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Ichiro Ota and Shoji Takano

The media influence on language change in Japanese sociolinguistic contexts

1 Introduction

In this article, we will consider the influence of media on the language change that has taken place in most of the regional dialects of Japanese within the past several decades. We will critically review the results of previous studies (Section 2), demonstrate our research results which afford the possibility of a media impact on language (Section 3 and 4), and put forward a suggestion for further research in the future (Section 5). By the word 'media', we mainly have in mind those that have audio and visual (moving) images such as television or video content. We will start our discussion with what makes us believe that our language is under the influence of media in Japanese sociolinguistic contexts. Figure 1 shows the regions (in boxes) and the research sites that will be mentioned in the article, and we encourage readers to refer to this map for the locations when needed.

1.1 Standard Japanese, television Japanese, and the media

It is frequently said, perhaps everywhere that has television, that TV makes people sound the same (Chambers 1998) or that TV weakens regional dialects. Similar ideas about language change are generally shared in Japan as well, such as: "children these days only speak Standard Japanese and don't speak our dialects because of TV." Such comments indicate that regional dialects have been losing their linguistic characteristics and increasing in homogeneity *under the influence of media language falling from the sky*. In fact, we should note that there are two aspects to these comments. One is about the language change of regional dialects toward the standard variety, and the other is on a nationwide diffusion of televised language features.

The former type of language change, called *hyoojunngo-ka* or 'standardization,' represents a huge, nationwide levelling of dialects toward the standard variety.[1] There are two notions about 'the standard variety'" of Japanese. First,

1 This 'standardization' does not denote a historical process like the emergence of Standard

Figure 1: Map of Japan and the research sites.

the notion of *hyoojungo*, or Standard Japanese, which was officially established in 1916, based on the language of well-educated people in Tokyo. Second, there is a new notion, *kyootsuugo* or Common Japanese, which replaced Standard Japanese after the Second World War. This is a less prescriptive version of Standard

Japanese but rather the fact that dialects of different regions have become de-dialectized and are acquiring uniformity. We appreciate Jannis Androutsopoulos's helpful comment on this.

Japanese with an emphasis on comprehensibility among speakers with different regional backgrounds. Precisely speaking, they are different, but their distinction is not always clear; people have only vague normative ideas about them.

The standard variety is an essential linguistic device for a nation to establish the foundation of communication among people with linguistic diversity. In order to build up the regime of a modern nation, the concept of the standard variety (i. e. Standard Japanese) was first introduced into school education in Japan in the early 1900s (Lee 1996), but its impact was not significant enough to cause large transformations of dialects—the effect of education was slow and very limited (cf. Sibata 1958).[2] However, during the post-war period, from the 1950s to the 1970s, there was a rapid diffusion of the linguistic features, grammar and lexical items in particular, of the standard variety into most regional dialects. Consequently, bi-dialectalism – the co-existence of a 'standardized', or de-dialectized, regional variety and the standard variety – has emerged. This diffusion of the standard variety is generally regarded as a result of the influence of TV, because its rate and geographical range are far beyond those of face-to-face interaction.

Another type of nationwide diffusion is the rapid spread of linguistic features that are used particularly on TV. Hereinafter, we call these features Television Japanese (or TV Japanese). TV Japanese can be observed at all levels of the linguistic system, such as pitch-accent patterns (e.g. a new type of lexical accent for *kuma*, or 'bear', illustrated in Section 3), flat pitch pattern for foreign words indexing a particular meaning (e.g. 'specialist'; Inoue 1998), lexical or grammatical items (e.g. adopting dialectal features of socially dominant areas like Kansai, the area that includes Kyoto and Osaka), and intonation features (e.g. a rapid spread of *tobihane*, or "hopping", intonation in negative interrogatives in Tanaka 2010). These may be originally local features, but once they are picked up by the mass media their rate of diffusion is extraordinarily fast. For example, the hopping intonation, which was originally used in the Tokyo area in the early 1990s (Tanaka 2010), started appearing 'on air' around the late 1990s or early 2000s, and it took only a few years for young people in Kagoshima (almost 1,400 kilometres away from Tokyo) to start using this feature. These are clearly 'off-the-shelf' types of changes (Eckert 2008; Milroy 2007), and, when they are linguistically salient, people are well conscious that they are adopted from TV (cf. Trudgill 1986).

2 Sibata's (1958) report gives us an intriguing example of how poor a command of the Standard Japanese that primary school pupils had in a rural area of Kagoshima in the mid-1950s, which is the time before the advent of TV. He describes their standard variety as 'dried,' – i. e. there is no liveliness in it.

