Folklore Studies

Published by the S.V.D. Research Institute in Tokyo

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A DIALECT-GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE JAPANESE DIALECTS

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TOKYO 1956

VOL. XV

E.

1956

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have to express my heartfelt thanks to the following people who helped me greatly in publishing this paper.

First to Father M. Eder, S.V.D., who gave me this opportunity of publishing my work together with his generous encouragement. Also to Mr. Yamaguchi Seiji, who unsparingly helped me as much as possible in preparing the manuscript for the press.

I wish to thank specially my many friends who helped me in translating the original manuscript into English; especially Mr. Masui Michio who gave me his advice from the start, next, Mr. Yoshimura Kiyoshi who has guided me through the whole works, Mr. Sakaguchi Noboru who with utmost unselfishness gave up so much of his time to review the whole translation, and Mr. Katayanagi Kan for arranging the text for print.

Finally, I wish to thank Father Willem A. Grootaers, C.I.C.M., who, understanding my dialectal study, encouraged me to publish this paper; he was the very first person who gave me advice from the beginning to the end.

This work was made possible through the kindness of the above mentioned people to whom I am most deeply indebted.

Hiroshima, October 1954

FUJIWARA YOICHI

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Editor's Note on the use of the distribution maps

We regret that financial limitations did not permit us to reproduce in print all the distribution maps that Prof. Fujiwara had so painstakingly prepared for the purpose of his dialect-geographical study presented here for the linguists of Japan and abroad. Thus the reader may sometimes be embarrassed by the gaps he finds in the numerical order of the printed maps. We thought it fit however to employ the original numbers of the maps as we received them from the author, to remind the reader of the fact that the author, in his statements and conclusions, relies on the results of his mapping work even in cases when certain maps are not put before the reader.

When references made to a map are put in brackets in the text, round brackets () mean that the map is found reprinted either in the text or in the appendix, square brackets [] mean that the map referred to had to be omitted here. When the number of the a Fig. is found without brackets, Figures unpublished are marked with \uparrow .

The decision as to which maps should be sacrificed was taken by the author himself upon our request, as he knows best which maps can more easily be spared than others.

For the readers convenience we present here a list of maps appearing either in the text or in the appendix and of those to which only reference is made by the author without having them reprinted by reasons given above. With this in mind, we hope the reader will find his way when perusing the maps.

1) Maps in the text:

Figures 146–193, 253–257.

2) Maps in the appendix:

Figures 1, 3, 6, 9, 13, 15, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 33, 36, 43, 45, 49, 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 62, 68, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 81, 85, 87, 96, 97, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 117, 118, 120, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 132, 140, 142, 143, 145, 194–252.

3) Maps unpublished:

Figures 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 74, 78, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 98, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 111, 113, 116, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 144.

PREFACE

Dialects are local linguistic units mutually contrasting inside one larger language unity, and having themselves an internal system of their own. During its history, the Japanese language has developed interesting dialectal varieties all over the country. The end and aim of this paper is to describe and explain with maps the facts and conditions of these dialects, and therefore it may be called a dialect-geographical study.

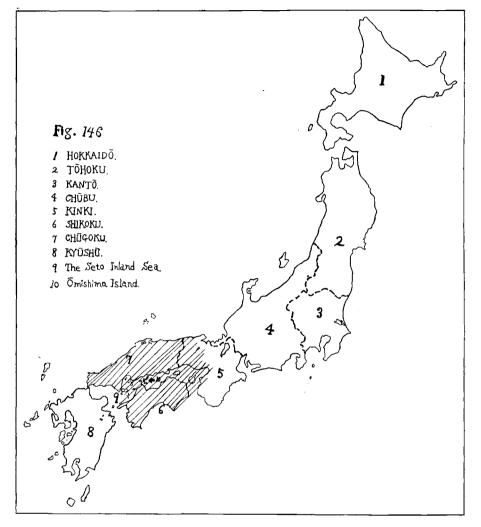
A language forms a network of dialects in marked contrast to one another, and with various degrees of affinity. If we trace their genealogy along these various degrees of affinity, we can gradually move from a unit of lower order to another of a higher order. Various oppositions in the dialects will be considered in their genealogical relation to some larger unit to grasp finally the dialectal synthesis in the whole language.

This paper consists of two parts. Part I treats of the dialects of the western part of Japan, namely, the Chûgoku (中國) district, the Shikoku (四國) district, and the Nishi-Kinki (西近畿) district or the western part of the Kinki district. This is the main part. In the following Fig. 146 (see following page) the part marked with slanting lines indicates the above-mentioned area*.

In Part II the conclusion based on the material described in Part I will be developed. Although at the outset of Part II the western part of Japan, including the Kinki district, will be chiefly taken up, the study will cover nearly the whole country, and something, at least, will be said on almost every dialect.

The reasons why we have given precedence to that part of Japan marked with slanting lines in the above figure, namely, Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki, are as follows. I was born on Ômishima (大三島) Island in the Seto Inland Sea (潮戶內海), which is formed by the coast-lines of the Chûgoku and Shikoku districts. The dialect there belongs to the Chûgoku group, but it is also influenced by the Shikoku group. From my infancy I have always been acutely conscious of, and been surprised at, the great differences existing between the dialects belonging to the two different groups. I have had the good fortune of being born on the line of cleavage between the two dialect groups. This caused me to take considerable interest in my own dialect

^{*} The figures in an appendix are numbered 1 to 145 and 194 to 252; accordingly, in the text we start with No. 146.



and gradually led me to observe the relations between the dialects of the Chûgoku group and those belonging to the Shikoku group.

Now, the study of a dialect, since it is the proper study of language, should start with the exact study and systematic grasp of one's own native dialect. When one is going to study the dialects found over a wide area, among the first requisites are a "keen ear" for dialects and a "sharp mind" to interprete dialectal phenomena. Such qualities are fostered chiefly through one's efforts for accurate observation of one's own native dialect. Therefore, I began with a study of my own dialect and then took up the dialects of the Chûgoku and Shikoku groups as the first subject of my dialect-geographical researches.

PREFACE

As stated above, every dialect is more or less related with other adjacent dialects in various degrees of affinity; such is the case, too, with the dialects of the Chûgoku and Shikoku districts. That there exists some kind of dialectal relationship between Chûgoku and Kinki will easily be imagined, since these districts lie side by side in Japan proper. What is more interesting is the fact that the Shikoku dialect has a considerable affinity with the Kinki dialect, separated though they are by a sea arm. Consequently, any study of the dialects of the Shikoku-Chûgoku area cannot be complete, if we fail to consider, at least, some parts of the Kinki district. It is for this reason that we have broadened our dialectal research to the wide area extending over Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki.

At this stage of our research, the question will arise how the dialectal phenomena of the above-mentioned areas are further related with those of adjacent areas. Therefore, I have already taken up in my linguistic maps certain places on Kyûshû (九州), the island which lies to the west of the main area for our survey, and also certain places far within the Kinki district to the east. Our observation in these areas allows a broader dialectal observation of whole Japan.

At this point, after the research made on the dialects of Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki, I made an inquiry into the accentuation of the whole Kinki district and its western districts. Part of the results are described in the begining of Part II. I made further a field investigation covering the whole of Japan. This of course is impossible for one person without limiting the work in some way. But as linguistic expressions of personal relationships form an important element of the Japanese language (in this respect, honorifics are worth our special attention), I chiefly concentrated on this point. During more than a decennium, I have made a field investigation of conversation forms all over the country from the standpoint of the dialectal varieties. The area covered extends from Kyûshû Island in the west to the Tôhoku (東北) district in the east. Making use of the results thus arrived at, I have made a general survey of the dialects of the whole country; some of the conclusions will be found in Part II.

PART I.

A Dialect-Geographical Study of Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki Districts

CHAPTER I. THE SURVEY AND ITS RESULTS

1. 1 Correspondence Survey

I followed for the present study a method by correspondence survey because I wished to carry out the survey within a short period of time as systematically as possible. In a survey at many places in an extensive area it is of primary importance that the materials for the study should have a unity. The comparison of materials will be possible only on the premise that each material is comparable with others. But a field investigation at many places in an extensive area will take months and years, which may allow sufficient time for the occurence of more or less changes in the dialect, and, consequently, the observation and comparison from the synchronical point of view may be imperfect. Confining to a minimum the disparity of time which may affect the materials collected on the different stage of linguistic changes, I tried to reduce the period of survey so that I might obtain as much as possible comparable materials from the synchronical point of view. I must needs, therefore, adopt the short-period survey by correspondence. The present survey was carried out from 1933 through 1934, which was the shortest period of time possible to me, who was at that time a young teacher (and later a university student).

During these two years I prepared the written questionnaire and with copies I visited in person the women's teachers' school of each prefecture to ask the students to help my survey. At each school I met first the teachers of Japanese language, to whom I explained the purpose of my survey planned over Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki districts as a united whole. After we had had long discussions on the concrete method, we discussed the places of the survey and singled out among the students the proper informants for the survey in each prefecture, while at times I talked the matter over personally with the pupils. In this respect my method was somewhat different from that of usual correspondence surveys. I flatter myself, that I could avoid to some extent their most common drawbacks. When the students who were to take part in my survey went home on vacation, they made a practical survey in their assigned territory. They were supposed to check everything with the members of their families, though it is indeed a question whether all the records were made faithfully according to my suggestions. Anyway, after they finished the survey of their own dialect at the end of the vacation, they presented the collected materials to their teachers, who, gathering the materials together from all the informants, sent them back to me. Thus, nearly all written questionnaires I placed in their hands were promptly returned with answers by each school—a thing I still remain very thankful for. With this the first stage of my special correspondence survey was completed.

Even so, it is obvious that one cannot avoid some shortcomings in such survey even if one could attain such good results as those aimed at beforehand. Taking this into account, I invented some devices in preparing the written questionnaire so as to obtain the most satisfactory results possible. It is because I wished to give a unity to the material and make allowance for the weak points in the correspondence survey that I addressed my questions only to the students of women's teachers' schools, who may be all regarded to be under the same condition. Reports prepared under variable conditions will show defects when combined in a united whole.

1. 2 Written Questionnaire

a For the completion of a full-scale survey of a certain dialect it is necessary to prepare an ideal written questionnaire, which will enable us to describe the whole system of the dialect. In a dialect-geographical survey over a wide area, each dialect should be investigated with the same thoroughness.

In my case too, first I intended to carry out the survey of each dialect according to its own linguistic system, and then to grasp more systematically the whole of the given areas, no matter how complicated might be the dialectal state of Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki districts. With this in view I prepared the written questionnaire. Nevertheless, not too much should be expected from this written questionnaire which is a simple one with a limited number of items. Now I think it is necessary to explain the way in which I prepared the questionnaire.

It was required as the first step that several most appropriate items should be chosen for the observation of the actual aspects of the dialects of Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki districts.

In order to investigate the dialects of these districts, we should as a premise have an eye on the united whole of the Japanese dialects as a higher vantage point. Here I must say that I owe very much to my teacher Prof.

Tôjô Misao, who long ago published Hôgen Saishû Techô (方言採集手帖) or "A Handbook for Gathering Dialectal Phenomena" made from the standpoint of all Japanese dialects, of which two or three simplified editions were issued later for the observation of Japanese dialects. Fortunately, Professor Tôjô prior to my survey, attempted a correspondence investigation into the dialect of Chûgoku, and he used for his investigation an adequate written questionnaire, which had been prepared on the basis of closer observation of Chûgoku dialect from the standpoint of all Japanese dialects. After the model of Professor Tôjô, I prepared my written questionnaire with some modifications, so that it might apply to my survey of dialects not only of Chûgoku but also of Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki.

b The written questionnaire I prepared for the survey contains only twelve pages and consists of three parts: Part 1, dealing with vocabulary, Part 2 with phonemes and Part 3 with grammar, the parts having 87, 55 and 56 items respectively.

How were the questions given in the written questionnaire? First, at the top of each page a vocabulary word or item is printed, and next are given some corresponding dialectal forms in the middle of the page, by which I attempted to give several dialectal forms supposed to be prevalent in Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki districts. After observing their own speech activities or asking people around them, the informants select the suitable form and put it down in the blank space provided at the bottom of the page.

The various dialectal forms given in the middle of each page were provided with a view to suggesting, stimulating, and helping the informants to fill the entry in the written questionnaire. That, I believe, contributed a great deal toward obtaining far more accurate and better results than expected from a survey by simple questions. Each of the given dialectal forms was as it were a question asking "Do you use such-and-such an expression in your locality?" If in the blank space at the bottom we find one selected out of the above given dialectal forms, we could judge the form was in actual use. It might be that the given forms influenced the informant, but in reality they seemed to have done no harm in selecting the right form, because they were not imagined forms but ones supposed to be existing in certain areas. We also noticed that the agents selected the right forms just as they thought, without being puzzled or misled by the other given forms. In short, we may assert that the above mentioned device of giving some dialectal forms in the middle of each page was efficient and helpful in obtaining better results in the correspondence survey.

1. 3 Informants

I attempted to keep some uniformity in the character and condition of

the informants in order to give a unity to the materials which were afterwards to be compared with each other. Thus, without hesitation I took up the students of the women's teachers' schools of each prefecture, who were much the same in age (mostly from 15 to 18 years old). You may chose another group of informants of an other social status, say, a group of elementary school teachers. But in order to get many people under the same condition and call them into activity within a short period, by my own efforts, I could think, as a young researcher, of no better subjects than the students of women's teachers' schools. To keep the survey efficient, I had been looking for a group of answerers who were easy to get and could obviously be expected to show much the same reactions, until at last I thought of the students of women's schools who were fortunately all nearly equal both in intellectual faculties and in living conditions.

I thought I had taken all possible care in the preparation of the survey, but taking up and examining each prefecture separately now, I have to confess that I was not fully successful in chosing the surveyed localities. The number of the places of survey was different according to the prefecture, but generally speaking as the survey was made at many places, I think I have grasped a correct impression of the state of dialectal distribution. There was a place where more than two agents were found.

The number of the places where the informants were obtained is shown in the following table.

Yamaguchi	(山口)	Prefecture		46	places
Shimane	(島根)	,,		59	» ,
Tottori	(鳥取)	,,	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	40	,,
Hiroshima	(廣島)	,,		37	,,
Okayama	(岡山)	,,		135	,,
Kagawa	(香川)	"	•••••	43	,,
Tokushima	(徳島)	,,	•••••	59	,,
Ehime	(愛媛)	,,	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	126	,,
Kôchi	(高知)	"	•••••	54	,,
Hyôgo	(兵庫)	,,	•••••	83	"
Ôsaka	(大阪)	,,		59	"
The Inland	Sea Is	lands (瀨戸	內海諸島)	92	,,
TOTAL		• • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	833	places

1. 4 Cartography

When the actual survey was completed, I went through the preparatory stages and at last set about drawing maps. Thus I first composed distribution maps where several colors where used in combination, which, however, did not cover all the items of the survey. Now that I am given the op-

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portunity of publishing my survey, I have decided to put the figures into one-colored print, and thus to show most of the items by figures, as varicolored printing seemed impossible on account of the costs involved. But I have kept myself from showing the most of the materials on the phonemes by figures, considering that the results were not satisfactory, although the actual survey on the phoneme was made. It need not be repeated here that the inquiry into phoneme by means of conrrespondence survey of this kind is rarely successful.

In such an extensive area the local differences, for instance, between the names given to a certain thing, are not easily shown in detail on a one-colored map. The matters to be indicated on the map could not but be limited in number on a black and white figure, and this depended upon the subject itself.

In deciding the matters to be recorded on the figure, I first took a general view of the various linguistic phenomena in each area in the light of the items of the survey, then chose the phenomena that seemed to reflect the characteristics of these areas and contrived to show on the figure the local characteristic whether it is formed in a wide area or not.

In practice, I naturally adopted first the phenomena which were widely distributed and which showed general trends, and next those which seemed important in respect of their locality even if they were not all widely distributed. All the process of the above-mentioned selection should not be unbalanced, but should be in close touch with reality in the field of materials. As a systematic treatment of various phenomena in the items of survey, we must not, of course, neglect recording even on the figure those facts which are not typical (in the field of the materials) or in which a clear distribution is not noticed.

Each of the figures composed in this way shows how the answerers under certain unified conditions responded simultaneously to the question; and each figure has its specific significance. Thus more than a hundred figures of this kind as a whole give concisely and systematically an outline of the dialectal state in the area for our survey.

I regret to say that the symbols I used on the figures composed at first had to be simplified to the present figures.

1. 5 Evaluation of the results

a Firstly, the maps themselves constitute the main and first results of the survey. These figures of distribution show that such-and-such facts really exist as far as these items of the survey are concerned. They show that, judging from the results brought out by this group of answer, certain facts really exist. But there are in fact things, and in some cases many things,

other than the recorded matters on these figures, and you would be able to draw out many other facts from the survey by another group of informants. These figures, therefore, do not say "there is nothing else." However, on the figures showing that something exists, the places where that feature is not indicated draw our attention through the very absense. When one of the dialectal forms presented to the informant in the middle part of the written questionnaire is the subject of a map, we may judge as a rule that there exists no such form in the places or area without annotations.

b Nevertheless, as the present survey was done in collaboration, there still remain some unreliable or inaccurate points: for instance, the answers recognizing the existence of some forms may not always be reliable. Thus, on the distribution maps, some inaccuracy is inevitable. Sometimes on the map some state of wide distribution may include obvious mistakes. I know it from my frequent surveys by travelling through the actual places. In other cases, where the phenomenon exists only in a limited area of Chûgoku and ought not to be found in a certain area of Shikoku, it crops up in Shikoku.

Viewed from another angle, however, these cases cannot always be rejected because we must take migration into consideration. Not limited to migration, words may be transfered from or to some places by travellers or by some other means. We must, then, admit that such various accidents are possible. Notice, for example, that various linguistic elements exist, mixed with each other in large towns and cities.

Therefore, we cannot affirm, without due consideration, that the state of some map is as unreasonable, even if it seems so at the first glance. I made an endeavour to indicate on figures the distribution of the phenomena faithful to the reality of the materials.

c Granting that there still remain some disputable points in the reports on the existence of some linguistic phenomena, we can say most of the figures show us the right phenomena. From my memory acquired by travelling through the actual places, I could not but associate each figure with the actual circumstances when I was drawing the maps.

We can induce from these many figures the various tendencies of dialectal distribution and, consequently, the existence of smaller units; and these will show the general situation of the dialects. In the light of my experience of the actual survey of most Japanese dialects, I can venture to say that these conclusions about the tendency of dialectal dispersion have an indisputable significance. On looking back upon this survey, I find that it has constituted a concise but powerful starting-point for my later survey of all the dialects of the country.

d It must be repeated here again that the present survey was carried out between 1933 and 1934, and the answerers were mostly young women aged from 15 to 18. The survey was made a considerably long time ago

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and the informants were all young at that time. Even if old people partly helped those women in the survey, the actual agents were the young women themselves. Now that these women have attained their maturity, what change may have occured in their speech activities?

As they were young each of them might have made mistakes by her own misunderstanding. But the agents for the survey were all under the same condition, so their manners of misunderstanding might closely resemble; that is, similar mistakes might be noticed in the answers. Therefore, in this case also, we obtained unified materials. After all, in a correspondence survey ' the unification of the materials ' is the first and practicable thing to be aimed at, even if some results cannot be drawn from such surveys.

CHAPTER 2. THE PHONOLOGICAL FOUNDATION IN CHÛ-GOKU AND NISHI-KINKI DISTRICTS

2. 1 Introduction

Whichever aspect of a dialect is studied, the phonetic phenomena come first. And our present study on the dialects of Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki districts is to be conducted accordingly.

Linguistically influential or not and geographically large or small, each locality has its own phonological foundation and substratum on which each dialectal phenomenon with its particular phonetic aspect is founded.

Hence, in case we have to present the maps of dialectal distribution, it is proper to present the maps of phonological distribution first. We shall give here as systematically as possible for the purpose of presenting the phonological foundation of the districts of our interest, the main phenomena as ascertained through a survey by correspondence.

2. 2 Phonetic distribution: Category 1. Assimilation of double vowels

a A geographic outline of the investigated areas should be provided first to show the natural environment by which the development of the local dialectal phenomena are inevitably conditioned.

Readers are, for convenience's sake, referred to the *Map of Entire Japan* (Fig. 146) in the preface of the present work. It suffices to show the relationship among the islands. For the general formation of mountains and rivers, however, the reader is adviced to consult a good orographic and hydrographic map of Japan.

b A basic map (Fig. 1) with the names of the places is given here prior to the other maps.

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THE PHONOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

Chûgoku district consists of five prefectures or Ken (縣), and Shikoku of four. The district tentatively called Nishi-Kinki includes two prefectures. Each prefecture is divided into further administrative sections or Gun (郡) as indicated by the lines bordering them and several cities or Shi (市) in each prefecture are indicated in the same way. The locations investigated are scattered among each Gun and are indicated by the dots bearing numbers. (The numbering, beginning by 1 in each prefecture, however, may be ignored.) Administratively, the islands in the Seto Inland Sea, Setonaikai (瀨戶內海), belong respectively to the surrounding prefectures along the coast, but we consider them as one unit, naming them " the Inland Sea Islands ", Setonaikai Shôtô (瀨戶內海諸島), and the investigated spots are numbered there from east to west.

On the reduced maps (Fig. 2 and the following), however, these tiny numbers cannot easily be read, but it will not constitute an obstacle in the present study of the dialect distribution, as one can easily refer to Fig. 1.

c-1 [Fig. 2] The pronunciation of omoshiroi (面白い) (amusing)

Phonetically, words as well as sentences in Japanese are made up of a series of one or more simple syllables. In the case of *omoshiroi*, we find five syllables to be read as 'o-mo-shi-ro-i.' By simple syllables is meant syllables consisting of usually a consonant and a vowel regularly paried ending in the vowel—in a word, they are what is called 'open syllables.' Those syllables consisting of one vowel alone, as in the case of present 'o' and 'i,' may be considered as the same as those which are open at the end, and should be handled as equivalent to those regular 'complexes of a consonant and a vowel.' Thus we can generalize and state that the phonetic structure of Japanese consists of such arrangement of regularly simple syllables.

In the cases of two consecutive syllables whose second syllable is of a single vowel without the regular initial consonant, there is a chance of assimilation between the two adjoining vowels. This type of assimilation, however, is seldom found in the common language and such assimilation is considered not standard. Among dialects, however, this phenomenon is rather common, and this symptom is first to be noticed in our treatment of the phonological foundation of the dialects of the investigated districts. Fig. 2 is to illustrate some facts about this phenomenon.

As for the transformation of the final two vowels 'o-i' of omoshiroi, we find on the figure, that an assimilation of |oi| > |e:| or $|\epsilon:|$ is dominant —that is, either |omofile:| or |omofile:| is prevalent chiefly in the eastern half of Chûgoku and the northern part of Nishi-Kinki. In some northern parts, such as the eastern half of Shimane Prefecture and the western part of Tottori Prefecture, we can find such pronunciation as |omofile|. In these areas, as it will become clear later, |l| is usually elusive (cf. p. 28), and accordingly /omofile/ changes into /omof:e/ etc.

As for the remaining areas, the assimilation of the double vowel 'oi' is found rather to be rare as the map indicates—especially, the phenomenon seldom takes place in Shikoku or in the most of Kinki. These are the areas where such phenomena cannot occur because of the particular linguistic basis of the dialect.

There is a section to the north of Nishi-Kinki where the assimilation quite frequently takes place. As it will be clarified later, though administratively a part of Kinki, the section actually shares very much with northern Chûgoku so far as its dialectal basis is concerned. Another form of assimilation of the double vowels takes place in the western half of Chûgoku, but as it will be also explained later [see Fig. 4 and ff.], it is a type of assimilation different from the one now considered and hence the section is relegated to another dialectal district with another linguistic basis.

Following this case of /oi/>/e:/ etc., some more cases of assimilation between vowels follow now.

c-2 (Fig. 3) The pronunciation of samui (寒い) (cold)

The double vowel /ui/ in the word gives rise to a regressive assimilation and becomes /i:/. Hence we find areas, where /sami:/ is current. Again, an alteration of /samui/ into /sabui/ is a phenomenon noticed scatteringly in the majority of the investigated areas. And in the areas where /sami:/ is current, /sabui/ is eventually replaced by /sabi:/. If we observe the distribution of /sami:/ and /sabi:/, we will realize that the main range of distribution of assimilation /ui/>/i:/ almost coincides with that of /oi/>/e:/ etc. distribution.

We even see such pronunciations as /sami/ and /sabi/ in some northern parts of Chûgoku as we did on the preceding map.

Clearly enough, Kinki and Shikoku are again found devoid of this type. The fact is affirmed by another survey of the pronunciation of *tsuitachi* (\mathfrak{H} \square) (the first day of a month). Though not mapped here, the alteration /ui/</ii/ of the word is also found where the alteration descrived by Fig. 3 is prevailing, and no such alteration in Shikoku and Kinki.

c-3 [Fig. 4] The pronunciation of *nai* (無い) (there is no \sim .)

The double vowel of /ai/ in *nai* also undergoes two kinds of assimilation one of which is a mutual assimilation /ai/ $</\infty$:/ or /ɛɔ:/. The assimilation advances still further to /ɛ:/ or /e:/, thus effecting the shift of pronunciation of the word from /nai/ into /næ:/, /nɛɔ:/, and even to /nɛ:/ and /ne:/. While in the area of our interest in the northern part of Chûgoku, we find such forms as /nɛɔ/ and /ne/.

Interestingly enough, however, by looking at the distribution of this

series of phonetic features, we come to realize that it coincides precisely with those of the preceding ones.

Another significant feature of the phonetic distribution in the progressive assimilation of the vowels /ai/ of *nai* into /a:/ or / α :/, thus eventually shifting /nai/ into /na:/ or /na:/ is found in the western half of Chûgoku. It deserves special notice that the areas where we find this progressive assimilation of /ai/>/a:/ or / α :/ borders on the areas where the mutual assimilation is governing.

These two kinds of /ai/ assimilation and their distribution will also find their respective counterparts in the following three examples. (Maps are omitted here.)

akai (赤い) (red)

/akæ:/, /akɛə:/, /akɛ:/ /ake:/, /ake/ /aka:/ /akɑ:/

hairu (入る) (to enter)

/hæ:tu/, /hɛə:tu/, /hɛətu/, /hɛə:// /hɛ:tu/, /he:tu/

/ha:tu/ /ha:tu/

daikon (大根) (garden radish)

/dæ:kop/, /dæ:ko/, /de:kop/, /de:ko/

/da:kon//da:ko/

Being 'daikon' a name of a thing, the case is rather different from the preceding examples . . . /da:kop/ or /da:ko/ was not found so frequently as might be expected in those areas of the |ai/>/ai/ or /a:/ pattern.

Attention is directed to the phonetic shift involved in *kaite* ($\pm \upsilon \tau$) (writing), where a set of double vowels /ai/ definitely developes into two contrasting types of assimilation and their distribution respectively coincides with that of *nai* in the preceding paragraph.

/kæ:te/, /kaɛte/, /ke:te/

/ka:te/

In this case too, the distribution of /ka:te/ as well as that of /na:/ is remarkable.

Surely again, Shikoku and Kinki (exclusive of the north-western part of the latter) are marked by the absence of the assimilation, thus preserving /kaite/ intact. Noting that *kaite* has been established as common language and is now universally current throughout Chûgoku, the fact is significant that the assimilation of /ai/ is nevertheless prevalent throughout the district. The general tendency in Shikoku and Kinki remains unaffected.

This is a case parallel to that of the preceding one in its grammatical constitution and the phonetic shift involved in *daite* /daite/ is also parallel to that of *kaite*.

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During the change we notice a phonetic shift /dafite/>/dagite/. Even though it is not impossible in reality that /daite/ could have been the immediate replacement for the original /dafite/, yet, at the same time, we can easily figure from the general pattern of phonetic evolution that /daite/ has come through /dagite/: /dagite/ in these areas shows how the process passed via /dafite/>/dagite/. Under the entry *dashite* of our questionnaire for this survey, we had given only /daite/, /dæ:te/ and /de:te/ as the answer type, but some reported /dagite/ as well. This proves that these people were aware of such a variation as such, but, at the same time, this also leads us to a surmise that a great number of informants may have been careless enough not to notice the distinction—the differential factor /ci/ is so delicate in its articulation that it may very easily be unnoticed. In the areas where /dagite/ and /daite/ co-exist, the transition from /dagite/ into /daite/ is very easily detected. It is interesting to note that in some places they say /dagite/ but never /daite/.

Now, as for the mutual assimilation and its distribution of double vowels |ai| in |daite| and the progressive assimilation and its distribution of |ai| > |a:|, the reader may refer to Fig. 4[†]. |(da:te|, |da:te|, results of a mutual assimilation which are to be found in a section of northern Chûgoku, i.e., the eastern half of Shimane Prefecture, and in the western part of Tottori Prefecture.)

c-5. By synthetizing these various inclinations of dialects in their changes and distribution (c-1-c-4) on the maps, Fig. 2⁺ to Fig. 5⁺, we are able to draw a schematic map (Fig. 147) (p. 15). This map is to summarise the respective series of shifts of the double vowel /ai/ for each type of dialect groups based on the 'foundation' of its own which we have located and charted out already by tracing the shift of double vowels /oi/ and /ui/.

Area A is the area where a mutual assimilation of double vowels /oi/ and /ai/ and a regressive assimilation of /ui/ take place with a local tendency of contraction in the northern part of the area. It is to be noticed that this area also covers the northern part of Nishi-Kinki district. The northern part of Nishi-Kinki is linguistically based on a different foundation from that of Kinki proper.

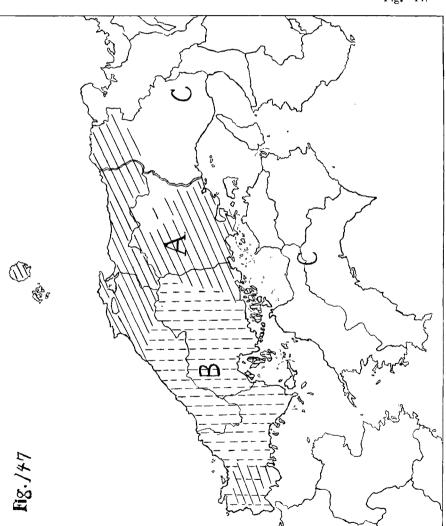
Area B obviously is based on a linguistic foundation of a |ai| > |a:| |a:| assimilation pattern, which is also confirmed by instances besides those worked into our maps.

In spite of the distinction between Area A and B, the actual difference of phonetic quality between two derivatives of /ai/, namely /æ:/ and /a:/, is not too decisive, /æ:/ being a considerably open vowel. Whenever the /a/ and /i/ of /ai/ combination exchange influences, /a/ usually prevails upon the other and hence an /ai/ could have turned into /a:/ as readily as it would have become /æ:/. Even in /a:/ /ɑ:/ sections (i.e., Area B), especially in the western part, /æ:/ is found dominant as shown in the map.

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Area C is the area where no assimilation of double vowels occurs, which is indicative of the fact that this area stands alone on a different linguistic foundation from the other two. We are thus introduced to a major contrast drawn between two blocks—where assimilations occur and where they do not—namely Area A and B vz. Area C. This contrast is one of the major features of the over-all picture of the areas under survey.

The case of another double vowel /ei/ proves the similar contrast between the two; in Areas A and B, *tokei* (時計) (watch) is generally pronounced



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Fig. 147

/toke:/ whereas in Area C it is distinctly pronounced /tokei/ —in the former a progressive assimilation occurs but not in the latter. The same holds true with the case of *heitai* (兵隊) (soldier) when a similar contrast of /he:tai/ and /heitai/ is found. Although Chûgoku district is not without some /ei/ traits, in Shikoku and Kinki, a distinct utterance of /ei/ is current. To add another instance to this, as clearly indicated by Fig. 8[†], in Okayama Prefecture of Chûgoku district, we find a distinct utterance of /ko^rta⁺te:/*, a derivative of a traditional idiom *ko-rarei* (寒られい) (Come over, please) formerly spoken and developed, with Kyôto (京都), the capital of feudal Japan, in Kinki district, as its center. Today, the idiom is extinct in most of Kinki or in Shikoku, but it would yet assume the /ko^ra⁺tei/ form if it had to be uttered in these areas now.

d-1 (Fig. 6) The pronunciation of katte ($\mathfrak{g} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I}$) (buying ~)

Grammatically this is of a same formation as that of *dashite*, but we can notice in it a remarkable phenomenon, i.e., a distribution of /ka:te/ as shown on the map. This is found in a strip of area in the northern part of Chûgoku and northern Nishi-Kinki districts.

The map also indicates a vast distribution of /ko:te/, derived along the phonetic change of *kahite* /kaçite/, an original form of *katte*, the common word at present. To trace the transit, /kaçite/>/kaite/>/kaite/>/ko:te/. As to the assimilation of /au/ into /o:/ in the case above, an explanation will be given. To be exact, an assimilation |au|>/5:| was first to occur, which was once a decisive trend in the history of the Japanese language. The /5/, being a vowel unstable in an open syllabic language as Japanese is, naturally tended to find settlement in a stabler articulation, and hence we had /ko:te from /kaute/ and soon found /ko:te/ for the final form, which is the form of the word now prevalent as the map shows it.

However, this is a result of a phonetic evolution in the history prior to the modern era of our language in Kyôto as its center, and this will not explain the distribution of the present day common utterance *katte*, which is, by the way, founded on Tôkyô-dialect. *Katte* originally was and has been current in the Chûbu (中部) district—contiguous to the east of Kinki district and the districts further east, constituting another major linguistic contrast to the western half of Japan.

In spite of this, we discover /ku:te/ in northern Chûgoku of West Japan generally governed by /ko:te/---the counterpart to /ka:te/ of the East.

We may conjecture that |ka:te| was derived by finding |a:| |a:| for the unstable |o:| when the above mentioned phonetic change, i.e., |kaite|>

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^{* /}ha/ of /ko^rha³hei/ is in a bracket to indicate that the syllable bears the peak of the pitch accent of the word. As it is well known, Japanese is decidedly characterized by its. pitch-accent.

/kaute/>/ko:te/, took place.

Apparently there are two directions of settlement for this unstable |0:|, one being the direction towards |0:| and the other towards |a:| or |a:|. Fortunately in the districts of the present survey, these two directions are both well represented. The minority |ka:te| brings itself up against the general background of |0:| and the area draws a special attraction and makes itself conspicuous. In this particular area, we are almost sure that in every case |au| is sure to be found transformed into |a:| or a:| when elsewhere |au| > |0| transit would have taken place. Readers are asked to see the next case for a confirmation.

d-2 [Fig. 7] The pronunciation of kikô (聞こう) (Let's listen to ~.)

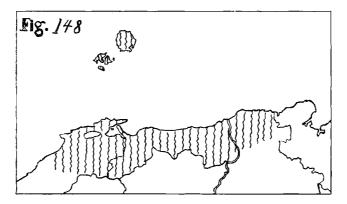
The original form of $kik\delta$ was diachronically kika-n /kikap/ (at this moment we will not refer to the forms preceding this stage), which became /kikau/. Then the mutual assimilation of the final two vowels eventually ensued. While /kiko:/ was eventuated through an evolution/ au/>/3:/>/o:/, the /kika:/ or a contraction /kika/ was effected via /au/>/3:/>a://a:/. Hence we have an intense distribution of /kika:/ /kika/ in the northern parts both of Chûgoku and Nishi-Kinki where /ka:te/ /kate/ are also found.

The distribution of /kiko:/ was not shown in the map, yet, the contraction /kiko/ is shown for the special purpose of indicating the fact that contraction of |0:|>|0:|>|0| is so peculiar to Shikoku and Kinki districts.

d-3 If we compare these two maps with Fig. 25, we can easily notice that the distribution of /data:/ /data/ (undoubtedly a derivative from /da-tau/) coincides with the distribution of /a:/ and /a/.

Readers will also notice in Fig. 29[†], the northern areas without symbols, which is meant to indicate negatively, however, that /ki:tata:/ (>/ki:tatau/) or /ki:tata/ is prevalent there.

By observing the particular process of the assimilation of double vowels, we are now able to deduce such special linguistic basis as follows.



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As to the eastern extremity of this area, a later investigation told us that the eastern areas beyond what is covered by this map may be ignored.

e [Fig. 8] The pronunciation of tonde (飛んで) (flying—present participle) and yonde (読んで) (reading—present participle).

These words of a grammatically similar formation are originally in parallel with *katte* mentioned above for their grammatical formation. In this map we discover /to:de/ and /jo:de/ for the *tonde* and *yonde* both in a peculiar way of distribution.

Diachronically, *tonde* and *yonde* were derived from *tobite* and *yomite* which underwent evolutions of /tobite/>/tonde/ /and /jomite/>/jonde/. This type of evolution is found not only in these surveyed areas but also throughout the country. However, /tonde/ and /jonde/ may have been further transformed along the evolutions /tonde/>/toude/>/to:de/ as well as /jonde/> /joude/>/jo:de/. Thus /tonde/ and /jonde/ respectively correspond to /to:de/ and /jo:de/.

Generally speaking, /to:de/ and /jo:de/ represent some rusticity and simplicity.

It is noteworthy that we can show the distribution of the above two as in the following map, by which we can discern the correlativity of the western half of Chûgoku and the western half of Shikoku.

f-1 (Fig. 9) The pronunciation of sake-o nomu) (酒を飲む) (to drink sake, Japanese wine)

A noun *sake* is defined by the particle o to be in objective case—a common practice in Japanese. And here again an amalgamation of the final vowel |e| and |o| is phonetically inevitable, which we have been calling an assimilation of double vowels. This map will show the distribution of this type of assimilation. With a few /sakju:/ cases, most of the phonetic forms are found to be /sakjo:/ or /sakjo/.

The case when a noun with its final vowel |i| is followed by a particle o |o| will be shown in the next map.

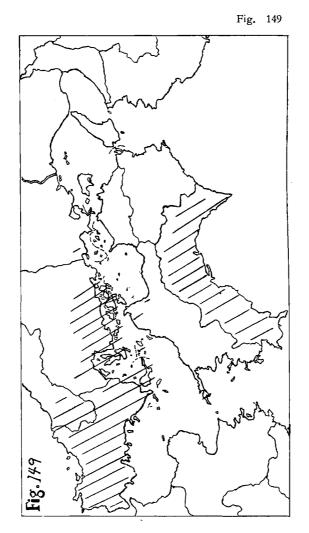
f-2 [Fig. 10] The pronunciation of tori-o toru (島を捕る) (to catch a bird)

When |i| of *tori* is annexed by an |o| of the particle o, |torju:| is found in far more pleaces than |sakju:| is. We may say, in this case, that if |i| and |o| were to be connected and amalgamated, |u:| is most likely to be caused.

In this map, however, we also find such phonetic changes as /torio/>/torio://torio//torio//torio//torio//

f-3 Either in the preceding case of /sakeo/ or in the present case of /tolio/, the problem always consists in the manner of assimilation when double vowels are occasioned, even though some grammatical element and

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factor is involved. /sakjo:/ and /sakjo/ are vastly found along most of Chûgoku and the northern part of Nishi-Kinki and chiefly in the two western prefectures of Shikoku, whereas /totju:/ is found densely first in Chûgoku and then in the northern part of Nishi-Kinki. Thus we may say that we can define the dialectal characteristics of Chûgoku district.

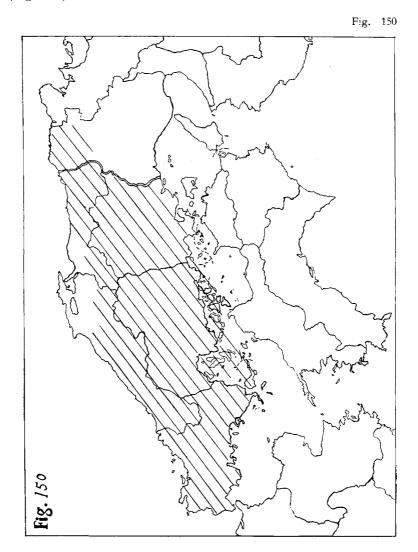
We assert that one of the major features of the linguistic facts about the Chûgoku district is that it stands on its own dialectal foundation, different from and contrasting to those on which the dialects of Shikoku and other districts are founded. We are reminded of the fact here that this Chûgoku characteristic also covers the northern part of Nishi-Kinki. The findings have convinced us of the fact that this particular area of Nishi-Kinki belongs

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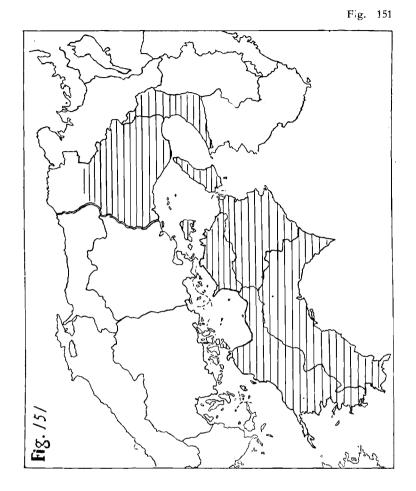
linguistically to the Chûgoku district rather than to Kinki proper. Once in a preceding paragraph the northern part of Chûgoku and the northern part of Nishi-Kinki were considered as one linguistic unit, but we may also recognize linguistic Chûgoku as a whole with its own characteristics.

However, in the special area of our present interest in this larger linguistic area, the phonetic change /totio/>/totju:/ is seldom found. This fact will require an extra attention.

The Chûgoku dialectal area mentioned above will be shown in the next map (Fig. 150).



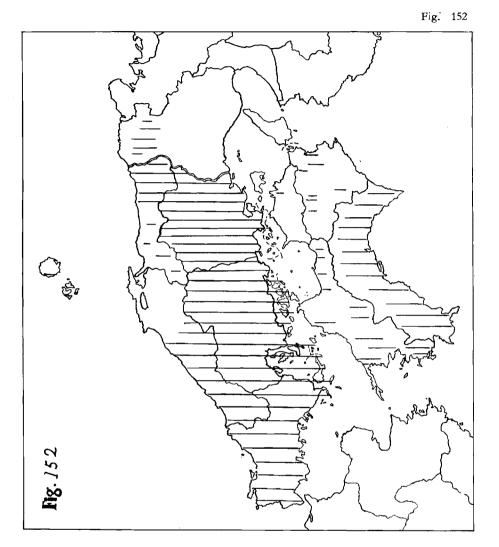
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As for /tołju:/, the pronunciation is not found in Shikoku and Kinki proper, revealing the location of the phonological foundation for these two districts which are similar to each other yet standing apart from that of Chûgoku, a fact to which we have referred heretofore.

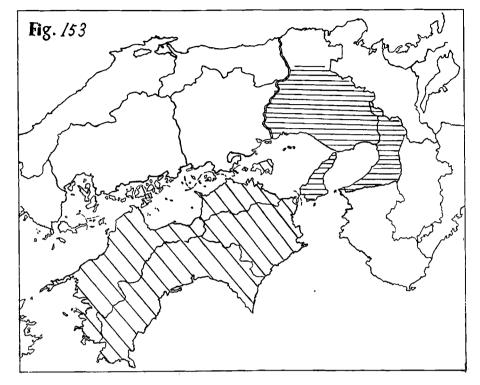
Concerning *sake-o* and *tori-o*, if the domain where the assimilation of vowels is more or less distinctive is to be marked out, the district in Fig. 150 (p. 20) (chiefly Chûgoku district) and almost all parts of Shikoku will make a separate unit.

As for the assimilation of double vowels in a single word, such as *omo-shiroi* or *nai*, Kinki and Shikoku obviously stand apart from other districts and show no assimilation at all. However, as far as the vowel-changes in verb-inflections, such as *tonde* and *yonde* are concerned, the case is not very simple; because Shikoku also shows some sort of assimilation of its own.



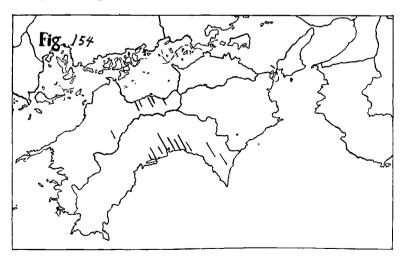
Moreover, the cases involving grammatical factors, such as *sake-o* and *tori-o*, show different aspects; entire Shikoku shows an assimilation of these double vowels. Thus, from the distribution of /sakjo:/ /sakjo/ (for *sake-o*) or from that of /tołjo:/ /tołjo/ /toł:jo/ (for *tori-o*), will naturally be deduced the regional correlationship between Chûgoku and Shikoku. The common area of the preceding features is shown in the above Fig. 152.

There exists a strong correlative feature between Kinki proper and Shikoku as shown by Fig. 151 (p. 21); nevertheless, differences also exist between the two, and Shikoku stands apart from Kinki as seen in Fig. 152 and Fig. 149 (p. 19). Accordingly the following figure is presented



(Fig. 153) (p. 23).

Linguistically, Shikoku, standing apart from Kinki, at the same time, stands against Chûgoku in some aspects. For instance, we have /sakjo/, /tot'jo/ /tot':jo/ all respective contractions of *sake-o* or *tori-o*. This fact may be

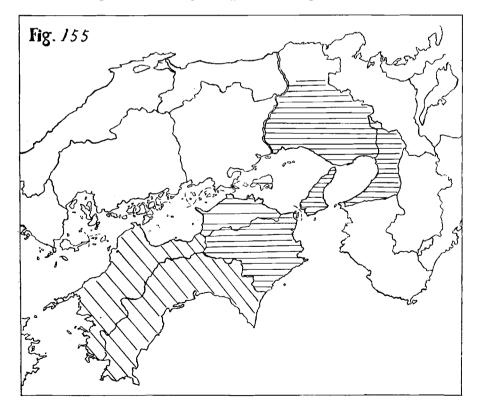


diagrammed as Fig. 154 (p. 23). The dialectal characteristics of Chûgoku differenciated from Shikoku have already been shown in Fig. 150 (p. 20) and Fig. 151 (p. 21).

The form /kiko/, the contraction of $kik\delta$ (Fig. 7[†]) appears both in Kinki and Shikoku. And this suggests the existence of a correlation in trait between the two districts. A phonetic change under different conditions and situations causes a different distribution; however, each distribution, when seen from a higher point of view, seems to have been caused under some general dialectal laws.

We have already pointed out that Shikoku and Kinki sometimes stand apart from each other. However, a still more careful observation permits us to say that the above tendency is more conspicuous in the western two prefectures of Shikoku. Confer Fig. 8⁺ with Fig. 9 and Fig. 10⁺. Thus, we can see that the eastern half and the western half of Shikoku have different aspects and tendencies from each other.

