokyodo Shuppan.

Inoue, H. (2006). Osaka's culture of laughter. In J, Davis (Ed.) (2006). *Understanding*

    humor in Japan (pp. 27-35). Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Jinnouchi, M. (2006). 方言の年齢差―若者を中心に [Age gap in dialects: With the focus on young people]. *日本語学*[*Nihongo-gaku*], 23(1-6), 42-48.

Kawachi, A. (2004). 戦前生活綴方における教育評価論研究の方向性:綴方批評と 「生活台」分析を結ぶ観点から [The direction of the education evaluation studies on pre-war writing training for daily life: from the perspectives of criticism of *tsuzurikata* and analysis of *seikatsudai*]. *京都大学大学院教育学研 究科紀要*[Publication of Kyoto University Graduate School of Education], 50, 131-143.

Kobayashi, T. (1996). 現代方言の特質 [Characteristics of modern dialects]. In Kobayashi, T., Shinozaki, K. & Ōnishi, T. (Eds). *方言の現在*[The current situtation of dialects]. Tokyo: Meijishoin.

Kobayashi, T. (2004). アクセサリーとしての現代方言[Contemporary dialect; Accessories of the language]. *社会言語科学*[*Shakaigengokagaku*], 7(1), 105-107.

Kretzschmar, W. (2004). Regional dialects. In E, Finegan & J, Rickford (2004). *Language in the U.S.A.: Themes for the twenty-first century* (pp. 39-57). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kroskrity, P. (2000). Language ideologies in the expression and representation of Arizona Tewa identity. *Regimes of language: Ideologies, polities, and identities*, 329-59.

Le Page, R. & Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985). *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, Y. (2010). *The ideology of kokugo*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Malkiel, Y. (1984). A linguist's view of the standardization of a dialect. In Scaglione, A. (Ed.), *The emergence of national languages* (pp. 51-73). Ravenna, Italy: Longo Editore.

Miller, R. (1977). *The Japanese language in contemporary Japan*. Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Marks, C. (1976). Policy and Attitudes towards the Teaching of Standard Dialect: Great Britain, France, West Germany. *Comparative Education*, 12(3), 199-218.

Matsuda, H. (2012). America, modernity, and democratization of everyday life: Japanese women's magazines during the occupation period. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 13, 518-531.

National Institute for Educational Policy Research. (2002). Study about the improvement of the curriculum of *kokugo*-related subjects: Historical transition and trends in foreign countries. Retrieved from https://www.nier.go.jp/kiso/kyouka/PDF/report_09.pdf. Accessed 06.12.16.

Oka, S. (1874). 今昔較 [The comparison between the past and today]. Retrieved from http://kindai.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/767888/16. Accessed 06.12.16.

Okamoto, S. (2008). Speech style and the use of regional (Yamaguchi) and standard

    Japanese in conversations. In K, Jones. & T, Ono. (Eds.). (2008). *Style Shifting in*

    Japanese. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Parsons, T. (1959). An approach to the sociology of knowledge. In J, Curtis & J, Petras

    (Eds.). (1959). *The Sociology of Knowledge: A Reader* (pp. 282-306). New York:

    Praeger.

Passi, A. (2003). Region and place: Regional identity in question. *Progress in Human*

    Geography. 27(4), 475-485.

Petyt, K. (1980). *The study of dialect: An introduction to dialectology*. London: Andre

    Deutsch.

Radcliffe, S. &Westwood, S. (1996). *Remaking the Nation*. London: Routledge.

Ramsey, R. (2004). The Japanese language and the making of tradition. *Japanese*

    Language and Literature, 38 (1), 81-110.

Rubin, J. (1973). Language planning: discussion of some current issues. In Rubin, J. &

    Shuy, R. (Eds.). (1973). *Language planning: Current issues and research*.

    Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Routledge (n.d.). Social theory rewired: cultural capital. Retrieved from

    http://routledgesoc.com/category/profile-tags/cultural-capital. Accessed

    07.11.2016.

Rumsey, A. (1990). Wording, Meaning and Linguistic Ideology. *American Anthropologist.* 92, 346-361.

Saito, N. & Imai, Y. (2004). In search of the public and the private: philosophy of education in post-war Japan. *Comparative Education*, 40, 583-594.

Sanada, S. (1991). *標準語はいかに成立したか* [How the standaed Japanese has been established]. Tokyo: Sotakusha.

Sanada, S. (1996). *地域語のダイナミズム―関西* [Dynamism of regional languages: Kansai]. Tokyo: Ohfu.

Sato, K. (1996). *方言主流社会―共生としての方言と標準語* [Dialect-mainstream society: coexistence of dialects and standard langauge]. Tokyo: Ohfu.

Sato, R. (2006). 方言の復活と方言大会―山形県三川町の全国方言大会を中心に [Rehabilitation of dialects and dialect convention: the case of national dialect convention in Mikawa-machi, Yamagata prefecture]. *日本語学* [Nihongo-gaku], 23(1-6), 60-68.

Scaglione, A. (1984). The rise of national languages: East and West. In Scaglione, A. (Ed.), *The emergence of national languages* (pp. 9-49). Ravenna, Italy: Longo Editore.

Shibata, T. (1958). *日本の方言* [Japanese dialect]. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Shibata, T. (1978). *社会言語学の課題* [The issues of sociolinguistics]. Tokyo: Sanseido.

Shibatani, M. (1990). *The languages of Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Siegel, J. (2010). *Second Dialect Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Silverstein, M. (1979). Language structure and linguistic ideology. In P, Clyne, W, Hanks
    Hanks, & C, Hofbauer. (Eds.). (1979). *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic*
    Units and Levels. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thompson, J. (1984). *Studies in the theory of ideology*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.

Tojo, M. (1927). 大日本方言地図[Dialect map of imperial Japan]. Tokyo: Ikuei Shoin.

Twine, N. (1988). Standardizing written Japanese. A factor in modernization.
    Monumenta Nipponica. 43, 429– 454.

Ueda, K. (1895). 国語と国家と [National Language and the State]. In K. Ueda (ed.). *国*
    語のため [For the National Language] (pp. 1– 28). Tokyo: Fusanbo.

Wetzel, P. (2008). Keigo ideology. In J, Mori & A, Ohta. (Eds.). *Japanese applied*
    linguistics. (pp. 111-128). London: Continuum.

Wolfram, W (1998). Language Ideology and Dialect: Understanding the Ebonics
    Controversy. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 26, 181-121.

Yamane, K. (1986). *変体少女文学の研究*[Study of obsolete girls' literature]. Tokyo:
    Kodansha.

Woolard, K. (1992). Language ideology: Issues and approaches. *Pragmatics*, 2(3), 235-
249.

Woolard, K. (1998). Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In B,
Schieffelin., K, Woolard & P, Kroskrity. (Eds.). (1998). *Language ideologies:
Practice and theory.* (pp. 3-27). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yasuda, T. (1999). *国語と方言の間: 言語構築の政治学* [Between *kokugo* and dialect:
The politics of language construction]. Tokyo: Jinbun Shoin.