1.2 Is the media impact a sociolinguistic myth in Japan?

These nationwide linguistic changes took place after the arrival and during the proliferation of TV at an extraordinary speed, so most people simply ascribe these changes to this broadcasting media. The period of the rapid proliferation of TV also coincides with the large scale social change after the Second World War. TV broadcasting in Japan started in 1953, and TV ownership began to increase explosively around 1960, reaching the highest percentage in 1970 (see Fig. 2). During this period, the establishment of the new social system was almost completed, and the economy had fully recovered from the damage of the war, which made people much more geographically mobile for business, commuting, migration, etc. As a consequence, these changes of social conditions helped to promote dialect contact (Trudgill 1986).

Despite these changes, Takesi Sibata, who founded the study of Japanese sociolinguistics and left a massive amount of insightful achievements, argued (1978a, 1998) that dialect contact is the major reason for standardization of regional dialects. Although the broadcasting media – TV and radio – could present *real*, or animate, examples of the speech of the standard variety, Sibata hesitated to approve of the influence of media on standardization.[3]

Sibata's reluctance probably comes from the results of research studies conducted by the National Institute for Japanese Language (NIJL), the predecessor of the National Institute of Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL), in 1950 and 1971. The research groups could not find a clear correlation between the use of the standard forms and the time spent watching TV, as claimed by Western sociolinguists (cf. Chambers 1998).

However, there are quite a few scholars who assume the influence of TV on language. For example, Kuno (1999: 63), a Japanese dialectologist, makes the following comment about the influence of TV on young people.

> They [i.e. young people] live their lives under the strong influence of the standard variety from the time of their birth because the standard variety is available to them everywhere *through TV or any other media* and in everyday interaction.
>
> (Our translation and emphasis)

3 According to Takehiro Shioda (personal communication), an academic researcher at the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, Sibata himself seemed to believe in the media influence on standardization at least to some extent. Although he could not give a decisive comment on the impact of media because the researches of the former NINJAL focused just on people's *command* of the standard variety, not on their comprehension ability (Sibata 1978b), he seemed to be sure that media language is somewhat relevant to language change.

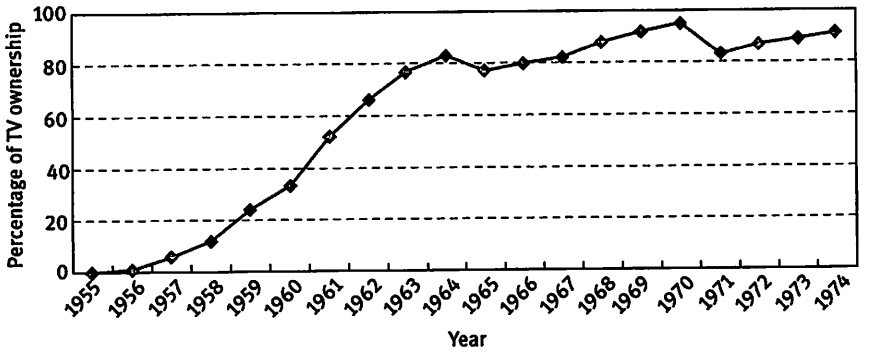

Figure 2: The spread of television in Japanese households (Ono 1993: 57)

Here, he makes a special mention of TV, implying that TV is one of the key factors of standardization. Similar views have been tacitly accepted among Japanese dialectologists and are prevalent in the literatures on language standardization and language change. But this kind of view is generally presented merely as an assumption or premise, and hardly any effort has been made to establish a further, reliable confirmation. Therefore, the impact of the media on Japanese dialects is still an open sociolinguistic question.

Actually, there are some linguistic reports that mention the impact of media (Mase 1981, 1996; National Institute for Japanese Language 1953, 1974, 2007; Ono 1993; see Section 2). Although they are not as theoretically and methodologically elaborated as the Glasgow Media Project (Stuart-Smith 2011, 2012; Stuart-Smith et al. 2013), they are suggestive enough to assure us that the media *is* closely related to language change in some way. Thus, we will review the results of these studies in the following section and see what can be said about the media impact on Japanese language.