When the western half and the eastern half of Shikoku stand apart from each other, it is noteworthy to see that the western half especially connects itself with Chûgoku. With Fig. 149 (p. 19), see Fig. 10⁺ in which /tot'jo:/ etc.,



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are found in numbers in the western part of Chûgoku as well as in Shikoku.

We have said that Kinki and Shikoku have a stronger correlative linguistic nature to each other and at some other times Shikoku has its own tendency against Kinki, and even within Shikoku the western half has a greater tendency to do so. From this we may naturally say that the eastern half of Shikoku is correlated to Kinki more strongly than the western half is.

Several figures hereafter will gradually convince the reader of the correlativity of the eastern Shikoku with Kinki. However, in the eastern part of Shikoku, Kawaga Prefecture in the north and Tokushima Prefecture in the south are sometimes different from each other and this has already been depicted in Fig. 9.

Such situations in Shikoku and the correlativity of Shikoku and Kinki are shown in Fig. 155 (p. 24).

2. 3 Phonetic distribution: Category 2. Single change of vowel or consonant

a In the previous section, the double vowels have mainly been dealt with. The results of simple changes of vowel or consonant are the next subject. However, note that the so-called simple changes include in them the influences by the preceding or succeeding sound, or the natural changes of pronunciation and so on.

The following figures of a few selected specimens show noteworthy distribution features.

b-1 [Fig. 11] The pronunciation of hitoye (單衣) (unlined clothes)

We traced the domain of /çitojo/, and found a well-defined distribution extending from Shikoku to Kinki. (Cf. Fig. 151, p. 21)

The pronunciation /citojo/ is probably derived from /citoje/; that is, the second syllable /to/ of /citoje/ seems to have had an influence on the last syllable /je/ and has assimilated the vowel /e/ into /o/. But whatever the intermediate process might have been, the result is represented as a simple change of vowel /e/>/o/.

As a necessary premise for such a wide circulation of /citojo/, we must assume the original existence of a district /je/ in the last syllable of *botoye*; in fact, even in the present day, those who pronounce /citoje/ for the word *hitoye* are numerous in Chûgoku. In this connection also we see that /citoje/ in Chûgoku stands against /citojo/ in Shikoku and Kinki /je/ vz. /jo/). (Cf. Fig. 150, p. 20, and Fig. 151, p. 21)

In some northern parts of Chûgoku—that is, the eastern part of Shimane Prefecture and the western part of Tottori Prefecture,—we see that the first syllable of *bitaye* is pronounced /Fü/, one of the characteristics of the area, and some others will be depicted in figures shown later. (See the schematic map, Fig. 158, p. 32)

Next comes /çite:/ whose distribution has its center in Okayama Prefecture. Transition from /çitoje/ to /çite:/ may be represented by /çitoje/> /çitoe/>/çite:/. We see in the last stage of the transition a regressive assimilation in which the second vowel /e/ of the double vowel /oe/ affects the first /o/. Then in some Chûgoku areas, we are able to suppose that the last syllable of *bitaye* may be pronounced /e/ instead of /je/. The distribution of this assimilation is almost identical with A Area in Fig. 147 (p. 15).

b-2 [Fig. 12] The pronunciation of yatte-mite-kure. (Try it, please !)

In this case, the common pronunciation is /jat:e mite kute:/; however, we find in the area of our survey the pronunciation of /jat:fi mitfi kute(i):/, changing /e/ vowel into /i/. Thus /kuti/ in *kure* is a simple change in one word. But as for /jat:fi mitfi/ changes are not so simple, because they contain their phrase-formation te /te/ which is a morpheme fixed to the second inflection of such verbs as *yaru*—to do, and *miru*—to try. If attention is directed in particular to their distribution, a correlative distribution of the western part of Chûgoku with the western half of Shikoku (especialy its western part) will be noticed. There is a confirmation of this view in the pronunciation in Kyûshû. We will find in other cases, too, such a common tendency in these three districts.

As to the general tendency to pronounce $/t \int i/for -te$, in the western part of Shikoku it is especially conspicuous, but the southern part of Shikoku, i.e., Kôchi Prefecture, has the same. So when we consider Fig. 12, we are naturally induced to compare the range of distribution of /e/>/i/ directly with the area depicted in Fig. 149 (p. 19). Accordingly the mode of distribution in Fig. 149 may show some important tendency of distribution.

c-1 [Fig. 12] The pronunciation of shirimasen (知りません) (I don't know.) and nê-san (姉さん) (elder sister)

See in this map the distribution of $/\int itimahen/(>/\int itimasen/)$ and that of /ne:han/ (>/ne:san/), paying attention at the same time to the area which pronounces /anehan/ for the word *ane-san* (meaning the same as *nê-san* above). The phonetic change, /se/>/he/ or /sa/>/ha/, after all, has its basis on the consonant shift /s/>/h/, and is widely distributed over Kinki and Shikoku.

Next figure, too, deserves attention for the different consonant-shift in the similar pattern of distribution which it denotes.

c-2 (Fig. 13) The pronunciation of sentaku (洗濯) (washing) and otona or ose (大人) (adult)

The domain of /sendaku/ includes Kinki and Shikoku, just as the previous distribution of the phonetic change /s/>/h/ did. Moreover, in the case of

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Kinki, both figures show that each extends even to the north of Nishi-Kinki. Anyway, the common phonological foundation sustaining Kinki and Shikoku is now very evident. (Cf. Fig. 151, p. 21).

It is to be observed that /sendaku/, a pronunciation familiar to Shikoku, does not appear in the south-western area there. In the western part of Shikoku one finds /sentaku/. Diachronically speaking, /sentaku/ is prior to /sendaku/; however, from old times the Japanese language has had an inclination to turn voiceless consonants into voiced ones when it follows /n/. And this is the reascn why /ta/ in /sentaku/ changed into /da/ in course of natural evolution. It is especially true that in Kinki and Shikoku the phonetic change /t/>/d/ often occurs; therefore, this presents new evidence for the assertion that the two districts are standing on the same phonological foundation.

Generally speaking, in Chûgoku the phonetic change |t| > |d|/| does not appear; and the northeastern area of Kyûshû, too, stands against the change, seeming to prefer |t| as in /sentaku/ or /Jentaku/. The western part of Shikoku keeps pace with that part of Kyûshû. Therefore, the relation of the three is easily discernible. (Cf. Fig. 12⁺ for the phonetic change of |e| > |i| in yatte-mite-kure.)

Thus, as circumstances suggest, we may see in the western and especially the southwestern part of Shikoku, a dialectal singularity or linguistic substratum of the region—linguistic foundation as we have called it—divorced from the main current of that island. Much more evidence for this affirmation will be given in later cases.

The northern part of Chûgoku in this map shows that $|\int entaku/|\int entaku/|\int entaku/|$ are known in that area where |F| is found and in other northern areas. The sound pronounced /se/ in the common language of the present is often pronounced |fe| in Kyûshû. The |fe| variant is also heard in Chûgoku district fairly often. Nevertheless the result of our correspondence survey did not succeed after all in getting an exact notion of the distribution of |fe|; notwithstanding this, the northern part of Chûgoku where |fe| is more conspicuously noticeable than in any other area of Chûgoku has shown up very clearly in the map.

When another question was tried for the distribution of |ofe| for *ose*, the same area, more conspicuously than any other showed the presence of |fe|.

The problem of the difference between |ofe| and |ose| is that of the consonants |f| and |s|. And the distribution of |f| well supports our theory on the areas of distribution seen in Fig. 148 (p. 17).

c-3 [Fig. 14] The pronunciation of moru (漏る) (to leak)

In some places the word *moru* /moru/ takes the pronunciation /boru/. The distribution showing the simple consonant change /m/>/b/ in Fig. 14⁺ is

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a clear dispersion area extending from the northern part of Nishi-Kinki to the north-eastern edge of Chûgoku, and one other area occupying mainly the two western prefectures in Shikoku. The former is in itself noteworthy; as for the latter, the distribution of /botu/ suggests once more the separate tendency that the western half of Shikoku bears to the eastern half, along with the correlative nature of the western part of Shikoku towards Chûgoku by way of the small islands as stepstones.

The form /bolu/, in its turn, changes into /bulu/. In reality, the vowel |o| of |bo| is affected by the regressive assimilation from |u| of |tu|; the result is a simple vowel change |o| > |u|. So far as /bolu/ itself is concerned, it seems of course a strange thing that its distribution is divided into two areas, the northern and the southern; however, if the distribution of /bulu/, which is quite near to /bolu/, is here taken into consideration, Shikoku offers a large area of both. The form /bulu/ is distributed in the eastern part of Chûgoku, and we can find there a link to connect the northern and the southern /bolu/ areas. Thus the existence of two separate /bolu/ areas is not so strange after all.

In the present stage of our study the dialectal singularity of the eastern part of Chûgoku becomes a little clearer; yet it is still a problem which will be dealt with hereafter.

The same phenomenon as in the eastern part of Chûgoku is seen in the northern part of Nishi-Kinki, and it may be right to affirm that this is because the area has a close connection with Chûgoku.

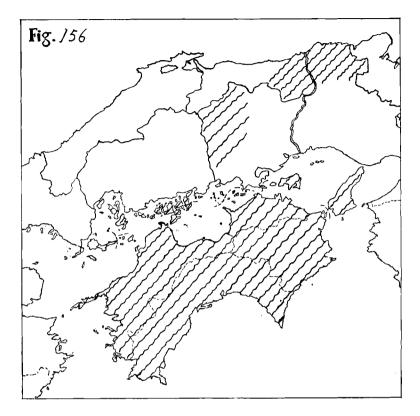
Let us see Fig. 156 (p. 29) which deals chiefly with the eastern part of Chûgoku.

In the distribution of /bol^u/ and /bul^u/, we discover the fact that the eastern part of Chûgoku is closely related to Shikoku, a new aspect of the correlation of Chûgoku and Shikoku.

Nevertheless, if we distinguish carefully the /botu/ area from the /butu/ area, we notice that the southwestern part of Shikoku has no instance of the latter and that only /botu/ is registered there; this is another example which shows how and in what degree the southwestern part of Shikoku has special features.

Fig. 14[†] gives more interesting facts such as the phonetic change /molu/>/mulu/, and then another phonetic change /molu/>/molu/. These are distributed chiefly in the Chûgoku district, and they show that Chûgoku has, here again, its own characteristics.

Then, there is in that special area of interest in the northern part of Chûgoku a distribution of /mo:/, a dialectal form that seems to drop the /t/ of the word *moru*, or at least so it seems when uttered. The extreme devocalization of /t/ or its complete disappearance is one of the phonological features in this area (cf. p. 11), however, we must note that the dropping of /t/



consonant in Kinki belongs to a different case.

d-1 (Fig. 15) The pronunciation of ka (\mathfrak{W}) (mosquito)

The last of the maps of the phonetic distribution is the special one for vowels. The map shows that the last vowel of mono-syllablic nouns is prolongated in its articulation. Therefore, ka is pronounced /ka:/. This is another type of vowel-shift distinguished from those in paragraph b. The distribution of this symptom ranges over Kinki and Shikoku.(Cf. Fig. 151, p.21)

The next one, though no map is given, shows the fact that in Kinki there is an inclination to prolong the last vowel of a noun consisting of two syllables when it bears a rising pitch accent. For instance, $|a^{r}sa^{1}|$ of the word *asa* (朝) (morning), becomes $|a^{r}sa^{1}$:/. And this prolongation of the vowel is similar to that of |ka:| in the sense that the last vowels are prolongated in these cases in a simple manner.

For a long time vowels of monosyllabic nouns have been uttered almost without exception longer in Kinki and Shikoku districts than they are in the other districts.

Taking monosyllabic nouns and two-syllabled nouns as a whole, Shikoku

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and Kinki with their vowel-prolongation can be said to have a special phonological structure in contrast to the tendencies in Chûgoku (and also Kyûshû) where such is not the case. As for Shikoku, we know a conspicuous type of prolongation, which will be shown in the following map.

d-2 [Fig. 16] The pronunciation of kite (着て) (wearing-present participle)

One more map is added to the end; it concerns the inflexion of the verb kiru with morpheme te. In this case the common pronunciation takes the form /kite/. But it is also uttered /ki:te/ in a vast area in Shikoku. In the word-inflexion of kiru, the unchangeable verb-stem is only /ki/ which has of course only one syllable; hence the manner of utterance /ki:te/, which is /kite/ in the standard Japanese, may be said to be identical with the prolongation of a monosyllabic word. The form ki /ki/ is, however, quite different from ka or other simple nouns previously mentioned. This is a form caused by grammatical inflexions; but, as far as the prolongation of the vowel is concerned, it has some parallel to ka, etc.

Thus it is made more and more evident that Shikoku demonstrates vowel-prolongation with Kinki. However, if we pay attention in particular to such distribution found only in Shikoku, as in Fig. 16⁺, some distinctive phases will be discovered between Shikoku and Kinki (see Fig. 153, p. 23). It is important that the phenomena that seem alike to each other in their consequence, may under different conditions, occupy different areas. If our survey can succeed in analyzing those unknown conditions, their regional characteristics will be brought to the light.

2. 4 Summary of the maps of phonetic distribution of the two categories above

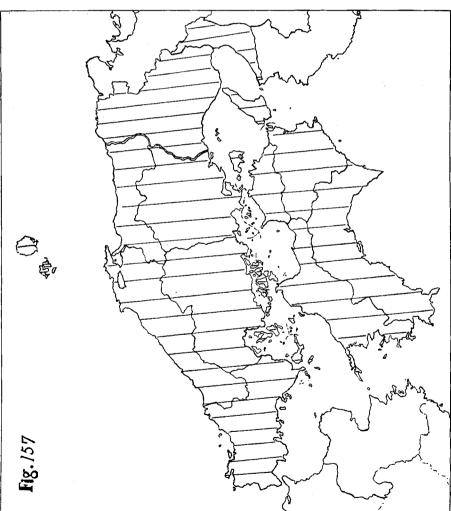
In the two categories above we have presented maps of phonological areas; the state of distribution of the phenomena in each has been dealt with; and local tendencies have been noted. Synthetical sketches have served for the purpose; and the conclusions have often been consolidated by other arguments.

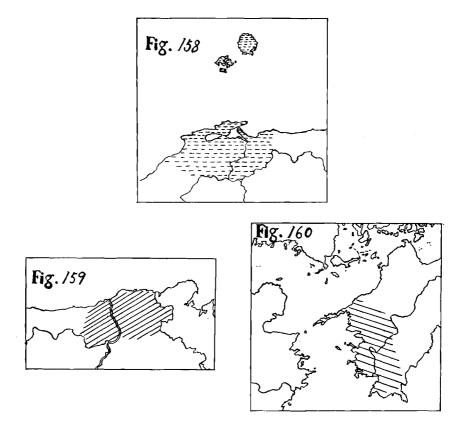
Now that we have arrived at this stage of observation, it should be understood that figures from 147 (p. 15) to 156 (p. 29) will summarize the tendencies of distribution depicted in maps from Fig. 2 to Fig. 16. In this respect, the following four maps will be added; among which Fig. 157 (p. 31) covers the entire area of our survey, and shows the case in which the same pronunciation as in the common language is recognized, the cases such as *tonde* /tonde/ or *yonde* /jonde/. Fig. 158 (p. 32) and the following are related to smaller areas. The maps in Figures 157 to 160, as a whole, lead us to acknowledge the site and nature of each phonological foundation with the respective feature of each dialect group based thereupon. And explanations and arguments on differential factors of dialects and local words are going to be treated in reference to this premise, or according to the linguistic foundation located and specified through phonological criteria.

2. 5 Supplementary remarks to the phonetic distribution

By these maps of the phonetic distribution from Fig. 2 to Fig. 16, the







underlying characteristics, or phonological foundation, of each of the surveyed areas have been explained for the purpose of a still further and systematic understanding of the situation.

Though not described in the form of maps, there are more facts which can supplement our thesis. By the correspondence survey and later by on the spot investigation, the following facts were confirmed.

a In the area depicted in Fig. 158, i.e., the particular area in the northern part of Chûgoku, |e| is preferred to |i|, while the latter is generally used elsewhere. For instance, whereas |iwazu| for the word *oshi* (\underline{m}) (dumb), is prevalent elsewhere, this particular region has either $|ewaz\ddot{u}|$ or $|ewaz\ddot{u}|$ instead. There |e| exactly corresponds to |i| of elsewhere almost without an exception.

b Moreover, in this area they never pronounce common /i/ and /u/. Instead, they pronounce /i/ and /ü/, e.g., /ewazü/ /ewazi/. The /i/ is generally preferred and retained in spite of /u/ prevailing elsewhere. For example, in Chûgoku, *chûgakkô* (中學校) (middle school), is pronounced /tfu:gak:o:/ as in the common pronunciation, but here it is /tfi-gak:o:/. In the case of *kôshitsu* (皇室) (the Imperial Family), too, the local utterance here is /ko:fitfi/ while the common pronunciation is /ko:fitsu/. In short, in this particular area, central vowels are preferred.

Considering paragraphs a and b above, it seems that this specific area occupies an unique position because of its peculiar vowel symptoms. Such a special phonological feature seems to have its historical background rooted in the long history of the Japanese language.

c Now some supplementary remarks on consonants. In the area of our present survey, there are many places where |da jiki| instead of |za jiki| for the common language *zashiki* (座敷) (guest room with matted floor) is said. Here we have |za| and |da| counterpart. The consonant change |z| > |d| is quite common in our language.

Generally in Chûgoku and Shikoku /dʒi/ and /dzu/ are common, while in the southern part of Shikoku, namely Kôchi Prefecture, they are nearly /di/ and /du/. It is a special feature of this southern part of Shikoku to have /di/ and /du/ or /d³i/ and /dzu/. Likewise, in some parts of Chûgoku /dʒi/ and /dzu/ are uttered nearly /di/ and /du/. In the areas where this tendency exists, or where the initial consonants /dʒ/ /dz/ of such syllables as /dʒi/ /dzu/ are uttered with an emphasis, the transition of /z/>/d/ will be frequent as in the case of /zaſiki/>/daſiki/.

d Suika (西瓜) (water melon), is pronounced /suika/ in the common language, whereas it is pronounced /suikwa/ in various districts of the country. Diachronically, /kwa/ precedes /ka/. This consonant /kw/ is often noticed in the areas of our present survey. In that special area in the northern part of Chûgoku (cf. Fig. 158, p. 32), /kw/ stands out clearly.

At the same time, if we point out the special consonantal features in this region, we may say that the consonant /F/ was already dealt with in Fig. 11⁺, and /he/ and /ho/ in the area of our present survey become /Fe/ and /Fo/ in this peculiar locality. The latter also belongs to old pronunciation of Japanese.

The inhabitants there feel a little difficulty in uttering /ki/ of the common language and retain /kci/ instead. The disappearance of /l/ has been pointed out in Fig. 14[†] already. It seems that the peculiarity of the consonants in this area must be regarded as one of the leading historical trends, shaping the dialectal branch standing on its own in the whole country, like the vowels in its evolution. (Regions with such features as seen in this area, are not rare along the coast of the Japan Sea (Nihonkai), and towards the north-east.)

e As for the word kaku ($\notin \langle \rangle$) (to lack), in the eastern part of Japan, it is pronounced /kaku/; whereas in the western regions, it becomes /kagu/. There is also a tendency to pronounce it /kaŋu/ in Kinki. The form /kagu/ is common both in Chûgoku and Shikoku while in the southern half and some

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places of the northern half of Shikoku there is a tendency to utter it as /kaŋgu/. In this area the same slight /n/ is also inserted before /d/.

It is a fact that in some areas of Chûgoku, the nasal sound assumes a syllable in front of |g| or |d| as in the case of |kango|, for kago (\Re) |basket), or |manda| for mada (Rt) (not yet). |manda| is noticeably frequent in the northern part of Chûgoku, and at the same time found in the southern part.

f All the above remarks are meant as a supplement to the explanation of the phonogolical foundation of this area. All the maps of distribution with the additional facts given in the supplementary remarks will accurately, we may say, show the outline of the phonological foundation of this area.

CHAPTER 3 THE STATE OF GRAMMAR IN CHŪGOKU, SHIKOKU AND NISHI-KINKI

3. 1 Introduction

Having observed the nature and state of each phonological foundation, we shall now try to analyze the grammatical phase of dialects in the various regions of our interest.

Next, we shall study the vocabulary. It will be clear on the maps that these three viewpoints should always be studied together. In other words, the same map can reflect sounds and grammar (see Fig. 16[†]) and at the same time it may also stand for a lexical map.

The local differentiation of one idiom is in fact not different from the differentiation of words.

Methodologically it is natural that we should first take the phonological view. For, any phenomenon belonging to any spoken language exists first in the form of sound.

Various phenomena are standing on the phonological foundation. Grammar and vocabulary are to be taken up after the observation of the phonological foundation has been duly made. From then on the observation and the synthesis become differentiated.

Now, if we compare the phenomena of grammar to those of vocabulary on the maps, we see clearly some distinction between these two. As a whole, the grammatical facts have rougher and broader areas than the others; for instance, there are not many alternatives besides ga of -daga (although) to express adversative context in the dialects. There is a limitation in versatility —a very narrow limitation. Accordingly one idiom is used comparatively in a large area.

Compared with this, in the differentiation of words of the names of things and such we can see a great dialectal difference which often makes a more complicated figure of distribution than in the case of idioms; it may be

because of the fact that things have special and direct relation with the actual life of each district. People are insterested in the ' thing ' and give it special names. In the differentiation of idioms, we cannot find such a tendency. So it is natural that broader areas are found for the phenomena of grammar.

Now, which should be discussed first? The phenomena of idiom should be first. When we put order among the various tendencies seen in the maps, we find that the phenomena of lexicography are more complicated. But the grammatical features show more fundamentally the tendency of dialectal distribution than the dialectal words.

The phonetic maps show comparatively rough and broad areas as observed before in the maps of grammatical idioms. It seems that both of them show the fundamental tendency of dialects.

We received various kinds of answers to each question concerning idiom in our correspondence survey, but except for some rare cases we did not find any difficulty in picking up all the major types.

We shall treat hereafter of fundamental grammatical features with some smaller idiomatic phrases.

3. 2 Grammatical maps: Category 1. General distribution

a There are 43 maps concerning grammar. One map very often denotes several phenomena. In the 43 maps, we can distinguish about 163 kinds of phenomena. I made them into smaller maps and classified them with a consideration to the form of distribution. Watching and arranging the state and the way of distribution, we have recognized 6 categories of tendency in the distribution of 165 phenomena. Of course each category is not so simple, but comparing this classification with the classification of the tendency in the distribution of words, we think it proper, as a rough classification, to establish these 6 categories as such.

The first category are the widely dispersed features. They cover the whole area of the three districts, Nishi-Kinki, Chûgoku and Shikoku. Those belonging to what we call present-day common language very often become a general feature in the dialects.

b By the following examples, these general tendencies will be shown.

(Fig. 36*) Oshimai-nasai. /ofimainasai./, etc. (greetings used during the evening)

[Fig. 17] Koncha. (今日は。/kontfa./) (greetings used during the day)

(Fig. 56*) nô /no:/ (joshi or particle ending a sentence)

(Fig. 57*) nomi-nomi (依み依み) /nominomi/ (Drinking tea)

Note: An asterisk (*) on the number of the maps indicates that the maps are meant for another purpose at another instance, but referred to here, for our particular end, only in terms of a single aspect among other aspects the map may be illustrating.

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[Fig. 19] nanchû (何ちゆう) /na nt fu:/ (What do you call that?)

Note: When quoted Japanese examples (in Roman spelling) are sentences or the equivalents, they are presented with initial capitalization and with final periods. Phonetic transcription of these examples may also end with periods which do not however stand for prolongation or any other phonetic meaning. The English equivalent or description for the quoted Japanese examples may or may not be sentences, and may end with a period or a question mark as the case may be.

We have many other examples showing the general tendency.

c The general distribution is not always regular. There are variants. For example, even in Fig. 19[†], in some area of the northern part of Chûgoku we can find different forms.

First, in the northern part of Chûgoku, we notice various gaps in the over-all maps. Fig. 33 may be one of the most representative instances. That is to say, *katte* ($ff(r)\tau$) /kat:e/ (borrowing) has the tendency on the general grammatical map and at the same time an elongated area in the northern part of Chûgoku forms an exception.

[Fig. 38*] Suna. (7/2.) /suna./ (Don't do that.)

As for the distribution of this, we notice exceptions in the area from the northern part to the western part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 27*] -nanda /nanda/ (I did not hear.)

In the pattern of this distribution, we notice its absence in the area above mentioned, and also in the southern part of Shikoku.

There are some cases where a gap is showing in the northern part of Chûgoku and in the southern part of Shikoku. See the distribution pattern of *-kedo* /kedo/ (though) in Fig. 35⁺, for example.

Then again, as in the following cases, these lacks show up in the southern part of Shikoku and the southern area of Chûgoku.

(Fig. 56*) nd /na:/ (joshi or particle ending a sentence)

[Fig. 18] Sainara. /sainata./, /saɛnata./, /sæ:nata./, /sɛ:nata./, etc. (farewell greetings)

See the phonetic maps above which have already been shown with forms as /sæ:nata./, /sɛ:nata./.

[Fig. 20] furi-yoru (降りよる) /Futijotu/ (The rain is falling.)

In this case only Chûgoku presents gaps.

[Fig. 21] iki-yotta (行きよった) /ikijot:a/ (He was going.)

The distribution of this idiomatic clause, for an example, though covering the whole area of our study, hence classified as 'general distribution' type, may contain such local irregularities as found in Shikoku in this case.

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The areas negative in the distribution of common forms of the total areas will prove positive qualities as areas of special dialect distribution. This fact will be more clearly understood in the following maps.

3. 3 Grammatical maps: Category 2. Distribution in Chûgoku and Shikoku

After the wide distribution areas, we come to the Chûgoku-Shikoku group. Any linguistic area has its own characteristics as well as its causes. If we find some facts whose distribution is shared by and limited within Chûgoku and Shikoku, we must distinguish them from the general distribution type, and designate them to be of Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution type. The range of distribution may differ for each case of phenomena belonging to this dialect group. In the following series of maps, the distribution with broader ranges are shown first, then gradually the narrower ones, and finally particular ones are introduced in order.

[Fig. 22] Innya. /iŋŋa./ (No.)

This idiom is distributed all over Chûgoku and Shikoku. We can also find it in the northwestern part of Kinki, an area possessing similarity to Chûgoku, as we will show later. *Innya* is natural to the people of Chûgoku and Shikoku, but seems to be less spontaneous in the speech of the people of Kinki.

(Fig. 23) yasuma-nya (休まにや) /jasuma na/, /jasuma na:/, /jasuma n na/ (We must take a rest.)

Here too, we notice a remarkable Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution. We must recognize that there is the same phenomenon towards the west in Kyûshû.

(Fig. 24) -ja /dza/ (It is \sim .)

In the case of this ending, the so-called Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution is clearly marked, but in the northern part of Chûgoku, there is an area which lacks this idiom, as seen already. In this area -da/da/ is found instead. Diachronically /da/ and /dza/ come from *de-a* /dea/ in *-de aru*. And later on, from /dza/ /ja/ -ya derived. /ja/ is distributed over Kinki and Shikoku, as shown in the map. It is significant that these three forms of such an auxiliary verb as *da*, *ja*, *ya* with a demonstrative function show such correlative areas as seen in the map. This shows clearly the diachronical changes of the auxiliary verb in these districts.

(Fig. 25) -jarô /dʒato:/ (Perhaps it is \sim .)

Almost the same distribution as in the case of -ja is found for this case.

This is natural since $-jar\delta$ is one of the conjugated forms of -ja. The same tendency is noticed in Kyûshû, too.

(Fig. 57*) nomu-nomu (飲む飲む) /nomunomu/ (drinking tea)

We notice the lack of this form in the northern part of Chûgoku and chiefly in the eastern part of Shikoku.

[Fig. 26] *tsukâsai* (造さい) /tsuka:sai/, /tsuka:sæ:/, /tsuka:se:/, /tsuka:sate:/ (Please teach me.)

Note: As for the place where /tsuka:sæ:/ and /tsuka:sɛ:/ are distributed, see the phonetic map showing the mutual assimilation of double vowels /ai/ (Fig. 4†).

This form is not seen in the eastern half of Shikoku and from the northwestern to the western part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 27] -zatta /zat:a/ (I did not hear.)

This is not seen in the eastern parts of both Chûgoku and Shikoku, i.e., the area near the Kinki district; we can see the Chûgoku-Shikoku type limited only to the west of the area.

(Fig. 28) Dandan. (段々) /dandar./ (Thank you.)

This distribution is seen more to the west; about the western half of Chûgoku (with three prefectures) and the western half of Shikoku are the areas where we find this type.

[Fig. 29] kî-tsurô (聞いつろう) /ki:tsuto:/, /ki:tsuto/ (might have heard)

This also shows a clear distribution in the western halves of both Chûgoku and Shikoku districts, and thus in the so-called Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution, the area of distribution gradually narrows to the west.

(Fig. 30) Aru-rô ka. (有るろうか。) /atuto:ka./, /atutoka./ (Is there ~?)

This area is clearly a case where the Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution has extremely narrowed itself to the west. We wish to underline the fact that the western part of Chûgoku and the southern part of Shikoku are the areas which have this form, being precisely the areas where in the first paragraphs of this chapter we found typical gaps in the dispersion areas.

(Fig. 53*) -râ /ta:/, /ta/ (not to use such a thing as face-powder)

This distribution is almost the same as above.

[Fig. 22*] Inge. /inge. / Unge. / Unge. / Unga. / Ungya. / Ungja./ (No.)

See the distribution of these four together. These are the local idiom expressing the answer 'No' but not considered vulgar.

(Fig. 31) nechoru (寝ちよる) /netfotu/, /ne:tfotu/ (to be sleeping in bed)

This shows the same pattern of distribution as $Aru-r\delta$ ka /alulo:ka./ /aluloka./ of the above Fig. 30*, etc., and we find a correlative area in the northern part of Chûgoku and in Kyûshû also; here again we have the socalled Chûgoku-Shikoku area. This area is cut up here but it is the same phenomenon, and therefore we may well guess that these three areas have a relationship with one another, which is not without significance.

Nechoru found in the northern part of Chûgoku in the above map is almost pronounced like /net $\int 0$:/ (cf. Fig. 14[†]). Whether pronounced /net $\int 0$:/ or nearly like /net $\int 0$;^tu/, the construction of the idiom is the same. This is an important phenomenon to be noticed in that special area in the northern part of Chûgoku.

In Kôchi Prefecture in the southern part of Shikoku both $/\sim t \int 0^{t} u / and /\sim t \int u! / are preferred. The difference of a vowel between <math>/t \int 0 / and /t \int u / has a diachronical cause.$ This area which shows the vowel /u / is clearly in relation with Kyûshû where <math>/u / is preferred, whereas /0 / is preferred in Chûgoku and other districts.

[Fig. 32] suzushi-ni-natta (涼しになつた) /suzusininat:a/, suzushi-ni-natta /suzusinnat:a/ (It has become cool.)

The construction *ni-natta* is a characteristic form of the Japanese language. Ni is a particle and |ni| sometimes changes into |n|.

These are distributed over the northern part of Chûgoku and Shikoku. (The pronunciation in the northern part of Chûgoku often becomes, as explained before, $/\int \vec{i}\vec{z}\vec{i}\int \vec{i}\vec{n} \sim /$, $/\int \vec{i}\vec{z}\vec{i}\int \vec{i}\vec{n} \sim /$). Taking this distribution in comparison with the map in Fig. 32[†], we may consider it to have the same area, though it is not distributed in the western part of Chûgoku.

In connection with the above, let us see Fig. 26^{+1} . Here, also, we notice *yansai* ($\oplus h \exists \psi$) /japsai/ denotes the same as *kudasai*; i.e., *Please* teach me, distributed in an area in the northern part of Chûgoku and in another area in the southern part of Shikoku. *Yansai* is a strange expression, because it means originally 'You let it be', while *kudasai* has a positive meaning of 'Give it to me'. In the aforesaid area in Shikoku, *yannahai* is preferred to *yansai*, but since /jannahai/ has been derived from /jalinasai/, it may be considered the same as /japsai/ of the same origin. Thus we can find the same idiom both in the south and the north. The same can be found in Kyûshû, too, and this proves that the separated distribution noticed in the above has not accidentally been caused. In other words, it may be understood that these three districts have a common undercurrent.

Besides, (see Fig. 37^{*+}), *mi-naru* ($\Re \gtrsim 3$) /minalu/ and *mi-nâru* /minalu/ (to take a look at it—honorific form) are distributed in the eastern area of the northern part of Chûgoku and in the southern part of Shikoku, and this is also fundamentally the same common undercurrent.

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The Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution is rich in variety as is seen above, ranging from the generalized area to the more limited one. The series of these various areas must necessarily tell us some facts about their linguistic history.

3. 4 Grammatical maps: Category 3. Special areas

In this category we are going to take up the maps showing positively the special areas which came into discussion in the first and second categories. These figures become an important key when we try to interpret systematically the dispersion area.

a First, we shall take up the northern part of Chûgoku. See |da| in Fig. 24. It is a characteristic feature by which we recognize the existence of a long and wide area in the northern part of Chûgoku.

This is found in the western area of the northern part of Chûgoku. It is the area called Iwami (石兒) in Shimane Prefecture. The Iwami area is considered as one of the dialectal units.

[Fig. 47*] -te modorimasu. (一て戻ります。) /~/ modotimasu./, /~ modo:masu./ (I am leaving—a formula used as greetings when leaving home)

This idiom is widely distributed in Shimane Prefecture.

Let us look at Fig. 25*. /data:/ (*Perhaps* it *is* a flower.) is distributed from the eastern area of Shimane Prefecture—called Izumo—in the eastern direction. We already found some maps which showed this area as negative. For example, see the distribution of $kitar\hat{o}$ in Fig. 25*.

(Fig. 33) kare-te (借れて) /katete/, kari-te (借りて) /ka:te/ (borrowingpresent participle)

These two are in a line in the above-mentioned area. The common language is kari-te /kalite/. In the area of our survey, however, katte /kat:e/ is widely known. This is because in this area the conjugated form of karu (to borrow) is different from the one in the common language vocabulary. However, in the map, you will notice kari-te sometimes being used, showing an influence from the common language. Kare-te in the northern part of Chûgoku is another conjugated form of karu. /ka:te/ may be the corrupted pronunciation of /kalite/. The area where we see /ka:te/ is the very area where /t/ is slight or completely extinct as demonstrated before.

Then we notice an area in the eastern part of Shimane Prefecture, i.e., Izumo area, the northern Oki (隱岐) islands and the whole area of Tottori

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Prefecture to the east. See a group of idioms such as $gos\hat{e}$ /gofe:/, etc., in Fig. 26⁺. This is a dialectal and not so refined form of *kudasai* or Please teach me.

[Fig. 34] the distribution of Soga-desu /sogadesu. /, etc. Sogedesu. /sogedesu./, etc. (So it is.)

This idiom covers the same area as the former does, in addition to an area extending from the eastern part of Shimane to the western part of Tottori Prefecture. Sometimes this even covers the western part of Tottori widely. (See *suzushi-n-natta* in Fig. 32^{+}). And sometimes it only covers the western end of Tottori. (See *nechoru* /net[otu/, /net[o:/ of Fig. 31).

[Fig. 35] -dadomo /dadomo/, /da:mo/, etc. (Though it is raining)

This is distributed from the eastern part of Shimane exactly to the western end of Tottori. As we have seen in many examples, this area shows its most peculiar character in the northern part of Chûgoku. The relation between this area and the northern Oki islands demands our keen attention. As for the distribution of *nanchî* /nant \int i:/ and *nantê* /nante:/ (Fig. 19*†) (What do you call that?), we recognize through it the relationship between these two areas.

(Fig. 36) Banjimashite (晩じまして。) /barzimasite./ (greetings used during the evening)

This specimen is not found in the northern Oki islands at all, and is very weak in the western part of Tottori Prefecture.

[Fig. 37] *mi-sassharu* (見さつしやる) /misaʃ:atu/, /mihaʃ:atu/ (To take a look at it—honorific form)

This is chiefly noticed in the eastern part of Shimane (Izumo) and in the northern Oki islands.

Sometimes we find a small area only in Izumo. The case of Fig. 56 $[n\alpha:]$ (*joshi* or particle ending a sentence) is one of its examples.

(Fig. 36*) Ban-ni-narimashite. (他になりまして。) /ban ni natimasite./, /ban ni næ:masite./, etc. (greetings used during the evening)

This distribution is not seen in Shimane, but from Tottori Prefecture to the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture (Tajima (伯馬) area). When we observe the distribution of *Ban-ni-narimashita* /ban ni natimajita./ at the same time, we notice a local variant in the eastern area of the northern part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 37*] *mi-nsaru* (見んさる) /minsatu/ (to take a look at it—honorific form)

The distribution of this idiom convinces us of the fact that within the

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eastern area of the northern part of Chûgoku, the eastern part of Tottori or Inaba (因幡), and the northern part of Hyôgo—or Tajima—may be regarded as one unit. This particular area is also considered to possess a strong local color when compared with other examples.

No sooner do we realize that Inaba has a tendency of its own to stand apart from others, than we find the same tendency in Tajima.

Sometimes the Oki islands alone have the tendency.

b Now we shall discuss the special feature of the dialect distribution in the western part of Chûgoku district.

There is one dialect area extending itself from Yamaguchi Prefecture at the western end of Chûgoku to the southern part of Shimane Prefecture; and the other one over the western part of Yamaguchi Prefecture.

[Fig. 38] Sen na (せんな) /senna./ (Don't do that.)

This is distributed chiefly in the whole area of Yamaguchi Prefecture.

[Fig. 39] Ososô-shimashita (お粗相しました) /ososo: jimajita. /, etc. (greetings by the host when the guests are leaving)

The simple pattern of distribution represented by this sample may deserve notice.

[Fig. 41*] nôta /no:ta/, nonta /nonta/, nêta /ne:ta/, etc. (joshi or particle ending a sentence)

If we refer to Yamaguchi Prefecture for these idioms, we can see the special characteristic of Yamaguchi Prefecture.

Note: The above three idioms have been derived by putting anata (you) to no or ne (joshi or particle ending a sentence).

As may be understood by these many examples, the individuality of Yamaguchi Prefecture is considerable.

c Next, we shall study the special dialectal area of the southern Shikoku. In the above category we treated of the correlative phenomena between the southern part of Shikoku and Yamaguchi Prefecture etc., in Chûgoku.

[Fig. 22*] Nancha. (何ちや。) /na nt fa./ (No.)

This is found from the southern part of Ehime Prefecture to Kôchi Prefecture. We have other idioms distributed in the same way, and thus this southern Shikoku distribution may be regarded as noteworthy.

As for the relation between the southern part of Ehime Prefecture and Kôchi Prefecture, we discover the closest relationship in the section where the southern part of Ehime and the south-western part of Kôchi adjoin each other.

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[Fig. 40] Hâi. /ha:i./ (greetings used when paying a visit)

See this distribution in the southern part of Ehime Prefecture. This area constitutes another of the special areas. We have many maps and figures which show the individuality of this area, as Fig. 34^{*+} dealing the case of $S\delta$ -dasu /so:dasu./ (So it is.).

[Fig. 41] nôshi /no:ji/, nose /no:se/, nonshi /nonji/ (joshi or particle ending a sentence)

These are clearly limited to Kôchi Prefecture. We recognized a southern Shikoku area a little before, and then within that range we noticed the individuality of the southern part of Ehime Prefecture. And now, as if in accordance with this, Kôchi Prefecture is found with its own special individuality here, and we have a number of examples to confirm it. The tendency of this area to stand apart has often been observed. Even Fig. 31 for the case of /netfu:/ and /ne:tfu:/ may serve to remind us of the peculiarity of this area. See the distribution pattern in Fig. 26[†] for ôse /o:se/ (Please teach me.).

We also notice that Kôchi Prefecture and Tokushima Prefecture share some tendencies in common with each other.

We have thus observed the so-called special area, arranging them into three classes, a, b, and c. We now can understand that these, seen in this way, have a close relationship with the special aspects of Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution of the former category.

3. 5 Grammatical maps: Category 4. Relation and separation in Chûgoku and Kinki

a As Kinki and Chûgoku are adjoining, it is no wonder that both districts together show the same phenomena, whereas, in the case of our survey, we don't find so many phenomena which are common between them. This is quite interesting.

(Fig. 53*) -nando /nando/ (not to use such a thing as face-powder)

This idiom, though weak, is distributed in Kinki and Chûgoku. Nando is apparently an old form.

[Fig. 27*] -nkatta /ŋkat:a/ (I did not hear.)

This form is seen chiefly in the western half of Chûgoku and Kinki.

b Remarkable is the state of Chûgoku separating itself from Kinki. We may say, in this case, that we can notice the individual character of Chûgoku separating itself from Kinki and naturally from Shikoku.

(Fig. 54*) -kê /ke:/ (Because we must take a rest.)

This idiom is remarkable for Chûgoku.

[Fig. 27*] -ndatta /ndat:a/ (I did not hear.)

This is also seen only in Chûgoku.

[Fig. 42] okyú (起きゆう) /okju:/ (same as oki-yô, meaning 'Let's get up '.)

At a glance, we may realize that this belongs to Chûgoku, also.

In the above mentioned case, we notice an absence of this form in the northern part of Chûgoku. *Kêdo* /ke:do/ (Though it is raining) in Fig. 35⁺ is fragmentary, but clearly enough, belongs to Chûgoku.

The Chûgoku group sometimes includes the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture in Kinki (i.e., Tajima), and as for this, the explanation has already been given.

[Fig. 37*] mi-nsaru (見んさる) /minsaru/ (to take a look at it)

This also, absent from some areas, clearly belongs to Chûgoku.

(Fig. 43) naka-nkôni (泣かんこうに) /nakaŋko:ni/ (without crying)

Not without some different aspects from the above, this also clearly belongs to Chûgoku. The fact that we do not find it in the area adjoining Kinki shows, on the other hand, that it does belong to Chûgoku.

c Next, we notice separated areas within Chûgoku. First, the western half of Chûgoku is to be discussed. This tendency has already been noticed in the Chûgoku-Shikoku group.

[Fig. 44] Ohayô-arimasu. (お早うあります。) /ohajo:atimasu./, /ohajo:atjansu./ (Good morning!)

This is chiefly found in the three prefectures in the western half of Chûgoku. It is a special feature of this area that they prefer *Ohayô-arimasu* to *Ohayô-gozaimasu* of the common language. We also find in this area ...arimashita (perfect tense of ...arimasu). See Fig. 58^+ .

(Fig. 45) ...gansu /gawsu/ (a corrupted form of gozaimasu, meaning 'So it is.')

As for this form, the southern area of the western half of Chûgoku is its chief district. See next the area for *yasumannya* /jasumanna) (We must take a rest.) in Fig. 23.

The western half of Chûgoku also has a tendency to be divided into smaller divisions of dialect groups.

Then the eastern half of Chûgoku stands apart, which is quite natural since the western half too has its own features.

(Fig. 28*) Dandan-ni. (段々に。) /dandanni./ (Thank you.)

The original meaning of the idiom is 'gradually'.

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This clearly belongs to the eastern half of Chûgoku (two prefectures).

(Fig. 24*) furyôru (降りようる) /Futjo:tu/ (The rain is falling.)

This also has a tendency to belong to the eastern half of Chûgoku. This is also found in the eastern and southeastern parts of Hiroshima Prefecture, for this area is disposed to be in contact with Okayama Prefecture as we saw it on the phonetic maps. Therefore, if we take this area into our consideration with the area of Okayama Prefecture, this also is one of the examples whose distribution covers and belongs to the eastern half of Chûgoku.

d In the above we have observed the special trends of the eastern half of Chûgoku. There must have been some relationship between this area and Kinki to shape this area. Hence we are going to trace the relationship between the eastern half of Chûgoku and Kinki.

(Fig. 49*) kawa-nari (皮なり) /kawanati/, /kawana:ti/ (to eat it skin and all)

In this word, we notice the relationship which Kinki might well be supposed to have had upon Chûgoku. In Kagawa Prefecture, in the northeastern part of Shikoku, we notice the same idiom, and from this fact we may suppose that Chûgoku was the passive element in its relation with Kinki.

[Fig. 58*] Ohayôsu. (お早うす。) /ohajo:su./ (a corrupted form of ohayôgozaimasu—greetings used in the morning)

In this case we see the word scattered widely in Kinki and in the area of Okayama Prefecture.

These facts about the relationship between the two areas as seen above are important for the understanding of the background of the local development.

e Next, let us see the local areas of the eastern half of Chûgoku which have such direct intercourse with Kinki as stated above.

First, the area of Okayama Prefecture will have to be considered as one unit. At the same time the eastern part of Hiroshima Prefecture shows a tendency to belong to the same area. For this, see the area of $-b\hat{a}$ /ba:/ (rain only) in Fig. 50.

Then let us take up the unit made up by the western part of Okayama Prefecture and the eastern part of Hiroshima Prefecture which has a close connection with the former.

Further, the remote area in the northwestern part of Okayama Prefecture must draw our attention.

And then there is a considerably wide area in the southeastern part of Okayama Prefecture represented by the distribution of $\sim ko$ -rarê $/\sim$ koltalte:./ (Come over here, please.) in Fig. 8[†].

f Here, let us observe Kinki which stands apart from Chûgoku. We

have already seen a special case with the weak distribution uniting Kinki and Chûgoku.

(Fig. 54*) -sakai /sakai/, etc. (Because we must take a rest.)

This shows remarkably the special feature of Kinki in its distribution. The distribution of *-yotte* /jot:e/ etc., in the same map demands notice here. Attention should be paid to the range of distribution of these two. It seems that except for the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture, the whole of Kinki has this special feature.

[Fig. 46] Yô okoshi. (ようお越し。) /jo:okoji./, Okoshi-yasu. /okojijasu./. (greetings returned to a visitor)

This is seen from the southern part of Hyôgo Prefecture to Ôsaka Prefecture and shows remarkably the Kinki characteristic.

(Fig. 45*) ...omasu /omasu/ (So it is.)

As for this distribution, the same can be said as the above.

[Fig. 32*] Suzushi-natta. (涼しなつた。) /suzuſinat:a./ (It has become cool.)

[Fig. 34*] Sô-dasu. /so:dasu./ (So it is.)

The special feature of Kinki will also be clearly seen from each of these two.

g Next, let us observe the inner divisions of Kinki. We have to remember here that by Kinki we do not mean the area of geographical Kinki but Hyôgo and Ôsaka Prefectures to which we limited our survey.

First, the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture (i.e., Tajima) must be taken up as one unit. We have already suspected the strong local flavour of this area.