2 Evidence from survey results: The apparent-time paradigm and the real-time paradigm

Surveys of language change are generally categorized into two types: apparent-time studies and real-time studies. The former provides a whole picture of the linguistic condition of a speech community with a synchronic perspective. In the latter paradigm, we can follow what *really* happened to the language with a comparison between the present and the past. Theoretically, they are not opposed but rather complementary to each other, and if we had research results in both paradigms they could give us the best illustration of how our language has been

influenced by the media. Here we will review some prior studies done by three authors, Mase (1981, 1996), Ono (1993), and NIJL (1953, 1974, 2007). While the most examples that we will cite from Mase's and Ono's reports (in 2.1) are presented mainly in the apparent-time paradigm, the reports of NIJL provide empirical evidence in the real-time paradigm. With the evidence of these reports, it would be not unreasonable to claim that the broadcasting media can be an influential factor on language of a local community.

2.1 Surveys of Yoshio Mase and Yoneichi Ono

2.1.1 Accentual change surveys of Mase (1981, 1996)

Mase (1981, 1996) is the only report so far that has directly addressed the theme of TV's influence on Japanese language. He tried to show the evidence of its influence not only by following the course of standardization of lexical accents in the apparent-time paradigm, but also by referring to the result of his own previous research done at the same site with a real-time perspective. His report, which is based on the research in 1978 and 1979, does not use any concept of contemporary sociolinguistics in the West, but he develops a careful and elaborated discussion comparable with that of current variation theory.

2.1.2 The pitch-accent system of Japanese dialects

Before going into the details, it would be helpful to introduce the basics of the pitch-accent system of Japanese. According to Shibatani (1990), in the Japanese accentual system, the arrangement of tones for a word is lexically specified. For example, two-mora words with the same phonemic sets can be distinguished by their tone structures.

ame (LH) 'candy'
ame (HL) 'rain'
(Shibatani 1990: 177)

There are some types of accentual systems in Japanese dialects. One is the Tokyo type, which has *n* (the number of tone units) + *1* patterns and one basic tone melody, H (or high) tone; for a word with three tone units, it has four patterns, with the high tone as its basic tone, as shown in Table 1.

Except for the last one, the other three patterns have an 'accent', or a pitch fall, within the accent domain, consisting, for example, of a noun and a case-marking particle. These types are called *accented*. On the other hand, if there is no pitch

Pattern	Word (+ case-marking particle)	Tone	Meaning
Initial fall	*karasu(-ga)*	HLL(+L)	crow (-NOM)
Mid fall	*kokoro(-ga)*	LHL(+L)	mind (-NOM)
End fall	*otoko(-ga)*	LHH(+L)	man (-NOM)
No Fall (or Flat)	*sakura(-ga)*	LHH(+H)	cherry (-NOM)

Table 1. Accent patterns of Tokyo Japanese for three-mora words

fall, as in ki.TSU.NE (LHH) ('fox') or with a pitch rise at the final tone unit, as in ki.tsu.NE (LLH) in some dialects, the type is called *unaccented*.

The Keihan accent, mainly spoken in the Osaka and Kyoto areas, also has *n + 1* patterns, but there are two basic tone melodies, one beginning with the H (high) tone and the other with the L (low) tone. All words can be divided into 'accented' or 'unaccented' in the Tokyo- and Kansai-type systems.

In addition, there is another type of dialect with no distinction of tone arrangement. This is called the accentless type dialect, which is mainly found in northern Kanto, southern Tohoku, and Kyushu. People with this accent type are generally not very sensitive to accentual differences. We will see this type of dialect in Section 2.1.4.

2.1.3 Standardization of a Tokyo type accent area, Odagiri, Nagano

Mase (1981) assumes that, on the condition that people grow up with TV by the end of the linguistically critical period, it would be possible that the language from TV could be more influential than other varieties available to them. His reasoning is based on the cause-and-effect logic that is generally employed in the theoretical model in the variation theory, although he merely reports the research outcomes without any variationist-type statistical confirmation. However, the results are convincing enough to provide evidence that TV language has had an influence on standardization of dialects in his research areas, Odagiri and Sakurae-cho in Nagano (this section), and Ikawa in Shizuoka (2.1.4).

First, we will look at the results of the studies performed at two sites of Nagano City. Odagiri used to be a small village, but now it is a suburban area of the city. The research there was carried out in 1978. The other research site is Sakurae-cho, an inner-city area, and its research was carried out in 1979. These two areas had the Tokyo-type accentual system, but the accentual patterns for lexical items were not always identical (see Table 2). Since Mase had done studies in both areas once before in 1961, he chose them again to see whether his argu-

ment in the 1961 research, which appeared in his 1965 paper, was still valid by employing the real-time paradigm.

The participants' responses were elicited by a word-reading task only, and they were classified on the basis of their accent patterns.[4] Figures 3 and 4 show the scores of Common Japanese and TV Japanese, which demonstrate how the accentual change progressed in the apparent-time paradigm. As a whole, younger groups achieved higher scores for both varieties. In particular, there are big leaps of the scores for both areas in the groups born between 1946–1957 and after 1958. They are exactly the groups who have grown up with TV during the period of first language acquisition. Therefore, it is conceivable that they were able to access the language broadcasted on TV as a source of linguistic input.

Mase (1981) assumed that there were the three potential factors which would impact heavily on a child's acquisition of lexical accent: the local dialect, the prestigious dialect of a neighbouring city, and TV language. Among them, he hypothesized that the media language was more influential than a prestigious dialect of a neighbouring area (and probably their own local dialect as well). His conclusion in the 1965 study was that the standardization of accent observed among the younger generation of Odagiri was imported from its urban (i. e. socially prestigious) area, Sakurae-cho. This means that the language of the urban area functions as the key factor for language change (standardization in this case) in surrounding areas. However, Mase surmised that, considering the quick spread of TV in the 1960s, as shown in Fig. 2, TV could be a more powerful promoting force of language change.

Word	Accent Patterns	JuniorHigh Students in Odagiri (%)		JuniorHigh Students in Sakurae-cho (%)	
		1978	1961	1978	1961
awa-ga 'bubble-NOM'	LH + L (older pattern in Odagiri)	96.5	33.3	78.1	11.4
	HL+ L	3.5	66.7	21.9	88.6

Table 2: Accentual change of junior-high students in two residential areas of Nagano (Mase 1981)

4 There is no detailed description of the research method in Mase (1981), but one of his former students, Yasue Nakato, kindly informed us about it. The source of the information is Mase himself (Nakato, personal communication).

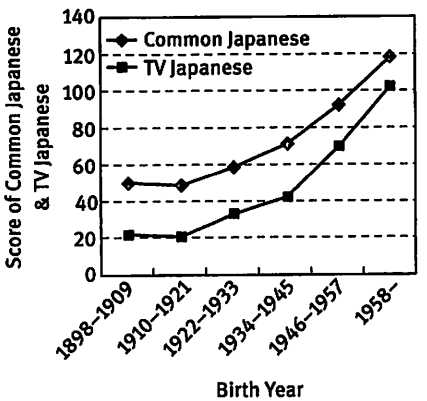

Figure 3: The Common Japanese and TV Japanese scores for Odagiri in 1978 (the full score is 182) (Mase 1996: 17)

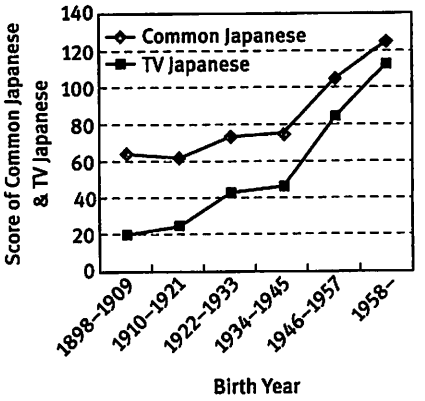

Figure 4: The Common Japanese and TV Japanese scores for Sakurae-cho in 1979 (the full score is 182) (Mase 1996: 17)

He compared the degree of standardization of lexical accent in these two areas. If the language of the urban area is still influential as a desirable model of language change for surrounding areas, as Mase (1965) concluded, Sakurae-cho, the urban area, should be ahead of Odagiri in its scores for the standard or Common Japanese accents. However, the 1981 result showed that, with respect to junior high students' adoption of the Common Japanese accents, Odagiri *was* ahead in some lexical items. For example, as shown in Table 2, the accent pattern of *awa-ga* 'bubble-NOM' in Odagiri used to be a.WA + ga (LH+L, 33.3 % in 1961). Considering the fact that this is the very pattern that 100 % in 1961 and 75 % in 1978 of the older generation produced, this accent not only is identical with Common Japanese, but it was also once the local pattern. However, the youngest generation (the primary and secondary school pupils) in 1961 seemed to move toward the local prestigious type, A.wa + ga (HL+L, 66.7 %), which was the pattern of Sakurae-cho. The year of 1961 is in the pre-TV age. The standard forms of lexical accents were unlikely to be available for people living in a rural area, so that younger people seem to have been attracted to the prestigious, or perhaps stylish, urban accent. About 20 years later, the younger generation of the 1978 research came back to the LH + L pattern (96.5 %) which was likely to be frequently heard on TV broadcast as an accent pattern of the standard variety. On the other hand, the percentage of Sakurae-cho is behind (88.6 %). Therefore, this result indicates that TV language became more influential than a neighbouring prestigious dialect in the late 1970s. This will be the presumptive evidence to support our claim for media influence on language change.