Next, the western area of the southern part of Hyôgo Prefecture has a tendency to stay apart.

Ôsaka Prefecture has also this tendency to form one division. For example, see the distribution of *mi-yaharu* /mijahalu/, *mi-haru* /mihalu/ (to take a look at it—honorific form) in Fig. 37[†].

The southwestern part of Ôsaka Prefecture also has its own points of difference. For example, see the distribution of Sô-yasu /so:jasu./, (So it is.) in Fig. 34[†].

3. 6 Grammatical maps: Category 5. Relation between Chûgoku and Shikoku

Here, apart from what we called the Chûgoku-Shikoku group, let us look nearer at the relationship between Chûgoku and Shikoku. The Chûgoku-

Shikoku distribution suggests to us, one may say, some static state of distribution, while what we are going to observe here is the dynamic relation between these two districts.

As the background of this dynamic relation of these two districts, the tendency of each should be considered, and our maps will bring out both the separating and the uniting forces at work.

a [Fig. 47] Itte kaerimasu. (行つて鮎ります。) /~ kaetimasu./, /~ kae:masu./ (in the northern part of Chûgoku), /~ kæ:timasu./ (in the area of Okayama Prefecture), etc. (I am leaving—a formula used as greetings when leaving home)

This is found almost in the whole area of Chûgoku and in the northern half of Shikoku.

[Fig. 48] Omedetô-gozansu. /...gozansu./ (greetings used on occasions of joy)

This is also distributed, though scatteringly, in the same way as the above. In addition to this, see the distribution of /gozansu/ in Fig. 45 and /ohajo: gozansu./ in Fig. 58⁺.

[Fig. 27*] -datta /dat:a/ (I did not hear.)

As for this form, we notice it chiefly in the three western Prefectures of Chûgoku, and at the same time we notice some in the northern half of Shikoku.

b (Fig. 49) kawa-gome (皮ごめ) /kawagome/ (to eat it skin and all)

This is remarkably spread over the whole are of Chûgoku; in Shikoku, we notice it in the northwestern part of the district (i.e., Ehime Prefecture). In other words, this figure shows the relation between the whole area of Chûgoku and some special area of Shikoku. The distribution of *naka-zuni* $(\underline{i}\underline{t}\underline{b})$ - $\underline{f}\underline{c}\underline{c}$ /nakazuni/ (without crying) in Fig. 43, also, may be supposed to show such a deep relation. See also *-nanka* /naŋka/ (not to use such a thing as face-powder) in Fig. 53.

(Fig. 50) This map is worth special attention. See the distribution of -ba /ba:/, /bai/, and /ba:i / (rain only).

This may have resulted from an area in the eastern part of Chûgoku extending to Ehime Prefecture. It is clear that Ehime Prefecture is inclined to have special relations with Chûgoku. Of course Kagawa Prefecture, also in the north-eastern part of Shikoku, has intercourse with Okayama Prefecture of Chûgoku. However, in this map we notice that the influence of Chûgoku upon Kagawa Prefecture has only extended as far as the island areas of the Prefecture. As for Ehime Prefecture, on the contrary, the influence of Chûgoku has deeply penetrated into the prefecture in the forms of /bai//ba:i/. Now, it must be understood, that when the northern half of Shikoku has relations with Chûgoku, the state of mutual influence is not so simple. The group of islands where the distribution of /ba:/ borders that of /bai//ba:i/ will gradually be shown as the road of the influences between Chûgoku and Shikoku.

As for the phonological correspondence of /ba:/ and /bai/, /baii/ seen in the above figure, the difference is whether to pronounce /i/ or not. In Shikoku they pronounce /i/, and in Kinki the case is the same. In the eastern corner of Okayama Prefecture, the same phenomenon is to be noticed. This, we may understand, shows that this area shares the special feature of Kinki. The fact that this /i/ is found in Shikoku and Kinki, but not in Chûgoku in general, may have some relation with the following: in Chûgoku /ei/>/e:/ often takes place, while in Shikoku and Kinki no such phonetic change can be seen. We may say that Shikoku and Kinki are the districts where they never weaken the final /i/ in a series of sound, or add sometimes an /i/ on purpose. For further information, see the following map.

[Fig. 51] Tanomai. /tanomai./ (Please do it for me.)

This is conspicuous in Ehime Prefecture on Shikoku. *Tanomai* is the contracted form of *Tanomu wai* and has followed the phonetic change /tanomu-wai./</tanomai./</tanomai./. (*wai* is an added particle, or *joshi* marking the end of a statement). In Chûgoku and others, they pronounce it /tanoma:./, the final /i/ having disappeared. But in Ehime Prefecture, they pronounce it strongly /...ai./. Also in the whole area of Shikoku /...a:./ is not preferred. As for Kinki, in the central area of the district, we believe, they do prefer /...ai./ to /...a:./.

Now, Ehime Prefecture, as seen in this map, shows its special feature clearly enough. The special feature of this prefecture is, generally speaking, due to the fact that Ehime has played an important role in the intercourse between Chûgoku and Shikoku.

[Fig. 52] Ite (itte) kô wai. (行て來うわい。) /~ ko:wai./ (greetings on leaving home)

This also shows very well the special feature of Ehime Prefecture and in this case, too, they clearly pronounce it /...ai./.

For further information concerning the special feature of Ehime and the intercourse of Ehime and Chûgoku, see the distribution of *Dandan* /dandap./

(Thank you.) in Fig. 28.

A number of small areas are to be recognized in Ehime, perhaps due to its special position. First, the southern part of the prefecture, as we have noticed, may be regarded as one of the divisions. And then comes the central area. It may be supposed by observing Fig. 50 that the northern peninsula projecting to the north will come the next. Then the peninsula and the area east of it may be noticed as one of the divisions. Also some smaller sections towards the east of this division may be recognized.

c (Fig. 53) -yakô /jako:/, /jakoji/ (not to use such a thing as face-power)

This shows very clearly the intercourse of the eastern part of Chûgoku with Kagawa and other areas of Shikoku. See here, also, the distribution of *kawa-nari* (p_{12} b) /kawanali/ /kawana:li/ (to eat it skin and all) in Fig. 49.

Kagawa, also, which plays some part in the intercourse of Chûgoku with Shikoku, has it own special feature.

We recognize smaller divisions in this prefecture as in the case of Ehime. We find especially the tendency of the western part of the prefecture to stand alone.

d In accordance with the complicated inner state of Kagawa and Ehime. we notice a special area extending from the eastern part of Ehime to the whole area of Kagawa.

We also notice another correlative feature in the area extending from the eastern half of Ehime to the western part of Kagawa.

Sometimes the eastern part of Ehime, the western part of Kagawa and the western part of Tokushima, join together in showing the same phenomenon.

e Let us take up next the distribution in which Shikoku plays the chief role in the intercourse with Chûgoku. See the following maps.

[Fig. 19*] nani-yû (何言う) /naniju:/ (What do you call that?)

(Fig. 43*) naka-nzukuni (泣かんずくに) /nakapzukuni/ (without crying)

f The southern part of Chûgoku which had a deeper relationship with Shikoku naturally tends to show its special feature; when we described the remarkable points of the northern part of Chûgoku, the southern part of the district was left out; we are now going to observe the state of distribution in this area. See, for example, -ja/d3a/ (It is a flower.) in Fig. 24, -jarô/d3ato:/ (Perhaps it is a flower.) in Fig. 25 and ki-tarô /ki:tato:/ (might have heard) in Fig. 29⁺.

g The area where Chûgoku and Shikoku join in their intercourse is the island area of the Seto Inland Sea. In this area we notice points which are obviously supposed to belong to the Chûgoku distribution and at the same time those which are supposed to belong to the Shikoku distribution.

[Fig. 37*] *mi-nsaru* (見んさる) /mipsatu) (to take a look at it—honorific form)

Here we notice the influence of the Chûgoku distribution upon the island

area. We have many examples of this kind.

[Fig. 55*] Monta. /monta./ (greetings on coming home)

We notice the influence of Shikoku distribution upon this area. We have not a few examples of this kind.

Thus we notice in the island area the influence of both districts.

Besides, because this area is somewhat isolated, it has developed its own special dispersion pattern. In this way we notice the mixed features, so to speak, of this area. As a result, we may establish what we may call " the Seto Inland Sea Area". See the case of *kawa-gomi* /kawagomi/, *kawa-katake* /kawakatake/ (to eat it skin and all) in Fig. 49.

3. 7 Grammatical maps: Category 6. Separation and relation of Shikoku and Kinki

a We have already mentioned the fact that Shikoku stands alone, and the following maps will explain it further.

(Fig. 54) -kini /kini/, /kip/, /ki:/ (Because we must take a rest.)

[Fig. 55] Monta. /monta./ (greetings on coming home)

This also should be referred to here.

b In Shikoku itself are two divisions of the western half (two western prefectures) and of the eastern half (two eastern prefectures).

(Fig. 56) neya /neja/ (joshi or particle ending a sentence)

Notice that this form is chiefly seen in the two western prefectures of Shikoku. The form /neja/ or /ne:ja/ is found in other districts besides Shikoku, but the figure shows that /neja/ is especially a feature of the western half of Shikoku.

The following examples, also, will show that the western half of Shikoku becomes one unit.

[Fig. 21*] iki-yotta (行きよつた) /ikijot:a/ (He was going.)

[Fig. 22*] Inge. /inge./ (No.)

[Fig. 27*] -zatta /zat:a/ (I did not hear.)

[Fig. 29*] kî-tarô (聞いたろう) /ki:tato:/ (might have heard)

Next, the eastern half of Shikoku constitutes one division, and the following examples will show this fact.

[Fig. 20*] furryoru (降つりよる) /futi:jotu/ (The rain is falling.)

(Fig. 23*) yasumana (休まな) /jasumana/ (We must take a rest.)

(Fig. 53*) -yakoi /jakoi/, -yakoshi /jakoji/ (not to use such a thing as facepowder)

All of these examples show that the eastern two prefectures of Shikoku.

have a dialectal character of their own which is different from the western two.

c Now let us present the maps which show that, while Chûgoku is separated from Kinki, Shikoku has a close relation to Kinki across the sea. We have already noticed this tendency on the phonetic maps. (See the schematic map, Fig. 151, p. 21).

Before the presentation of the figures showing the relation of Shikoku and Kinki, let us present ones in which Shikoku is shown to have a relation to Kinki also with the area of the two eastern prefectures of Chûgoku adjoining Kinki. The distribution of *Okini* /o:kini./ (Thank you.) in Fig. 28 is this. In this case /o:keni./ seems to belong to the Chûgoku group, and this idiom is separated from Kinki and Shikoku, while in Kinki and Shikoku they prefer /o:kini./. The eastern half of Chûgoku adjoining Kinki shows the remarkable distribution of /o:kini./. As for Shikoku, in the northwestern part, i.e., Ehime Prefecture, which is supposed to have a deep relationship with Chûgoku, the distribution of /o:kini./ is rather weak. This is quite an interesting fact when we compare it with one which we have in Chûgoku.

(Fig. 23*) yasuman (休まん) /jasuman/ (We must take a rest.)

This distribution also must be brought together with the above figure. In the long area of the northern part of Chûgoku, we notice the same tendency as in Kinki.

Next are the figures which show clearly the relation of Shikoku and Kinki. See the following.

(Fig. 57) nomi-motte (飲みもつて) /nomimot:e/ (drinking tea)

Motte is a joshi expressing the continuative aspect.

As for this dispersion, the eastern corner of the northern part of Chûgoku shows the same distribution pattern as in Kinki; this is due to the peculiarity of this area to which we have already referred. This figure may be said to show clearly the relation of Shikoku and Kinki.

(Fig. 49*) kawa-goshi (皮ごし) /kawagosi/ (to eat it skin and all)

[Fig. 35*] -kendo /kendo/ (Though it is raining)

(Fig. 25*) -yarô /jato:/ /jato/ (Perhaps it is a flower).

Each of these examples shows rather remarkably the relation of Shikoku and Kinki.

[Fig. 58] Ohayô-san. (お早うさん。) /ohajo:sap./ (greetings used during the morning)

Remarkably distributed in Kinki, the expression reflects exactly the Kinki dialectal unity. It is never found in Chûgoku. In Shikoku, however, we find a few instances. In other words, Shikoku is nearer to Kinki than Chûgoku is.

[Fig. 59] Yasumana ikan. (休まないかん。) /jasumana ikan./ (We must take a rest.)

This distribution also is, though not so dense, obviously found only in Shikoku and Kinki.

The correlative distribution of Kinki and Shikoku shows up in still other figures. The following forms may be rather special, yet show very well the relation of Shikoku and Kinki.

[Fig. 34*] Sô-dasu. /so:dasu./ (So it is.)

This is found in Kinki and in the southwestern part of Shikoku. No such auxiliary verb as *dasu* is found in Chûgoku.

[Fig. 32*] suzushi-natta (涼しなつた) /suzusinat:a/ (It has become cool.)

This is found in Kinki and in Shikoku over the eastern and the central section of Ehime Prefecture. Though in the northern end of Chûgoku, the same idiom was noted, according to my later interpretation, this shows that what has been rooted in Kinki appears here. Some special features of the Izumo and Oki areas of the northern part of Chûgoku seem to be related to Kinki. (Cf. p. 158, p. 32).

[Fig. 46*] Yô okoshi. (ようお越し。) /jo:okoji./Okoshi-yasu. (お越しやす。) /okojijasu./ and others (greetings returned to a visitor)

This is really quite a typical idiom for Kinki, but we find the same also in the eastern part of Ehime Prefecture on Shikoku.

(Fig. 30*) Aro ka. /atoka./ (Is there \sim ?)

This is scattered, though especially, in Shikoku and Kinki. The case is the same with *o-kurê na* /okule: na/ (Please teach me.) of Fig. 26^{+*} above. In both cases, the interior area of Ehime Prefecture draws our attention.

[Fig. 38*] Shi-na. /jina./ (Don't do that.)

As for the distribution of this, the southern half of Shikoku shows a relationship to Kinki.

[Fig. 26*] tsukâ /tsuka:/ (Please teach me.)

As for this case, the northern and the eastern areas of Shikoku together show a relation to Kinki. (However, by Kinki, in this case, is meant a smaller area of Kinki as seen in the map.) The case may be the same with the state of distribution of *yaka* /jaka/, *yakai* /jakai/, *yakashi* /jaka $\int i$ (not to use such a thing as face-power) in Fig. 53.

Next, the relation of the eastern half of Shikoku to Kinki must be noticed. The tendency of Shikoku to be divided into east and west crops up again here. See the following figures.

(Fig. 49*) kawa-gote (皮ごて) /kawagote/ (to eat it skin and all.) [Fig. 20*] furryoru (近つりよる) /ful:jotu/ (The rain is falling.) [Fig. 32*] suzushi-natta (涼しいなつた) /suzuJi:nat:a/ (It has become cool.)

Moreover, we notice a case in which especially the northern area of the eastern half of Shikoku, i.e., Kagawa Prefecture, has a relationship to Kinki. See the distribution of -ya /ja/ (It is a flower.) in Fig. 24. In the forms *naka-nto* /nakanto/, *naka-tto*, /nakat:o/ (without crying) in Fig. 43, it is noteworthy that especially Kagawa Prefecture of Shikoku shows well its relation to Kinki. See also *okkyo* /ok:jo/, /ok:jo:/ (Let's get up.) in Fig. 42⁺.

We have another case in which especially the southern area, i.e., Tokushima Prefecture, of the eastern half of Shikoku shows a relation to Kinki. See the distribution of ...gowasu/gowasu/ (So it is.) in Fig. 45.

It may be understood from the above-mentioned that only Tokushima Prefecture will sometimes become one separate area. See the distribution in Shikoku for *mi-naharu* /minahalu/ (to take a look at it—honorific form) in Fig. 37⁺ and also the distribution of *Goshamen-nahare* /goʃamen nahale./ etc., (greetings used when paying a visit) in Fig. 40.

In the above we have observed how Shikoku and Kinki hold together. After all anyone who is interested in the study of language may be able to imagine the deep relation, not accidental, between Shikoku and Kinki. Such relation between two districts widely separated from each other offers quite an interesting problem.

* * * *

We have been able to present six categories of dialectal distribution. Before we search for the real significance of these six, let us observe in the next chapter how the state of lexical distribution follows the same tendency as that of the grammar seen in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4. THE LEXICAL SITUATION OF CHÛGOKU, SHIKOKU AND NISHI-KINKI

4. 1 Introduction

a In this chapter we shall discern the dialectal situation of the surveyed area in terms of lexical distribution and localization. Our attempt is, in other words, to see the local variants and derivatives of a single subject—a lexicographic entry—and to see the local distinction and the outlook of the dialect distribution. Any subject, 'potato' for instance, may be called by a

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variety of names according to the locality. We may find a stock of cognate names derived from a single original name, or we may find blotches of unrelated variants of names denoting the same subject—potato—with respective origin. In short, we are going to determine the local dialectal situation by observing how each locality designates a given item with a word of its own, or in the way of its own. We may call this a lexical approach of dialect study.

b No formation of a word is free from the phonological foundation of its own. We shall say that a word selects its phonetic form according to the phonetic substratum, i.e., the phonological foundation of the locality where the word is formed and developed. In this sense, Chapter 2 of this work was meant to lay the major premise for the ensuing observation of grammatical phenomena and of lexical ones.

To illustrate the reality of this implication, let us suppose a word in Area A of the schematic map, Fig. 147(p. 15). The word, not only pronounced $|\cdots ai\cdots|$ elsewhere, but also so reported for the locality, is pronounced $|\cdots a:\cdots|$, $|\cdots c:\cdots|$, $|\cdots c:\cdots|$ or $|\cdots c\cdots|$ even though the traditional orthography does not distinguish these shades of phonetic quality. Informants of the northern Chûgoku may register a sound and transcribe it /se/ in the traditional orthography, syllabary called *Kana*, but actually the sound in that area is phonetically $|\int c|$. Or perhaps, informants of the marked section in Fig. 158 (p. 32) may report a sound |t|, but the real utterance there may have |t| instead or even without it at all.

In short, there is a meager possibility for a word to be coined contrary to the main trait and propencity of the phonological foundation that rules the locality. All this is, of course, not to infer that phonological foundation does condition and influence every formation of words in its every detail. Phonological influence exerted by the linguistic foundation may be direct or may be indirect as the case may be.

Thus generally speaking, word formation of a locality definitely reflects the nature of the phonological foundation. And naturally, in most of the cases, this holds good geographically as well. (In particular cases, however, instances are present where the effect is not immediate or obvious.)

The distribution of such words as have no relation to the facts found in the phonetic maps are out of the question now.

c We may expect that grammatical phenomena, as the lexical phenomena did, also sustain the influences of the phonological foundation to a certain degree in the development of forms. We acknowledged in the previous chapter that the grammatical phenomena share common areas with the phonetic ones in distribution. Since only a limited number of maps represented the phonetic distribution and quite a number for grammatical phenomena, a comparison of the two groups may not perhaps permit us to conclude

that the two categories of phenomena coincide in the pattern of distribution. Nevertheless, we may presume that all the geographic features of phonetic distribution are to be found in that of the grammatical distribution, i.e., geographically, the grammatical distribution does not diverge from the pattern set by the phonetic distribution. This fact may be ascribed to the influence of the local linguistic substratum basic to each dialectal unit. Inasmuch as the linguistic substratum, local as well as regional, is the common causal factor, it is inevitable that the patterns and tendencies of distribution of the two categories of phenomena should not show much inconsistency.

The fact that the vocabulary variation shares the common territory of distribution with grammatical idioms was pointed out in the introduction to the previous chapter. Naturally we could provide maps for lexical phenomena with details far more than we could do in the maps of grammatical ones we were able to discern subdivisions in the former which were impossible in the latter. Yet, for all these relative differences, we still may maintain that the lexical phenomena of a locality cannot contradict that of the grammar.

We believe, thus, that the phenomena of local vocabulary may be best studied with a consistent recourse to the phonetic maps and to the grammatical maps.

d For a better analysis of our word maps, we must introduce here a distinction between two categories; we may call them Nominals (*taigen* 體言) and Verbals (*yôgen* 用言). By the former we understand Nouns (*meishi* 名詞) and Pronouns (*daimeishi* 代名詞) whereas the latter includes Verbs (*dôshi* 動詞), Adjectives (*keiyôshi* 形容詞), Adjectival Verbs (*keiyôdôshi* 形容動詞). Adverbs (*fukushi* 副詞) are also included as the words to be considered along with the Verbals.

In Nouns, especially concrete words applied to things, the diversity is greater as an appellation is exposed to influences such as preference, technical design, phonetic corruption, etc. Accordingly, the vocabulary is diversified and the state of the linguistic distribution becomes complicated. In Verbals, the differentiation is, on the contrary, less remarkable, perhaps due to the abstractness of formula to conceive and express a verbal aspect of the situation and certainly also because of the greater coherence of the grammatical system thereof.

That the more abstract is the subject, the more limited is the scope of divergence for each appellation, seems true, even if the same factor and cause rule the situation.

For this reason, I have divided the exposé of the lexicography into two parts, namely, the group of Nouns and Pronouns, and that of Verbs, Adjectives, Adjectival Verbs and Adverbs.

At the beginning, this was not done by design, but rather in the course of my observations, covering more than 80 maps, I was brought to make such distinctions.

And when they were so divided, it struck me when I found that the distribution of Verbals bore a close resemblance to that of the grammatical maps. Nevertheless, one should note that Nominals and Verbals bear after all a great point of similarity, and therefore we are justified in grouping them under one heading.

There are fifty-three maps relating to Nouns and Pronouns in my work with a total of 310 phenomena; those relating to Verbs, Adjectives, Adjectival Verbs, and Adverbs comprise 33 maps with 154 individual phenomena. I tried to arrange the various corresponding areas covered by the 464 phenomena; when classified and arranged, their pattern of classification shows many aspects similar to that of grammar.

e Before presenting the maps, I have to make an important note. The word maps, or the lexical maps, are the results of the treatment of dialects through a 'lexical approach' we defined in paragraph a of the present chapter. But as each subject word is occupying such large areas, many differences are apt to crop up in various areas. My geographical study was, of course, carried out quite impartially and objectively for all words; but it was impossible to describe all the results of each lexical approach of them. The choice of phenomena was made in accordance with the subject matter and with its importance. And we tried to make the chosen phenomena and their distribution really representative. Consequently, among all the phenomena concerning one subject, the following have been specially chosen: those connected with the whole area of our survey, those with a particular distribution area, or those with characteristic structures of meanings.

The phenomena chosen for the map are shown in the column in one corner of the map. This list of words constitutes the systematic conclusion of our analysis of the whole vocabulary concerned. Consequently the series of maps may be said to show essentially and briefly the state of distribution of the whole vocabulary belonging to the area of our survey. The reasons why a phenomenon was entered and the other was relegated will not be discussed for expediency's sake.

By looking at these words listed in each column, we can also observe some vowel and consonant changes. The maps for the lexical phenomena thus presented, also reflect and involve phonological factors; and these lexical maps will serve as phonetic maps in their own way. See Fig. 60⁺ for an obvious instance.

4. 2 Lexical maps: Category 1. General distribution

a Among the 86 maps with their 464 phenomena, the first category consists of those which cover the whole area under survey; they are as

follows:

[Fig. 135*] odateru /odatetu/ (to tease) (Fig. 97*) uzuku /uzuku/ (to have a toothache)

These verbs are well distributed all over the three districts-Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki.

Odateru is pronounced almost as /odate:/ in that special area in the northern part of Chûgoku.

Uzuku is also pronounced /üzïkü/ in that area, and as shown in the map, it has also the forms /ozükü/, /ozïkü/, etc.

The two maps shown above are the representative ones of the Verbals. We will have some representative cases of Nominals, which follow:

(Fig. 96*) ichijiku /itfiziku/ (a fig)
(Fig. 132*) kabocha /kabotfa/ (a pumpkin)
[Fig. 141*] omote (£) /omote/ (guest room with matted floor)
[Fig. 60] niji (41) /nizi) (rainbow)

/ni3i/ is common to all parts of the country, and so it is in the areas of our survey. In the map relating to /ni3i/, such pronunciations as /ni3i/ /ni3i//nin3i//nin3i//ne3i//ne3i// (ne3i// too) /ne3i// nea3i// are to be noticed.

[Fig. 61] katatsumuri /katatsumuti/ (snail)

'Snail' has many different names, among them *dendemmushi* /dendem::uji/, literally come out, come out, worm!, is not shown in the map though it is found all over the area. *Katat sumuri*, also, seems to be in general use. These two words are common to the whole country. In that special area of northern Chûgoku, *katat sumuri* is pronounced sometimes as /katatʃimüti/.

b Now we shall take in order those which show gaps in their distribution. They are selected among those words which are considered to be of general distribution.

(Fig. 142*) shindoi /findoi/ (tired and painful) (Fig. 68) hesokuri (所くり)/hesokuti/ (one's hoard of savings) (Fig. 132*) nankin /naŋkin/ (a pumpkin)

Some words of this category are only missing in the northern part of Chûgoku, but with variable areas.

[Fig. 90*] atsukamashii /atsukamaJi:/ (troublesome) [Fig. 86*] agura-kaku /aqutakaku/ (to sit cross-legged)

Among these, the gaps range from the northern to the western parts of Chûgoku.

Referring to this, see the distribution of .. guro /guto/ in wara-guro, etc., as well as guro /guto/ and kuro /kuto/, by themselves, in Fig. 85.

Concerning the distribution of *ikke* $(-\overline{x})$ /ik:e/ (relatives) in Fig. 80, gaps are found in the northern part of Chûgoku, in its western part, and in the southern part of Shikoku.

As to similar distribution seen both in the northern part of Chûgoku and the southern part of Shikoku, see *tsuji* /tsudʒi/ (the summit of a mountain) in Fig. 94[†]. In the case of *yôdachi* (\cancel{gh})/jo:datʃi/ and /jodatʃi (shower) in Fig. 126, the southern part of Shikoku is not represented.

Next, the southern part of Shikoku and the western half in the south of Chûgoku show a gap sometimes, such as seen in *take* /take/ (fungus) in Fig. 73.

As the general distribution revealing abnormal phases in the southern part of Shikoku and the western half of Chûgoku, the distribution of *yerai* /jetai/ (tired and painful) in Fig. 142, and *nido-imo* (二度芋) /nidoimo/ (potato) in Fig. 114 are to be taken into consideration.

Next, we shall take up the modifications found in Chûgoku. In the distribution of *otoroshii* /otorofi:/ (to be afraid) in Fig. 106, the principal part of Chûgoku is blank, and again in that of *nô-naru* ($\mathfrak{M} \ni \mathfrak{I}_{\mathfrak{D}} \mathfrak{I}_{\mathfrak{D}}$) /no:nalu/ (to be lost) in Fig. 81, the problematical character of Chûgoku is clear. Together with the above, see the area of Chûgoku of *kokuba* /kokuba/ (dry pine-needles) in Fig. 125[†].

c The following two cases show another abnormal phase of the general tendency of distribution.

(Fig. 62) furutsuku /furutsuku/ (owl)

This is most widely found in Shikoku and also in the southern part of Chûgoku, as well as in the southern part of Kinki. Being found in these three districts it may be deemed as one of the cases of general distribution; however, there are large areas with no cases at all to be found in Kinki, the neighbouring Okayama Prefecture, as well as the whole area in the northern part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 63*] amaru /amaru/ (to be struck by lightening)

This is also found in the three districts.

Now, a blank area is found in the western half of Chûgoku, and also in its northwestern part as well as in the adjoining greater part of Kinki. As a general distribution, the map is characteristic. That the distribution in Shikoku is rather remarkable is worth attention, just as it is seen in the preceding map, Fig. 62.

Some of the gaps found till now are of importance as the following maps clearly reveal.

4. 3 Lexical maps: Category 2. Distribution in Chûgoku and Shikoku

a Chûgoku and Shikoku areas will be studied with a special attention to the general pattern and set-up of the dialect distribution there.

[Fig 64] agaribana (上がりはな) /agatihana/ (threshold forming the entrance to the matted floor)

This is widely found distributed over both Chûgoku and Shikoku. See also the way and area *tenkotsu* /teŋkotsu/ (the summit of a mountain) is distributed in Fig. 94*⁺, down to *tongyô* /toŋgjo:/ in Chûgoku and Shikoku, all of which belong to the same family.

[Fig. 65] dôdzuku / do:dzuku/ (to beat by way of punishment or violence)

/do:dzuku/ is closely related to /dodzuku/ and the latter to /dotsuku/. But taking /do:dzuku/ strictly alone, we can see in its distribution that this also shows rather obviously the aspect of distribution in Chûgoku and Shikoku. Only in the eastern corner in the north of Chûgoku, we find a blank, with /dodzuku/ extending further to the east, with its own area.

[Fig. 113*] mitsuboshi (三つ星) /mitsubofi/ (Orion's belt)

This, also, having a Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution, shows, in the northeastern part of Chûgoku a blank wider than that in the previous case.

[Fig. 66] mugoi /mugoi/ (to feel sorry for)

This presents, in its Chûgoku-Shikoku dispersion, a fairly long, broad blank area in northern Chûgoku, centering in that special area: and thus gradually appears as a striking characteristic of that northern part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 67] odoroku /odotoku/ (to awake)

This also is missing in the northern Chûgoku.

Next, like in the case of *miteru* /mitelu/ (to be lost) in Fig. 81, the blank not only covers northern Chûgoku but it extends over eastern Shikoku.

In the case of *orabu* /orabu/ (to shout) of Fig. 91⁺, the distribution is missing in the regions including northern Chûgoku and western Chûgoku. See also *saruko* /sa^tuko/ (sleeveless clothes) in Fig. 95⁺.

Now let us see the distribution of *agaritate* /aga[†]itate/ (threshold forming the entrance to the matted floor) in Fig. 64, in the northern part of Chûgoku and in the greater part of Shikoku excepting the west. This shows positively the characteristic blank area so far discussed.

We have described maps with a comparatively complete distribution of Chûgoku and Shikoku, in addition, we noticed the appearance of the characteristic area usually seen in the northern part of Chûgoku and others. b In the distribution in Chûgoku and Shikoku we can recognize a tendency of the blank area to spread from the western part to the eastern part of these districts.

First, in Shikoku, we notice *igaru* /igatu/ (to shout) of Fig. 91⁺ missing in southwestern Shikoku; and in the case of *damashi-ni* /damafini/ (unexpectedly) in Fig. 119⁺, a void of distribution in the southern and northeastern parts of Shikoku. In the case of *hade* /hade/ (frame work for hanging and drying rice-plants) in Fig. 138⁺, a void is found in the northeastern and the western half of Shikoku. Refer to the area of /haze/ in the same map, too.

Next, we take up those which originally seemed to belong to Chûgoku and Shikoku, although they are now occasionally absent in Chûgoku.

When we discern the distribution of *tenkotsu* /teŋkotsu/ and *tenkosu* /teŋkosu/ (both meaning the summit of a mountain) in Fig. 94[†], despite their vast coverage over Chûgoku and Shikoku, we find a void beginning to show itself in the western half of Chûgoku. In the case of *sogêna* /scge:na/ *sogena* /sogena/ songena /songena/ (such) in Fig. 101[†], as a group, the distribution reveals a more remarkable void in the western half of Chûgoku. Again *sogêni* /scge:ni/, *sogeni* /scgeni/ and *songeni* /songeni/ (so) in Fig. 102[†] show a remarkable void, together with that of Chûgoku mentioned above, in the eastern half of Shikoku.

As to these negative areas of distribution, in the written inquiry for the investigation, dialect examples such as *sogeni*, *sogêni* etc., were given in the lower column of the key words. The informants, referring to these examples, were to choose the one of their dialect. It is safe to conclude that no such word exists in the locality when the report is negative.

This map may be compared with Fig. 78^+ in terms of *tomeru* /tomeru/ (to look for).

Now let us study Chûgoku and Shikoku for those words that show the blank areas in their distribution, from the western towards the eastern areas of these districts in order.

(Fig. 68*) matsubori /matsuboti/ (one's hoard of savings)

Both *matsubori* and *machibori* /matfiboli/ do exist, though I distinguish one from the other. *Matsubori* is not found in a large area of the western half of Chûgoku and in the southwestern part of Shikoku.

[Fig 83*] Ishinago /ifinago/ /ifinango/ (Japanese jackstones)

In this, the larger area of the western half of Chûgoku as well as the western and the southern parts of Shikoku are lacking.

[Fig. 69] meoi (日おい) /meoi/ (eating and drinking by Dutch account)

In this, Shikoku is found, as in the preceding map, to have nothing in

its southern and the western parts, and in Chûgoku, this lack has been stated chiefly in its western part.

[Fig. 137*] *jôjû* (常じう) /30:3u:/ /30:3u/ (always)

In this, Shikoku is lacking in a distribution largely in its western half, while Chûgoku is also weak in its western half; that is, the word is known in the eastern part of both Chûgoku and Shikoku.

c As to Chûgoku and Shikoku, the next map illustrates a characteristic point.

[Fig. 70] udomu /udomu/ (to groan)

This is seen all over Shikoku but mostly in its northeastern part; while in Chûgoku, except for its western and the eastern parts, a range of distribution closely connected with that in Shikoku, is found in its central area.

d We are now introduced to another tendency of distribution whose negative areas spread westward from the east over both districts. The following examples, belonging to the Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution pattern, will represent the situation.

(Fig. 71) ryûkyû-imo (琉球芋) /tju:kju:imo/, etc. (sweet potato)

A void is seen in the eastern part of Chûgoku and in the southern part of Shikoku; here, however, another kind is obviously observed, but as it has already been understood to be characteristic of the southern part of Shikoku, there will be no further discussion for the moment.

(Fig. 77*) sashi-hama /safihama/ (high clogs, Japanese wooden shoes worn in rainy weather)

We can see the same pattern of distribution for this case in Shikoku as the preceding one, while in Chûgoku, this is chiefly found in its western half of the southern part.

(Fig. 140*) tôkibi (店きび) /to:kibi/ (Indian corn)

The map shows that the word is found over the greater part of Shikoku except its eastern part and only the western end of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 72] onshi /onsi/ (you)

The pattern of distribution of this word bears some resemblance to the preceding one, i.e., it is found considerably in a greater area of Shikoku while in Chûgoku it is found in its western part.

[Fig. 70*] nubu /nubu/, nobu /nobu/ (to groan)

The distribution of these two is found in the western half of both Shikoku and Chûgoku.

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See the distribution of /mjo:3i/ /mju:3i/ (rainbow) in Fig. 60⁺.

(Fig. 128*) *tsuru-i* (釣る井) /tsutui/ (well for obtaining subterranean water)

The western part of the western half of Chûgoku and two prefectures in the southern part of Shikoku show a correlative distribution pattern of this word. On this point we may say that the special area of Shikoku has close connection with the western part of Chûgoku in the dialect distribution.

(Fig. 145*) bigan-bôzu (彼岸坊主) /çigambo:zu/ (false horsetail)

The distribution pattern of this word resembles that of the preceding one in Chûgoku; and in Shikoku, one prefecture in the southern part abounds with it.

(Fig. 73) naba /naba/ (fungus)

In Chûgoku, it is found in the western half of its area while in Shikoku the southern part of Ehime Prefecture abounds with it, though not in Kôchi Prefecture.

[Fig. 74] *ibiru* /ibiru/ (to treat badly)

This is remarkably seen in the southwestern part of Shikoku, while in Chûgoku, the distribution seen chiefly in its western part is to be specially noticed. The map brings out the close connection between the two.

(Fig. 75) *borokeru* /hotoketu/ (to fall)

As for the distribution of this, the western end of Shikoku is remarkable and in Chûgoku, from the west to its northwestern part.

[Fig. 76] seku /seku/ (to have a stomachache)

Coming to this, we are now able to notice a special kind of distribution pattern of Chûgoku and Shikoku chiefly seen in their western end. Here, see the distribution of *pinpira* /pimpila/ (romp) in Fig. 108 and that of *ashi-nage* /afinage/ (hopping) in Fig. 134[†].

e The following maps show a group, which, while connected with the tendency of distribution of *tsuru-i* in Fig. 128, *higan-bôzu* in Fig. 145, and the following, shows areas in the northern part of Chûgoku also.

(Fig. 77) bokuri (木履) /bokuti/, bukuri /bukuti/ (high clogs)

The forms /bokuli/ and /bukuli/, two forms of a word differing only by a vowel, will be considered together here for the purpose of our lexical treatment. We will see quite distinctly what might be called a circular phase of relation between the southern part of Shikoku and the western part of Chûgoku and extending farther to the northern part of Chûgoku. And this is even the case with /bokuli/ by itself.

We may compare this figure with the distribution of *ora* /ota/ (I) of Fig. 144[†] in the north, west, and south; though it is distributed in three areas, it may be considered a correlative series.

[Fig. 78] tanneru /tan:etu/ (to look for)

This is found in Shikoku as well as in the western and the northern parts of Chûgoku, and may perhaps be taken together with *ora* of Fig. 144[†].

The following areas separated or isolated in Chûgoku and Shikoku can by no means be accidental coincidence, but must have fundamentally something common to them all. That is, the following are to be understood to belong to the above mentioned circular relation.

Let us observe Fig. 78^{+} for the distribution pattern of *tomeru* /tomeru/ (to look for), and we will see that while *tanneru* is distributed as described above, *tomeru* is found in the south and north. Considering these two cases together, we are inclined to think that the *tomeru* area lies along the natural line of distribution.

(Fig. 79) kakka /kak:a/ (mother)

Notice that this is found in the north and the south with isolated areas being scattered in between. These two major distribution areas of this word seem to share some features common between them.

[Fig. 82*] ogame /ogame/ ogamo /ogamo/ (a mantis)

This is distributed in two groups north and south respectively and it seems that this has come to exist somehow separately in the areas of correlative distribution.

[Fig. 93*] chinken /tjinken/ (Japanese toss-up)

This distribution pattern existing in the corner of the southwestern part of Shikoku and in the remote area of Okayama Prefecture, may be taken as being the same kind as that mentioned above.

(Fig. 80) rui (約) /tui/ (relatives)

This clearly has corresponding areas in the southern part of Shikoku and the area around the east of the northern part of Chûgoku.

The distribution of *kibi* /kibi/ (Indian corn) in Fig. 140, and that of *bôfura* /bo:Fula/ and *bofura* /boFula/ in Fig. 132 are to be compared with that of *rui*.

Among its other problematic aspects, the Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution pattern presents an issue which demands a thorough treatment, as we practiced in the present paragraph, i.e., paragraph *e*.

4. 4 Lexical maps: Category 3. Special areas

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a The existence of the special areas treated in the two previous catagories is going to be emphasized by the following characteristic.

First, we shall see the special areas in the north of Chûgoku.

(Fig. 81) nâ-naru (無あなる) /na:natu/ (to be lost)

This is distributed from the eastern part of Shimane Prefecture (including the islands in the north) to the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture. The form /na:/ in /na:natu/ is derived from /nau/, a corrupted form of *naku*/naku/, a conjugated form of *nai* (not to be). And /nau/ commonly takes the form of /no:/, but in such wide areas of Chûgoku as above, it follows the changes /nau/>/no:/>/na:/. (See Fig. 7[†]). See now the distribution of *oyako* /ojako/ in Fig. 80.

[Fig. 82] kamakake /kamakake/ (a mantis)

This includes chiefly the areas from the eastern part of Shimane Prefecture to Tottori Prefecture, and also the northern part of Okayama Prefecture.

[Fig. 83] kobu-ishi (こぶ石) /kobuiji/ and kobu /kobu/ (Japanese jack-stones)

This is also found in the areas from the eastern part of Shimane Prefecture, including the islands in the north, to Tottori Prefecture.

[Fig. 111*] okattsan /okat:san/ (the lady of the house)

This is found all over Shimane Prefecture in the western area of the north of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 84] nanryô /nantjo:/ and nanjô /nanzo:/ (icicles)

As to the distribution of this pair of words, the southwestern part of Shimane Prefecture forms the specific area. In the neighbouring area to the south a relative form is found, which suggests the close relation between dialects in both areas.

See the distribution of *iyakenai* /ijakenai/ /ijakenai/ (to feel sorry for) in Fig. 66[†]. This is found in an area to the east of *nanryô* etc., in the previous map. A very significant dialectal branch is that found in Shimane Prefecture : it tends much to be divided into two parts; namely Izumo and Oki, in the east and north, and the other part, Iwami; in the latter one the two dialectal branches aforesaid are to be seen.

(Fig. 106*) ozoi /ozoi/ (to be afraid)

This is seen in the area from the eastern part of Iwami to Izumo. Besides this, there is a distribution to be noticed from the above area to the islands in the north.

(Fig. 75*) borokeru /botoketu/ (to fall)

This is quite clearly distributed in Izumo and Oki and more examples of this kind could be offered.

Nemaru /nemalu/ (to sit straight) in Fig. 136 and choncho /t $\int ont fo$ / (a butterfly) in Fig. 139[†] are found only in Izumo.

(Fig. 85) susushi /süsüſī/, suzushi /süzüſī/ (stack of rice-straw)

These two are found in Izumo and the western part of Tottori Prefecture. And the distribution of *shinzai* /ʃinzai/ /ʃinzai/ /ʃinzæ/ in Fig. 84⁺ lies generally a little westward of the above area.

The word areas ranging from Izumo and the western part of Tottori Prefecture to the northern islands, seem to build up a tolerably strong tendency. See also the distribution of *yozoku* /jozoku/, *yôzoku* /jo:zoku/ (owl) in Fig. 62 and that of *meguri* /meguti/ *o-meguri* /omeguti/ *omeguri-san* /omegutisan/ (pestle) in Fig. 115.

Now the distribution in Tottori Prefecture will be examined. See the distribution of *shôkara* $/\int 0:ka^{1}a/$ (tomboy) in Fig. 108[†] and *dondoroke* /dondoroke/ *dondoroki* /dondoroki/ (thunder—noun) in Fig. 127. If we are to see, herewith, those which shift more or less in their sphere, we find numerous examples thereof. The western part of Tottori Prefecture is apt to go together with Izumo, so that the forms chiefly found in Tottori Prefecture tend to be limited either to the east or the west.

[Fig. 86] abuta-kaku /abutakaku/ (to sit cross-legged)

This is to be found in an area from the eastern half of Tottori Prefecture, namely Inaba, to the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture, namely Tajima. Incidentally it is to be noticed that the same is found in the Oki Islands. As to *uchige* /utjige/, *urage* /utage/ (my house) in Fig. 133[†], its distribution is to be found generally in the above area, but not in the Oki Islands.

The tendency which groups Inaba and Tajima together seems also to shape a rather strong unit. But sometimes Inaba alone shows a most remarkable distribution pattern, such as that of *gotsui* /gotsui/ etc. (extremely) in Fig. 89⁺.

(Fig. 87) nebuchan /nebutfan/, nebuchan-go /nebutfango/ (Japanese killfish)

See the clearly defined area in Inaba. This kind is rich in examples, thereby showing the strength of that tendency. *Noshi* /nofi/ (you) of Fig. 72⁺, is found both in Inaba and in the Oki Islands.

Then, next, the distribution in which Tajima is prominent is to be noticed,

for example, *mimi* /mimi/ (fungus) in Fig. 73, is one of the most remarkable ones.

b Now we shall see the special areas found in the northern part of Chûgoku and in its western part.

(Fig. 77*) bukuri /bukuti/ (high clogs)

This, as an example, is representative for the areas of Chûgoku from the north to the west, or from the west to the north. Side by side with this, the distribution of *okaka* /okaka/ (mother) in Fig. 79, grouping in the west and the north, is considered to be belonging to a similar tendency.

Damani /damani/ (unexpectedly) in Fig. 119⁺, *izui /izui / ezui / ezui / (wise)* in Fig. 130⁺, are found in both the western and in the northwestern parts of Chûgoku, but in a smaller scope than the above.

[Fig. 88*] ubushi /ubusi/ (dumb person)

This follows just the same tendency as the above. (The distribution over Yamaguchi Prefecture and Iwami in the western half of Shimane Prefecture is remarkable.)

Next, there is a distribution seen chiefly in Iwami, and more or less in Yamaguchi Prefecture, etc.

Again, there is one seen chiefly in Yamaguchi Prefecture, and more or less in Iwami. See first the distribution of *ugushi* /uguʃi/ in Fig. 88*†. There are not a few similar cases. The distribution of *toshaku* /toʃaku/ (stack of rice-straw) in Fig. 85 is chiefly limited in the western half (called Nagato (長門)) of Yamaguchi Prefecture.

The distribution of *bôbora* /bo:bora/ (pumpkin) in Fig. 132* is a striking example of how Yamaguchi Prefecture tends to show a special unity in its western half. The extreme instance can be seen in the distribution of *rokushaku* /roku[aku/ (pole to carry things balanced with) in Fig. 124.

Then the distribution chiefly seen in the eastern half of Yamaguchi Prefecture is to be observed. See that of *hodekuri* /hodekuri /hozekuli/ (stammerer) in Fig. 100.

[Fig. 89] goppô /gop:o:/ (extremely)

In this, a distribution all over Yamaguchi Prefecture is seen. Such being the case, one can affirm that a former area in the northern part of Chûgoku is now extinct; and that only the special one in the western part of Chûgoku is left. Yamaguchi Prefecture has a special location with a direct relation to Iwami on the north and to Kyûshû to the west, and at the same time it is located to the extreme west of Chûgoku; hence the local character of the whole prefecture.

[Fig. 90] shirôshii /fito:fi:/, shiroshii /fitofi:/ (troublesome)

The distribution of this also shows the same phase as that of the preceding case.

[Fig. 91] takeru /takeru /tak:eru /tak:eru/ (to shout)

This is to be taken as an example of a verb, and as an analogue example of a noun here, the distribution of *okassama* /okas:ama/ (the lady of the house) in Fig. 111⁺ may be given as a representative figure; besides, there is a large number of other examples.

c The special area in Shikoku is to be noticed.

[Fig. 92] udaku /udaku/ odaku /odaku/ (to take in one's arms)

This distribution pattern is to be found in Kôchi Prefecture (the southern part of Shikoku), and its neighbouring area (the southern part of Ehime Prefecture). Considered in its relation with that of Yamaguchi Prefecture, the distribution in the west and the south of Shikoku is first to be noticed. On this map, one must notice carefully that in Kyûshû also there happens to be the same type of distribution as referred to above.

Omitting the cases of verbs forming the same distribution pattern in the south and the west of Shikoku as mentioned above, we shall take up the nouns such as *machibori* /matfiboli/ (one's hoard of savings) in Fig. 68, in which, however, the distribution in Kôchi Prefecture is somewhat weak.

[Fig. 93] chicchippa /tjit:jip:a/, etc. (Japanese toss-up)

This is densely distributed in Kôchi Prefecture, but weak in the southern part of Ehime Prefecture, yet we can notice the similarity in both areas.

(Fig. 112*) tome /tome/, etc. (return gift)

In the distribution pattern of this word, the southern part of Ehime Prefecture, Kôchi Prefecture, as well as the southern area of Tokushima Prefecture are noticeable.

(Fig. 117*) ajina /azina/ (strange)

This is confined only to a narrow area—the southwestern part of Shikoku —which tends to become prominent. In some cases of distribution there are some with changes in the size of the area; sometimes they lean towards Ehime Pfefecture, others towards Kôchi Prefecture. See, for one instance, the distribution of *itambo* /itambo/ (giant knotweed) in Fig. 110, or that of *bigambôshi* /cigambo: fi/ (false horsetail) in Fig. 145. There are many other note-worthy examples.

(Fig. 80*) rui-chû (類中) /tuitfu:/ (relatives)

The distribution of this is only noticeable in Ehime Prefecture in the southwestern part of Shikoku. We have to pay attention to the existence of such a tendency.

Now the prominence of Kôchi Prefecture is to be taken up: Since long ago, this prefecture has attracted our attention.

Looking at the various instances in the following, we feel sure that this area constitutes a special unit. There are not a few important examples of words peculiar to this area for our investigation, which are only found there. An adverb as $j\delta ku$ /30:ku/ (always) in Fig. 137[†] is distributed in this area alone, and *bisshiri* /bij:iti/ (always) has nearly the same distribution. In verbs, again, *shakeru* /jaketu/ (to shout) in Fig. 91[†], *shideru* /jidetu/ (to treat badly) in Fig. 74[†] and others, are distributed only in this area. As to nouns, the same thing can be said; for instance, *onan* /onap/ and *nana* /nana/ in Fig. 79 can at once be quoted as example.

To continue further, let us take up the following two maps.

[Fig. 94] tenkosu /tenkosu/ (summit of a mountain)

[Fig. 95] sôta (so:ta/ (sleeveless clothes)

These evidently show the special distribution pattern of Kôchi Prefecture. Observing these numerous examples, the prominence of Kôchi Prefecture forms a very strong tendency. The special character of the southwestern part of Shikoku and the special local character of Kôchi Prefecture and the area neighbouring to the west may be considered to have a deep relation with the prominence of Kôchi Prefecture.

Moreover, in *otoi* /otoi/ (to be afraid) in Fig. 106, a series of areas in Kôchi Prefecture, various parts of Tokushima Prefecture and in the eastern part of Ehime Prefecture are noticeable.

4. 5 Lexical maps: Category 4. Relation and separation in Chûgoku and Kinki

a First, we shall see the correlative distribution both in Chûgoku and Kinki, from the view-point of the general distribution studied in the beginning. These two districts being neighbouring areas, it is not to be wondered at, we might say for the time being, that they show phenomena common to both, even if Shikoku stands apart.

(Fig. 96) tôgaki (唐がき) /to:gaki/ (fig), or sometimes in Kinki, /to:naki/

Remarkably enough, the word is found in the southern part leaving the northern area blank and revealing a link-pattern distribution, the Kinki-Chûgoku dispersion area.

There is no other map with such a clear-cut case of link-pattern dialect distribution as this. However, there are some weaker distributions found scattered in both districts. See for instance, the distribution of *ariko* /a^tiko/ (ant) in Fig. 121⁺.

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b The following are maps showing evidently the separation of Chûgoku from Kinki, and, of course, from Shikoku.

(Fig. 97) *hashiru* /hasiru/ (to have a toothache)

In the distribution of this word, the individuality of Chûgoku is indeed remarkable. See, herewith, the distribution of *nigaru* /nigaru/ (to have a stomachache) in Fig. 76.

If we put aside the gap of distribution in the area adjoining Kinki, the following two are also worth noticing.

[Fig. 98] *hanayeru* (/hanajetu/ to begin) (Fig. 99) *itashii* /itafi:/ (difficult)

We will omit the cases of other obvious verbs and adjectives, and instead we shall take up some more typical examples of nouns.

(Fig. 100) dodokuri /dodokuti/ (stammerer)

This, also, shows the Chûgoku distribution pattern perfectly.

[Fig. 121*] arigo (職ご) /atigo/ aringo (/atingo/ ant)

(Fig. 112*) tobi /tobi/ (return gift)

[Fig. 88*] iwazu (言わず) /iwazu/, ewazu /ewazu/ etc. (dumb person)

These distributions are also to be viewed as the Chûgoku type of distribution; only in both the eastern and the western part, a shift of distribution can more or less be seen.

Hachiman /hat fiman/ (tomboy) in Fig. 108⁺ may be regarded as the Chûgoku distribution without the special area in the northern part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 101] sonêna /sone:na/ (such) [Fig. 102] sonêni /sone:ni/ (so)

The similar state of distribution of these two correlative words may be looked upon as the Chûgoku distribution but without the middle part. The /ne:/ in /sone:na/ /sone:ni/ is a phenomenon depending much on the phonological foundation and the same /ne:/ can be found in the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture in Kinki.

c Next, we shall see the central part of Chûgoku. Owing to a special condition in its northern part, the area has a strong tendency to be divided into north and south, and at the same time it shows some remarkable separation in its eastern and western halves, as seen in the following.

(Fig. 103) hoboro-uru (ほぼろ賣る) /hoboroutu/, etc., hoboro-furu (ほぼ ろ振る) /hoborofutu/ etc., hoboro-kokasu /hoborokokasu/ etc., hoboro-utsu (ほぼろうつ) /hoboroutsu/, etc. (that a wife goes back to her parents' home without permission)

See the diagram showing a rather distinct distribution in the western

half of Chûgoku for this series of variety.

Sontona /sontona/, /sonto:na/ (such) in Fig. 101⁺ and sontoni /sontoni/, /sonto:ni/ (so) in Fig. 102⁺ are also to be looked upon as examples, proper to the distribution in the western half of Chûgoku.

(Fig. 28*) taigatai (堪難い) /taigatai/, etc. (Thank you.)

The distribution of this idiom denoting gratitude, is to be found generally in the western half of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 104] *taigatai* (埠難い) /taigatai/, /taigata:/, /tæəgatæə/, /tɛ:gatɛ:/ (ashamed)

These, though differing in sense from the previous example but perhaps owing to the same form, are found distributed chiefly in the western half of Chûgoku.

(Fig. 105) yôzu /jo:zu/ (kite)

As an example of a noun, this clearly shows the distribution in the western half of Chûgoku, (three prefectures in the western part of the district), though lacking in some degree in the north. The distribution of $og\hat{o}$ -san /ogo:san/ (the lady of the house) in Fig. 111⁺ resembles the present case.

When we see, next, the distribution of *ibusê* /ibuse:/, *ibisê* /ibise:/ *ebesê* /ebese:/ (to be afraid) in Fig. 106 and that of *manman-kibi* /mam:aŋkibi/ (Indian corn) in Fig. 140, we will find that, though distributed in the western half of Chûgoku, they are missing generally in Yamaguchi Prefecture in the west.

No pattern of distribution is, it seems, without some local characteristic of its own.

(Fig. 140*) namman-kibi /nam:aŋkibi/ namman /nam:ap/ nammai /nam:ai/ (Indian corn)

These form a special distribution range all over the western parts of Hiroshima and Shimane Prefecture and also the eastern part of Yamaguchi Prefecture. See, by the way, the distribution of *kamide* /kamide/, *kamudê* /kamude:/ /kamude/ (guest room with matted floor) in Fig. 141⁺.

We see an area, then, occupying the central part of the three prefectures in the western part of Chûgoku and the two prefectures in its eastern part, but not belonging to either of these surrounding regions. Look at the way *itashii* /itafi:/ (tired and painful) of Fig. 142, *adareru* /adaretu/ (to fall) in Fig. 75*, and *kuchinao* /kut[inao/ (snake) of Fig. 143 are distributed.

Next comes the distribution occupying the eastern half of Chûgoku, the two prefectures in the eastern part of it.

(Fig. 106) kyôtoi /kjo:toi/, /kjo:te:/ /kjote/ (to be afraid)

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This shows an evident characteristic of the eastern half. Due to its phonological foundation perhaps, the eastern part of Hiroshima Prefecture is under the influence of this type of dialect distribution.

[Fig. 107] komokomo/komokomo/(a cone-shaped hole made by ant-lion)

If we look, together with this, at the distribution pattern of *komakoma*/komakoma/, we can see much more clearly the distribution chiefly in the eastern half of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 108] shiokara (随から) /fiokata/ and shôkara /fo:kata/ (tomboy)

The two ($/\int 0:kata/$ being the transfigured form of $/\int iokata/$, $/\int io/>/\int 0:/$) show an evident distribution in the eastern half of Chûgoku.

(Fig. 109) *bigo* /çi:go/, /Fi:go/ /Fü:go/, etc. (swallow)

This may also be regarded as belonging to the eastern half of Chûgoku. The spread of its distribution in the northern part of Chûgoku denotes more distinctly the tendency shown in the preceding two cases. In the eastern part of Shimane Prefecture, pronounciation of /Fï:go/ and so on is to be heard. The northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture is that area which tends to show similarity with Chûgoku.

There are, again, not a few examples of distribution limited to the eastern half of Chûgoku, such as *ikanobori* /ikanobori/, *ikambori* /ikambori/ (kite) in Fig. 105 and others.

(Fig. 145*) hôshi /ho:si/ (false horsetail)

Though this is distributed chiefly in the two prefectures in the eastern part of Chûgoku and extends widely in the northern part like that of *higo* in Fig. 109, and in the south extends to the west, yet it may be taken as a good example of distribution of the eastern half of Chûgoku. From the point of local character, this is, indeed, a representative distribution of that area.

d Now we shall see the maps of distribution in which Chûgoku shows by its eastern half a relation with Kinki.

[Fig. 89*] gotsu:/ etc., doerai /doetai/ etc., doerô /doeto:/ etc. (extremely)

These three are all distributed chiefly in the eastern half of Chûgoku and Kinki.

(Fig. 118*) tanto /tanto/ (lots of)

The distribution of this also may be regarded as showing a kind of relation between Kinki and Chûgoku.

(Fig. 75*) adakeru /adakețu/ (to fall)

In this, likewise, a relation between Kinki and the eastern half of Chûgoku may be recognized. See, further, the distribution of *hetaru* /hetatu/ (to sit straight) in Fig. 136[†].

(Fig. 110) danji /danzi/ (giant knot-weed)

This distribution existing from the western end of Kinki to the eastern corner of Chûgoku, reveals the special aspect of intercouse between Kinki and Chûgoku. In the distribution of *kobokobo* /kobokobo/ (a cone-shaped hole made by ant-lion) in Fig. 107[†], the intercourse between Kinki and the northeastern part of Chûgoku is seen.

[Fig. 111] goryon-san /gotjonsan/ (the lady of the house)

This distribution shows the intercourse of Okayama Prefecture, Chûgoku, and the district of Kinki. This abounds with similar examples.

(Fig. 114*) sando-imo (三度芋) /sandoimo/ (potato)

This is distributed chiefly in the eastern half of Chûgoku, and at the same time it is distributed in the western end of Kinki. This is the map showing the intercourse between both areas, with Chûgoku in the leading position.

e We shall see the inner detail of the eastern half of Chûgoku as stated already.

Okayama Prefecture has a rather strong tendency to form one area by itself. *surankôna* /sułaŋko:na/ (cunning) in Fig. 122*[†], *dzudo* /dzudo/ (extremely) in Fig. 89[†], *tengôra* /teŋgo:la/ (the summit of a mountain) in Fig. 94[†] are clearly distributed all over Okayama Prefecture.

Some are distributed chiefly in the southern part of Okayama Prefecture; some chiefly in the eastern part; some in the western; while others are limited to the northwestern part. And some have a tendency to distribute themselves in the mountain areas in the northern part of the prefecture, such as the distribution of *fuguri* /Fuguli/ (pine-cone) in Fig. 129. Some are found to have a tendency to distribute themselves in an area, large or small, of the northeastern part of Okayama.

The distribution of *sasu* /sasu/ /sa:su/ (pole to carry things balanced with) in Fig. 124 is seen in the areas extending from the northeastern part of Okayama Prefecture, by way of the eastern part of Tottori Prefecture, to the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture,—a noteworthy related area. The distribution of *izuma-kaku* /izumakaku/, *yuzumâ-kaku* /juzuma:kaku/, etc. (to sit cross-legged) in Fig. 86⁺ is found in the northwestern part of Okayama Prefecture and the adjoining southwestern part of Tottori Prefecture and at the same time in the eastern part of Tottori Prefecture.

f Now we shall see Kinki separated from Chûgoku.

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The *dotsuku* /dotsuku/ (to beat by way of punishment or violence) in Fig. 65[†], *kettaina* /ket:aina/ (strange) in Fig. 117^{*}, and *jora-kumu* /30^takumu/ (to sit cross-legged) in Fig. 86[†] are peculiar to Kinki.

(Fig. 112) tame /tame/, o-tame /otame/ (return gift)

This distribution, also, clearly shows the character of separation of Kinki.

[Fig. 113] karasuki-boshi (からすき星) /katasukibosi/ (Orion's belt)

This shows no less the character of Kinki than the above.

g Now, we shall see the inner details of Kinki.

First, the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture is separated, as has already been described; accordingly, the local character of the southern part of Hyôgo Prefecture can be seen at the same time.

The western part on its south side shows rather well a unity as one area; see for instance, the distribution of *ikken* /ik: e_n /, etc. (hopping) in Fig. 134[†].

Ôsaka Prefecture forms one area, though the area of our investigation will come to an end here. See the distribution of *susuki* /susuki/, *suzuki* /suzuki /s

Ósaka Prefecture does not necessarily constitute one simple uniform phase of distribution. Sometimes its northern part shows one area, and sometimes its central area and its southern part reveal unity, while its southwestern part forms one area.

4. 6 Lexical maps: Category 5. Relation between Chûgoku and Shikoku

a Here we are to examine the relation between Chûgoku and Shikoku. As the premise, it is recognized that there exist separated peculiarities of Shikoku, as well as of Chûgoku.

(We shall take up the figures of the peculiar traits of Shikoku in the next paragraph 4. 7).

First, those distributed almost all over Chûgoku and chiefly in the northern half of Shikoku can be taken up.

(Fig. 114) kinka-imo (きんか芋) /kinkaimo/ (potato)

This may be taken as such an example. Observing this map, can we not consider it as showing the intercourse of Chûgoku with Shikoku? Be that as it may, we shall now take up those in which the northern half of Shikoku has a relation with Chûgoku. Look at the distribution of *hyonna* /cjon:a) (strange) in Fig. 117, *itsuiki* /itsuiki/ (always) in Fig. 137⁺, and

(Fig. 115) meguri /meguri/, o-meguri /omeguri/, ome-guri-san /omegurisan/ (pestle)

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As we see this distribution, we find it remarkable in the northern part of Chûgoku, which ranges through the western part of Okayama Prefecture, southeastern part of Hiroshima Prefecture, as far as the northern part of Shikoku (i.e., the northern part of Ehime and Kagawa Prefectures). As showing the relation between Chûgoku and Shikoku, this is a strange but very interesting connection. The northern end of Ehime Prefecture and Chûgoku present a note-worthy relation to each other.

b [Fig. 116] umusu /umusu/, omosu /omosu/ /omosü/, etc. (The weather gets sultry.)

In this distribution, the general distribution over Chûgoku is found to have a remarkable relation with Shikoku (especially Ehime Prefecture). There are many similar examples.

(Fig. 117) inagena /inagena/ (strange)

As compared with Fig. 116[†], this shows the lack of distribution in both eastern and western parts in Chûgoku, but its phase of distribution connecting with Ehime Prefecture in Shikoku is very clear.

(Fig. 118) yetto /jet:o/ (lots of)

In this, together with the considerable distribution in Chûgoku, it is worth noting that there is also a distribution seen in the northern part of Ehime Prefecture in Shikoku. This distribution is also found, more or less, in Tokushima Prefecture. But now we should like to note the relationship found with Chûgoku, by way of the Inland Sea Islands, and naturally as far as the northern part of Shikoku, that is, the northern part of Ehime Prefecture.

In the relation between Chûgoku and Shikoku, Ehime Prefecture is especially liable to occupy an important position. In some instances, however, even in Ehime Prefecture, certain specific places become important.

(Fig. 119) tomponi /tomponi/ (unexpectedly)

In this form, again, the phase of relation between the northern part of Ehime Prefecture and Chûgoku is remarkable; and the route of the relation, resembling the case of the above mentioned *meguri*, is of keen interest.

As to various other nouns, the phase of various relations between Chûgoku and Ehime Prefecture in Shikoku is to be found. In *washi-kata* /waſikata/ (my house) in Fig. 133[†], Chûgoku shows distribution chiefly limited to its southern part, and a very clear relation with Ehime Prefecture. We find in Shikoku many forms with ...ku or ...ki as in *washi-n-ku*, etc. Look at the distribution in the map. Standing apart from such general tendency, Ehime Prefecture exhibits plainly ...kata. That form abounds in Chûgoku. However, Chûgoku is destitute of ...ku and ...ki. Thus it can be clearly seen that Ehime Prefecture occupies an important position in the relation with Chûgoku.

[Fig. 121*] ariko (戦こ) /atiko/ (ant)

In this, the relation of Chûgoku with the northern and the eastern parts of Ehime Prefecture will be seen clearly.

(Fig. 127*) *narukami* (吗神) /natukami/, etc., *narikami* /natikami/, etc. (thunder—noun)

This distribution shows distinctly the connection of Chûgoku with parts that lie southward from the north part of Ehime Prefecture.

(Fig. 120) onji /ond3i/ (shaded place)

In this, the correlative relation between Chûgoku and Ehime Prefecture is noticeable, too.

Queer as its figure is, the distribution of $k\delta bo-imo$ /ko:boimo/ (potato) in Fig. 114 shows clearly one way of intercourse between Chûgoku and Ehime Prefectures. There are not a few examples in which the limited Chûgoku distribution shows intercourse with some places in Ehime Prefecture.

The distribution of ura /uta/(I) in Fig. 144⁺ is remarkable in the eastern part of Chûgoku, and yet it shows itself clearly in the northern and the eastern parts of Ehime Prefecture, making the figure different in some degree from the others. This connection, however, of Ehime with Chûgoku will be clearly understood if we see its distribution in the Inland Sea Islands.

(Fig. 132*) tô-nasu (店なす) /to:nasu/ (pumpkin)

This is evidently found in Okayama Prefecture in Chûgoku; and in Shikoku, it is to be seen in one area of the northeastern part of Ehime.

That such areas in Ehime Prefecture, while showing close various connections with Chûgoku, still produce smaller divisions within themselves is quite natural.

The southern part of Ehime, as has already been observed, can first be divided; next comes a north-central part with its own local character, and then the central area; though the character of each is not definitely fixed.

In the eastern part, various smaller divisions are apt to be found. In spite of all this, Ehime Prefecture as a whole often reveals its own unity.

c Next, the distribution in which the eastern part of Chûgoku shows some connection with Kagawa Prefecture in Shikoku, is worth noticing.

[Fig. 121] aringo (蟻んご) /atingo/ /atingo:/ (ant)

In this distribution, remarkable phenomena are to be found in Okayama Prefecture in Chûgoku, extending themselves as far as Kagawa Prefecture in Shikoku. The distribution of the verb *kakayeru* /kakajetu/ (take in one's arms) in Fig. 92⁺ may be seen here. Kagawa Prefecture, situated as it is, tends to show a peculiarity of its own. For instance, see *kurasu* /kurasu/ (beat) in Fig. 65[†] in Kagawa Prefecture, as well as that of *kibi* /kibi/, *kôrai-kibi* /ko:laikibi/ (Indian corn) in Fig. 140.

Kagawa Prefecture produces, also, in its eastern half and other divisions, it's peculiar areas, one example of which is the distribution of *choichoi* /t[oit[oi/ (butterfly) in Fig. 139[†].

d Kagawa Prefecture touching Ehime Prefecture, one distribution area covers the eastern part of Ehime as well as the western part of Kagawa Prefecture. Moreover, a distribution tendency which connects the above mentioned areas with some areas in Tokushima Prefecture, is to be found, while there is one which connects the eastern part of Ehime Prefecture with the western part of Tokushima Prefecture.

e Now we will see the distribution that has some connection with Chûgoku, but with Shikoku as its main area.

[Fig. 122] *herakoi* /hetakoi/ (cunning) [Fig. 123] *tokaki* /tokaki/, *tokagi* /tokagi/ /tokaŋi/ (lizard)

Both of these are chiefly distributed in Shikoku, but in some way and in some degree in the southern part of Chûgoku. The latter is also found correlatively distributed around the Inland Sea coast of Kinki. At any rate, it clearly has Shikoku as its center. Chûgoku, having a rather weak distribution, reveals some relation with Shikoku.

(Fig. 124*) ôku /o:ku/ (pole to carry things balanced with)

In this, the western half of the distribution is generally seen in Shikoku, and it is evident that it has some relation with Chûgoku. In this case, too, we can see the way of connection which starts from the northern part of Ehime Prefecture and extends to the northeast by way of the Inland Sea Islands.

As the maps show, the relation between the distribution with some partiality or other in Shikoku and the distribution seen sparsely in the southern part of Chûgoku is to be gradually observed. Setting aside a while the term of intercourse, such distribution as *izumi* /idzumi/ (well to draw subterranean water from) in Fig. 128 can be taken up here.

f We shall see the southern part of Chûgoku occupying an important position in the intercourse with Shikoku. This southern part of Chûgoku has already become what it is, different from the northern part of Chûgoku, owing to its local character and the tendency of separation from the latter. And at the same time, since the southern part of Chûgoku occupied such an important position for the intercourse with Shikoku, it is quite natural that the area should reveal a peculiar character. [Fig. 136*] ojinjo-suru /ozinzosulu/, etc. (to sit straight) [Fig. 90*] seseroshii /sesetoji:/ /sesetoji:/ (troublesome)

See the state of distribution of these two sparsely distributed in the southern part of Chûgoku.

g The setting for this intercourse between Chûgoku and Shikoku is the island group in the Seto Inland Sea, in which are seen the influences both from Chûgoku and from Shikoku.

(Fig. 97*) bashiru /hajitu/ (to have a toothache) (Fig. 112*) tobi /tobi/ (return gift)

In these and other examples the influence by Chûgoku upon the distribution in the Inland Sea Islands is to be observed.

[Fig. 122*] *herakoi* /hetakoi/ (cunning) (Fig. 145*) *hôshiko* /ho:Jiko/ (false horsetail)

In these cases and other examples the influence by Shikoku upon the distribution in the Inland Sea Islands is to be observed.

It is quite natural that if the influences from both districts actually prevail upon the Inland Sea Islands, the dialects in the island area should be more and more complicated.

b The islands are connected with both Chûgoku and Shikoku. The Inland Sea Islands, the stage for the intercourse of Chûgoku and Shikoku together with the closely connected areas all around, will now display what may be called the Inland Sea area. The following figures will justify my hypothesis.

(Fig. 124) ôko /o:ko/ (pole to carry things balanced with)
[Fig. 125] sukuzu /sukuzu/, /sukuzo/, /sukudo/ (dry pine-needles)
(Fig. 126) sobaye /sobajɛ/ /sobae/, /so:bajɛ/ /so:bajɛ/ /subajɛ/ /subajɛ/ /subajɛ/
(shower-noun)
(Fig. 127) dondoro /dondoto/, etc. (thunder-noun)

The last example shows a narrower range of distribution than the above. But it is, none the less, an evident case of the Inland Sea distribution. It is, indeed, interesting to see these figures, since both 'shower' and 'thunder' are the words concerning weather. The state of distribution of *tsubasa* /tsubasa/ *chibasa* /tfjibasa/ (swallow) in Fig. 109 may be noticed here. In the distribution of *arinko* /arinko/ (ant) in Fig. 121⁺ we see the same.

(Fig. 128) kawa /kawa/ (well to draw subterranean water from)

This distribution is also of evident Inland Sea distribution, though on a smaller scale. The range of this distribution in a small western area in the Seto Inland Sea is, above all, regarded as the route for the intercourse between Chûgoku and Shikoku. Many examples showing the Inland Sea distribution

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are found in this area, and the range of distribution may be large or small and it sometimes shifts to the east or to the west.

(Fig. 129) tsunguri /tsunguri/ (pine-cone)

This distribution shows more concisely than any the local but important connection between Chûgoku and Shikoku. Notice closely the bridge-line connection by making a slant line from the southwest to the northeast.

And there are some showing the connection from about the central part of Ehime in Shikoku as far as about the eastern area of Yamaguchi Prefecture in Chûgoku.

4. 7 Lexical maps: Category 6. Separation and relation of Shikoku and Kinki

a First, we shall display maps showing the character of the separation in Shikoku.

[Fig. 130] rikoi /tikoi/ (wise) (Fig. 131) kiribusa /kitibusa/ (heel)

These two are shown as representative. The latter is the most apparent distribution which concerns all Shikoku, and is seen in Shikoku only, but the former is comparatively well distributed in the western half of Shikoku, is weak in Tokushima Prefecture in the east, while Kagawa Prefecture lacks this distribution. Those lacking in Kagawa only are sometimes found.

Similarly the Shikoku distribution is sometimes without Kôchi Prefecture in the south. See for instance, the distribution of *kuwaru* /kuwa^tu/ (to have a stomachache) in Fig. 76 and *itampo* /itampo/ (giant knot-weed) in Fig. 110. These are lacking in the south as a special area and showing an area in others. They show clearly the character of separation of Shikoku.

There is a Shikoku distribution without Kagawa Prefecture and Kôchi Prefecture. See *sekoi* /sekoi/ (tired and painful) in Fig. 142 and *tomi* /tomi/, etc. (return gift) in Fig. 112, each of which may be said to show in such a way the character of separation of Shikoku.

Mendoi /mendoi/ (difficult) in Fig. 99 shows a strong distribution chiefly in the northern part of Shikoku; and *yappari* /jap:alⁱ/, etc. (always) in Fig. 137[†] forms a distribution chiefly in the southwestern part of Shikoku, extending towards the northeast; each of which is peculiar, but exists as belonging to Shikoku and showing, more or less, the character of the separation of Shikoku.

(Fig. 132) chôsen (朝鮮) /tfo:sen/ (pumpkin)

See the state of this distribution in Shikoku. It is distributed in the southwestern corner of Ehime and Kagawa Prefectures. That of *gaini* /gaini/ (extremely) in Fig. 89⁺ resembles the above in some measure. Aren't these

to be considered as the results of a change, in some form or other, of a great distribution all over Shikoku? Provisionally let me take them as showing, at least, the character of separation of Shikoku itself.

Next, we shall see the Shikoku distribution lacking Ehime Prefecture. See first, Shikoku district in Fig. 133⁺, the map of *watashi-no-uchi* ' my house'. In short, only the western part of Shikoku, the greater part of Ehime Prefecture, bears decidedly different symbols.

[Fig. 134] chinchin /tfintfin/, etc. (hopping)

This distribution is also lacking in Ehime Prefecture.

Ehime Prefecture occupies, as said before, a definite position with regard to Chûgoku, and could be considered a unit on its own. Leaving this aside for a moment, one may say that a form found only in Shikoku, even if not always covering the whole island, must be considered as characterizing a separate Shikoku unit.

b Next, we shall see in detail Shikoku's inner structure. This district is divided into a western and an eastern half as said before.

[Fig. 135] irabakasu /itabakasu/ (to tease)

This forms in Shikoku a clear area in the western half. Not a few examples of verbs in this kind of distribution are found, while those of nouns are shown in *sasu* /sasu/ /sa:su/ (pole to carry things balanced with) in Fig. 124.

Next comes the distribution in the eastern half. There are various examples of verbs. There is one:

[Fig. 136] okakko-suru /okak:osutu/, etc. (to sit straight)

As examples of nouns, denchu /dept $\int u/ dept \int u/ dept \int u/ (sleeveless clothes) in$ Fig. 95, hemben /hemben/ (return gift) in Fig. 112 may be seen. The distribution of otai /otai/, otaye /otaje/, otaki /otaki/ (I) in Fig. 144⁺, though it isfound also in the northeastern part of Ehime Prefecture, may be called a formbelonging to the eastern half distribution.

c While Chûgoku sometimes shows the tendency to stand apart from Kinki, Shikoku shows a tendency to stand in relation with Kinki.

First, we take up the maps showing the relation between Shikoku and Kinki, including the two adjoining prefectures to the west of the latter (i.e., the eastern part of Chûgoku).

Concerning examples of a verb, we see the distribution of *musu* /musu/ mosu /mosu/, museru /museru /moseru /moseru / (as a whole), in Fig. 116⁺.

As examples of adjective, *itoshinai* /itofinai/ (to feel sorry for \sim) in Fig. 66[†], may also be taken as of the same kind of distribution as the above. In the distribution of *otomashii* /otomafi:/ (troublesome) in Fig. 90[†], the two prefectures in the eastern half of Shikoku have connection with a distribution

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chiefly seen in Ôsaka Prefecture in Kinki and with that of the eastern part of Okayama Prefecture in Chûgoku.

[Fig. 137] *jôji* /30:3i/, 303i/ (always)

The distribution of this adverb is comparatively well represented in Kinki, and next, in some degree, in the northern part of Chûgoku. And again the eastern part of Chûgoku (i.e., Tottori and Okayama Prefectures), regarded as an appendix to the west of Kinki, are typical here. Next to Kinki and its neighbouring area to the west, Kagawa Prefecture in Shikoku is also implicated here.

Now, if we observe examples of nouns in the above distribution, we find the following.

(Fig. 105*) *ika* /ika/ (kite)

This is rather clearly distributed in the area under discussion, thereby disclosing the connection between Kinki and Shikoku.

Hassai /has:ai/, bassai /bas:ai/ (tomboy) in Fig. 108⁺. Though it is not an orderly distribution in Shikoku, it presents a case similar to the above type. Comparing the distribution of the two forms closely connected with each other, the distribution of /has:ai/ seems to be enough proof to let us. consider that /bas:ai/ shows the way of the Kinki-Shikoku distribution.

[Fig. 138] *inaki*/inaki/, *inagi*/inagi/ (frame work for hanging and drying rice-plants)

This distribution is distinctly seen in Kinki and in the eastern part of Chûgoku, an area closely related to the former. It is also seen in the two prefectures in the northern half of Shikoku.

(Fig. 145*) tsukutsukubôshi /tsukutsukubo: ji/ (false horsetail)

In this case, the eastern half of Shikoku is found closely connected with. Kinki and the eastern part of Chûgoku.

[Fig. 139] chôko (蝶こ) /tfo:ko/, /tfoko/ (butterfly)

This is blank in the eastern part of Kinki, but it is remarkable that the distribution covers the rest of Kinki and the eastern part of Chûgoku which has a connection with the eastern half of Shikoku.

(Fig. 140) namba /namba/ and namba-kibi /nambakibi/ (Indian corn)

In this, the areas in Kinki and the eastern part of Chûgoku (mostly, Okayama Prefecture) are remarkable; while in Shikoku, the eastern half, especially Tokushima Prefecture, shows a strong relation, forming a special Kinki eastern Chûgoku—Shikoku connection.

[Fig. 141] ouye (お上) /ouje/, oiye /oije/, onye /onje/, oye /oje/ (guest room with matted floor)

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Here we see an area from Kinki to Okayama Prefecture with a connection in Kagawa Prefecture in the eastern half of Shikoku. In Kinki and Shikoku, *ouye*/ouje/, (>/oije/>/onje/), show a good connection to each other; while in Okayama Prefecture in Chûgoku, there is found *oye* /oje/, a word which seems to be a further corrupted form of *ouye*/ouje/, etc. This shows quite well the peculiar situation of Okayama Prefecture adjoining to Kinki.

The maps above, show the relation between Shikoku and Kinki and its neighbouring districts; and in the following the connection between Shikoku and Kinki itself is still clearer.

(Fig. 142) zutsunai / zutsunai/ (tired and painful)

First, an example of an adjective, it has a typical distribution. The figure of *sukoi* /sukoi/, /suke:/, /suk:oi/ (cunning) in Fig. 122⁺ is to be looked upon as an example no less remarkable than that above.

As an example of a verb, we can find such distribution as that of *dozuku* /dodzuku/ (beat by way of punishment or violence) in Fig. 65.

The distribution of *yôke* /jo:ke/, /joke/ (lots of) in Fig. 118 as an adverb, clearly tells the correlative relation between Shikoku and Kinki.

(Fig. 143) kuchina /kutjina/ (snake)

As an example of noun, this is a representative figure. The distribution of /kutsuna/ in Kinki and that of /gut \int ina/ in the southeastern part of Shikoku may be seen together with that of /kut \int ina/.

[Fig. 144] watai /watai/, /wataje/, /wate:/, /wate/, /wai/ (I)

The distribution of these clearly displays the type of the Shikoku-Kinki distribution. This kind of words belongs exactly to Kinki and Shikoku, and not to Chûgoku in general. The same thing may be said of the other words such as *atai* /atai/, /atei/, /ai/ in Fig. 144[†]. This is quite natural since /atai/ is nothing but /watai/ with its initial consonant dropped.

(Fig. 145) hôshiko /ho:jiko/ (false horsetail)

This distribution is clearly found in Shikoku except for the southern area; the western part of Kinki shows a comparatively small area; and though this seems rather peculiar, yet it might be said to belong to the Shikoku-Kinki distribution. Moreover, there is *denchi* /deptfi/ (sleeveless clothes) in Fig. 95⁺, as the Shikoku-Kinki distribution, lacking as it is in the southern part of Shikoku. See, also, such distribution as that of *uchi-toko* /utfitoko/, /ut:oko/ (my house) in Fig. 133⁺.

Next, we can find such a special Shikoku-Kinki distribution as seen in very limited areas both in Shikoku and Kinki. For example, *kokiba* /kokiba/ (dry pine-needles) in Fig. 125⁺ is distributed respectively in the area of the western part of Kagawa and the eastern corner of Ehime Prefecture and in

the southeastern part of Hyôgo Prefecture in Kinki. Let us consider this also as belonging to the Shikoku-Kinki distribution, because it is not represented in Chûgoku.

The eastern half of Shikoku presents still more clearly the relation with Kinki. See the distribution of *oma-han* /omahap/ (you) in Fig. 72⁺, *domo* /domo/ (stammerer) in Fig. 100.

In the latter figure, we can notice the distribution, especially in Tokushima Prefecture in the southeastern half of Shikoku. Tokushima Prefecture in Shikoku stands apart, which is characteristic to a certain degree, not only in Shikoku but also in the frame of our whole investigation. For example, see the existence of the adverb *isshini* /if:ini/ (always) in Fig. 137⁺, and also that of the adjective *shindai* /findai/ (tired and painful) in Fig. 142, and another, that of the verb *iroberu* /itoberu/ (to treat badly) in Fig. 74⁺.

By the maps shown above, we shall be able to trace quite well the special relation existing between Shikoku and Kinki although it may appear strange at the first glance.

CHAPTER 5. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE COLLOCATED DIALECT AREAS OF CHÛGOKU, SHIKOKU AND NISHI-KINKI

5. 1 Introduction

a In the above three chapters we have seen the facts and the trends in the dialects of Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki. First, we examined the dialects of the surveyed area through phonological observations and thereby determined the nature and the location of the phonological foundation for each dialect area. Then we examined grammatical aspects of the dialects, and were able to trace numbers of local trends, not at all inconsistent with the tendencies of the respective phonological foundation and the collocated relationship among them as had already been made clear. In the next step we examined the differentiation and the distribution of the vocabulary, and there, too, a direction convergent with the former two was found to exist, although somewhat in a milder form.

In this way, as we progressed in our observation from Chapter 2 to Chapter 4, we have been able to deduce gradually a clearer relation between dialect groups. We have now to take a further step and ask ourselves for a scientific explanation of the present state of dialects, especially the causes and factors that differentiate one dialect unit from the other, and their collocated range of distribution.

We believe we have been able to delineate the characteristics of such dialect units with designated areas of distribution for each. In the practical

procedure, however, we actually scrutinized many distribution maps, and by classifying and grouping those we have superposed them to form a general figure (schematic map) for each unit. As a matter of fact, in the explanations of the three above chapters, we have already given several indications concerning such linguistic units with designated areas for each.

b We may say that most larger dialect units were practically forced upon us by the very strength of the evidence; so many phonetic, grammatical and lexical facts, one reinforcing the preceding and pointing in the same direction, were so arranged as to bring the readers gradually to the convincing reality of the dialect units and their collocated relationship.

There have been cases where the negative factor, the lack of a given dispersion area, was such a constant factor, that it even became a proof of a negative tendency which distinguished one dialectal unit from the other.

c In the following, our interest lies also in the dimension of the respective units where the areas in which some forms took a large extension were sometimes so broad, that we had to introduce the concept 'general distribution area' in some of the paragraphs of the preceding chapters.

5. 2 General distribution area

a The basic fact we must never forget is that there is a commonly used Japanese language covering the whole area, indeed covering the whole of Japan and alive in the mind of all the speakers, which may be considered as the ultimate unit at the highest latitude of dialectal observation of the language, with its own characteristics, concerning both the domain, and the people as well. The regions of our present survey naturally show, though furtherly divided into lower classes of dialectal units, the basic common traits and characteristics of the national language. This fact may be best represented by the over-all distribution of the common language of the present throughout the regions of our study.

In contemporary Japan, Tôkyô, as the capital, functions as the center of the common language, and exercises its influence upon the language of local districts. The latter are in a passive position and in the case of newer words, the Tôkyô influence is general and evident.

Before Tôkyô's language became the common standard, Nara was the capital from 710 A.D. Then Kyôto as the political and cultural center of the country from 794 A.D. to 1868 diffused its language. According to diachronical and dialectal studies, the languages of both Kyôto and Nara belong to the same family, and one can say therefore that the Nara-Kyôto common language has exercised a linguistic influence from 710 A.D. and on, an influence which was especially active in the western direction. The area surveyed therefore fell more directly under that influence of the Nara-

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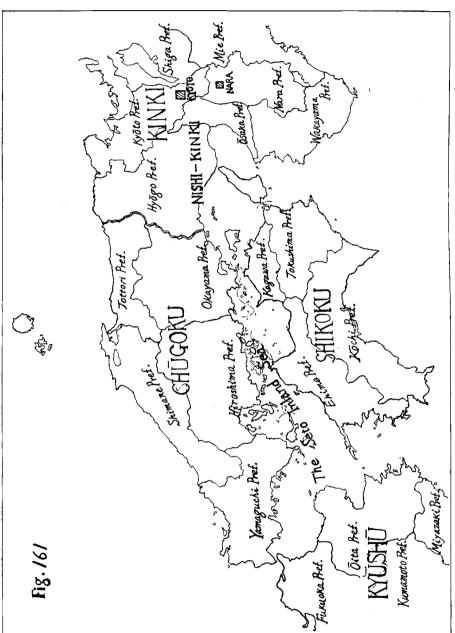
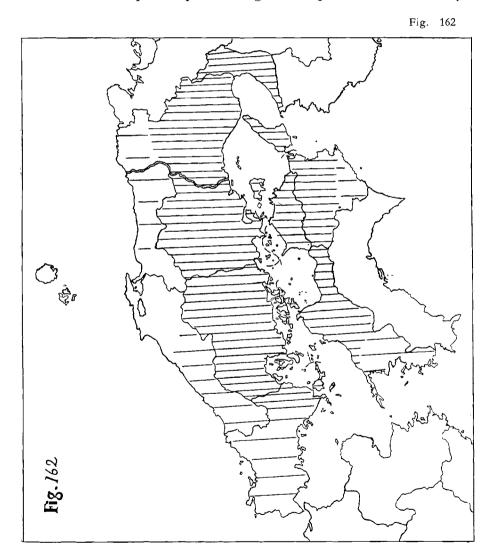


Fig. 161

Kyôto language and presents now adventageous conditions for manifesting the state of a common distribution area.

Of course the understanding of the dialectal state of an area cannot be complete if we interpret it only by way of the central language. There are not a few circumstances peculiar to the local districts themselves, and there is a local expansion of the language not influenced by the central language. However, if something is distributed widely in Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki, we may suppose that it reflects the expansion of the central language.

This is now the place to present the general map of the localities surveyed



because the readers may need frequent recourse to the names of localities in the latter part of this paper. See Fig. 161 (p. 84)

b If we now turn to the gaps in the general distribution, we see that this abnormal condition is found in the northern part of Chûgoku, that is to say there where the west of Tottori Prefecture touches the east of Shimane Prefecture and the islands of the north. Next, a long strip of territory in the north, with an area from the north to the west, and finally, the southern part of Shikoku have no less abnormal conditions. Fig. 162 (p. 85) summarizes them.

The fewer the lines on this map, the stronger is the tendency to show gaps in the distribution. We see at the first glance that the historical penetration of the former central language has not followed a simple pattern. But we are able to discern here the main lines of evolution along which the dialect groups of the surveyed area developed in the formation of the distinct dialect units of the present.

The most striking fact is the existence of two special areas, one in the north of Chûgoku, the other in the south of Shikoku, separated as two far poles. Now when the old Kyôto language expanded from the capital city to the west, namely to the area of our survey, it followed most easily and naturally the road along the southern part of Chûgoku. The island of Kyûshû, the final recipient of the linguistic influences from the capital, could be reached naturally by the south Chûgoku road. At the same time the sea route should be taken into consideration; this means that the northern coast of Shikoku along the Seto Inland Sea was easily influenced by the common language.

From this geographical fact, it follows that the north of Chûgoku and the south of Shikoku must have been out of the range of a strong influence from the Kyôto language. There might have been some influence, but less active than in other areas. They were late in receiving new words, and so they became a store-room for older linguistic forms.

We do not feel safe in going back to the time before the central language was formed, because the Nara-Kyôto language played the role of common language for too long a time to leave a single part of the whole area completely outside its influence.

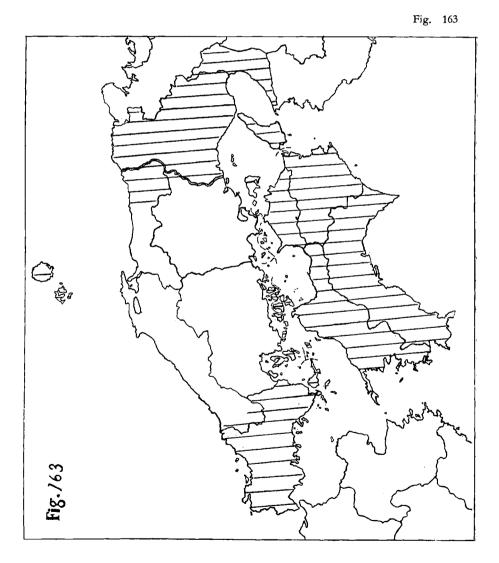
As a consequence of the above described process, the west of Chûgoku, immediately connected with Kyûshû, has a natural connection with the latter. Sometimes counterbalancing this, we find that west Chûgoku, located too far from the capital and touching Kyûshû, keeps linguistic forms with a strong individual character.

Similar in its position to the north of Chûgoku and to the south of Shikoku, Kyûshû is far away from the center from which linguistic influences travelled; it is at the very end of the route from Kyôto and is slow in receiving new trends. The three areas show great similarities in the quality and the degree of influence received from Kyôto and have preserved comparatively

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more linguistic facts important for the history of our language.

c The gaps found in the dispersion areas of generalized features are not always uniformly the same; the various localities surveyed do not always present suitable conditions for the spread of the common language. Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki, wedged between Kyôto and Kyûshû, often present complicated processes, like the case when the influence of Kinki goes by sea directly to the eastern coast of Shikoku. Besides, one must always take into account the local substratum of each district which reacts in its own way to the influence of the central language.



d It is worthy of note in the next step that we find a tendency which belongs to the general distribution but is lacking in Chûgoku (see Fig. 163, p. 87).

In some cases, this blank extends itself to the whole of Chûgoku, often however it covers only the western half, or even the southwestern area only. As we have seen in the preceding paragraph, the west of Chûgoku, on its own, or in combination with a larger area, constitutes an area with individual traits. This is of course due to the fact that Chûgoku has its closest relation with Kyûshû, and not with its other neighbor, Kinki. Shikoku too is near Kyûshû, but the specialization and the changes are found more often in Chûgoku.

These various interrelationships may be thought to have followed each other in some chronological order: the western part of Chûgoku being the first to show its kinship with Kyûshû, while the western part of Shikoku was next to show peculiar influences. On top of that, western Chûgoku may superimpose still newer results of its active intercourse with Kyûshû.

We may here draw the attention to the peculiar position of the dialects on the island of Kyûshû, the most distant point to receive the influence of the center. In fact, the west and the south of Kyûshû have many dialectal features reflecting the state of the common language several hundred years ago and so occupy an especially important position among the dialects of Japan. Hence sometimes Chûgoku started to have new dialectal features cropping up from its western part onwards.

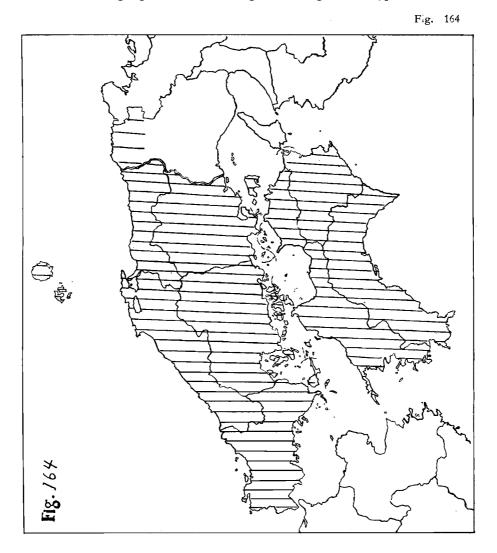
Our following point is now the mutual relationship between Shikoku and Kinki. Actually, Shikoku as an island should show a similar number of peculiarities as Kyûshû. But contrary to the geographical similarity, the whole area of Shikoku shows less gaps in the general distribution areas than Chûgoku does, and has a clear tendency to join Kinki.

e Abnormal cases of gaps in the general distribution areas are found in the maps (Fig. 62) furut suku /Fulutsuku/ (owl) and [Fig. 63] amaru /amalu/ (to be struck by lightening). If we regard them as the figures showing some change of the general distribution, the importance of various local places where the distribution can be found or not, is to be considered. For example, the distribution of amaru is lacking in the western half and the northeastern part of Chûgoku and most part of Kinki adjoining to Chûgoku. It seems that the lack seen in the western part shows that the area has a close connection with Kyûshû, and the lack in the eastern area, that the area joins the tendency in the whole area of Kinki.

f We have seen many kinds of general distribution above. Of course in our present life using the common language, the uniformity of distribution is strong, and in this point, we can perceive clearly the new and strong tendency of the general distribution. However if we look into the inside of this fact, we can find some of the general distributions are uniform, and some are not. And all of them tell the history of the formation of the dialectal branches in this district. Above all, the north and the west parts of Chûgoku, the south of Shikoku have been regarded as of importance. Our interest in this fact will be shown in the following sections, too.