2.1.4 Standardization in an accentless area, Ikawa, Shizuoka

The research in Ikawa, a rural area of Shizuoka City, was done in 1980. It is a small, isolated village at the foot of the Southern Japanese Alps. The distance from the city centre of Shizuoka is only about 55 kilometres, but, considering its geographical location, surrounded by mountains and with insufficient public transportation services, it is difficult to imagine that people would have had frequent interactions outside the village that could have led to dialect contact situations.

The traditional accentual system of the Ikawa dialect was the accentless type. However, the big leap of the Common Japanese score in Figure 5 demonstrates that the younger generation have acquired the Common Japanese type of accentual system, despite the fact that they scarcely had contact outside the village. The people born around 1960 could have had a TV set in their households since or shortly after their birth, which leads us to presume that they may well have been under the influence of TV during the period of their language acquisition.

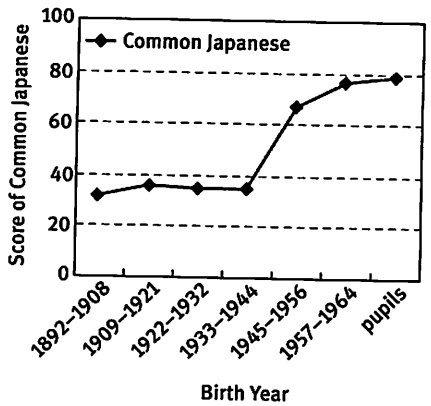

Figure 5: The Common Japanese score for Ikawa in 1980 (the full score is 96) (Mase 1996: 19)

There is no doubt that dialect contact in interaction is one of the major forces of language change. However, Mase turns down this possibility for the case of Ikawa because the Common Japanese score of the older (pre-TV) generation is much smaller, even if they had experiences of living in other places. In spite of the fact that they had had more chances of dialect contact than the younger generation, this group had not acquired the Common Japanese accents properly. In addition, the Common Japanese scores of the younger generation, including pupils with fewer experiences of living outside of the village, are higher than those of other surrounding areas with the Tokyo-type (i. e. the same as Common Japanese) accent system (Mase 1981: 16). Therefore, it would be reasonable to regard media language as the most likely driving force behind this language change. Mase

(1996) calls for more comprehensive, interdisciplinary research on the relationship between language change and the media, but we have not yet seen such a report here in Japan.

2.1.5 Standardization of lexical accent in Sapporo, Hokkaido

Ono (1993) investigated the standardization of Sapporo Japanese based on random sampling of 128 inhabitants from eight age cohorts. All of his data were derived from the tasks of reading aloud a number of carefully constructed sentences as well as a few longer passages. Although this is a study in progress, Ono (1993) discusses synchronic variation in accentual patterns of nouns across generations.

The accentual patterns of Hokkaido (Sapporo) Japanese belong to the Tokyo type. Two-mora nouns, which have been a common focus of prior studies, can be classified into the five types (in conjunction with tones aligned to the immediately following case-marking particles such as the nominal *-ga*) shown in Table 3.

	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV	Type V
Tokyo	LH + H	*LH + L*	LH + L	*HL + L*	*HL + L*
Hokkaido	LH + H	*LH + H*	LH + L	*HL^N + L, LH^W + L*	*HL^N + L, LH^W + L*

Table 3. Comparisons between Tokyo and Hokkaido Japanese accentual patterns (two-mora nouns)

The table indicates the tonal discrepancies (italicized) between Tokyo and Hokkaido Japanese in Types II (e.g. *kami-ga* 'paper-NOM'), IV and V accentual patterns. Types IV and V accent patterns in Hokkaido Japanese are not constrained systematically by the typology of nouns per se but by the kinds of vowels in the second mora: if it is narrow vowels (i, u), the accent pattern is identical to the Tokyo type, HL^N + L (e.g. *hashi-ga* 'chopsticks-NOM'), and if it is open vowels (a, e, o), it follows the different pattern, LH^W + L (e.g., *sora-ga* 'sky-NOM').

Figure 6 demonstrates that the generation of speakers who were born during the period 1951–1960 began to shift drastically toward the Common Japanese accent patterns with respect to all of these three accent types, and this trend increased steadily with the succeeding generations.

Ono (1993) argues for the linguistic effects of television as a potential cause of this large-scale standardization of Hokkaido Japanese. As we can infer from Fig. 6, the generation of speakers with rapid standardization (born 1951–1960) comprise a sociolinguistically distinct group, which significantly differs from the preceding generations in terms of their exposure to language varieties through television. This generation of speakers grew up virtually with the new, 'exciting'

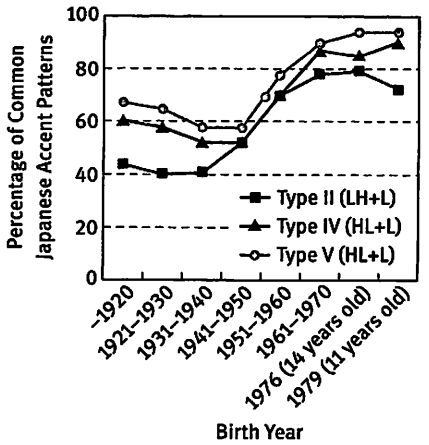

Figure 6: Generational variability in accentual patterns of two-mora nouns

arrival of television sets in their households, and no matter where they lived it was possible to receive Common Japanese as part of the linguistic input on which their language acquisition was based.

2.2 Standardization in the real time paradigm: NIJL (1953, 1974, 2007)

2.2.1 The Tsuruoka survey

The National Institute of Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL) and its predecessor The National Institute for Japanese Language (NIJL) have carried out consecutive surveys to gain an overview of standardization in a local community. The research site is Tsuruoka City, Yamagata Prefecture, about 450 km north of Tokyo. Tsuruoka is a typical local city in the Tohoku Region (the north-eastern part of Japan) with a population of about 135,000 in 2012. The Tohoku Region is well known for its heavily accented, or stigmatized, dialect called *zuuzuu-ben* (zûzû dialect) (Sibata 1998).

The first survey started in 1950, and since then, three follow-up surveys have been carried out approximately every 20 years, in 1971, 1991, and 2011.[5] This is a carefully designed and large-scale social-survey-type study. The informants consist of random samples chosen from the residential register for a cross-sectional study (e.g. 577 in 1950, 457 in 1971, 405 in 1991), and panel samples for

5 The 2011 report had not yet been published at the time of writing this article.

a longitudinal study (e.g. 107 in 1971, and 53 in 1991).[6] Although Tsuruoka has become bigger with some administrative consolidations since 1924, the samples were selected from almost the same residential areas. There is no other survey comparable to this one with a real-time perspective.

The linguistic aspects investigated are phonological segments, lexical accent, grammar, and lexical items, and the data were collected through interviews with a questionnaire. The information on the informants collected in the 1991 survey included demography; residential history; birthplaces of participant, spouse, and parents; communication beyond Tsuruoka; exposure to mass media; and language attitude. Since this study tried to take a general picture of language change in a local community, the media influence is just one of their interests. But the results are suggestive enough for us to argue about the interaction of media and language.

The research results show us the stages in the movement toward Common Japanese that the local variety has followed. In the preface to the second survey report, NIJL (1974) suggested that potential factors for the standardization were mobility, education, and the mass media (especially TV). Interestingly, it was less than 20 years from the first TV broadcast that the researchers assumed TV to be a crucial force of language change. Probably this assumption was made, based on their observations of linguistic situations in local communities. They must have witnessed rapid and drastic changes toward Common Japanese taking place in most regional dialects. It is true that greater mobility and higher educational standards could have played important roles, but the diffusion of Common Japanese was so quick that, even though language change could be caused by the interaction of linguistic and social factors, the researchers could not help suspecting a powerful factor that had not existed in 1950, i. e. television.

2.2.2 The relationship between phonological change in Tsuruoka and the media

From here, we will focus on the phonological change taking place in segmental phonemes and lexical accent, and we will consider how TV is involved in standardization. The rate of standardization is not the same for all linguistic items, yet the more recent the birth year and/or the survey time, the more Common Japanese forms we find.

6 The 1991 survey also includes 261 samples from the 1971 survey as the second group of panel samples.

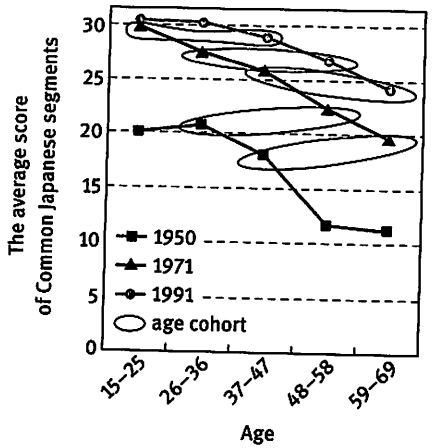

Figure 7: Correlation between Common Japanese score of phonological segments and age in Tsuruoka surveys (NIJL 2007: 23)