5. 3 Chûgoku-Shikoku area

a A Chûgoku-Shikoku distinguishes itself by a regular departure from the common language. The following sketch Fig. 164 is typical.



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More recent innovations introduced from the center of the common language are apt to influence directly Kinki, which is near, and to be still missing in Chûgoku and Shikoku, where an earlier common form will exist. Such cases may cover only the two above areas, or sometimes they may even involve the Tajima area, which adjoins in the northeast; Tajima, therefore often shows a peculiar affinity with Chûgoku, a fact which is felt as far as the peninsula area on the map.

Such recent changes limited to Kinki may also be inferred in these cases where the west of Kyûshû shows the same features as the whole of Chûgoku-

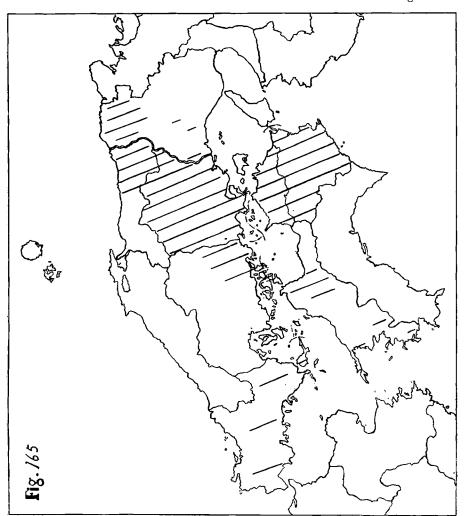


Fig. 165

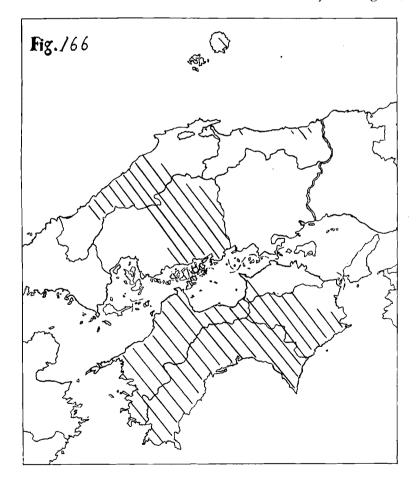
Shikoku area.

There may occur several complicated patterns because of local tendencies, but every map which shows forms not covering the whole Chûgoku-Shikoku area shall have to be interpreted carefully with an eye to the relations between the different areas.

b The map of Fig. 165 (p. 90) is representative of another tendency: the dialectal forms gradually disappear from the western parts of Chûgoku and Shikoku towards the east. There are a few cases where only one of both areas show such gap. In general one may say that such cases occur when the western approaches of these areas show a negative relation with Kyûshû.

c A special type of Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution is shown by the figure of *udomu* /udomu/ (to groan) in Fig. 70⁺. There is here a tendency worth some study; the following sketch Fig. 166 gives a synthesis.

An area found in Shikoku extends to the center only of Chûgoku, while



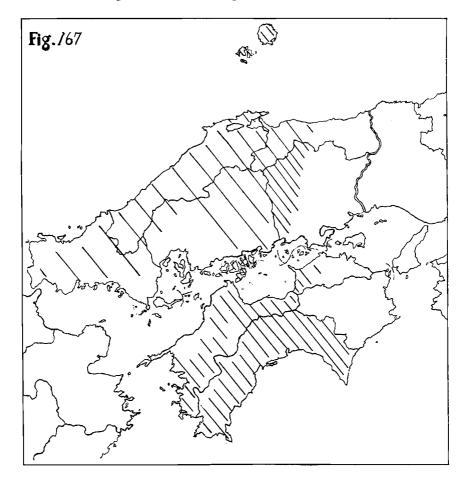
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the east and the west of the latter lack the form. Here, of course, we must suppose one transformation coming from Kyûshû, while another creeps up from Kinki in the east, leaving only the center of Chûgoku as a witness of a larger common Chûgoku-Shikoku area. As a supplementary proof, we must draw the attention to the gap shown in the northeastern corner of Shikoku, where because of its geographical proximity, the influence of the central languageis quickly received by way of Kinki.

d After the two preceding cases, it will be easy to understand how the penetration of the central language from the east may cause a gradual retreat of a former general Chûgoku-Shikoku area towards the west. See the following Fig. 167. This shows the first step of the influence of a transformed Kinki that starts to permeate the western areas.

The map of Fig. 168 (p. 93) shows the next step in that evolution. We have now the Chûgoku-Shikoku area pushed still further west, and restricted



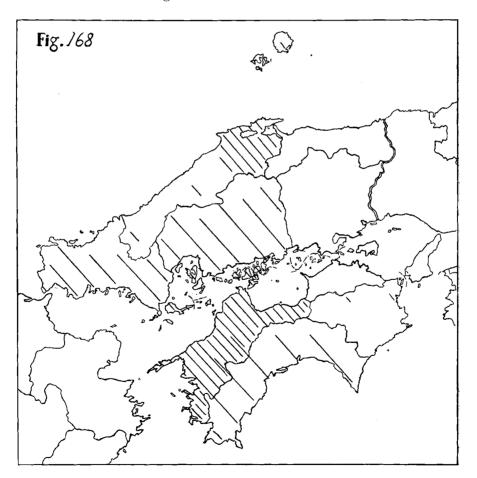
to its western extremity.

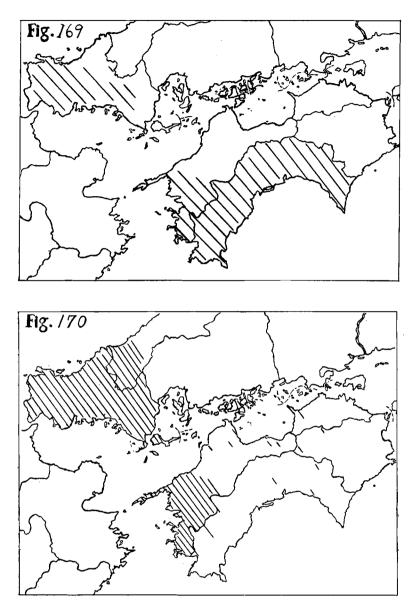
The maps Fig. 169 and Fig. 170 (p. 94) now are further stages of this process. We have now only the remnants of a former distribution. But the presence of some forms on Kyûshû proves clearly that the smaller Chûgoku-Shikoku areas are really remnants.

e Sometimes such a system of survival areas appears in Chûgoku and Shikoku in the form of a circle. See Fig. 171 (p. 95).

It cannot be due to chance that the same phenomenon is at the same time found in the north and the west of Chûgoku and also on Shikoku, often in the south only. We have here then the ultimate phase of the same undercurrent as described in the preceding paragraphs. Fig. 172 (p. 96) is another example of the same.

One must note that the three surviving areas quoted above, or even only two of them, north of Chûgoku and south of Shikoku, have their fundamental





relationship brought forward in an unquestionable way by the presence of one more areas left in Kyûshû, the classic land of archaisms.

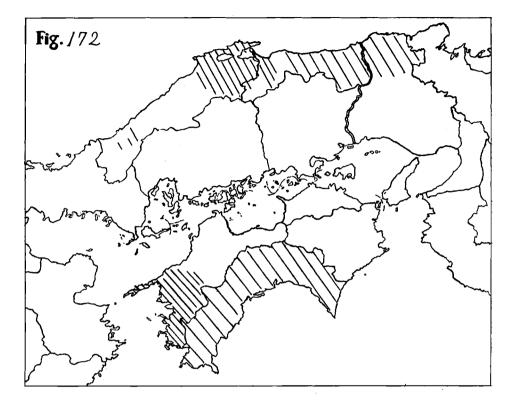
If we look through all these cases to be noticed separately in the north and the south, the Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution may be said to have been transformed in such a way as to leave a distribution of such older areas. We may suppose that the transformation was caused not only by the influence

Fig. 171 . Es

of the central language. However, judging from the present tendency of the distribution, the influence of the central language (or the same kind of influence from the east) must have been the major factor. At least the present dialectal state requires such an interpretation as the above.

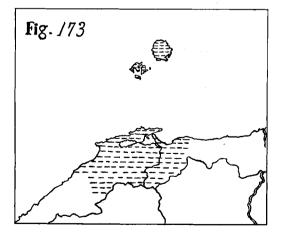
5. 4 Special areas

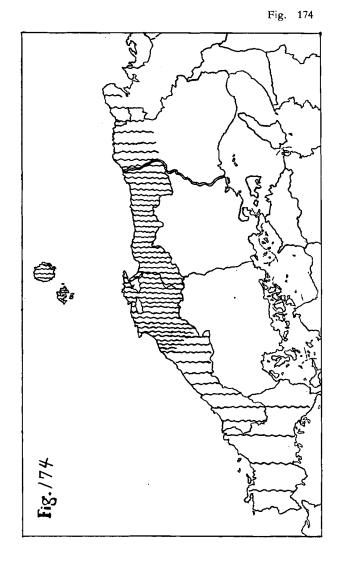
a In the preceding two sections we have already treated some secluded areas where the dialectal distribution presents peculiarities. Generally speaking, one finds there older forms of the language. In Part II, we will try to



show such phenomena on a country-wide scale. In the meantime some special areas in the surveyed area constitute dialectal units, worth a detailed examination.

Let us remind the reader that the most active road for the infiltration of

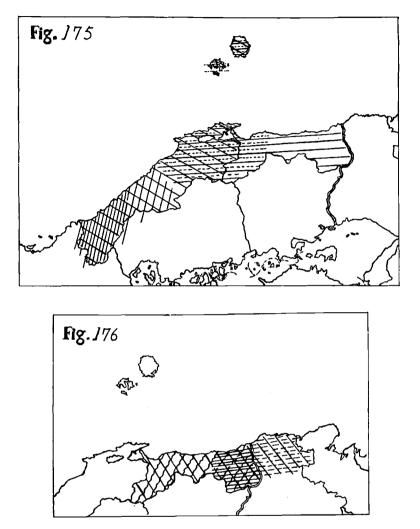




central forms is the southern part and coastline of Chûgoku, the Inland Sea and the northern part of Shikoku, and that the outlying regions, left behind the general trend of linguistic evolution, emerge as irregular dialectal regions with strains of old language.

b Let us first consider the northern part of Chûgoku, especially that particular area with the east of Shimane prefecture as its center, which shows marked peculiarities of dialectal distribution, as shown in the above Fig. 173 (p. 96).

Phonetically too, it is clearly marked on Fig. 158 (p. 32).



This area has been considered as a special area by many authors_but_because it contains some dialectal phenomena which, at first sight seem heterogenous, its basic relation with a larger area covering the whole of north Chûgoku has often been overlooked. It is only in the perspective of its larger environment that the smaller eastern Shimane area will be properly understood. We start therefore by the study of the tendencies of the whole of northern Chûgoku; see Fig. 174 (p. 97).

One must first remember that the north of Chûgoku showed typical blanks in the general distribution area studied earlier. Besides one may say that the whole constitutes a large relict area, remote from the general spreading of the common language. There are also, here and there, smaller areas which show peculiarities in the dialectal dispersion. The following figures show these areas in their order from the west; these distinct areas are shaded on the above Fig. 175 (p. 98) and on its continuation, Fig. 176 (p. 98).

Following these areas, beginning with the western extremity of Fig. 175 above, one sees how each abut on the next, sometimes overlapping each other, forming a concatenation of dialectal units. The smaller eastern Shimane area, mentioned above, is one of these divisions along the line.

Each of these areas shows in a separate way some influence of the central language; this is especially visible in the west; through its topographical vicinity to the south of Chûgoku, the west is in a relatively closer contact with the southern forms, and therefore the southwest of Shimane has many similarities with the south of Chûgoku. This enhances the peculiar character of the remaining eastern part of Shimane.

On the opposite end, the region touching eastern Shimane in the east has fewer peculiarities; the influence of the eastern common language is stronger there and it presents less the character of an older area.

The special eastern Shimane area now has no sharply defined boundaries. According to each dialectal phenomenon, it may or it may not include the Oki Islands. The west of Tottori Prefecture has also varying degrees of connection with eastern Shimane; besides western Tottori, some adjacent areas may be drawn into this relation. This makes for a very flexible dialectal pattern in the whole of Tottori Prefecture. This is significant as leading us to regard the special area in question as rather an anomaly in the northern part of Chûgoku. When certain phenomena are under consideration, the special area may include only the Oki Islands, excluding the whole area of Tottori Prefecture. It may, sometimes, include Oki Islands and a very small part of the interior of Izumo. It may also consist of only part of Izumo. When we consider the fluctuations of the special area, we can understand the dialectal connection between the special area, on the one hand, and the western and eastern parts of the special area, on the other.

Therefore, it is no wonder that the northern part of Hyôgo Prefecture is dialectally connected with the northern part of Chûgoku. These areas occupy the same position as the receivers of the influence of the central language. The same condition obtains as far as the peninsular far in the east. These areas are more or less secluded from Kyôto, the home of the central language, and, therefore, have been left untouched by the influence of the central forms. The actual conditions of the dialectal distribution confirm the supposition. Dialectal phenomena along this long strip of northern coast show great affinity with each other.

The Oki islands which have been found in several ways connected with the coast opposite stand by themselves, especially under the point of view of accentuation which is strangely complex. (Cf. Part II). The very distance from the mainland has given to these islands many peculiar traits as an older area.

c Let us now see the characteristics of western Chûgoku. The Fig. 177 (p. 100) and Fig. 178 (p. 101) present a summary of these tendencies.

Where one may expect the west and the northwest of Chûgoku to form one area, as we saw earlier, there is nevertheless a difference in treatment between western Shimane (Iwami) and its western neighbor, Yamaguchi Prefecture. Iwami has much in common with western Hiroshima.

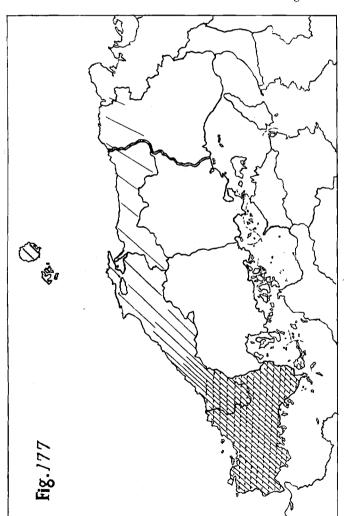
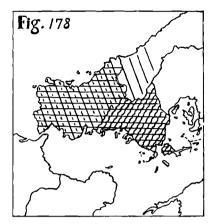


Fig. 177

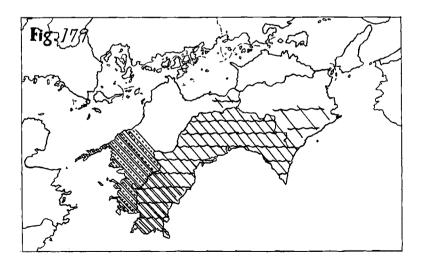


Now, it is no wonder that the southwestern part of Iwami should be similar to Yamaguchi Prefecture in its dialectal condition, but, on the other hand, Yamaguchi Prefecture itself, in its western half, has something in common with Iwami.

Thus Yamaguchi Prefecture tends to divide itself into two dialectal areas, the western and the eastern halves.

On the other hand, Yamaguchi Prefecture, through its special situation of being the junction between the western area of Chûgoku and Kyûshû, has a considerably marked tendency to having some dialectal features common to the whole prefecture.

d Shikoku, now, on the opposite shore of the Inland Sea, has a southern area with special characteristics. First of all, the south of Ehime Prefecture



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together with Kôchi Prefecture has some dialectal features in common with its western neighbor, Kyûshû. On the other hand, Kôchi Prefecture has a split personality. While it shows some of its very own features, it is torn in the southwest towards South-Ehime and it shares with the whole south, even with Tokushima in the east, some older features.

Generally speaking, one may call southwestern Shikoku, an area of irregular extent, sometimes limited to southern Ehime, sometimes limited to southwestern Kôchi, sometimes comprising both, which has been left untouched by the innovating influences operating in northern Shikoku during the diachronical evolution of the language.

The above Fig. 179 (p. 101) shows the interrelationship between the old areas in southern Shikoku.

One must notice a common substratum connecting this area with Yamaguchi Prefecture.

e As a conclusion, we may assert that the three special areas analysed in the foregoing constitute a circular belt of older areas lying outside the Chûgoku-Shikoku central territory in which the far reaching influence of the central language manifests itself.

5. 5 Relationship and particularity in Chûgoku and Kinki

a In those cases where Shikoku, as an island unit, stands on its own, we have as a corresponding unit the relationship between Chûgoku and Kinki especially when innovations entering from the east have to be considered. Not being separated by water, interrelationship between these two dialectal regions naturally consists in a continuation. See the following Fig. 180 (p. 103).

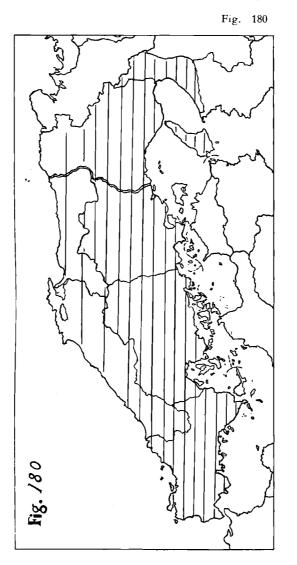
Rather contrary to our expectation, however, and except for the most recent influence of the contemporary common language, the map shows that there is after all only a loose relationship between Chûgoku and Kinki when it comes to the typical dialectal elements covered by such dialect-geographical survey.

It can be explained that the affinity between Shikoku and Kinki already mentioned before is chiefly in the nature of an older basis and Chûgoku having gradually established its own dialectal individuality (see Chapter 5.2, d), has grown remote from Kinki. As a consequence, new forms coming from Kinki into Chûgoku tend to make their relationship felt closer and closer, while older forms which already tend to differ between the two, will grow still further apart.

b The existence of a sea barrier between Shikoku and Chûgoku has sometimes accentuated the individuality of Chûgoku as is clearly marked on Fig. 181 (p. 104).

We need not mention again that, in the northern part, there are certain

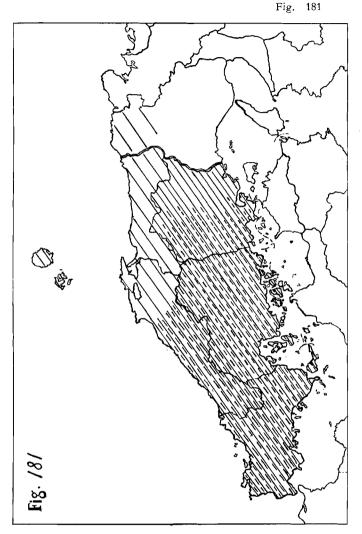
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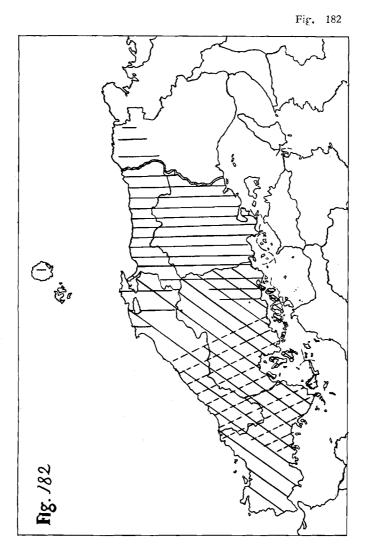
interruptions in ranges of distribution. The pattern particular to the side where Chûgoku abuts on Kinki, is perhaps the natural product of the mutual influence of these two districts.

c Dialectally speaking, Chûgoku may be divided into two areas, one in the east with two prefectures, and another in the west with three. The map of Fig. 182 (p. 105) marks the contrast through the opposition of perpendicular lines with slanting lines.

If we consider how Chûgoku is related with Kinki on the eastern side, and, mainly, with Kyûshû on the western, we can readily understand why



Chûgoku should divide itself into the eastern and western half. If its interaction with Kinki is a very vigorous one, the peculiar character of the eastern half becomes marked. If the relationship of the language of Chûgoku with that of Kyûshû is close, the individuality of the western half, both in old forms and innovations, is apt to become intensified. The individuality of the one half tends to bring out that of the other. If we come to learn the mutual relationships of Chûgoku with the adjoining areas on its eastern and western sides, it is natural for us to expect the existence of an area—variable in extent —in the middle of Chûgoku, which partakes completely of neither western nor eastern characteristics.



The tendency of distribution which, in the above figure, is indicated with slanting dotted lines shows the fact that the west of the western half is apt to develop peculiarities of its own, on account of its close relationship with Kyûshû, even under the strong influence of the distributional tendencies of the western half, and that, as we have already seen in the Chûgoku-Shikoku distribution, the western half itself is receding further west, encroached by the onrush of eastern elements.

In summary we may say that Chûgoku falls into a southern and a northern half because of a fundamental difference in diachronical built up, and

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secondarily that it separates itself into a western and an eastern area because of its mutual relation with the east and west.

d The dialectal interaction between Kinki and eastern Chûgoku is in consequence of their proximity; however as the north and the south present a totally different set of circumstances, to clear up this complex situation, let us first take up the relationship between Okayama Prefecture, the south of eastern Chûgoku and Kinki, as we are bound to find there traces of the route followed by the central language in its advance westwards.

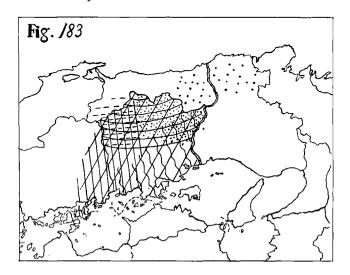
e The following Fig. 183 (below) gives an idea of the various internal divisions within eastern Chûgoku.

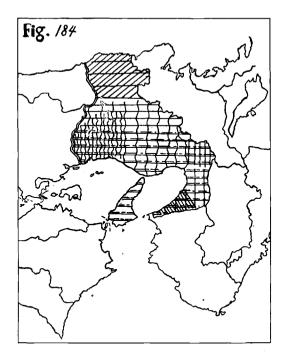
The complexity of the various areas found in Okayama Prefecture are indicated by the various lines, etc.

f Kinki, too, on its own forms a distinct dialectal area, the local character of which Fig. 184 (p. 107) gives a distinct idea.

Kinki District, as the immediate site of influence of the central language, holds a special position among other districts. The peculiarity of Kinki may be defined according to the influence and effect of the central language. Three layers may be discerned: the first with features common to the whole surveyed area in Kinki; the second where the northern coastal strip is missing; the third with a still larger northern area lacking Kinki features. These three steps actually represent the state of circulation and the dissemination of the central language and its influence. Thus the further south we go in Hyôgo Prefecture, the more and newer evidences of the influence of the central language are found.

Because of its special proximity to the linguistic center, Ôsaka Prefecture may be said to form a special dialectal unit, which often becomes a part of the





very center of the common language. Within Ôsaka Prefecture now, the northern region tends towards its own unity, while the center and the south may sometimes form another dialectal division. The southwest, too, offers also remarkable traits of its own.

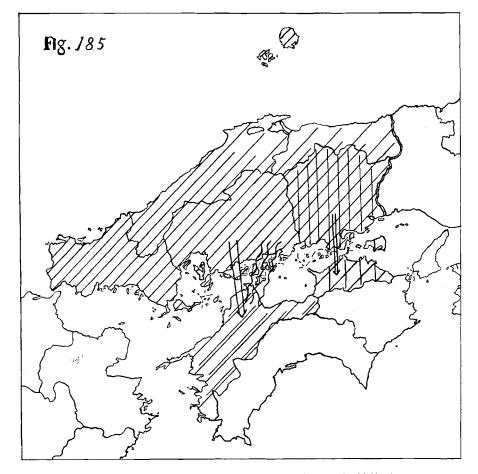
In the same way, the south of Hyôgo Prefecture has a western area with its own features.

5. 6 Relationship between Chûgoku and Shikoku

a Quite different from the relation between Chûgoku and Kinki is the interaction between Chûgoku and Shikoku. The exact manner in which these two interact may be sometimes obscure, but the maps will make it possible to deduce some elements of solution.

b In the first place, let us see the case where the influence starts from Chûgoku and extends itself to Shikoku. Two main tendencies can be distinguished: the first one brings the whole north of Shikoku or at least the west, namely Ehime, under the sway of Chûgoku; the second one goes from eastern Chûgoku to eastern Shikoku, namely Kagawa Prefecture. The following Fig. 185 (p. 108) summarized these tendencies.

In the above figure, arrows are used to indicate the main direction of intercourse. Here now we see clearly how the islands of the Inland Sea are



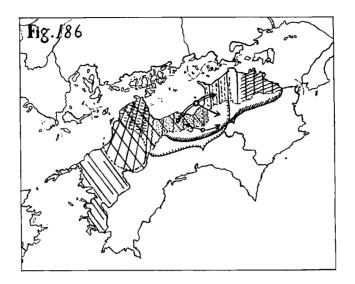
on the path of several routes connecting Chûgoku with Shikoku.

Ehime and Kagawa Prefectures now, reacting each in its own way to the various influences received from the north and others, fall into various internal divisions which are summarized in the following Fig. 186 (p. 109).

The various branches present a complex picture of overlapping and crossing influences; to show the group forming one dialectal unit, arrow and parenthesis connect the different areas.

c In the second place, we want to show now the cases where the dialect influence starts from Shikoku and moves north to Chûgoku. Considering the balance of forces in presence, it is no wonder that the influences from the south are weaker and less numerous than those we have studied in the preceding paragraph. Anyway, let us present in Fig. 187 (p. 110), the manner of intercourse from Shikoku.

The influence that Shikoku exerts over Chûgoku may not be so positive



as to bring out the recipient area, but it may be somewhat effective in reinforcing the peculiarity of the area which has been already distinguished from the northern regions. The widely spaced slanting lines show this area specified by above mentioned distinguishing factors.

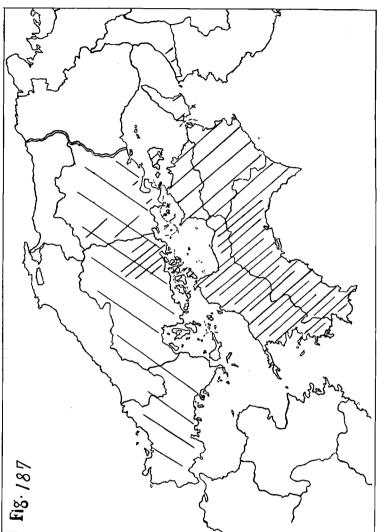
d The mutual influences between Shikoku and Chûgoku cross their paths in the Inland Sea Islands. The map of Fig. 188 (p. 111) shows the direction of the infiltration processes by means of heavy arrows; the distinctive dialectal character of these islands is a consequence of these conflicting pressures. One must note that the insular character of the language spoken there does not express so much separateness as receptivity to the influences of the mainland coastline. The whole constitutes what we called the Inland Sea area, which has a varying range, especially in the west, according to the strength of individual linguistic features.

5. 7 Particularity and relationship of Shikoku and Kinki

a It is natural for Shikoku to stand apart for itself. There is no more need to dwell upon the fact. Islands, irrespective of their size, generally develop their own characters under certain special conditions. Shikoku, too, has established its own individual character, through its intercourse, across the sea, with Chûgoku in the north, Kinki in the east and Kyûshû in the west. See Fig. 189 (p. 112).

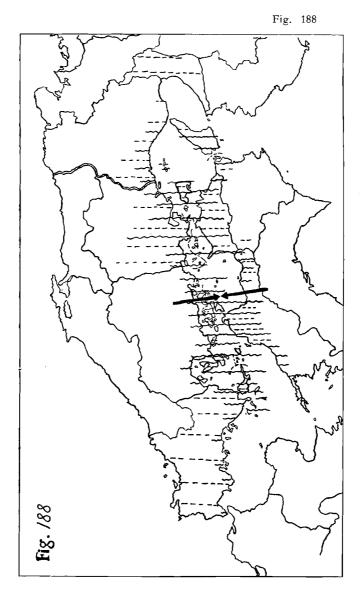
b The uniform character of Shikoku is not always maintained, as the above figure shows to a certain degree. There are internal transformations. We are led to think that the transformation of the distribution was due to the following two causes. First, the intercourse of Shikoku with the sur-





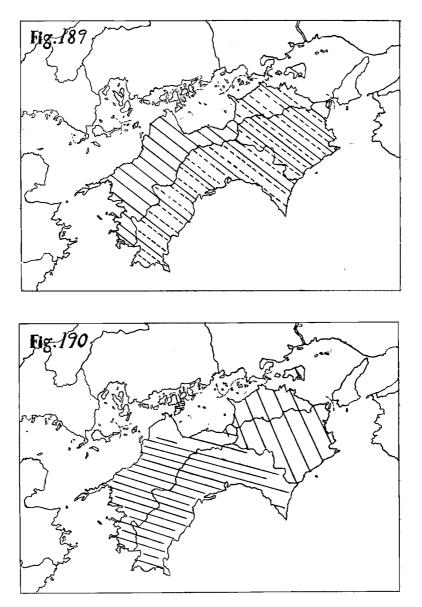
rounding areas. Second, the general conditions which had been prevalent at the time when the influence of the central language reached there. And the second factor was more fundamental. As for the main divisions, Shikoku tends to divide itself into the western and eastern half rather than into the southern and northern. The former tendency is stronger. See Fig. 190 (p. 112).

The eastern half of Shikoku presents a blend of older areas with some innovating tendencies received from Kinki. The latter will be explained



further in the following. Hence the difference of the dialectal character between eastern and western Shikoku.

c Part of the connection we will find between Shikoku and Kinki follows from a negative factor; namely the aloofness of Chûgoku found in some cases of the general distribution throws the remaining areas together. In proportion as Chûgoku characteristics are noticed chiefly in the western half, there is so much more of a tendency to the relation of Kinki and the east-



ern part of Chûgoku with Shikoku. In the case of the influence of the new form of the central language extending towards the west, it will affect both the eastern half of Chûgoku and Shikoku. The result would be the same kind of the state of the dialectal branches to which we have just referred. The aspect of such correlative distribution as seen in these areas will be summarized in the following Fig. 191 (p. 113).

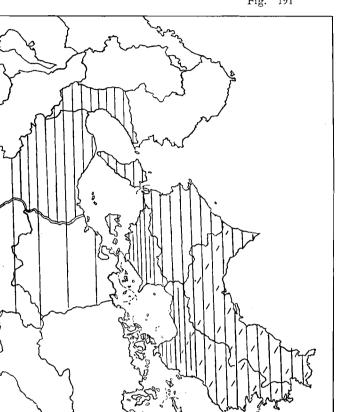
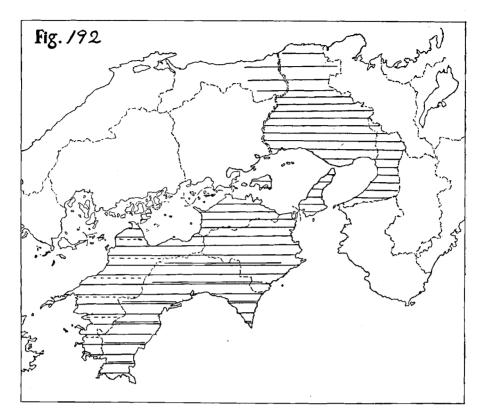


Fig. 191

As for the new influence from the central language extending over such an extent as is shown in the above figure, we cannot help admitting a certain facility in the dialectal conditions which make Shikoku respond so readily to the influence from across the sea. The inevitable conclusion is that Shikoku and Kinki (and the eastern part of Chugoku) must have been of the same dialectal foundation. And this fact leads us to think that, from the actual state of the general distribution in our present surveyed area, Chûgoku must have probably stood apart earlier than the other areas, or at least must have shaped a stronger unity well differentiated from the other regions. In this way, we can understand the inevitability of the correlation of Shikoku

Fig. 191

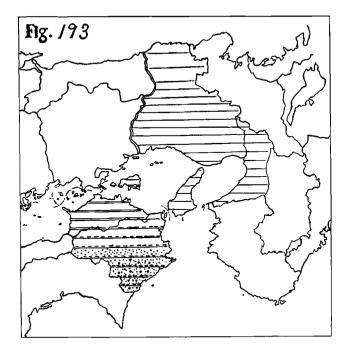


and Kinki (and the eastern part of Chûgoku). Further, when we take into consideration the phenomena that Chûgoku characteristics tend to extend over the whole area of Chûgoku, we see the inevitability of the relation of Shikoku and Kinki according to the above principle. See the above Fig. 192.

How the influence of Kinki, the central part of Japan, worked upon Shikoku is made clear by the following instance: the auxiliary verb ya /ja/ is derived from ya/ja//dza/. The change took place in the central language area. The new form *ja* covers some part of Kinki and is also current in Shikoku, but has skipped Chûgoku.

But the supposition that Shikoku and Kinki are built upon the same foundation makes not only for strong ties between the two, but also one can readily imagine cases where Shikoku evolved on its own some linguistic forms under similar circumstances as in Kinki, so that the identical result we find now, may be the result of parallel but independent processes, not necessitating each time a direct importation from the central part.

d How specially the east of Shikoku is thrown together with Kinki is. shown on the following Fig. 193 (p. 115).



Kagawa Prefecture is considerably influenced by eastern Chûgoku, besides the influences it may receive from Kinki; owing to these two causes, Kagawa tends to stand apart from Tokushima Prefecture. The local character of the latter is not only due to that negative factor, but in recent times, Tokushima has received a vigorous afflux of new forms from Kinki.

Tokushima considered as an entity tends to fall into two divisions; the north, adjoining Kagawa and the south (see the Fig. 193 above). The north gets its unity from a geographical factor: it is the basin of Yoshino river, flowing from west to east. The south, however, has special ties with Kôchi, especially because of the historical linguistic route which passes eastward across the sea to the southern part of Kinki.

5. 8 Summary

a In the preceding chapters we have interpreted the state of the dialects found in Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki. The historical facts and the geographical realities will, I think, support our interpretation, though interpretation as such may be subject to many a correction and criticism.

We have limited our attention chiefly to the main currents of influences between large dialectal units. We could have given many detailed examples, but the general linguists may have felt lost if too many dialectal expressions had been quoted in confirmation. The reader will realize that the main

purpose of this "dialect-geographical study" has been precisely to reveal the currents followed by the dialect evolution.

b The conclusion of my interpretation laid down inductively is as follows. First, we have been able to take up as an important factor the process of the circulation or the influence of the central language from Kyôto. We have not, however, contended ourselves by simply regarding it as an influence, but tried to observe the manner of the distribution of the central forms in the areas of our present survey.

Second, we have tried to establish what kind of intercourse and what relationship could possibly have existed among the areas—especially, among Chûgoku, Kinki, Shikoku and Kyûshû as the main divisions of our sphere of observation.

Third, we have discussed the questions of the individual transformation of the areas and of the innovations arising from the very nature of each area--including the cases of two areas, transforming themselves like a conditional reaction, at the same period of history, and as a result, originating the same phenomena.

From the process of analyzing the present complicated state of dialectal branches, the above mentioned conclusion will naturally be deduced. Thus the history of the growth of the dialectal branches in out surveyed area will be clearly understood.

c There are a great number of local transformations, great or small, and also a number of local originations. But, if we look through all the figures of distribution, we finally arrive at the following concepts. They are the circulation of the influence of the central language, the active route for the language, and the remote areas which tend to be left out from the active route. Let us see in detail the forms given by Fig. 71. The distribution of kara-imo /kalaimo/ is found more in Shikoku than in Chûgoku, adjoining to Kinki. It is especially popular in the southern part of Shikoku, which is one of the remote areas. This figure happens to show that in Kyûshû, too, the same form is current. In Chûgoku the ryûkyû-imo /tju:kju:imo/ is generally distributed, and this distribution extends at the same time to the other parts of Shikoku except the southern part. But in Kinki no such distribution of this is to be noticed. Now, the sweet-potato is variously called after the places from which it was introduced. Kara of kara-imo means China. Because it was first introduced from that country it might have been called kara-imo (the potato of China). Probably this name must have been current early in the southwestern areas of Japan, which are near to China. This article of food, often saving people from starvation in times of famine, was brought farther east. Naturally the name would have accompanied the thing towards the east.

On the other hand, in Kyûshû, which introduced this article of food from

the Ryûkyû Islands, it seems to have been called ryûkyû-imo. It is evident that the latter name is of a later growth than the former one. The names of things which are of foreign origin often indicate the channel or circumstances of their introduction, and, accordingly, we can know which of the two names of a thing is older. The name ryûkyû-imo of a later growth is now widely current in Chûgoku and Shikoku, while it is not used in Kôchi Prefecture in the southern part of Shikoku. It is in the latter area that the older name *kara-imo* is very popular.

We have already seen in the above that the remote areas are left out. Since this area is in such a condition, we are inclined to regard Chûgoku as a more active route for linguistic influence than Shikoku.

According to this figure, the name $ry\hat{u}ky\hat{u}$ -imo is rarely used in Kinki. We can regard this phenomenon as due to the fact that Kinki has either changed its name or refused to adopt the name. If the former is the case, the innovation was brought about by the influence of the central language. If we suppose that Kinki introduced the thing and refused its name, it follows that Kinki, under the innovating influence of the central language, has given the thing another name. Although we cannot ascertain the actual facts about this phenomenon, we can understand in this case the special dialectal character of Kinki, which is under the direct influence of the central language. Thus, we can admit the circulation of the influence of the central language.

d The dialectal units which we described in our preceding chapters form 'local cultural circles', each with distinctive traits. The dialect-geographical method enables us to trace these local areas and to observe their life and growth.

We may also extend our observation to the world of folk customs, which like the dialectal areas are the projection of the growth of language itself.

e The most important fact observed in the present survey is that Kinki and Shikoku are closely related while Chûgoku tends to stand apart from the other two. These are the most typical dialectal conditions in the frame of our survey. My personal interpretation of this rather strange aspect has been given above, but I feel strongly that the problem is not completely solved unless we extend the sphere of our dialect geography to all the dialects of Japan. Going then outside the limits of our surveyed area, we must now pay some attention to a wider area.

PART II

The Branches and Genealogy of the Japanese Dialects

CHAPTER 1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF ACCENT

1. 1 Introduction

a In the previous chapters we have taken up the area of Chûgoku, Shikoku, and Nishi-Kinki as the area of our survey.

Now the dialectal conditions in Nishi-Kinki are not limited to Nishi-Kinki, that is, to Hyôgo and Ôsaka Prefectures only; for similar conditions are apparent in the fairly wide area of the whole seven prefectures of Kinki. Historically speaking, Kinki district has been the midland of Japan, with Nara or Kyôto as its center, each in its own time. The above mentioned conditions of Nishi-Kinki are limited to Kinki only; other dialectal conditions that are more or less closely related to Kinki dialect can be found in an area considerably distant from Kinki towards Tôhoku along the Japan Sea.

As regards Kyûshû in the west, it lies outside the limits of the above survey; nevertheless, the reality there shows that its northeastern part has relations with Shikoku on the one hand and on the other it has other connections with the western part of Chûgoku.

The previous facts that Nishi-Kinki and Shikoku are fairly well related and that Chûgoku stands apart from them, should be seen from a larger point of observation. Our reasoning shall proceed from the mode of accent distribution in these districts.

b We have taken up Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki as the area of our survey and have been able to obtain an interesting opposition among them. A sort of opposition was already observed as far as Chûgoku and Shikoku only were concerned. However, when we looked far to Kinki, we saw that Kinki was more closely related to Shikoku which lies south-west across the sea, than with its western neighbor Chûgoku. As a result, we could affirm that the opposition between Chûgoku and Shikoku is not simple. In other words, dialectal modalities as found in a large area including Kinki point still further to a larger area.

Modes of accent distribution show the line of development in the present subject. Examine the following figures (see appendix Fig. 194-252).

1. 2 Maps of accent distribution

a Here are 58 maps of accent distribution. The research field embraces Chûgoku, Shikoku, the whole of Kinki and the eastern half of Kyûshû. By covering them all our observations will have a stronger basis. The Tôkyô accent of the present central language, too, is indicated on the maps.

The actual survey was held from November, 1934 till May, 1936, and to get uniformity as before students of Women's Teachers' Schools at that time were chosen as informants. For the purpose the writer made the tour of the students' buildings. There direct questioning was done with the help of the tutors. Students were divided into small groups according to *Gun* (districts) and *Shi* (cities). Vocabulary cards used in the survey were presented to them, and the students were asked to pronounce each dialectal accent of their own, in a free and spontaneous way. But generally a representative one was chosen and the other students were asked to stand by as observers. There happened at times that we had a lot of opinions. As regards districts or islands of special importance, the minute checking was done from the beginning; and the survey was carried out, without taking the *Gun* (district) or the *Shi* (city) as a unit.

d Survey vocabularies were composed of 85 words, comprising some inflections, such as tobu na (Don't jump!) or toba-n (not to jump). In order to carry out the survey of such a wide-range area simultaneously in short time, I could not help limiting the number if the words, but on the other hand, I tried to have as satisfactory a look at dialectal accent and its distribution as possible. The 85 words ranged from one syllable words to six syllable ones. And as for the survey of word accent, I followed a simple but systematic order. Various parts of speech were therefore included. I also added some cases of verbal inflections.

c Those that are presented in the following, are 58 words that compose 58 maps of accent distribution, chosen from 85 maps of accent distribution.

1. 3 General remarks on accent distribution

a When we look through the previous maps, it is clear that Kinki and Shikoku are in a special relation to Chûgoku. Moreover, a comparison with the other unpublished maps shows that almost all the latter also present qualitative oppositions between Shikoku and Chûgoku, while Shikoku has relations with Kinki under certain aspects.

Of course, the 58 figures above mentioned, cannot be all treated alike;

A DIALECT-GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

for example, Fig. 216 (see appendix) of *asa* (hemp) and its distribution. Nevertheless, everyone will recognize a number of figures showing comparatively simple and clear oppositions. We can get here an idea of the fundamental trends of word accentuation in the dialect groups.

The same tendency as in Chûgoku will be recognized in the northeastern part of Kyûshû. Add to this relationship of Chûgoku and the northeastern part of Kyûshû, the tendency of southern Kyûshû of being related in a degree with Shikoku and Kinki. Kyûshû is thus a region with complex traits.

With the existence of the connection between northeastern Kyûshû and Chûgoku, one must note that southwestern Shikoku, too, is liable to show a tendency to be related to Chûgoku.

On the contrary, however, the Oki Islands off the northern coast of Chûgoku, often show a tendency to go with Kinki and Shikoku, and that tendency can be found to a certain extent in the Izumo area, right across from Oki. As regards to the Oki Islands, their internal structure is not simple; it sometimes occurs that when almost all parts show a correlative tendency with Kinki and Shikoku, some parts however show a correlative tendency with Chûgoku. (In cases when a complicated situation of the word accent was found, the writer omitted some marks on maps to show the main trends in a form as simple as possible.)

Now, inside Kinki, some places show almost always the same tendency as Chûgoku. When our research concerns itself with northwestern, southern, and eastern Kinki, the actual state of the accent is not simple.

b Apart from Kinki, districts that lie to the east of Kinki, that is, the eastern half of Japan, generally bear the same kind of word-accent as the main Chûgoku. If we call these A-type for convenience sake, the general trend of word-accent in Kinki and Shikoku districts becomes B-type. Concerning the conditions in Kyûshû, they may be called a complicated mixture of A- and B-types.

By the observation of sentence-accent, too, the general trend of all Japan can be discerned in the same way as above. It must be added, however, that when we examine the characteristic tendency of sentence-accent, Kyûshù is apt to exhibit a tendency that may be called about the same as Chûgoku.

From these facts, we think that, as far as accent is concerned, we may recognize a large scale opposition of Chûgoku and Kyûshû against Shikoku and Kinki. Chûgoku being alike to the eastern half of Japan, accordingly, the mode of accent distribution in all Japan, can be summarized in the opposition of Shikoku and Kinki against all the other districts.

It has been quite a suitable attitude in this dialect-geographical study that the writer has taken up Chûgoku and Shikoku as the chief objects of this paper, and, in addition, has surveyed the Kinki district. The opposition of

Chûgoku against Shikoku may be said, from the viewpoint of accent, to epitomize the opposition of the two great divisions of the whole country.

c In the above accent maps, the tendency of the so called A-type and that of B-type concerning the quality of pitch-accent, differs to a considerable extent. For example, for ame (雨) (rain), A-type prenounces it / a'me/, and B-type /a^rme¹/, /a^rme¹:/. The balance of high and low pitch in accentuation is quite the contrary between both types. It is most noteworthy that such a difference can be found in the Japanese dialects. From the point of view of accent, we can recognize deep-rooted oppositions of dialects in the Japanese language. But such oppositions may probably not be the perpetuation of original oppositions. They were probably, I think, some deep-rooted accentderivations in one main body of the Japanese language. It seems that the key to solving the opposition of both groups lies at present in dialectal accent. Really, concerning Chûgoku, in its northern part and its islands in the north, a tendency different from Chûgoku is found. In the western part of Chûgoku, there is also, a sentence-accent that has some relation with that in B-type districts. Regarding Shikoku, too, we already remarked that its southwestern part shows A-type, differing from almost all parts of Shikoku. The accent in Kyûshû exhibits a mode that seems a mixture of A- and B-types; and also in the interior parts and outer boundaries of the strong B-type in Kinki, some that may tend to A-type can be found. In the northern part of Chûgoku district adjoining Kinki along the northern side of Japan, too, the accent that may be called the B-type of Kinki is distributed, and the other Chubu districts have A-type. In this way, concerning the existence of the two types of A and B, that conspicuous local opposition, at the same time, such states of distribution may also be found, as induce us to imagine the aspect of some deep-rooted intercourse of both types with each other. If we proceed to the observation of sentence-accent, I think, the mutual relation of both types becomes much more easy to understand.

Two manners of interpretation are possible; one is to suppose that from one of the two types, A and B, one is the original one and the other derived. The other interpretation would be that from a probable prototype both A and B types might have derivated gradually. In any case, one may ask whether the facts are connected with the original period of the Japanese language or with a latter period when it was evolving. This problem gives a special interest to the extraordinary appearance of the local oppositions of A- and B-type areas.

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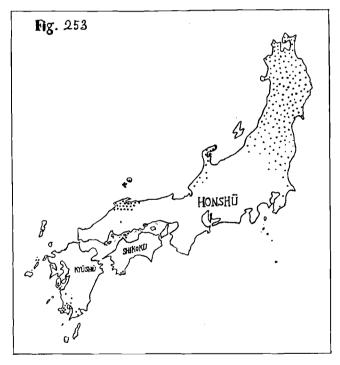
CHAPTER 2. THE STATE OF THE JAPANESE DIALECTAL DIVISIONS

2. 1 Centrifugal distribution

a The centrifugal dispersion of the linguistic features is the first thing that strikes the eye when one makes a general survey.

Kyôto as a center of linguistic diffusion has kept this undisputed position for a long time; facts and evidence being rich in affirming a centrifugal pattern of dialect distribution. Yanagita Kunio in his book Kagyåkå (蝸牛 考) ('On snails', a linguistic geographical study on the names of the snail, Tokyo, 1930) has already advanced proofs of this theory.

b Central vowels |i|, |u| |uu| are now distributed on the circumference of the country and the area of distribution looks like the result of the centrifugal force of the central language; see the following Fig. 253.

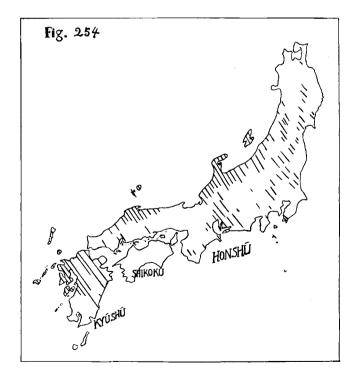


This kind of vowels seem not to have originated in the Kyôto language as the central language, but to be of still older origin. The present day common language never pronounces such central vowels in the blank area of the above map, but /i/, /u/ /uu/. One may say that /i/, /u/ /uu/ are just spending their last days as relics of the old pronunciation in the outskirts. The mode of the older distribution shows the same one as the centrifugal distribution of the central language.

The dialectal sound /e/ (corresponding to /i/ of the common language) is in the same state of the old area in the same area of Honshû (本州), the main island. Along the Japan Sea border, the consonants / \int /, /kw/, /F/, almost unknown on the other side of the country, are rather common; only the Tôhoku district has them also on the Pacific Ocean side. Kyûshû also has quite remarkably kept / \int /, /kw/. Such a manner of old distribution can be compared with the case of central vowels above. These altogether, as a result, may be regarded as if like the centrifugal distribution.

I suppose that geographically these areas were left out from the influence of the innovations of the central language; and that even if they have once received that influence, their successive acceptance became impossible and they preserved the older forms received in the earlier days. The following will be a decisive proof of that statement.

c There was such an honorific form of the auxiliary verb as sharuru (> -sharu / $\int atu$), -sasharuru (>-sasharu /sa $\int atu$ /, -sassharu /sa $\int atu$ /) which seems to have flourished in the central area with Kyôto as its center about three or four hundred years ago. The people then used such forms as *ika-sharu*



(行かしゃる) /ikafatu/, *ika-ssharu* (行かっしゃる) /ikaf:aru/ (to go) or *mi-sasharu* (見さしゃる) /misafatu/, *mi-sassharu* (見さっしゃる) /misaf:atu/ (to look at) to express respect, while in the present day, these are noticed in the area extending from Kyûshû to Tôhoku along the Japan Sea, and in the southern area of Tôhoku. The map in Fig. 254 (p. 123) shows this quite well.

In Honshû, over the Pacific regions, we notice only a very slight distribution, and at the same time the idiom or the use of the idiom is strictly specialized. The remnants in the areas with slanting lines are to be noted. These will be regarded as the remains of the centrifugal distribution of older days.

Most of the other areas without slanting lines have almost lost *sharu* and *-sashcru* (*-sasshcru*). This may be due to the fact that the areas were influenced by the innovation of the central language; or some areas might have undergone a self-transformaticn, caused by some other influence, and again some areas might have spread to others their own self-transformation. Let us say that the areas without slanting lines have received the influence of the innovation of the central language or have had some stimulus from the surrounding areas to their self-transformation.

These areas where *-sharu* and *-sassharu* are still noticed as relicts roughly conform to the areas pointed out before in the case of the phonemes. Taking both into our consideration, we can easily understand what position these areas occupy in the world of Japanese dialects.

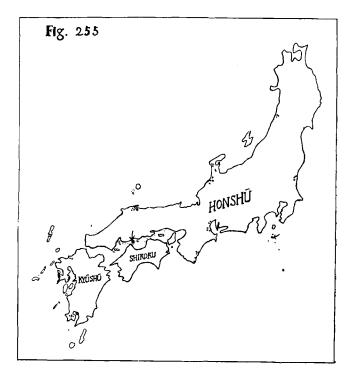
Now, as for the areas where *-sharu* and *-sassharu* are found, we notice, in some places of those areas, a local transformation in morphology. For example, such a form as *-rasu* of *iki-yorasu* /ikijolasu/, meaning ' to be going ' with a nuance of respect, seems to be one transformed on the local plane. In other words, it seems that this is not a derivative form brought in from other areas. From this fact, we are reminded that what we call the centrifugal distribution is not always the only thing at all.

d Nevertheless, as Yanagita Kunio and others have already pointed out, the same phenomena between the northeast and the southwest of Japan will be noticed in spite of the gulf of geographical separation. I can present here one illustration from the point of view of my present survey; and that is the case of an honorific form o... ara whose usage was once predominant in the central language several centuries ago. For instance, when the people wished to express respectfully the act of reading books, they used the phraseology o-yomi-aru /ojomia[†]u/. We see in the present day the echo of this honorific form chiefly in the southwest of Japan (i.e., Kyûshû) and in some parts of Tôhoku district. There are also scatterings here and there in the districts between the two extremes, though in a limited usage. Thus, we may think that this distribution has been effected by the centrifugal influencefrom the center of Japan.

As regards this mode of distribution in which both ends look as if they are attracting with mutual force, we can associate it with the mode of distribution seen before that extended from Kyûshû all over to Tôhoku through the Japan Sea coast of the country.

None the less, different cases also occur in which corresponding distributions in the north-east and in the south-west are not at all caused by the centrifugal spread of the central language, for there are some possibilities of coincidence always that a smimilar form may be eventuated among areas apart and different. We have to remember that the human consciousness and action in giving names to things, regardless of the difference of the locality, sometimes moves towards the same direction. Human beings with mental similarity brew upt he same kind of expression, notwithstanding local differentiation. A centrifugal spread of the central language is not a ready-made answer to all problems.

e Among the grammatical idioms in Japanese, such words as ne, /ne//ne:/, etc. (which belongs to a class of words specified as *bun-matsu-joshi* (文末 助詞) or 'sentence ending particles') are used especially in conversation at the end of the sentence. For instance, see the use of ne in Kyô-wa samui ne. (今日は寒いねo) /kjo:wa samui ne./ (It is very cold today.). This type of particles are rich in variety and number in Japanese. Ne is one of these



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and the most common. Na /na / /na:/, cognate to *ne*, also passes as accepted, but *no* /no/ /no:/, another cognate of *ne*, bears a strong flavour as dialectal and *nii* /ni:/, another variation, is the most peculiar of all these four.

As for the last form ni, I tried with special interest to survey its distribution, and can here indicate with dots the results in the map of Fig. 255 (p. 125).

Moreover we notice the places with the form *niya* /nija/, etc. Usually these places are found in the coast districts, but not in the mountains.

The writer's conviction is that *ne*, *na*, *no* and *ni* may originally have been primitive exclamatory sounds all related with each other. But leaving them as they are, the most important point lies in the initial consonant /n/. The vowels that follow /n/ have been differentiated; *ni* has appeared as one of the differentiations. The Japanese language, as a rule, increases its affectivity by putting such small grammatical elements at the end of the sentence in conversation. (When such a sentence-ending *joshi* is not suffixed, a necessary change in intonation towards the end effectively performs the office.)

The areas in the above figure cannot make us believe that there has been one single diffusion for all the places where ni is found. Then how should such a mode of distribution have resulted? It may be because of the fact that the expression of /n-/ has been able to appear anywhere as the affective expression at the end of a sentence. As for the vowels following /n/, people might have freely adopted whatever they liked. Thus, a certain tendency might have induced the frequent adoption of /a/ and /o/ vowels and made them spread wildely in Japan. In short, the growth of ni might have started here and there spontaneously. This is the most probable case. Once in a while we may have had another possibility, that one place was influenced by another place where ni had already grown, and thus brought forth the same form.

It seems to me that *ni* might formerly have shown a wider distribution. The existence of such a compound form as *niya*, though not included in the above figure, confirms my supposition that *ni* originally may have been adopted considerably in various parts.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the mode of its distribution in the present is such as shown by the above figure. This is similar to the result of the centrifugal spread of the central language, being found scattered here and there in the remotest places from the center of Japan.

Even in the case when the forms themselves were not brought forth by a centrifugal spread of the central language, yet owing to another invasion of the central influence upon the local districts, and the consequent erosion of the older forms, the results sometimes look like the relics of the earlier influence of the central language.

Whatever circumstances may have brought forth such a distribution of ni as in the above figure, every reader will be able to see that such a state of

existence of *ni* shows the mode of distribution which tends to remind us of the centrifugal spread of the central language.

2. 2 Non-centrifugal distribution

a Often I have referred to the different nature of distribution of dialects from the so-called centrifugal distribution pattern. Though I said 'the invasion of the central influence 'or ' the consequent erosion', there are probabilities that the invading forces may be local ones instead of the central language. In other words, if some new linguistic tendency arises in some localities, the older forms will naturally be eroded and their domain invaded by new forms. Such a new linguistic tendency will sometimes spread of itself without any influence from the central language.

b I took up before accidental coincidences in the state of distribution caused by conditional reflex. Here we take up an abnormal state of distribution caused by the simple historical circumstances. Japan was under the Feudal Clan system several centuries ago, and at times a clan-master (with his subjects, too) was transferred to another clan. In such a case, the dialectal forms of one area were quite simply transferred and transplanted to another, and hence the sudden appearance of a new distribution. When hundreds of the subjects accompanied their master, even the dialect as a whole was transferred. These special linguistic anomalies, however, are losing their distinctions day by day before the still prodominant force of provincialisms proper to that region.

When one moves from one place to another, a similar case happens even in the present day, because despite all the geographical conditions, one is sure to carry along a series of dialectal expressions of his native region.

c Thus the existence of various circumstances of non-centrifugal distribution has been made clear, but it is at the same time very obvious that the centrifugal distribution or the similar cases also exist as referred to before. After all we have to admit the existence of both centrifugal and non-centrifugal distributions.

In Fig. 24, /ja/, diachronically a later form, is found in Shikoku across the sea, as well as in Kinki, but generally not in Chûgoku adjoining to Kinki. Such instances prohibit us from any simple application of the 'centrifugal distribution' theory. At this juncture, we shall well remind ourselves of the strength of the gravity of the local substratum.

I have already mentioned towards the end of the previous chapter, such an important existence of a non-centrifugal state of distribution. When we take a bird's eye view of the state of the Japanese dialects, we first notice the state of centrifugal influence of the central language, but if we look deeper, we may notice the non-centrifugal state which is connected with the growth of the Japanese language.

As a conclusion to the great correspondence survey all over Japan carried out at the end of the Meiji Era (1868-1912) by the Japanese Language Committee, the opposition of the Eastern Dialect and the Western was brought out. They found a border line about the middle of Honshû. Only, as far as the dialectal accentuation is concerned, the line should be drawn more westward, and the Western Dialect should begin from the Kinki district. Anyway, from that time onward, the division of dialects into two main groups has been commonly accepted by the researchers and the public. Some comparisons between the Eastern and Western Dialects will be attempted here will illustrations. In order to express the negative idea 'I don't know.', the Eastern Dialect says Shira-nai and the Western Shira-n. Thus, there exists such an opposition in the use of the auxiliary verb, as *nai* and *n*. In preference of the vowel /u/, the Eastern manner is /u/ contrasted to the western /u/. A historical survey into ancient documents also tells us a strong opposition of the Eastern Dialect (Azuma-kotoba) (東言葉) against the central language with Nara-Kyôto as its center. The opposition of Kinki and Shikoku against Chûgoku should be considered from the higher standpoint of the opposition seen between two dialects, Eastern and Western, in Japan,-at least for the reason that Chûgoku accent resembles the Eastern Dialect accent. At the bottom of the possible foundation of what we call the centrifugal distribution lies such a non-centrifugal opposition.

In our modern age when the capital was transferred from Kyôto to Tôkyô, the Tôkyô language occupies the position of the central language. Of course, this tendency had been under formation during Tokugawa shogunate which governed the entire country until Meiji at Edo, the present Tôkyô. The centrifugal spread of the Tôkyô language has been in full operation since then. The spread of the official text-books, based upon the Tôkyô language has done much for the purpose; and at present the radio broadcasting gives a boost to its centrifugation all over Japan. So that present day Japanese shows the result of two centrifugations; the one from Kyôto in the past and the other from Tôkyô in the present.

2. 3 Dialect units and branches (local divisions)

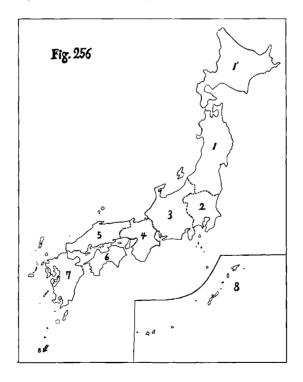
a As a rule, when a centrifugal spread of the central language occurs driving the individual phenomena along the direction with a certain force, we will find a pattern of centrifugal distribution of the phenomena adapted to the geographic configuration and conditions of the regions. And the accumulated phenomena in the similar pattern of distribution result in formation of dialect units. The same must have happened with the case of the centrifugation of the central language in Japan.

The recipient localities of the waves of the centrifugal spread will react and develop respective local traits which will constitute a substratum of each locality. Once such a linguistic state is established in a locality, no subsequent waves of the central language may pass there without incurring some changes. Thus these localities emerge as resisting or regulating factors against the general pattern of the centrifugal distribution to make eventually the local units of dialects more and more complicated in their composition.

On the other hand, the local substratum, in its turn, influences the dialectal phenomena of the locality thus shifting the dialectal units. And when the substratum or the characteristic of the locality is deeply rooted, its influence and effect are grave. In the study of our language, a special attention may be well paid to this fact.

Upon the arrival of the centrifugal spread of linguistic influence, a deeplyfounded substratum of an area may distort or perhaps, in an extreme case, may thwart the influence, which, not seldom, has been the case in Japan.

The dialectal state of present day Japanese, or the status quo of the dialect units, can be said to have resulted from such a complexity of the facts and causes. In other words, the local units and branches of dialects are the consequent phenomena where and when a centrifugal dispersion interfuses with non-centrifugal dispersion areas of involved causes.



b Neglecting other factors and dimensions for the sake of convenience, we shall graphically conceive the following major dialectal units (see map 256, p. 129)

> The Tôhoku Dialect (1), including Hokkaidô Dialect (1') The Kantô Dialect (2)

The Chûbu Dialect (2)

The Kinki Dialect (4)

The Chûgoku Dialect (5)

The Shikoku Dialect (6)

The Kyûshû Dialect (7)

The Southern Islands Dialect (8)

Note: As for this dialect, explanation is omitted in the following paragraph.

CHAPTER 3. THE INTERPRETATION OF RELATIONS BE-TWEEN THE DIALECT UNITS (DIALECTAL GENEALOGY)

a Needless to say, the dialectal branches or units are related to each other, and accordingly compose themselves into a context of 'inter-branch dialect relationship.' By tracing out these relations, we can point to the underlying system or lineage sustaining the relations.

Such dialectal branches as listed at the end of the previous chapter can be accepted as such with the given division and all. But it is possible that by tracing their genealogy we should explain the underlying relationship among and between the branches as described below.

The Southern Islands dialect (8) is left untouched in this paper. This is the most special and oldest branch in Japanese, and therefore, in our observation of the dialectal units and branches, let us put it aside from the others first and we shall take up the remaining seven.

The Kyûshû dialect (7) is on one hand closely related with the Chûgoku dialect (5) and on the other with the Shikoku dialect (6). The former relation is more remarkable than the latter. Especially the lineage that runs through Kyûshû and the northern part of Chûgoku is most significant; in other words, we often find the comparatively old forms along this lineage. This tendency, though it dwindles in the northern part of Kinki dialect area (4), extends itself into the peninsular area, to a certain degree. And this smoothly reaches and merges into the northern part (i.e., the side of Chûbu district) along the Japan Sea of the Chûbu Dialect area (3).

As for the continuity of Kyûshû dialect (7) to Shikoku dialect (6), two ranges of relationship are found; a direct one from eastern Kyûshû to western Shikoku and the other from southern Kyûshû to the southern part of Shi-

koku, resembling a continuous undercurrent, and this even stretches over to the southern part of Kinki dialect area (4) across the sea.

The Chûgoku dialect (5), collocated to the Kyûshû dialect (6), shows a weak continuation to the Kinki dialect (4). It also stands in a rather weak connection with the Shikoku dialect (6) in a general perspective.

The Shikoku dialect (6) maintains an unusually close relationship with the Kinki dialect (4).

The Kinki dialect (4) is estranged from the southern half of the area of the Chûbu dialect (3), though, of course, with some exceptions; but on the contrary, its relation with the northern part of the Chûbu dialect, that is, the area along the coast of the Japan Sea, is somewhat closer. Nevertheless, the above mentioned lineage of the old forms, extending from Kyûshû to the inside of the northern part of Kinki by way of the northern part of Chûgoku, appears more remarkable in the area along the Japan Sea side, as compared with the inside of the northern part of Kinki. And when the lineage gets into the Tôhoku district, it embraces the whole area there.

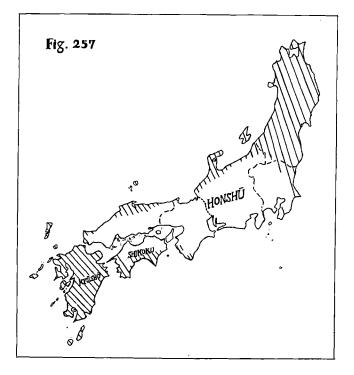
The Chûbu dialect (3) as a whole stands in close relation to the Kantô dialect (2) on one hand, and on the other, with the Tôhoku dialect (1). The Chûbu dialect (the eastern half of the area), the Kantô dialect, and the Tôhoku dialect are closely connected in lineage and become a comparatively definite unit ' the Eastern dialect'.

However, the new influence of the Tôkyô language is nowadays so predominant that the southern half of the area for the Chûbu dialect is changing its dialectal mode day by day because of its geographical proximity with the area of the Kantô dialect. Hence the area of the Tôhoku dialect and Chûbu dialect along the side of the Japan Sea are rather left out of the influence and liable to retain their old dialectal specialities.

The northern part of the area for the Kantô dialect (2) and its succeeding eastern part are also more or less being left out from the influence of the Tôkyô language, as compared with the area with Tôkyô as its center. In this respect, these areas tend to show their characteristics as the followers of the Tôhoku dialect (1).

In regard to the Tôhoku dialect (1), when we try to go up to the north from the Kantô dialect (2) and going up to the north along the Japan Sea from Chûbu dialect (3), it is true that the more northward we go, the more different aspects the dialects there begin to show from the Chûbu dialect and the Kantô dialect; but at the same time, the tendency of showing differences between the area along the Japan Sea and the area along the Pacific Ocean is not weak at all; the dual character composes the essential quality of the Tôhoku dialect.

The Hokkaidô dialect (1') is nothing but the transplanted one of the Tôhoku dialect (1), but not without a slight deviation—Hokkaidô, being



a newly developed land, even contains, though limited in urban districts, the Tôkyô-centered common language to a certain degree of prevalence.

b Through all the seven dialectal branches mentioned above, the genealogical relation of the areas shown in the slanting lines in the above map must, first of all, attract our special attention.

When analyzed from its dynamic aspect, the state of dialectal branches of Japanese may be rendered like this.

The remaining areas (i.e., without the shading) may be divided into two opposite groups, roughly:

The Chûgoku dialect, the Shikoku dialect, and the Kinki dialect vs. the Chûbu dialect and the Kantô dialect; or into another set of contrasts when grouped according to the accentuation disparity:

The Shikoku dialect and the Kinki dialect vs. the Chûgoku dialect, the Chûbu dialect and the Kantô dialect.

In spite of such dual contrast within, the whole unshaded area belongs to a stage 'dialectal innovation' of linguistic evolution, and as a whole stands against the shaped areas.

c The ultimate issue consists in the major opposition between the East and West which was told to be of 'dual contrast' in the preceding paragraph.

THE JAPANESE DIALECTAL DIVISIONS

In the concluding remarks of Part I, I presented an hypothesis concerning the changes of Chûgoku, in its next turn to Kyûshû, and its separation from Shikoku and Kinki. If the changes found in Chûgoku and further west and the changes found in Chûbu and further east were brought into the scope, the major contrast in terms of accentuation now in question may be explained.

The tendency of the Chûgoku, Shikoku and Kinki dialect (plus Kyûshû dialect by cause) to form a single unit is thought to have been derived from another cause, that is, perhaps from the centrifugal spread of the central language.

When our observation comes to this stage, we see that the reason why the Chûbu and Kantô dialects stand apart from the above mentioned dialects consists in the deep-rooted local substratum that has existed since old days in the eastern districts.

It is quite obvious that the central language and the local languages are under different conditions. If we take the central language as the center of our interest, we come to think of the influence that it gives to various local languages (dialects); nevertheless, as for the dialects, we come to take notice of the various geographical conditions. As for each local district, even two districts bordering on each other, are often living different linguistic lives, with the inhabitants living in their own way under the different geographic conditions. Hence when we attempt an explanation or an interpretation of the existing contrasts and oppositions of our dialects, it is advisable that we take into our consideration facts and causes involved and participated. Accordingly, our formula will be, for instance, " such-and-such phenomenon must have been caused by the deep-rooted local linguistic peculiarities " or perhaps " as the result of the incessant permeation of the central language. . . ", etc.

CONCLUSION

My dialectal study started from the study of the dialectal state of Chûgoku, Shikoku, and Nishi-Kinki, and then the same dialect-geographical treatment was applied to the study of the state of all the Japanese dialects as a whole as they now stand. In other words, I tried to grasp synthetically the synchronical relation of the Japanese dialects.

Primarily, the purpose was to present the maps of distribution of the dialectal phenomena found in Chûgoku, Shikoku and Nishi-Kinki, and the maps of accent distribution in Kinki, Shikoku, Chûgoku and Kyûshû. This has been, after all, by no means an exhaustive research; yet it may have served to some extent for a better understanding of the general outline of the reality of the Japanese dialects.

One might have been convinced of the interesting prospect that the dialect-geographical study of the Japanese dialects may evolve if it is furtherly pursued. I hope that the origin and the development of our language may perhaps be partially explained thereby and that the results may be a stimulus to the general study of the linguistic genealogy of the Japanese language.

Having thus studied the dialectal branches and their genealogy, we are almost sure that the cultural history of Japan should be understood in accordance with the linguistic reality true to each locality. The culture and the idea of a nation must develop in every day life, in an inevitable way in accordance with its people. We cannot but stress, therefore, the cultural-historical significance of the dialect-geographical study.

The efforts to solve the problems of the present state of the Japanese dialects will, of course, give us some fundamental direction for improvement and development of our linguistic life. Looking on what we called dialectal branches and genealogy, we may speculate how to develop our life in common language and where to find the direction for the ideal standard language.

THE FIGURE OF DIALECTAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE CHŪGOKU, SHIKOKU AND NISHI-KINKI (WESTERN AREA OF THE KINKI) DISTRICTS

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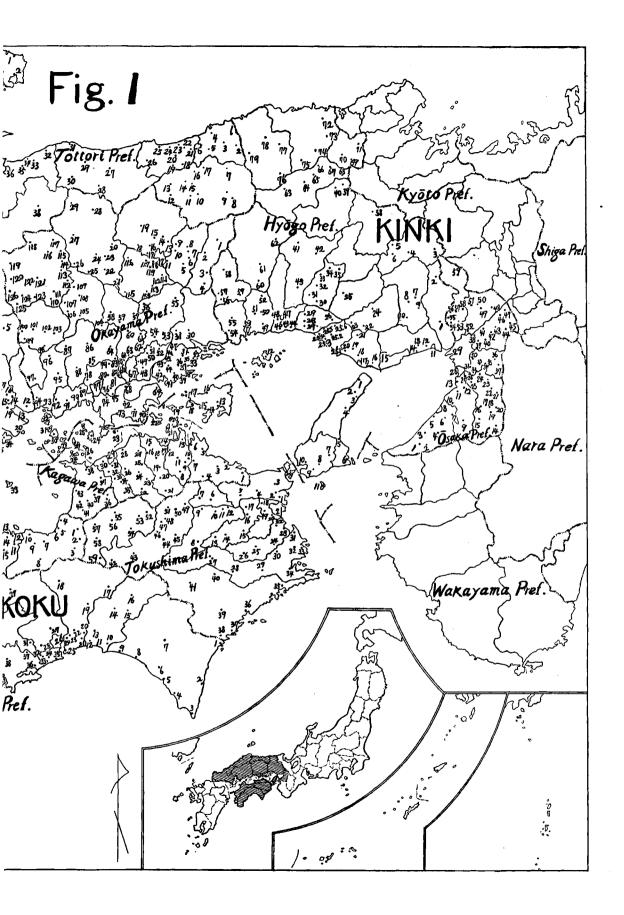
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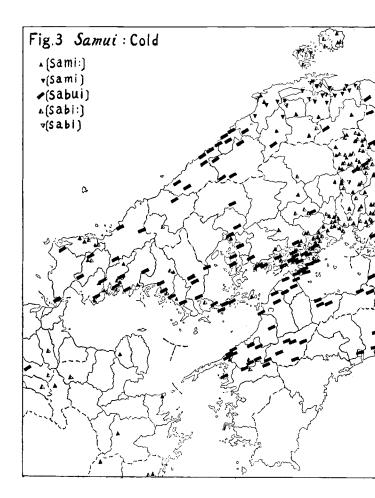
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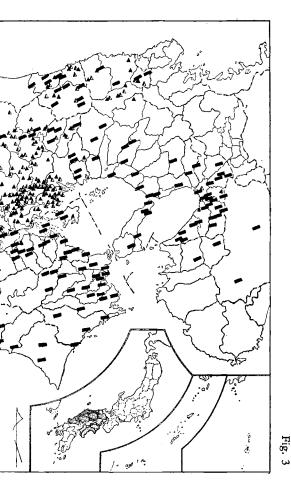
- 1. The small divisions in each prefecture are Gun(=District). However, no names of these districts are given here.
- 2. The small black dots represent the chosen points for investigation, to which the numbers representing the names of the places are given.

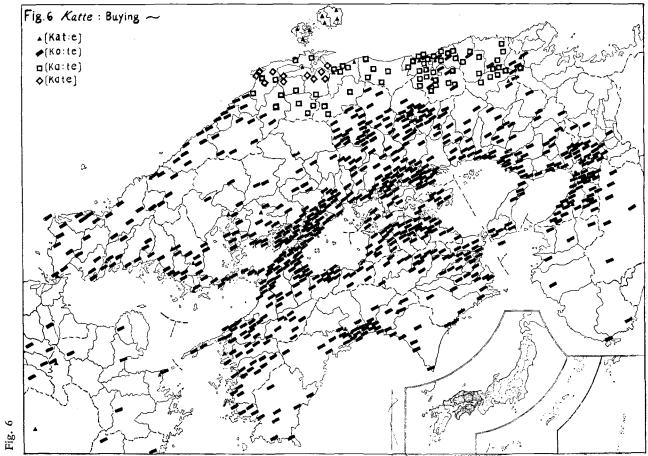
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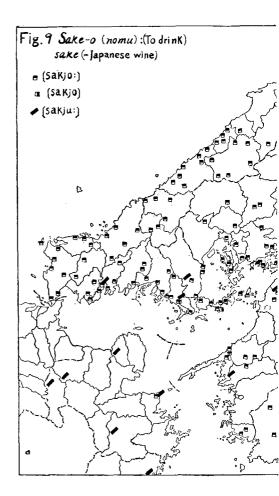
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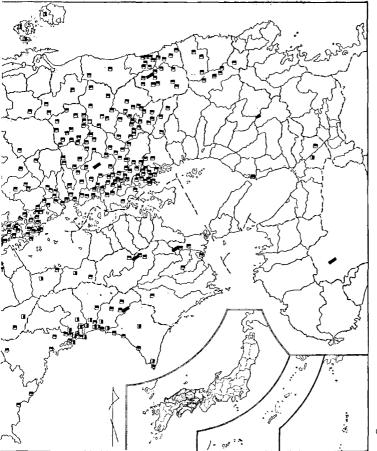


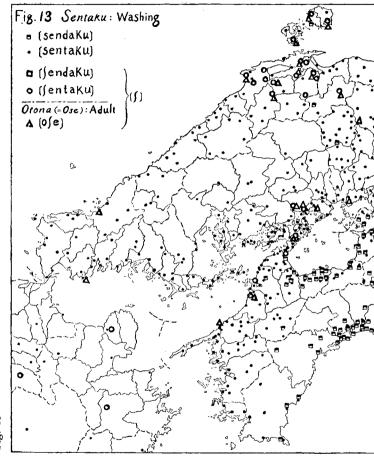


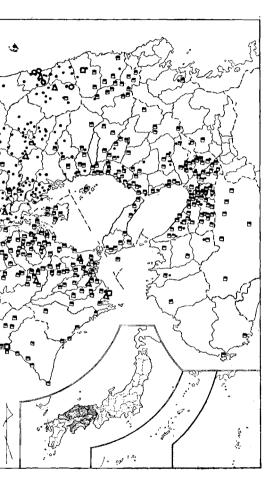


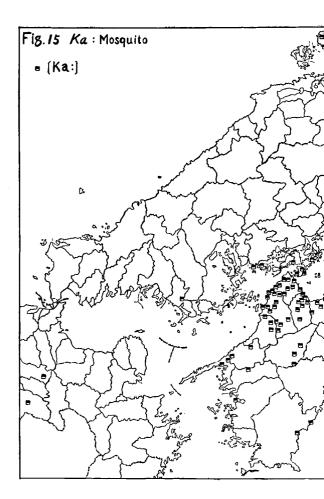




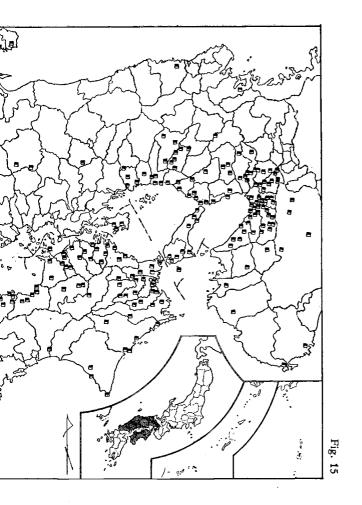


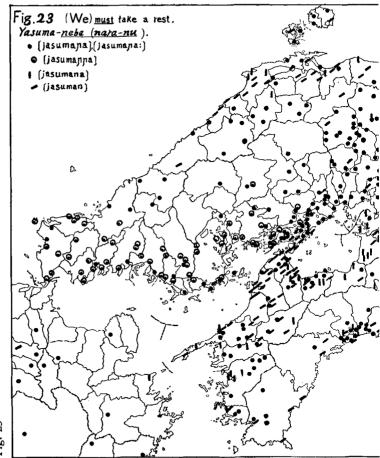


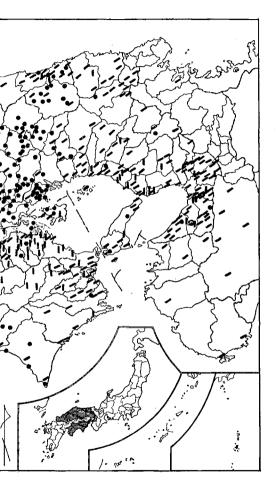


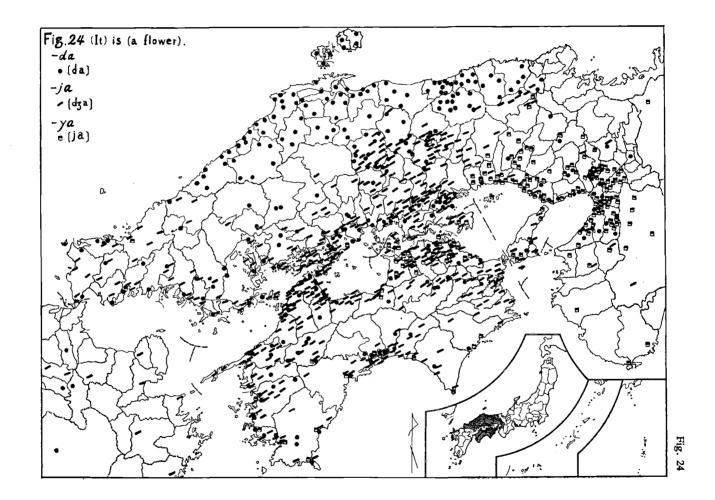


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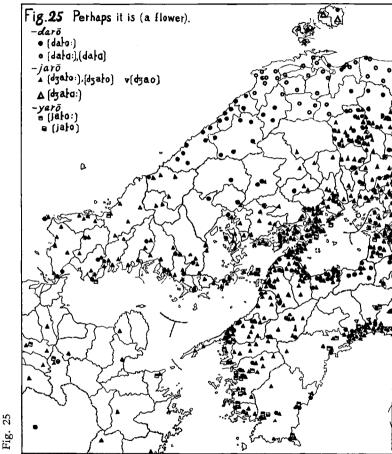




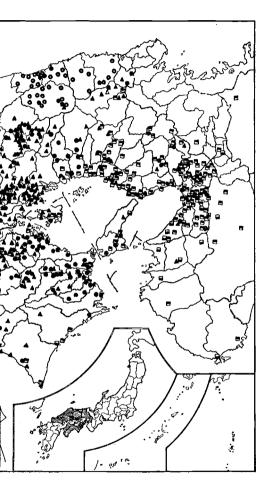


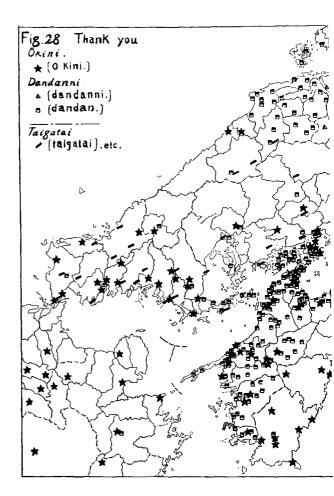


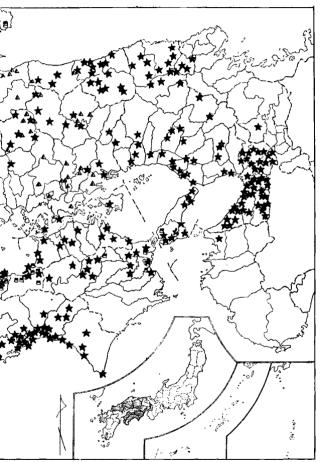
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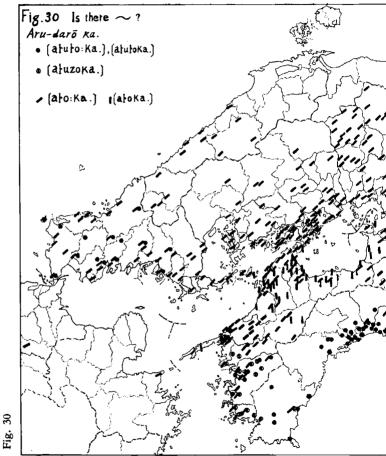


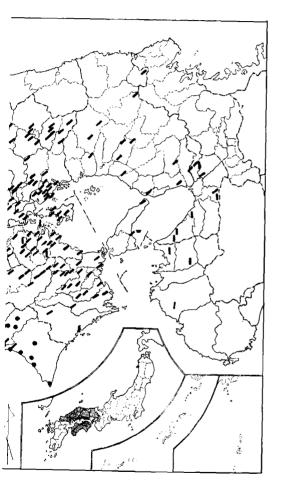


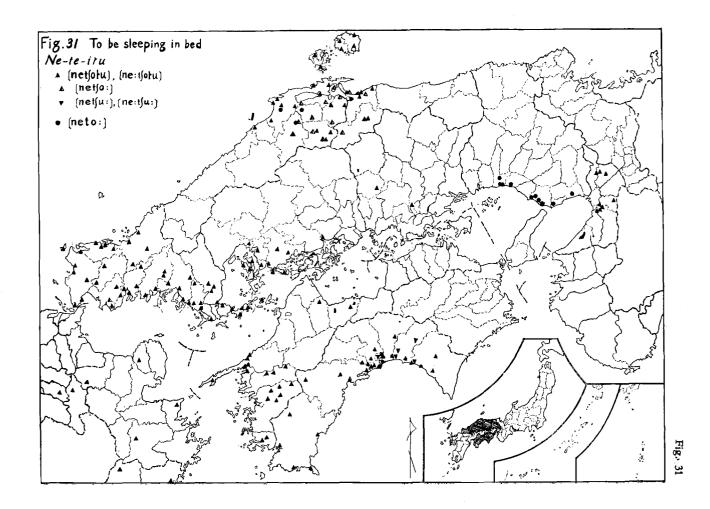


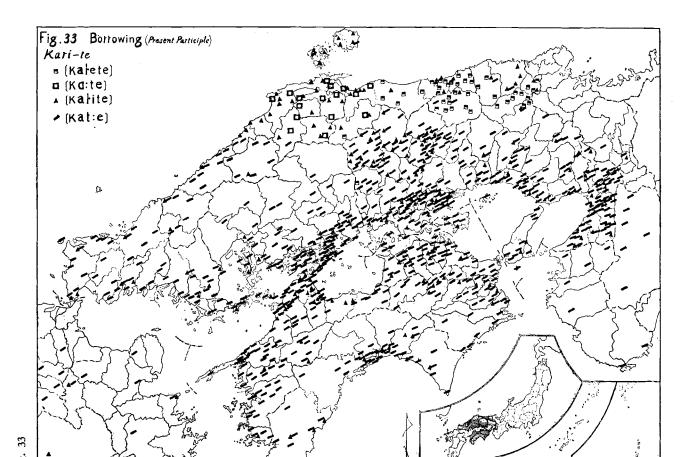










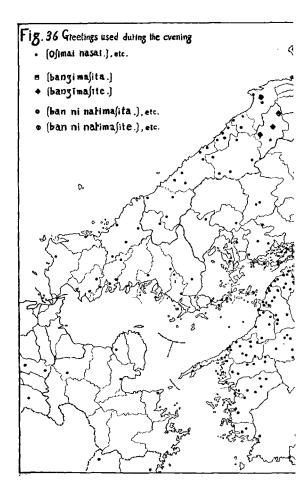


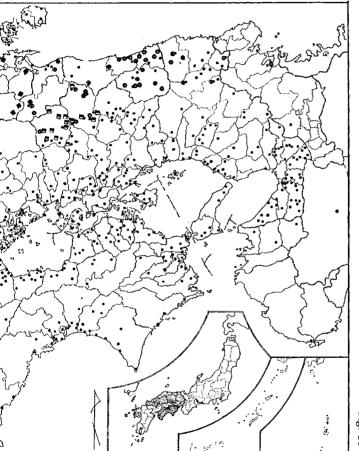
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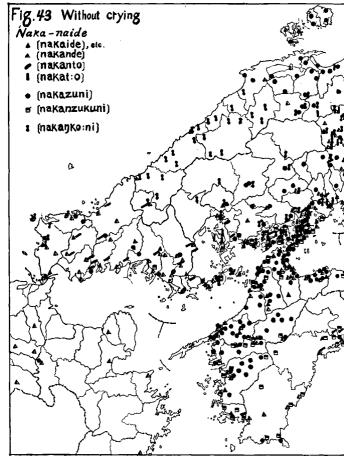
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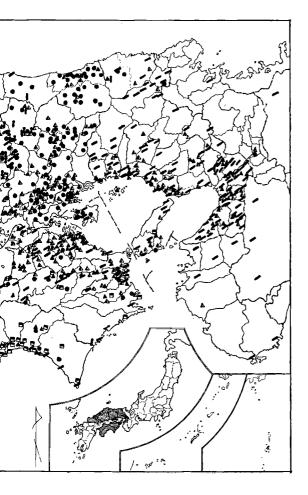
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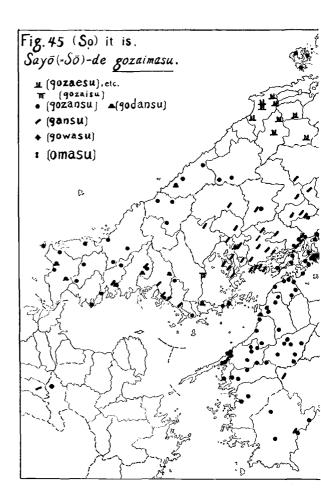


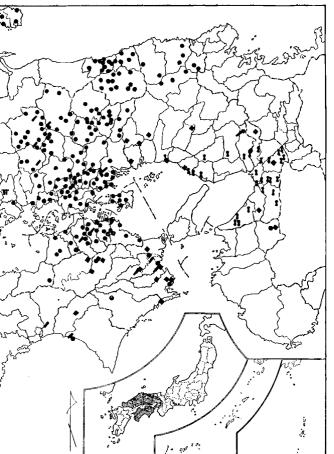


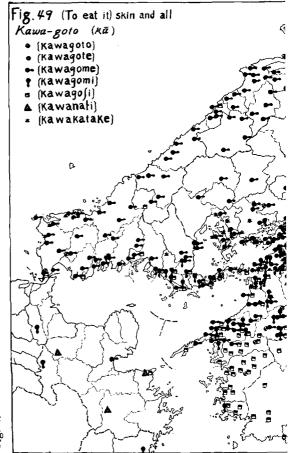


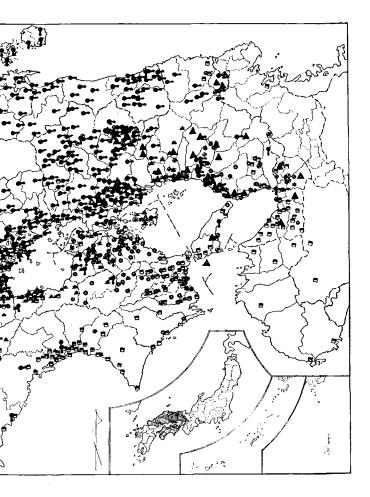


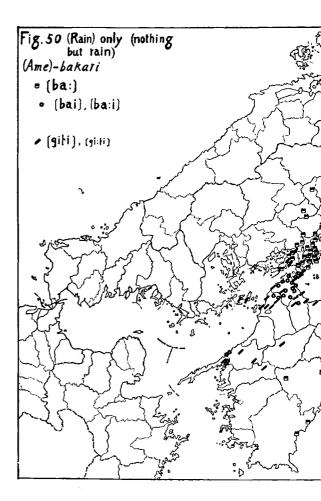


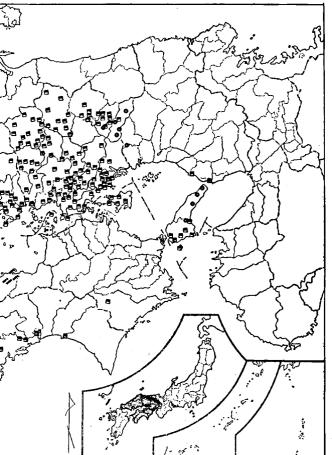


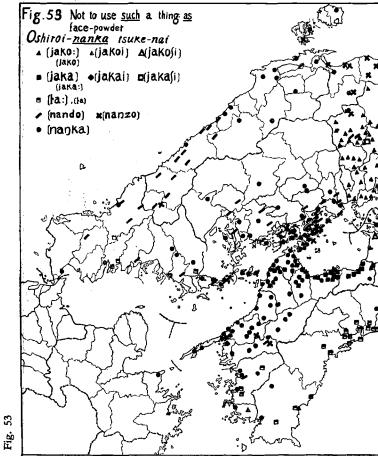




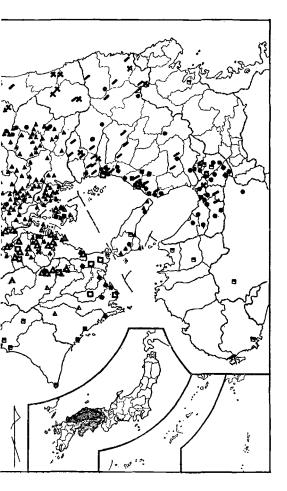


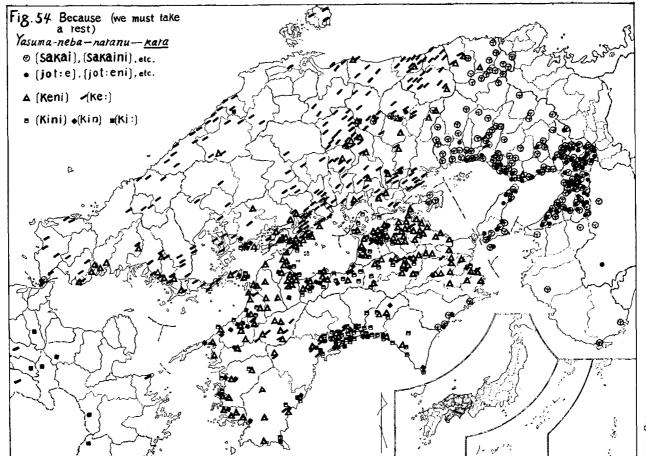








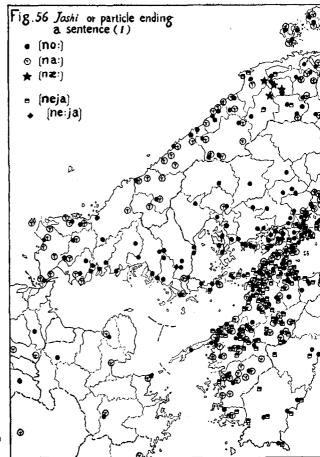


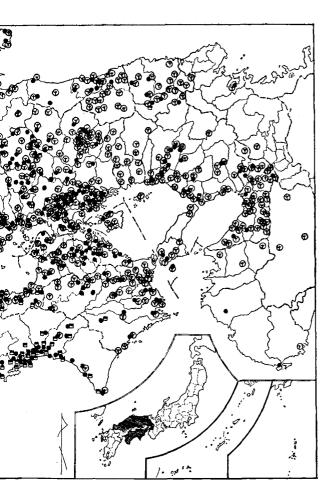


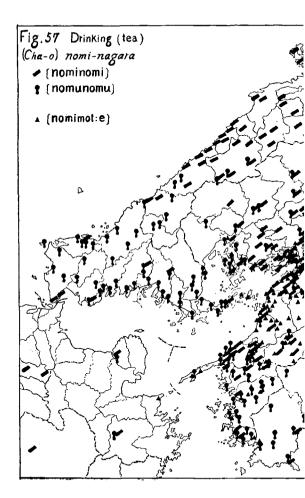
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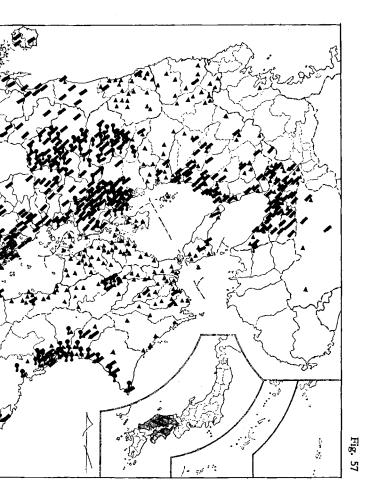
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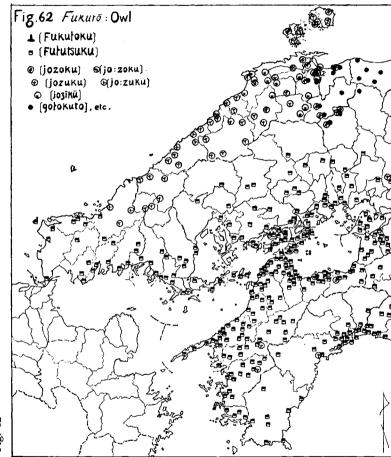
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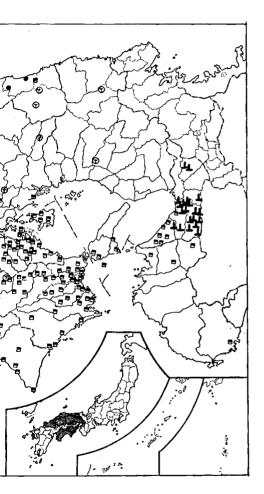