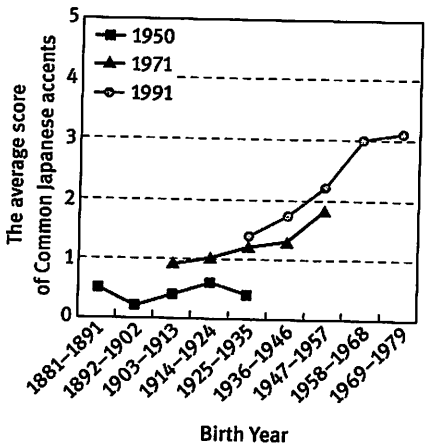

Figure 8: Correlation between Common Japanese score of lexical accents and age cohort in Tsuruoka surveys (NIJL 2007: 23).

Figure 7 shows the Common Japanese scores of phonological segments described in terms of age. The scores displayed on the vertical dimension are the average number of the Common Japanese forms that each age group produced at the different survey times. The maximum score is 31.[7] As we expected above, the most recent (i. e. 1991) survey achieved the best scores for each age group, the second-most recent one (i. e. 1974) comes next, and the 1950 one last. However, each age cohort, designated by a circle in the figure, achieved almost the same scores of Common Japanese even at the different survey times.[8] For example, the score of the 26–36 age group in the 1950 survey is 20.8, and they achieved 22.3 in 1971. This indicates that the linguistic command for phonological segments, once acquired, will hardly change for a lifetime, and that for acquisition of segmental phonemes, linguistic inputs before the linguistically critical period are most

7 In order to collect phonetic realization of segmental phonemes, picture description tasks were employed for 25 out of 31 items, and answering an interviewer's questions for the rest. The tokens of lexical accents were obtained by picture description task only.

8 In Fig. 7, the score of 15–25 age group of the 1950 survey is irregularly low. Although they are the pre-TV generation, they achieved 25.7 in 1971, 20 years after the first survey. During these 20 years, they improved their linguistic ability as bilinguals. This is because they obtained linguistic input which allowed them to acquire the standard variety even after the linguistically critical period. In other words, by means of the arrival and spread of TV.

crucial. Therefore, the gaps in score among these three surveys are regarded as a reflection of linguistic situations at the time of each survey. We presume that the linguistic situation of the 1950 survey did not offer sufficient linguistic inputs for a better command of Common Japanese, but that of 1971 and 1991 did so successfully. This happened presumably because the linguistic situations were altered by the change of social condition.

Then, what caused the change of the linguistic situation for language acquisition? As mentioned above, NIJL (1974) refers to three possible factors for language change: (1) increasing occasions for dialect contact due to the growth of mobility, (2) higher standards of education, and (3) rapid development of mass media. Actually, the percentage of young people in Tsuruoka who went on to further education after secondary education rose remarkably from 34.3 per cent in 1950 to 78.2 per cent in 1971. The chances for dialect contact had also increased considerably because of the development of communications technology (e.g. the spread of telephones) and improved transportation. However, the greatest change that happened in the first 20 years (between 1950 and 1971) was the emergence of a new media, television. By the end of March 1972, 94.9 per cent of the households in Tsuruoka owned a television. It is true that the other two factors contributed to the diffusion of Common Japanese accent, but NIJL (1974: 111) argues that TV had the biggest influence on the change of dialect. Their discussion was rather impressionistic and did not present any specific evidence as might be found in a correlational analysis, but it is not easy to reject their view if we admit from our own experience that TV is a potential (and the most probable) factor in altering our 'real' language usage (cf. Stuart-Smith and Ota in this volume).

Another result would constitute better evidence for the influence of TV. Figure 8 shows the Common Japanese score of lexical accent that each cohort achieved in the three surveys. The maximum score for this linguistic item is 5. Interestingly, the scores differ at each interval, which contradicts the results shown in Fig. 7. These score gaps are bigger than those of segmental phonemes, which indicates that the informants could have been acquiring a better command of Common Japanese for lexical accent even after the linguistically critical period. This is presumably because the linguistic situation can be changed along with social conditions, and a new situation offers a new set of linguistic inputs for local people.

Therefore, the gaps in Fig. 8 should be considered a consequence of some social changes. Yokoyama and Sanada (2010) presume that the most conceivable change of social condition between 1950 and 1971 that is related to language acquisition is the spread of TV. There is also a gap of scores between 1971 and 1991, but it is smaller, probably because the impact of TV language may have been reduced since TV was no longer a 'new' technology.