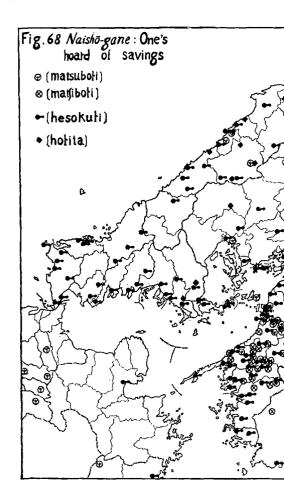


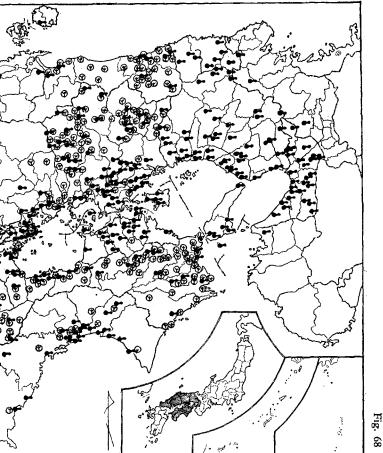


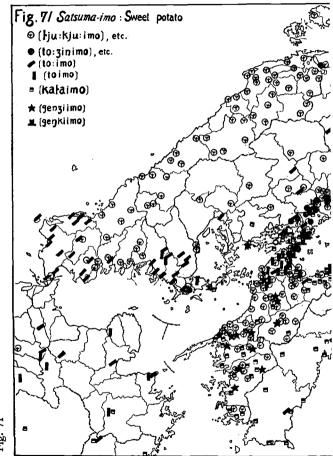




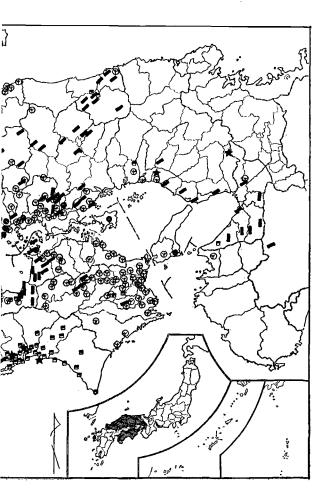


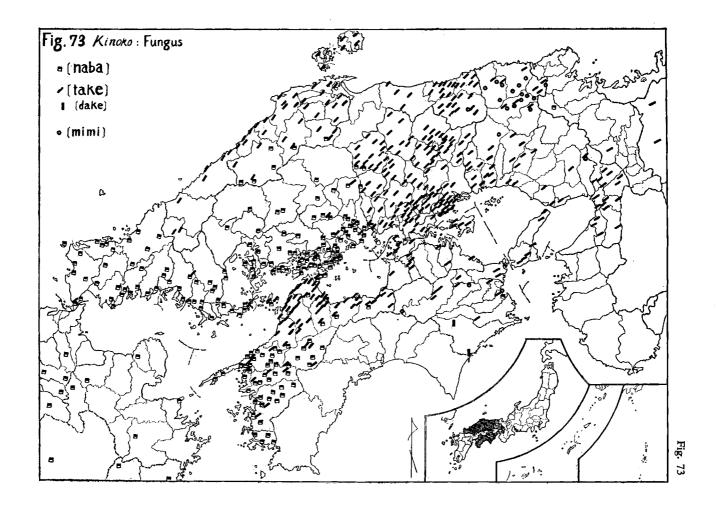






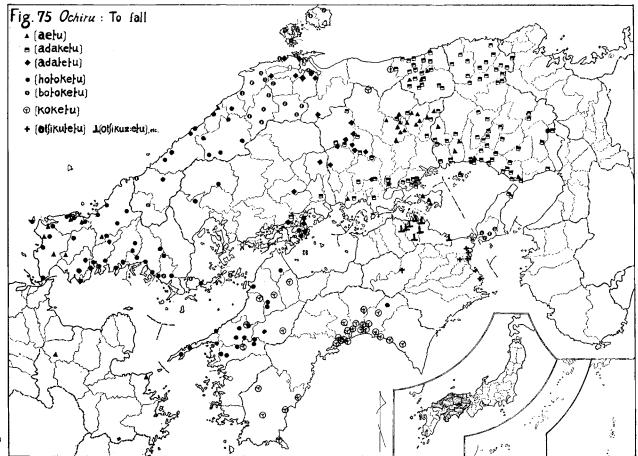


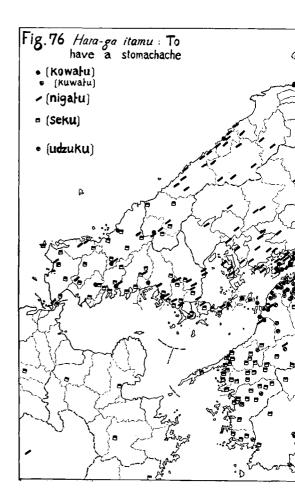


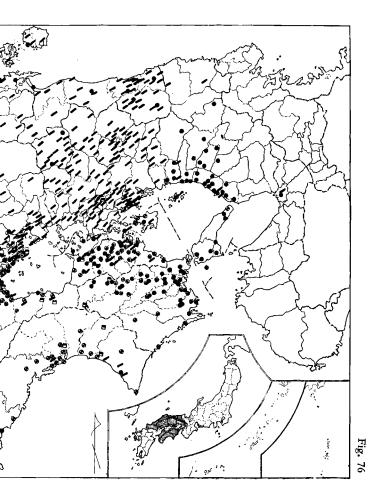


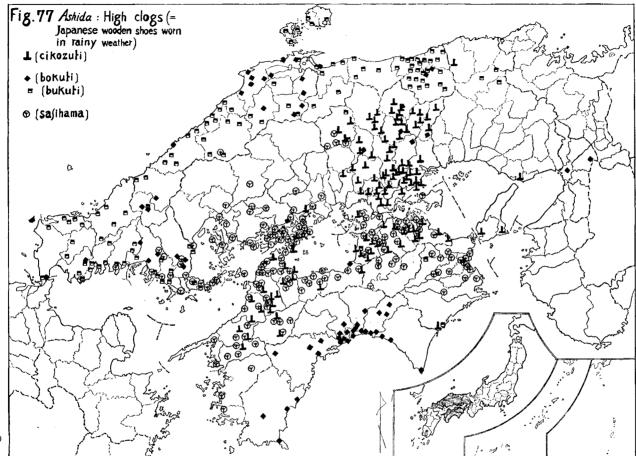
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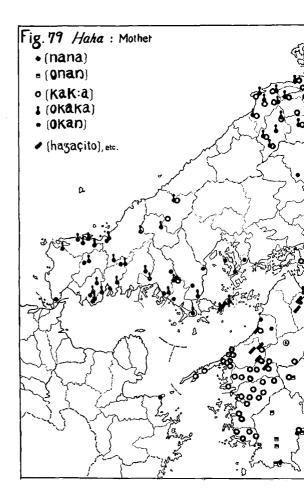
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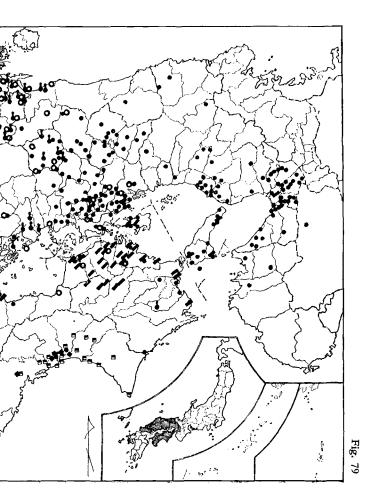


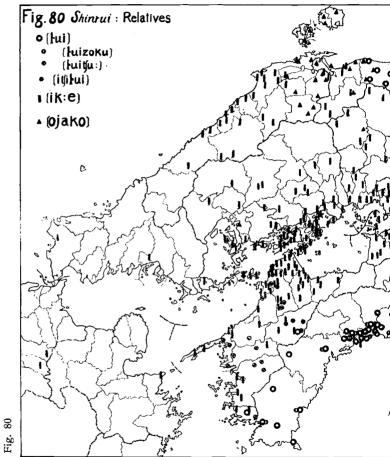




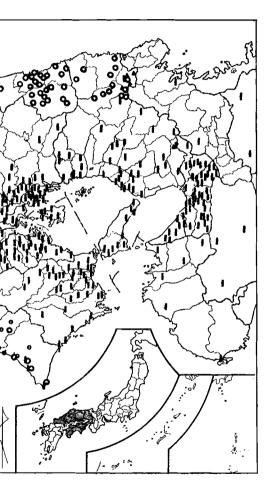


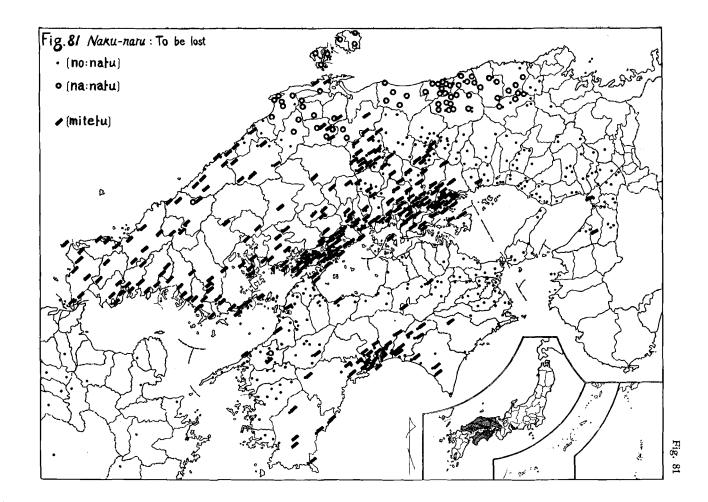




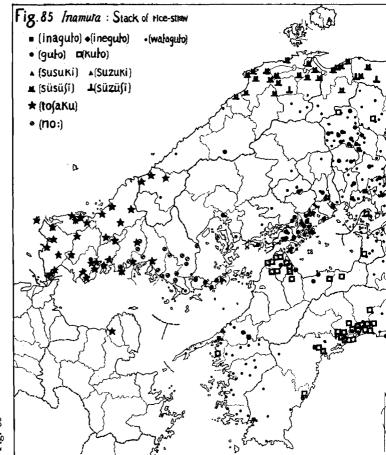




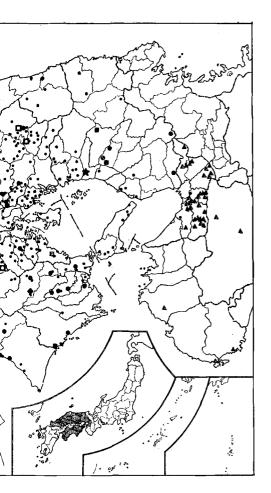


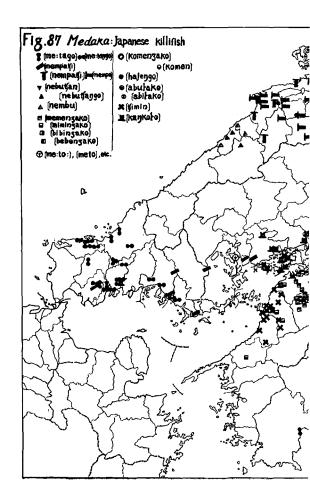


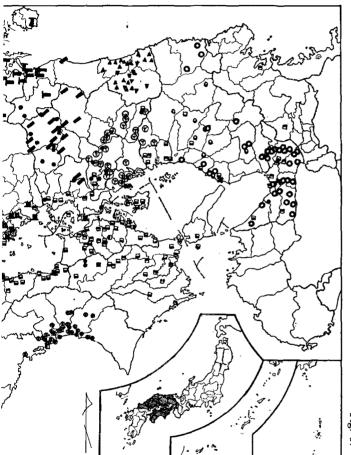
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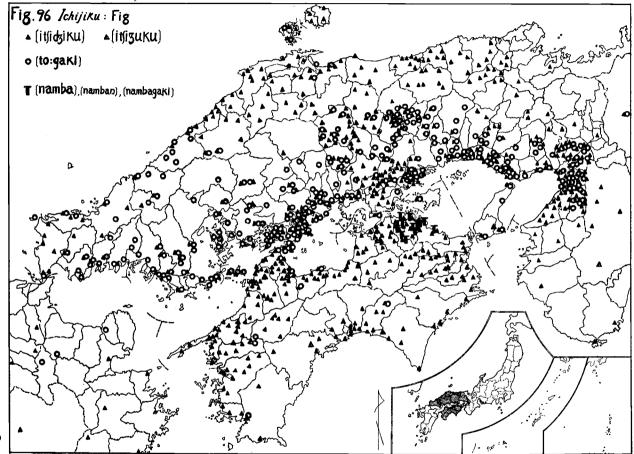


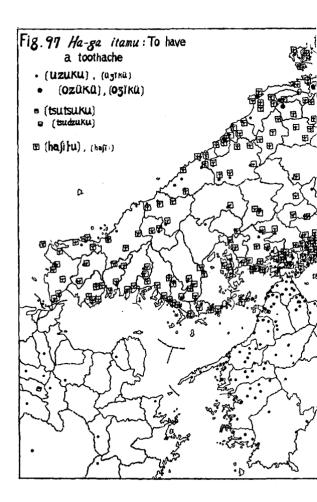


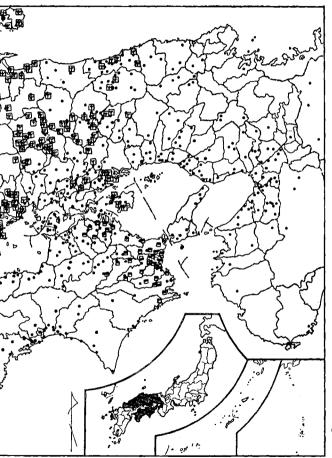


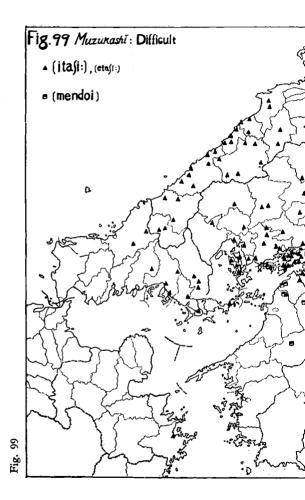


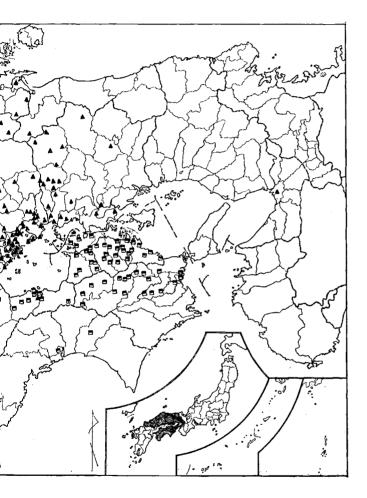


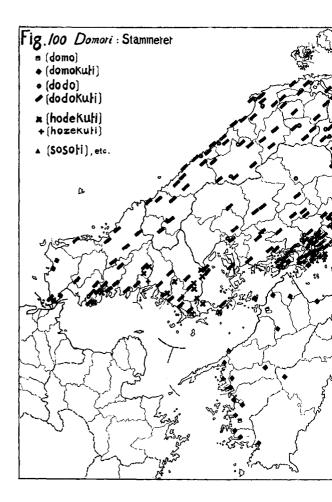


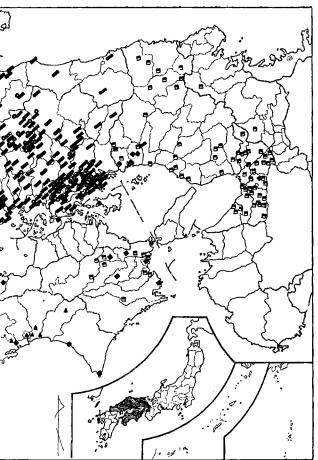


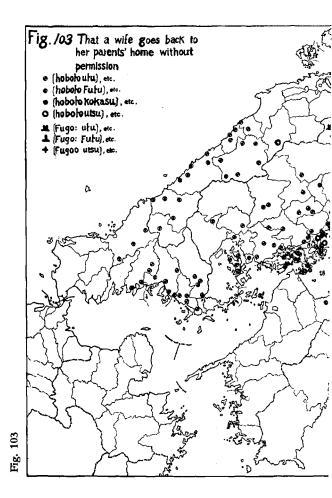


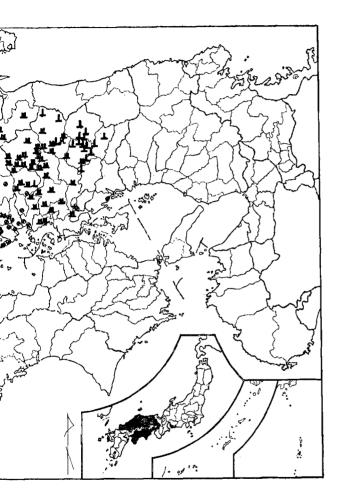


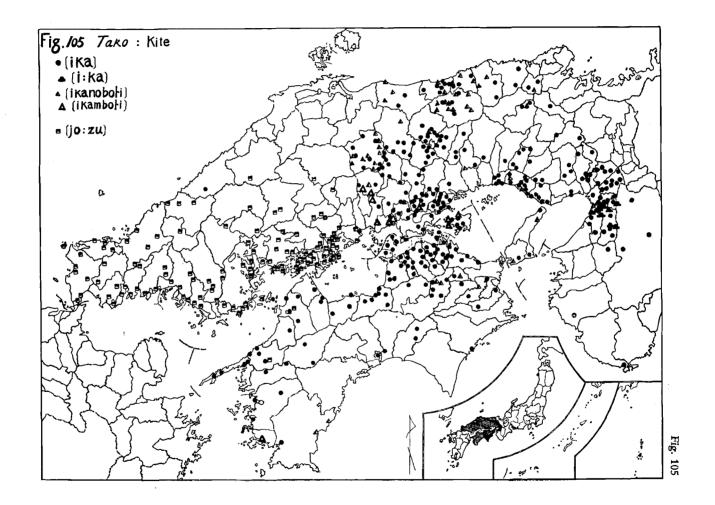






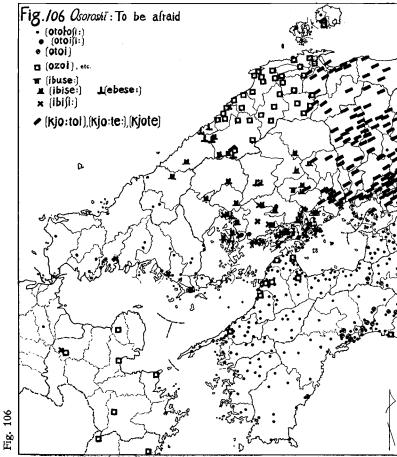




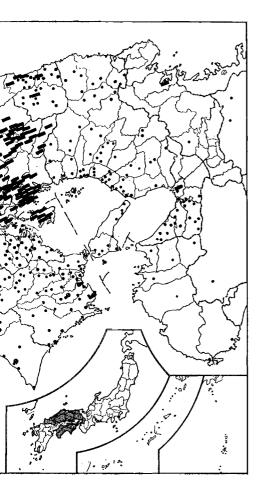


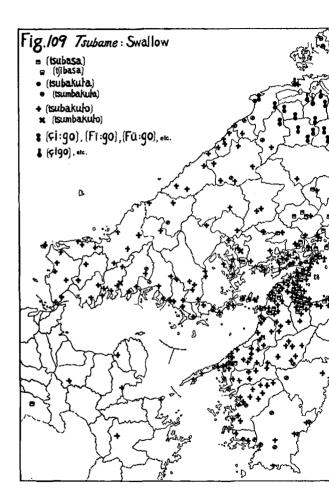
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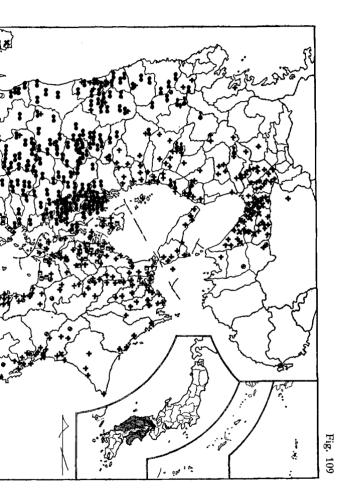
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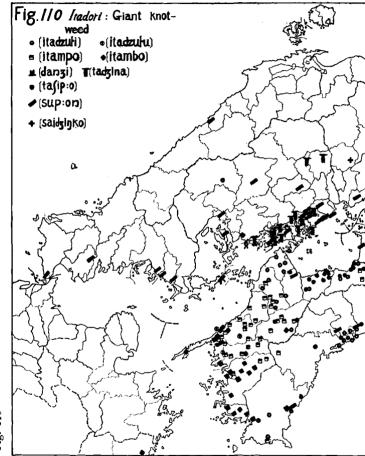
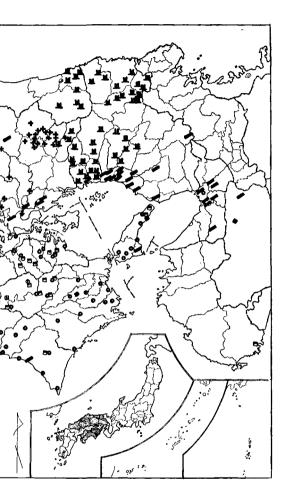
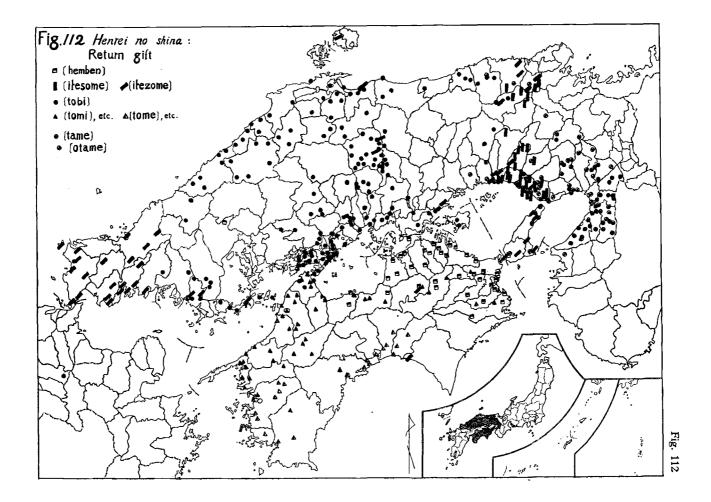


Fig. 110





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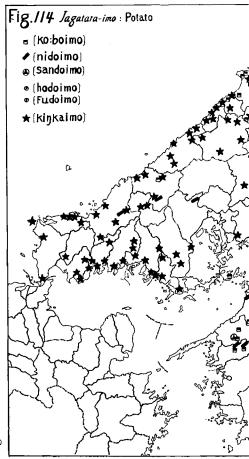
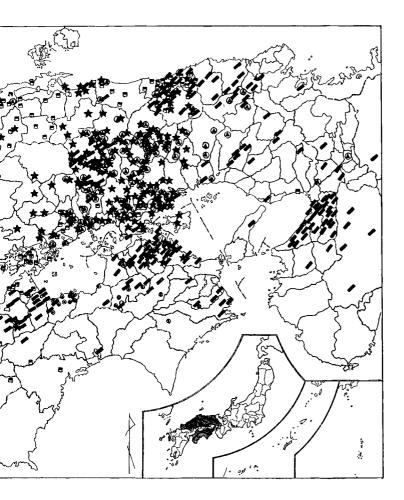
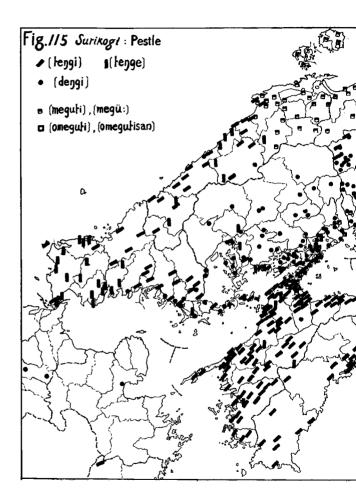
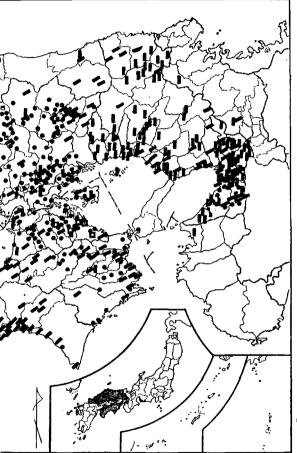


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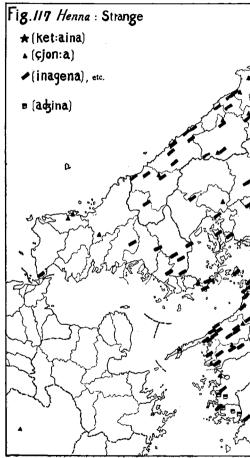
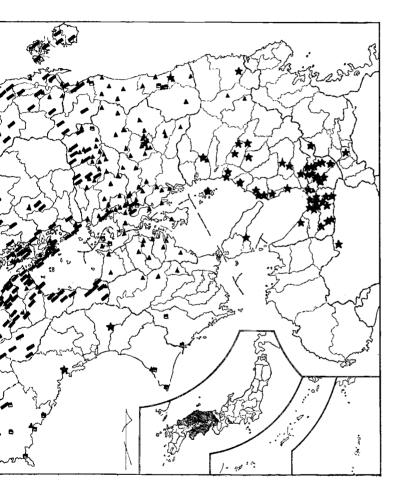
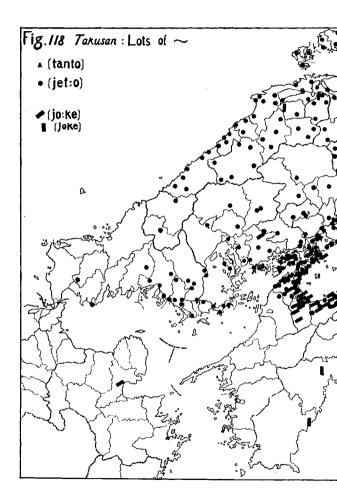
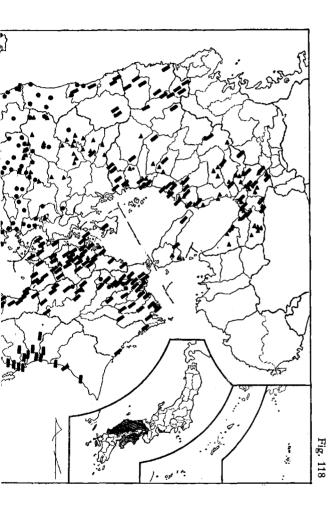
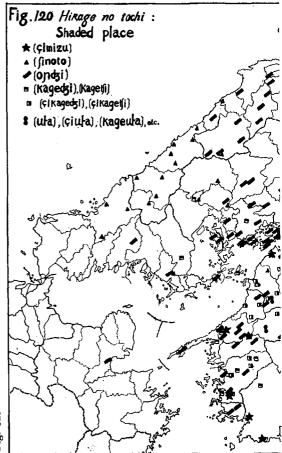


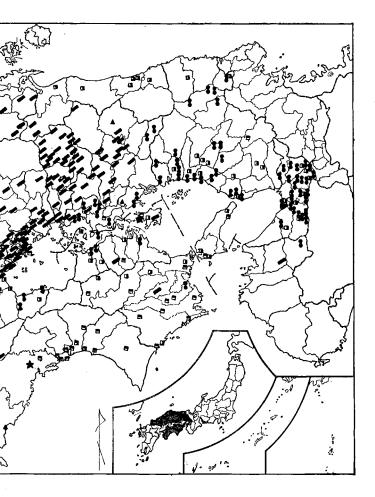
Fig. 117



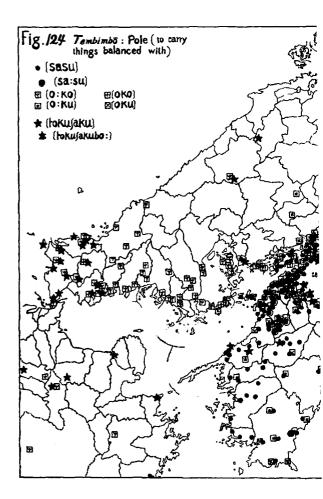


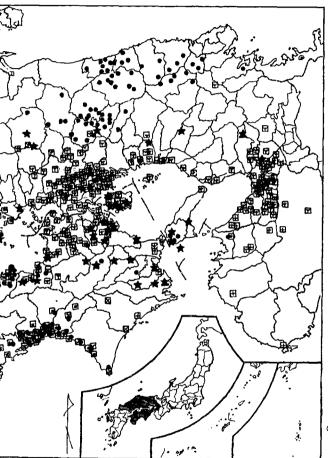


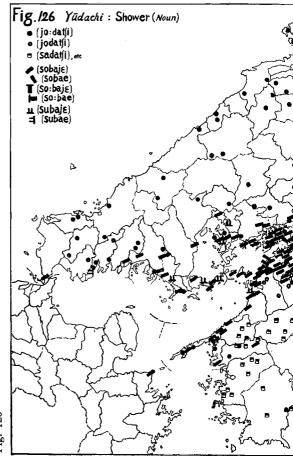




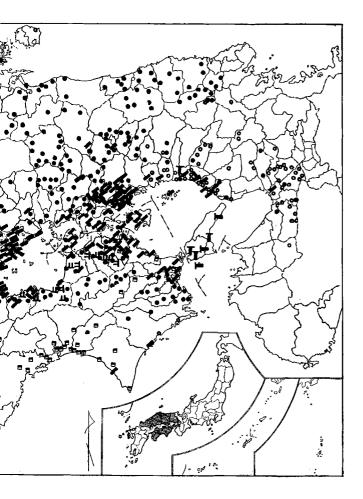
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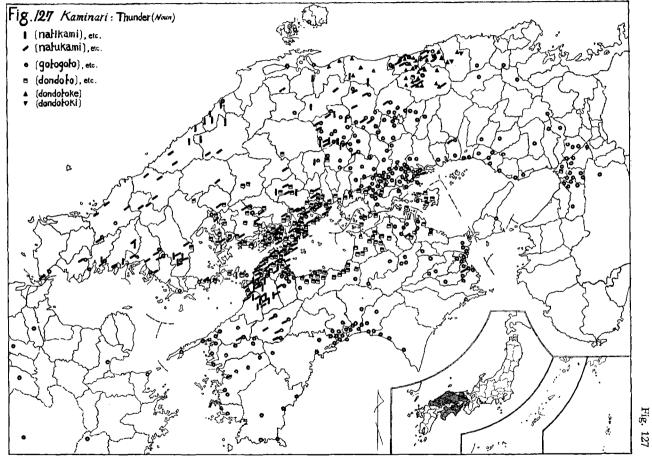




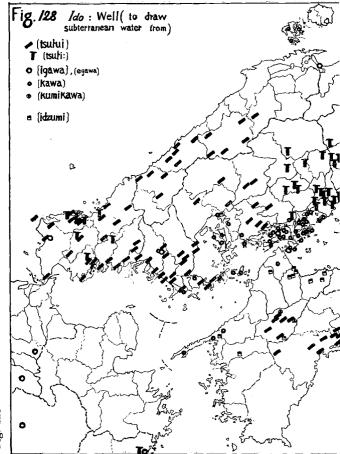


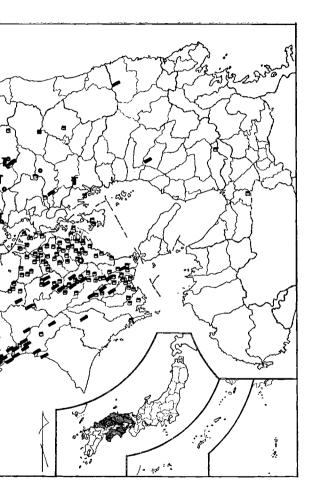


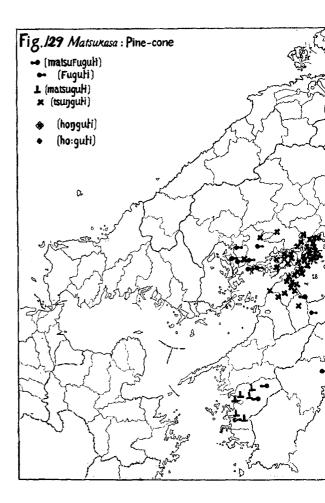


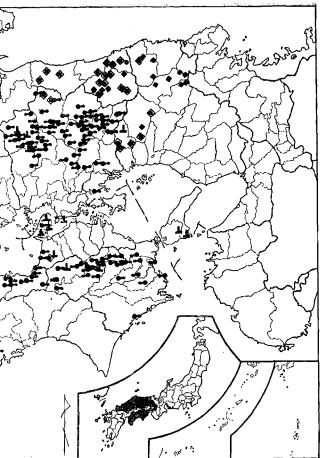


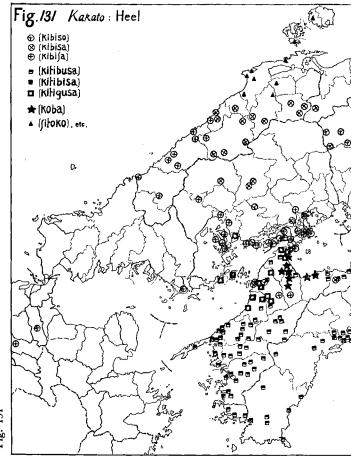
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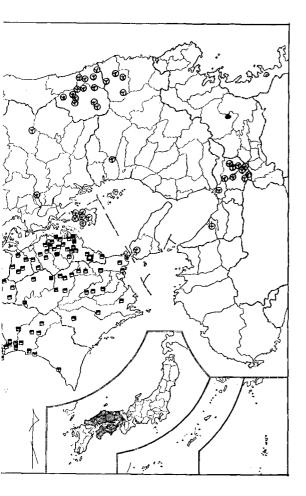


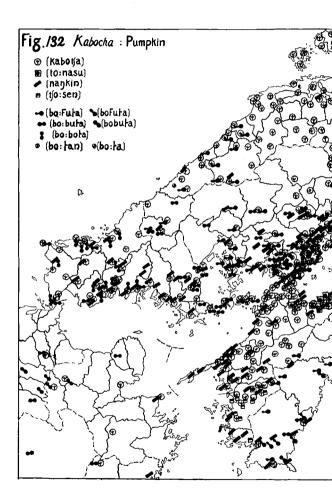


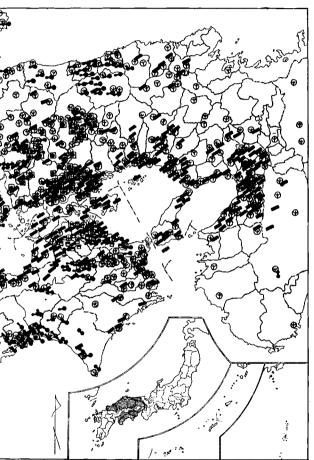












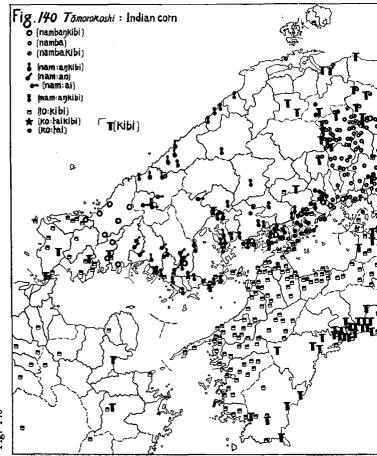
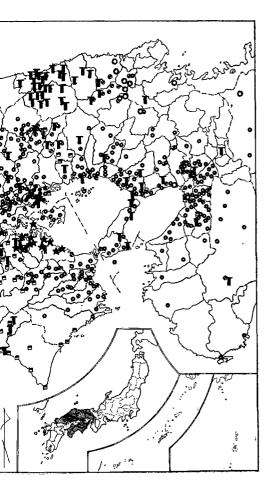
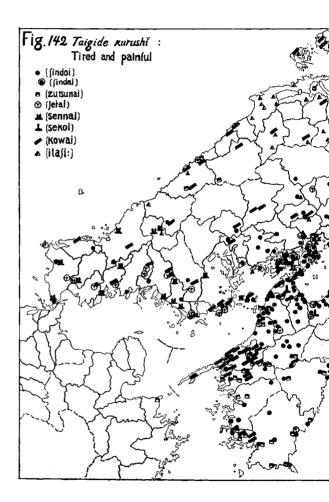
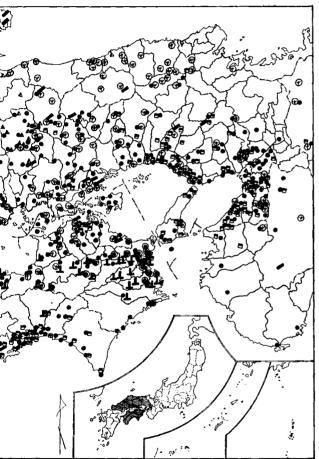
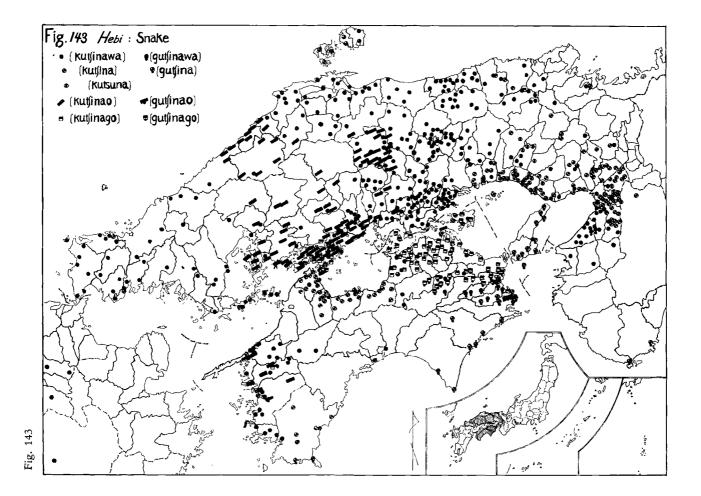


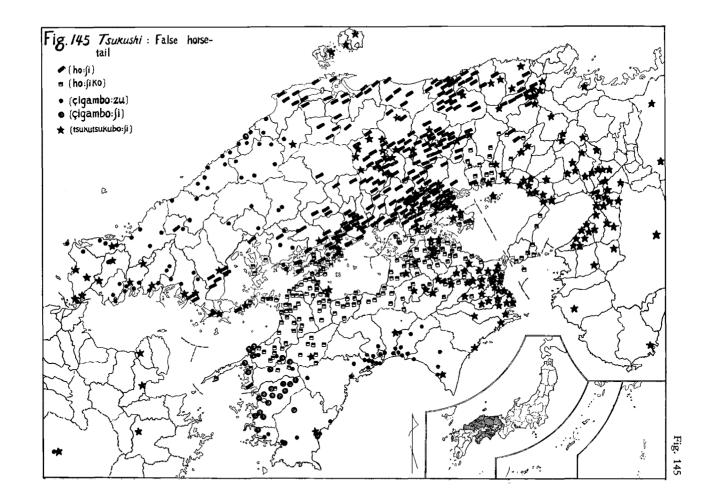
Fig. 140



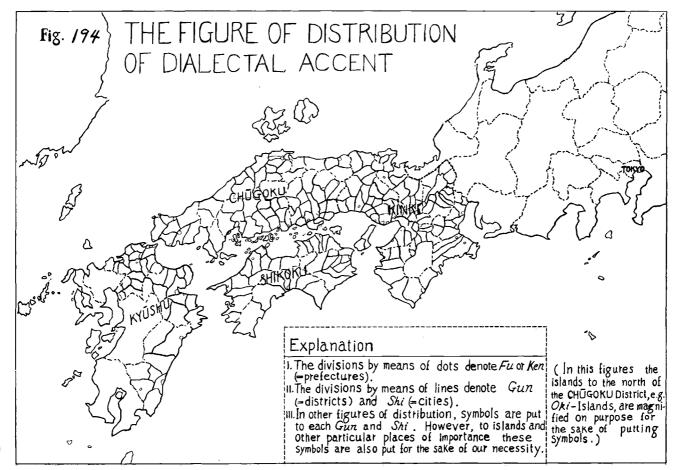


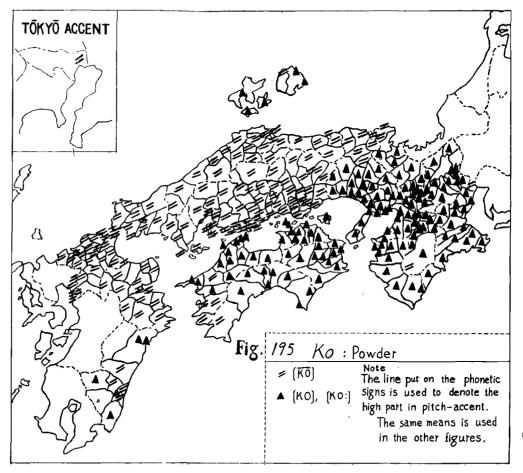




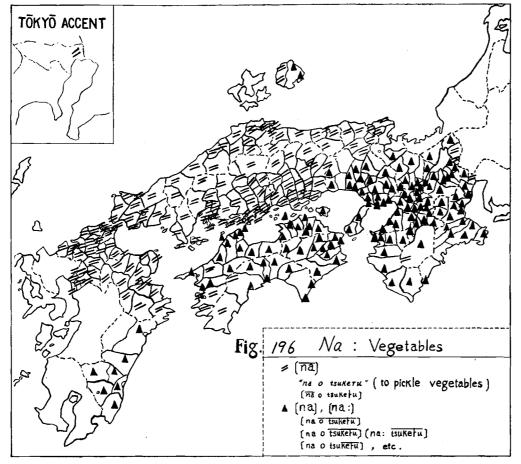


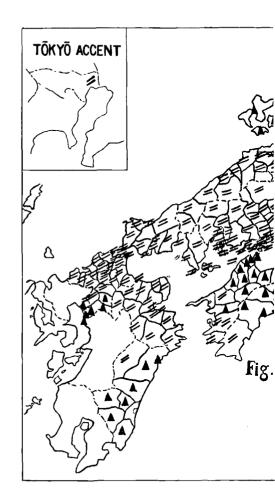
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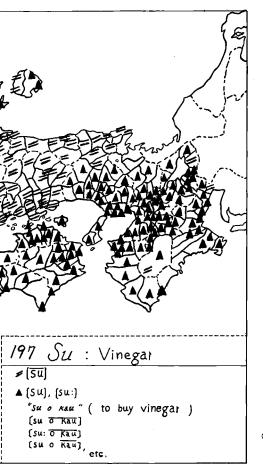
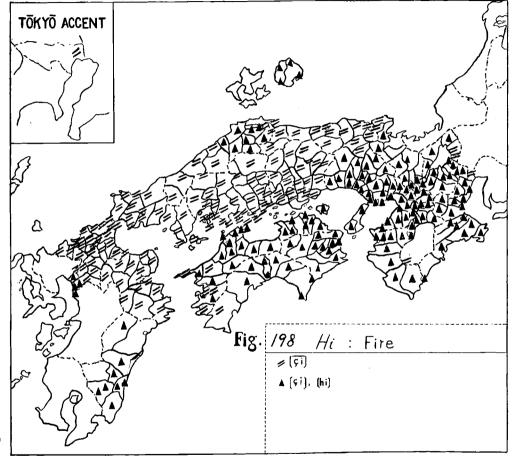
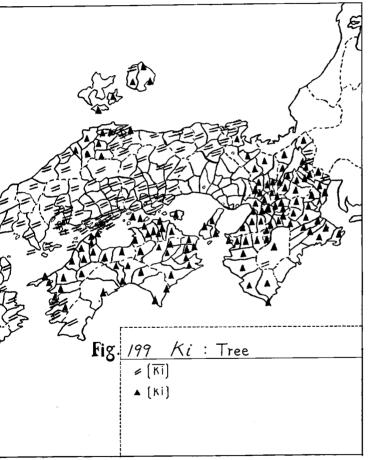


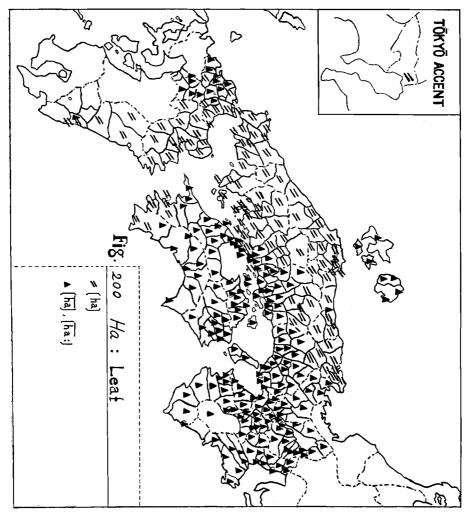
Fig. 197





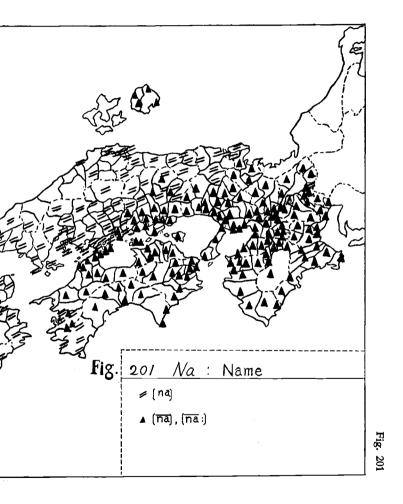


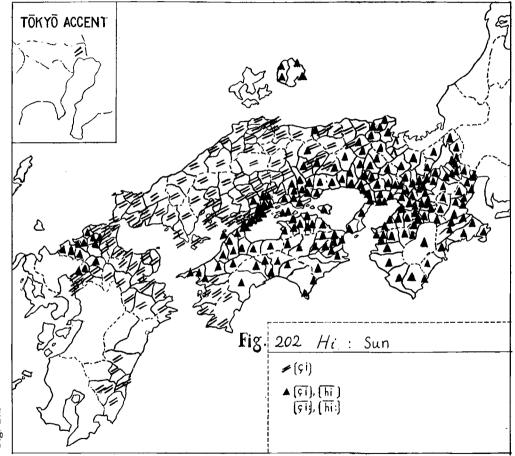






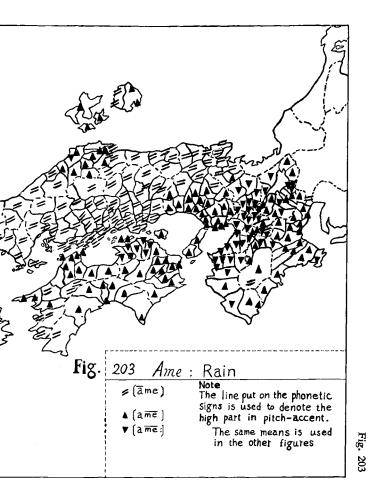
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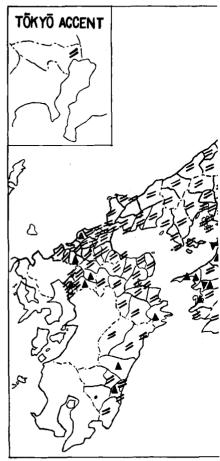
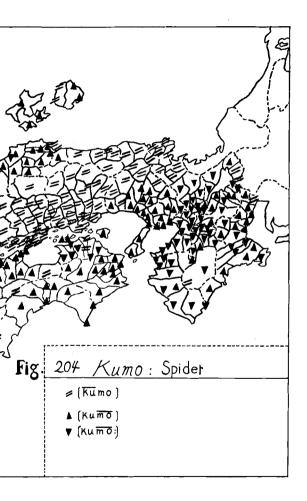
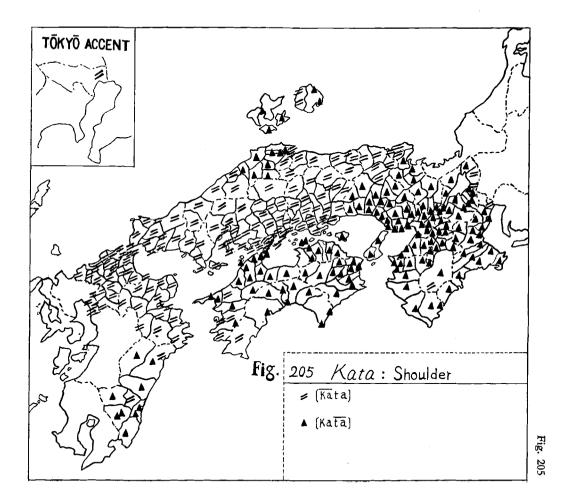


Fig. 204



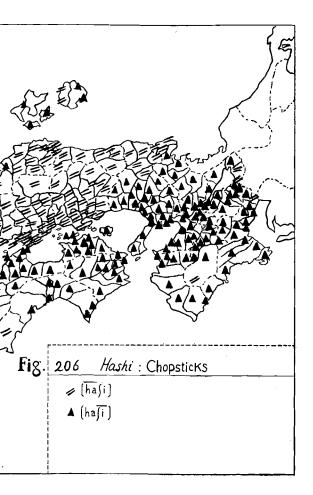


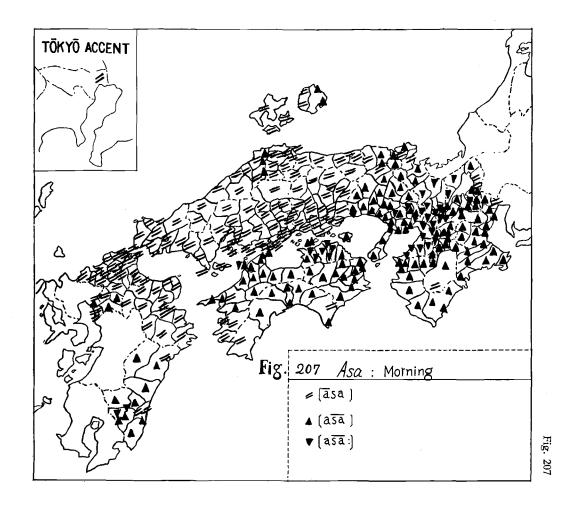
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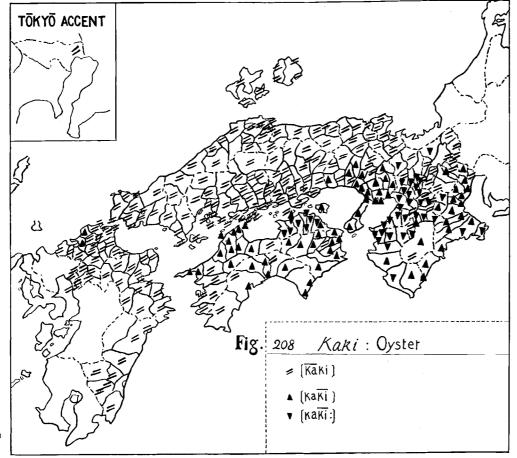




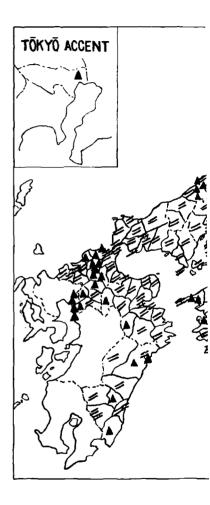


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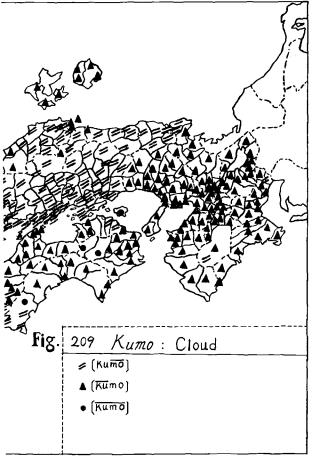


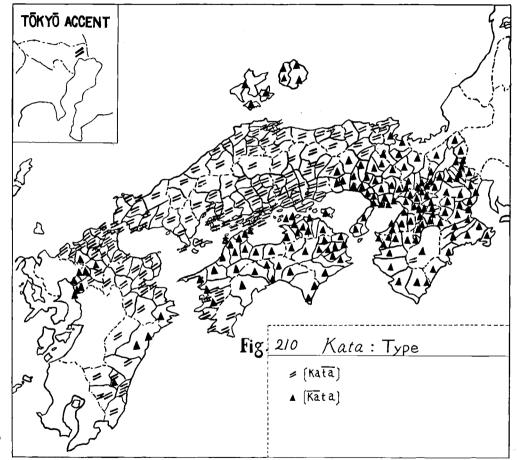
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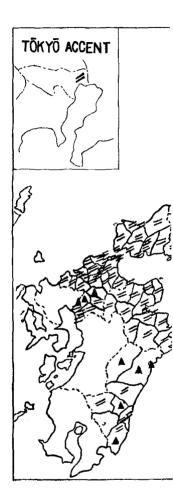
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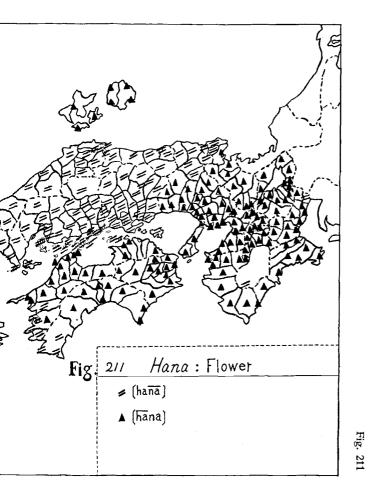
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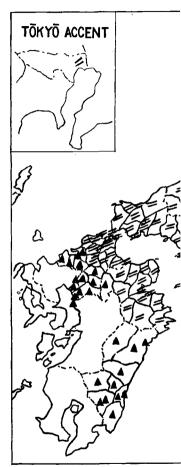


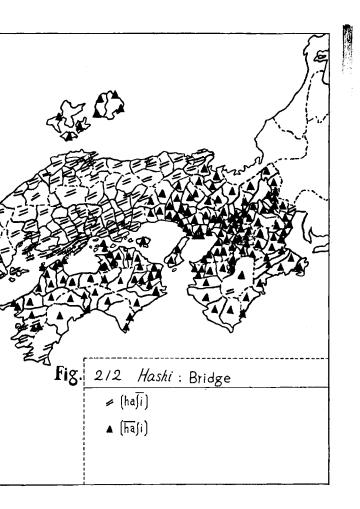


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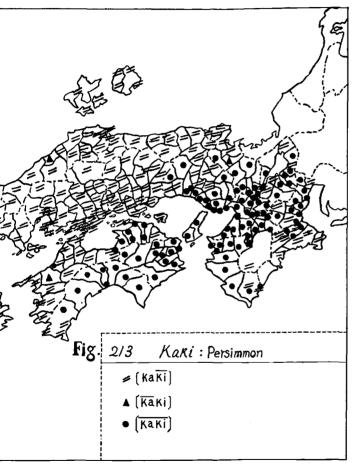


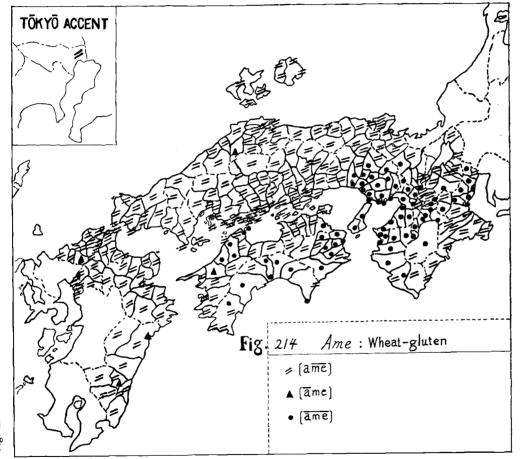


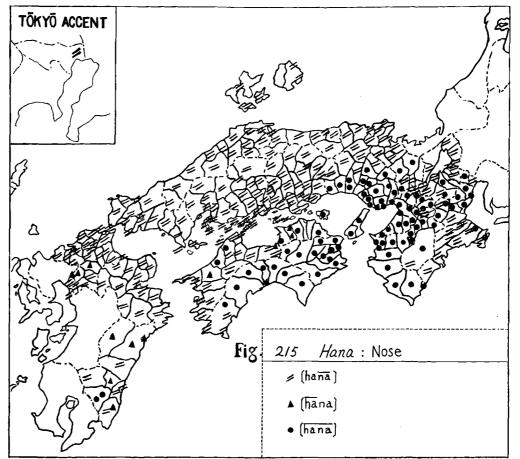




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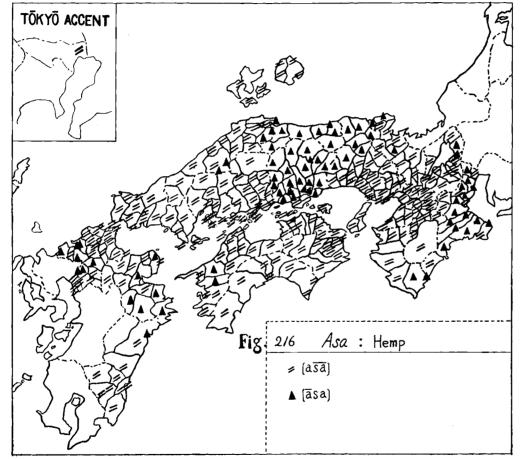






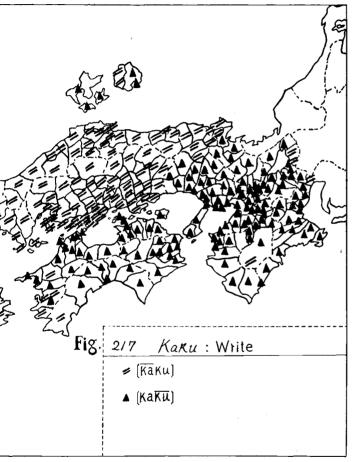
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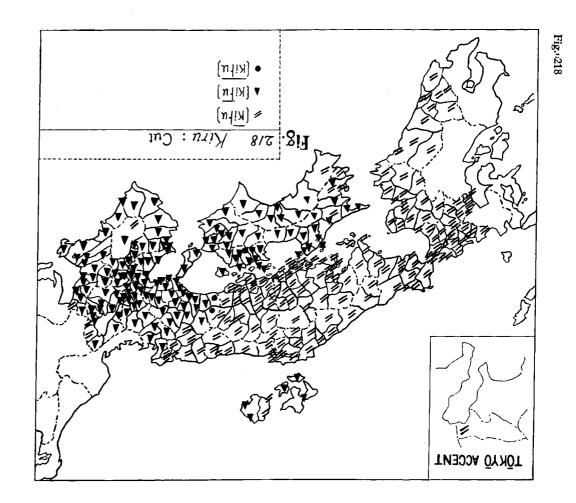
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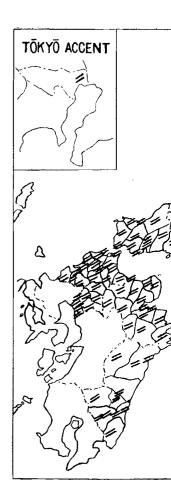


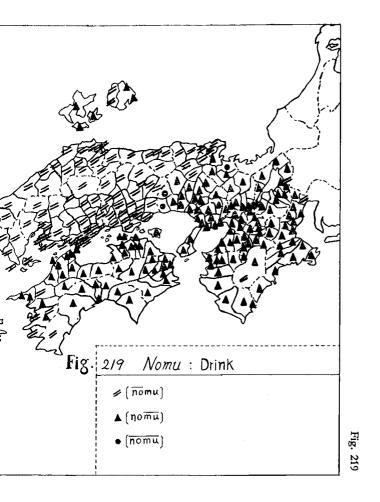
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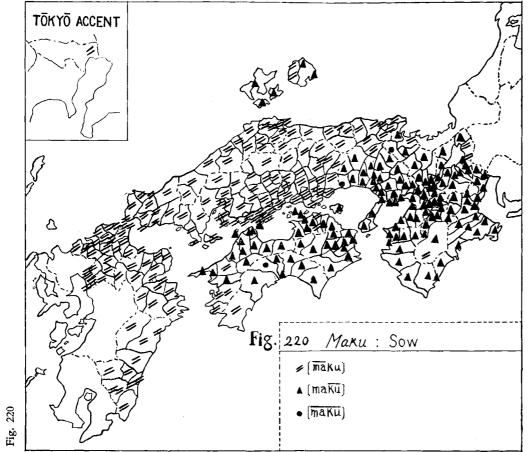




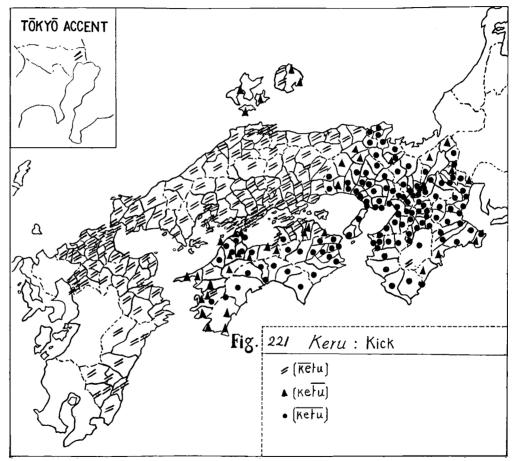




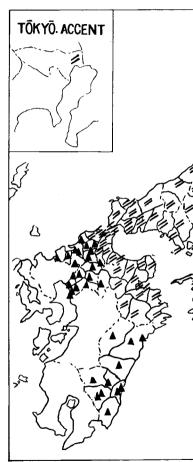


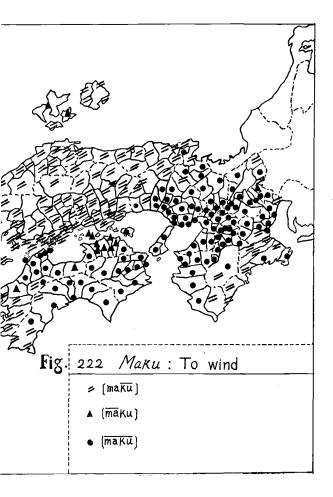


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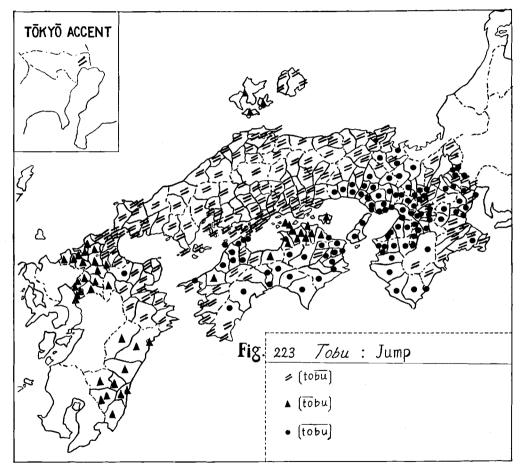


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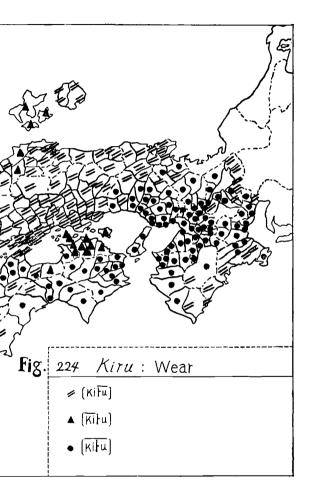


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Fig. 223

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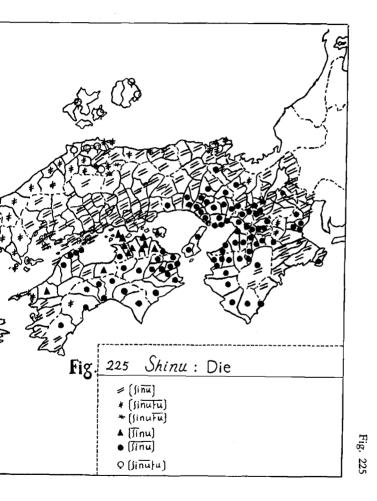




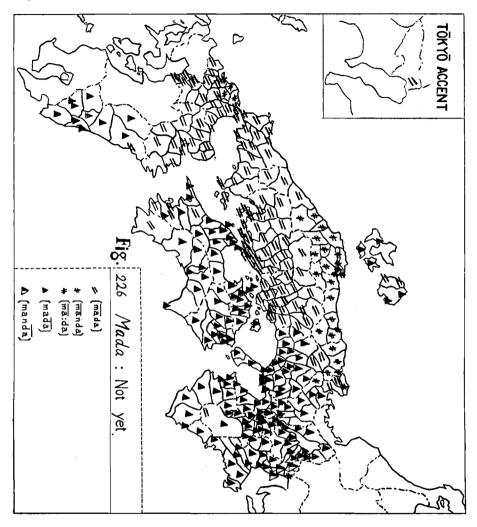
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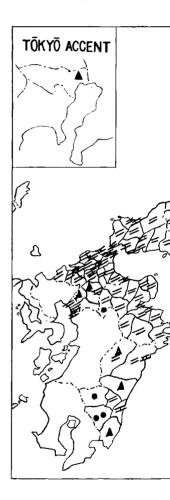


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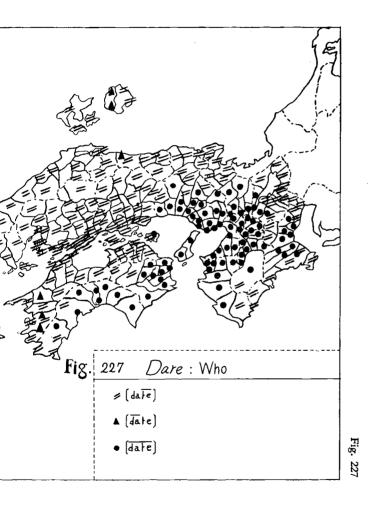




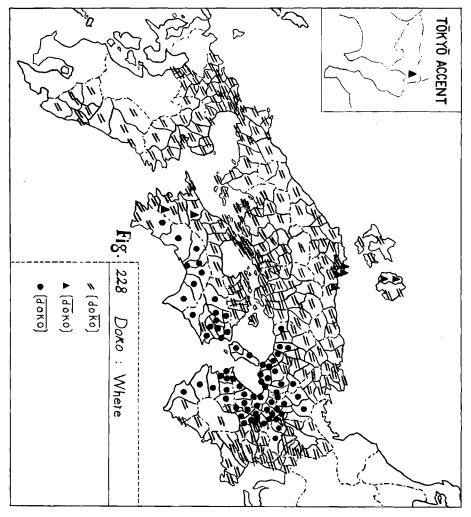




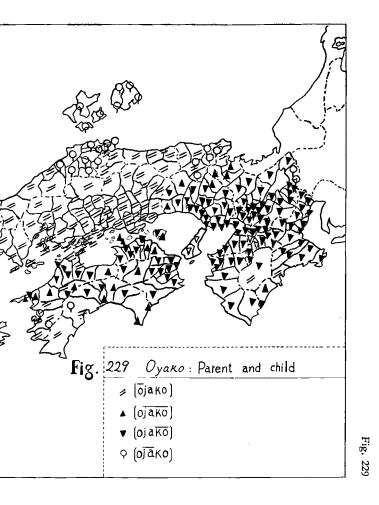
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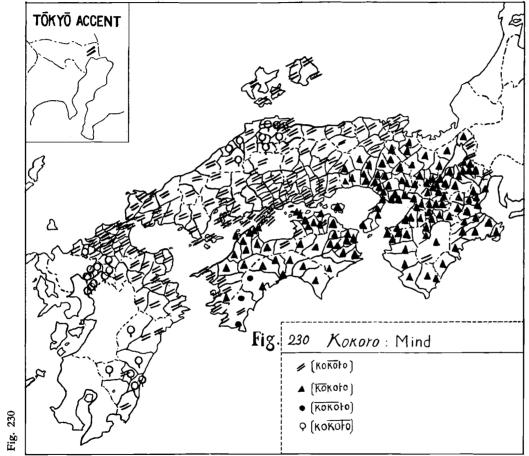






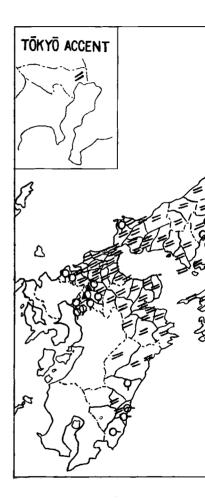


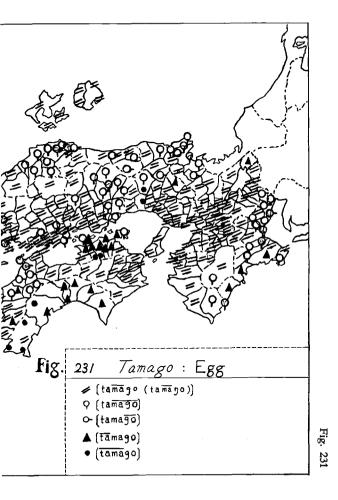


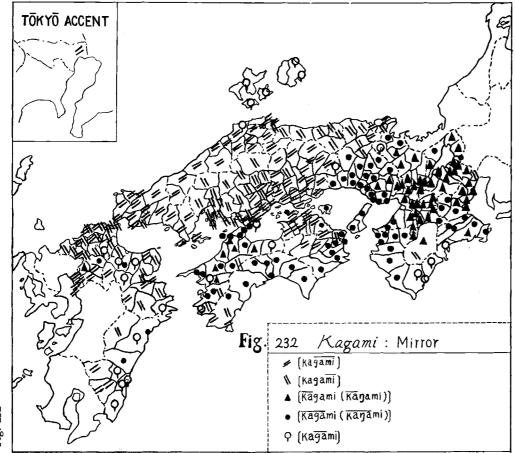


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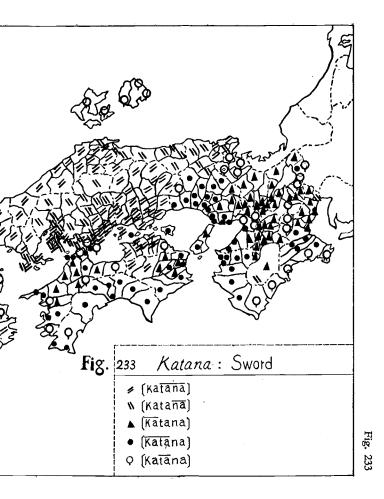
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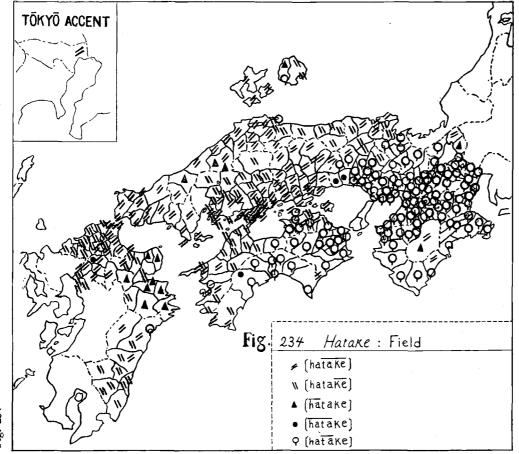






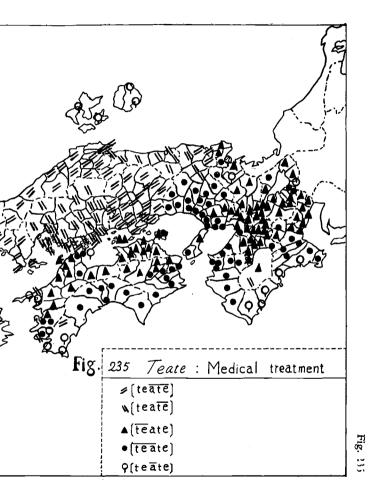






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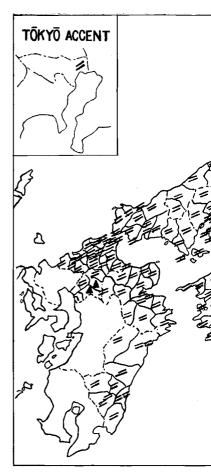
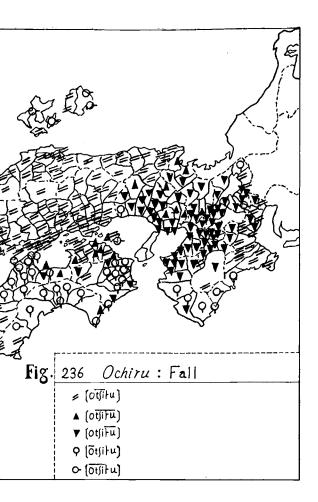
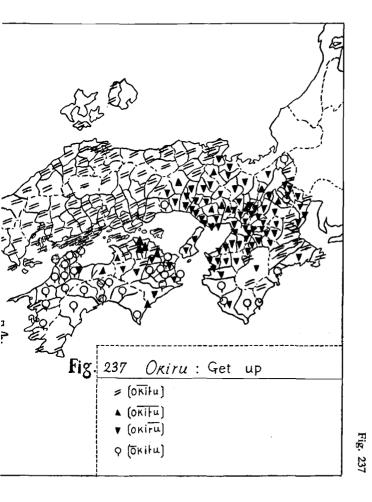


Fig. 236

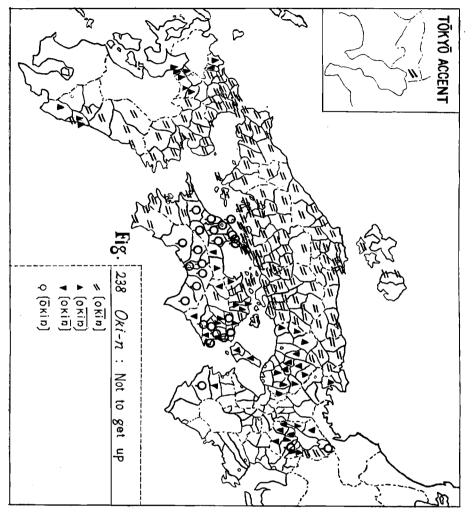


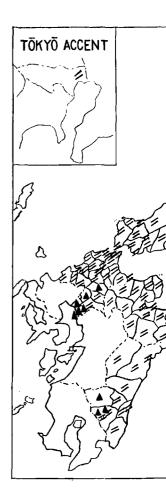


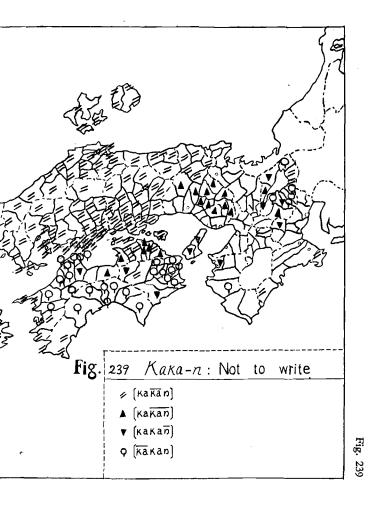
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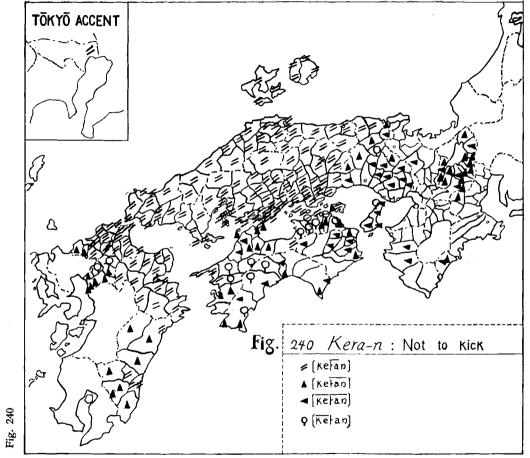


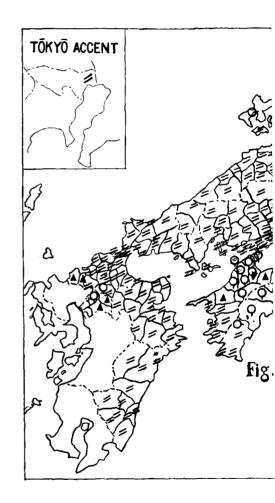


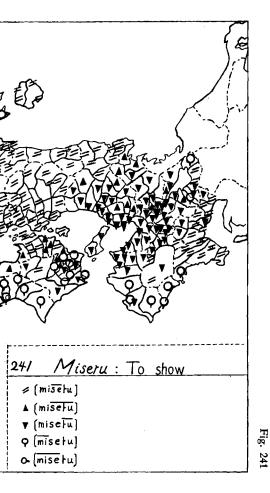


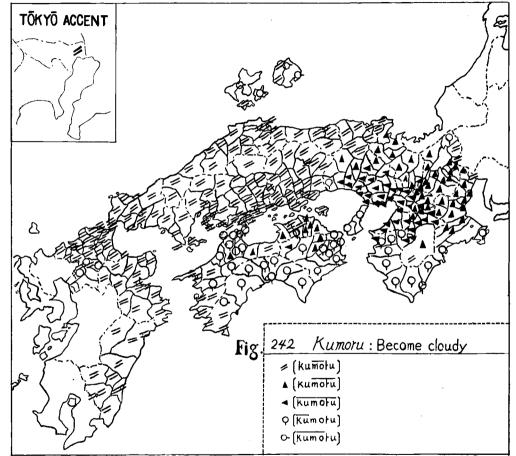








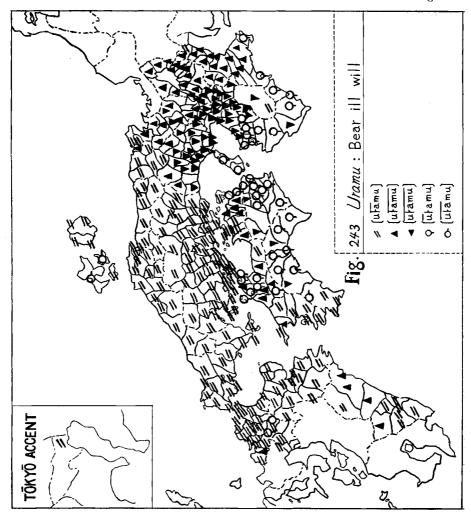


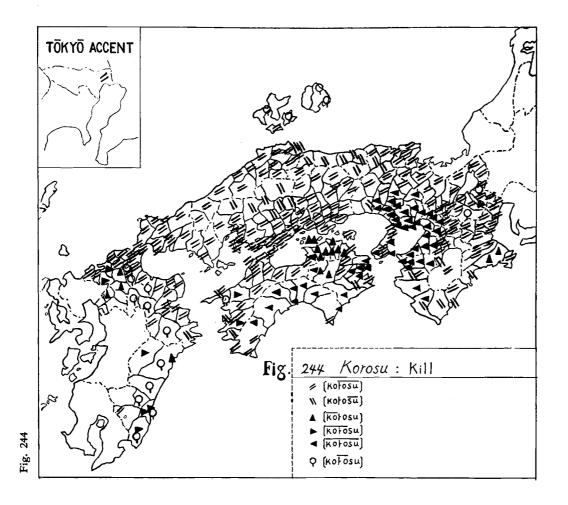


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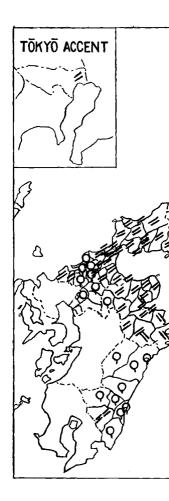
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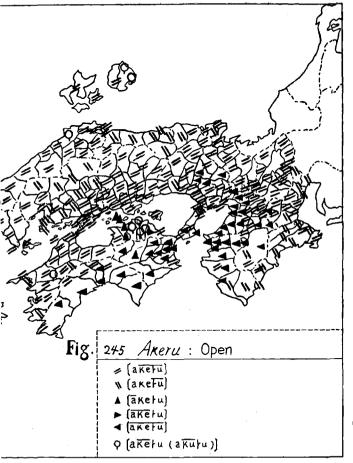
Fig. 243



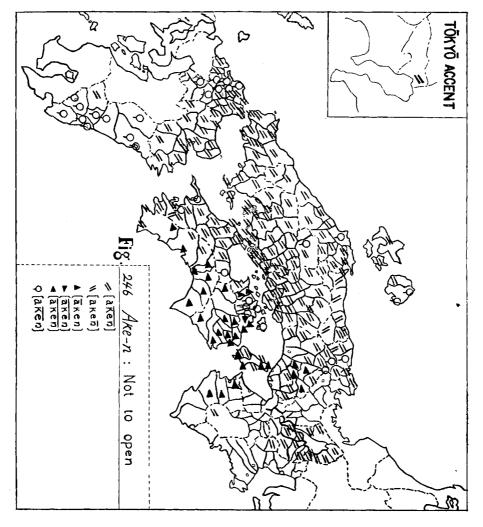


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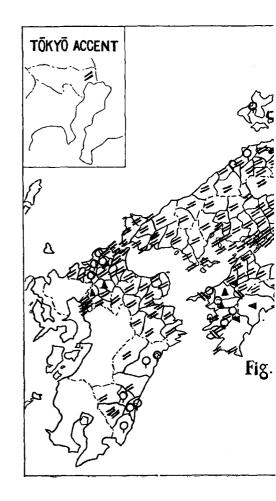












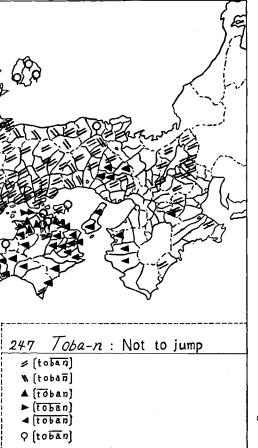
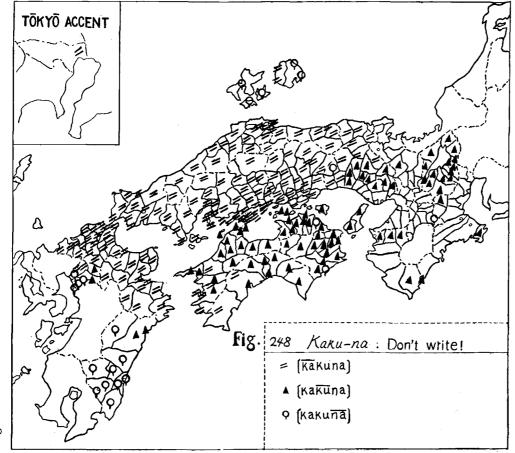
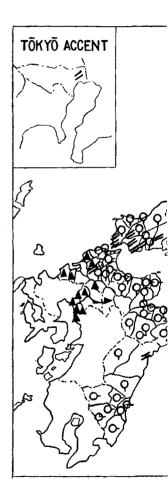
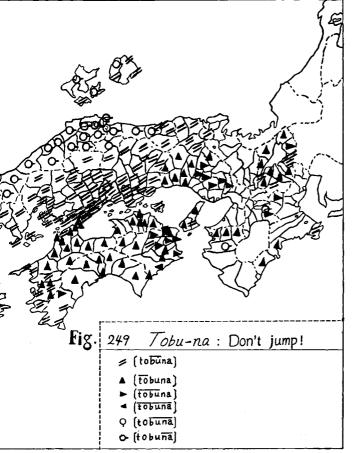
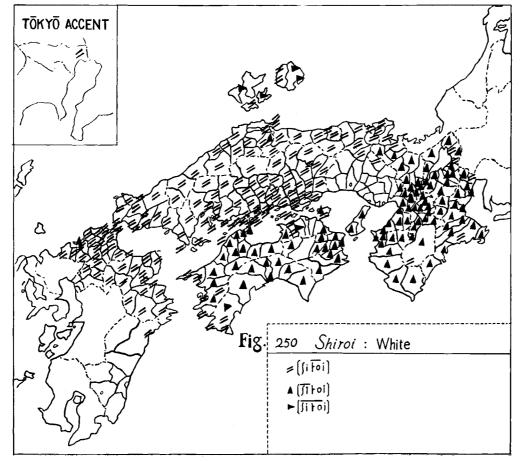


Fig. 247

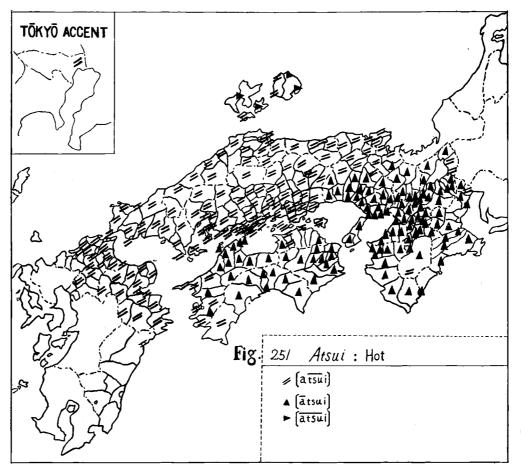






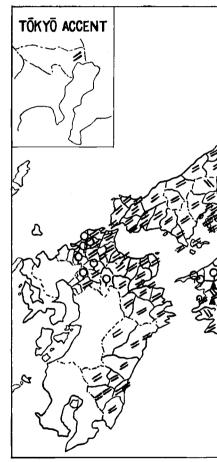


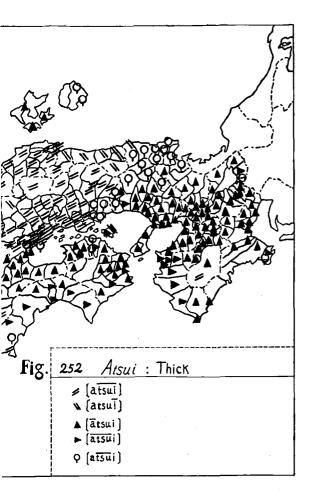
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Fig. 251





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AUTHOR'S NOTES

1. Phonetic signs are put between two slanting lines, except in Figures where they are inserted in two brackets.

2. The section beginning p. 38 and ending p. 53 contains some discrepancies in its presentation of English equivalents to the Japanese samples. This is due to the fact that many of the samples of Japanese particles and segments can be only expressed in context and not in word-equivalents when translated. See the attached list in which only the italicized portion of the English quotation does correspond to and express what the Japanese sample implies.

p. 38: Fig. 57 (drinking tea), Fig. 26 (Please teach me), Fig. 27 (I did not hear), Fig. 28 (Thank you), Fig. 29 (might have heard), Fig. 30 (Is there?), Fig. 53 (Not to use such a thing as face powder), Fig. 22 (No.), Fig. 31 (to be sleeping in bed), Fig. 32 (It has become cool.)

p. 40: Fig. 37 (to take a look at it—honorific form), Fig. 47 (I am leaving— . . .), Fig. 33 (borrowing—present participle).

p. 41: Fig. 35 (Though it is raining), Fig. 36 (as stated), Fig. 37 (to take a look at it—honorific form), Fig. 36 (greetings used during the evening), Fig. 37 (to take a look at it—honorific form.)

p. 42: Fig. 38 (Don't do that), Fig. 39 as stated, Fig. 41 as stated, Fig. 22 (No.)

p. 43: Fig. 40 as stated, Fig. 41 as stated, Fig. 53 (not to use *such a* thing as face-powder), Fig. 27 (I *did not* hear.), Fig. 54 (*Because* we must take a rest.)

p. 44: Fig. 27 (I did not hear.), Fig. 42 as stated, Fig. 37 (to take a look at it), Fig. 43 (without crying), Fig. 44 (Good morning!), Fig. 45 as stated, Fig. 28 (Thank you.)

p. 45: Fig. 24 (*The rain is falling*), Fig. 49 (to eat it *skin and all*), Fig. 58 as stated, Fig. 54 (*Because* we must take a rest), Fig. 46 as stated, Fig. 45 (So it *is*), Fig. 32 (*It has become cool*), Fig. 34 (*So it is.*), Fig. 25 (*Perhaps* it *is* a flower), Fig. 58 as stated.

p. 52: Fig. 59 (We must take a rest.), Fig. 34 (So it is.), Fig. 32 (It has become cool.), Fig. 46 as stated, Fig. 30 (Is there—?), Fig. 38 (Don't do that.), Fig. 26 (Please teach me.)

p. 53: Fig. 49 (to eat it skin and all), Fig. 20 (The rain is falling.), Fig. 32 (It has become cool.)

ERRATA (numbers after page number indicate paragraph or entry)

p. 4, 1, line 9, wrong: synchronical, right: synchronic p. 4, 1, l. 13-14, wr.: I must needs, r.: I needed p. 7, l. 4, wr.: chose, r.: choose; l. 16, wr.: chosing, r.: choosing p. 7, 1, 4, l. 3, wr.: where used, r.: were used p. 11, 1, l. 11, wr.: Shôtô, r.: Shotô; 11, c-1, l. 4, wr.: paried, r.: paired p. 12, c-2, l. 13, wr.: |ui| < |i:|, r.: ||ui| > |i:| 2. 2, c-3, l. 2, wr.: |ai|p. 16, d-1, 3, l. 2, wr.: in Kyôto, r.: with $< \alpha$: /, r.: / ai / > / α : / p. 17, l. 8, wr.: a: /, r.: / a: /; d-3, l. 5, wr.: (> / ki:tatau /), r.: Kyôto p. 18, 2.2, c-1, l. 1, wr.: pleaces, r.: places (<ki:tałau /) p. 25, 1. 8, wr.: Kawaga, r.: Kagawa p. 26, 2.2, c-1, l. 1, wr. : / jirimahen / > / fitimasen /, r.: / fitimahen / < / fitimasen / p. 26, 2. 2, c–1, l. 2, wr. : / ne:han | > | ne:san |, r.: | ne:han | < | ne:san |p. 28, 3, last line, read: (cf. p. 11). However, we must p. 30, d-2, 2, 1. 6, wr.: may, under, r.: p. 31, 1, 1. 6, wr.: through phonol., r.: by phonological may, under p. 34, second line from below, wr.: and such, r.: and the like p. 47, b, 1. 1, wr.: are, r.: area p. 49, c Fig. 53, 2, l. 2, wr.: it own, r.: its own p. 49, d, first line, wr.: Ehime., r.: Ehime p. 52, Fig. 26, l. 5, wr.: as p. 72, Fig. 110, l. 2, wr.: intercouse, r.: face-power, r.: as face-powder p. 83, 5.2 a, l. 4, wr. diachronical, r.: diachronic intercourse p. 92, 1. 7, wr.: languageis, r.: language is p. 98, l. 3, wr.: heterogenous, r.: heterogeneous; 2, l. 3, wr.: relict, r.: relic p. 99, 2, l. 2, wr.: abut, r.: p. 116, b, l. 4, wr.: contended, r.: contented; l. 16, wr.: out, r.: abuts our; c, l. 2, wr.: originations, r.: innovations p. 119, 1. 2, d, l. 4, wr. : if the words, r.: of the words p. 125, l. 8, wr. : smimilar, r. : similar; l. 12, wr.: brew upt he, r.: brew up the p. 127, 2.2 b, 1, l. 10, wr. : prodominant, r.: predominant