2.3 What do these surveys tell us?

To summarize this section, it would be better once again to think about the meaning of the media impact on standardization of regional dialects in Japanese sociolinguistic contexts. When we say "standardization of dialect", it usually includes two different aspects of standardization. One is the systematic change of dialect toward the standard variety, or Common Japanese. The other is the development of an individual speaker's command of the standard variety. The term 'standardization' refers to the former in general contexts, but it seems that most surveys in Japan have investigated the latter, if we interpret carefully the quality of survey responses and what the responses reflect. In most of the surveys conducted thus far with dialectological interests, the speech data have been collected by elicitation through quizzes or describing pictures in an interview setting. The quality of the responses is rather different from that of the spontaneous speech data collected in a sociolinguistic interview, which represents the language actually used by speakers in discourse (cf. Labov 1984).

Hence, the results of standardization surveys should not be considered as the actual use of the standard variety (or Common Japanese) but rather as the projection of the individual's command of it, which coexists with that of the regional variety in his or her linguistic system as a bi-dialectal speaker (cf. NIJL 2007). The impact of the media on dialects does not simply lead to a systematic change of the language of both the individual and the community. The better command of Common Japanese that individuals have, the more linguistic resources are available to them for styling or stylizing (cf. Coupland 2007). Also, we should insist once again that, no matter which theoretical positions in Section 2 of Stuart-Smith and Ota (in this volume) you take, it is an obvious fact that the rapid development of the command of Common Japanese *coincides* with the spread of TV.

3 Similarity beyond geographical distance: De-standardization in lexical accent and sentential pitch trajectory

Thus far, we have discussed the potential effects of the media, especially given the proliferation of television sets in Japanese households, on first-language acquisition and the resulting large-scale standardization of local dialects towards Common Japanese. In contrast, the present section discusses the coexistence of linguistic variation and change in the opposite direction (i. e., 'de-standardization' or the formation of new dialects), which is commonly observed in the speech of younger generations all over the country. As explained earlier (1.1), TV Japanese has not only exposed the TV generations (those who were born roughly after the

1950s) to Common Japanese input but also has contributed to the transmission of innovative features that do not necessarily correspond with 'standard' Common Japanese. In the following sections, we empirically demonstrate, by focusing particularly on lexical accents and sentential pitch, that those innovative features are transmitted by younger speakers of different dialects around the country as 'supra-local' variables.

3.1 Emergence of a de-standardized version of lexical accent

Linguistic innovations toward de-standardization by the younger generations have been well-known as the formation of *shin-hoogen* ('new dialect') in Japanese sociolinguistic contexts. Inoue (1983), for example, claims that the emergence of new dialects is characteristic of both initial and intermediate stages of language change (i. e. standardization in this context). Referring specifically to the role of television, Inoue further pointed out that the nationwide transmission of TV Japanese had progressed because the casual style of speech that people are constantly exposed to on TV programmes is more approachable than standard Japanese, which is associated with formality and literacy.

Figures 9 and 10, which present examples of diffusion of a de-standardized accent from past studies (Mase 1981; Ono 1993), provide empirical evidence for the nationwide transmission of an identical, innovative TV Japanese accent for the word *kuma* ('bear') in Odagiri (see Section 2.1.3.) and Sapporo (Hokkaido) (see Fig. 1, the map of Japan).

Despite geographical distance and the lack of direct mutual contact, the lexical accent ku.MA (LH) for *kuma* ('bear'), which was the Common Japanese type accent, has been replaced by a non-standard, innovative TV Japanese accent pattern, KU.ma (HL) both in Odagiri and Sapporo. The innovation in Odagiri (Fig. 9) started in the group born during the period 1947–1957, and the TV accent exceeded at the youngest group born after 1958. Similar to this pattern of change in Odagiri, the generation of Sapporo Japanese speakers who grew up with television (1958–1969) initiated the replacement of the Common Japanese accent (LH) by the TV Japanese accent (HL) (Fig. 10). In these geographically distant places, where it is very unlikely that inhabitants will have direct mutual contact, the course of standardization of the local dialects (towards Common Japanese) has been drastically altered in an identical fashion since the propagation of television in the context of children's first-language acquisition.

Another robust piece of empirical evidence can be obtained from NIJL's (2007) Tsuruoka dialect survey (Fig. 11), which also shows how a newer TV-type accent for *channeru* ('[TV] channel') replaces an older one, along with the quick

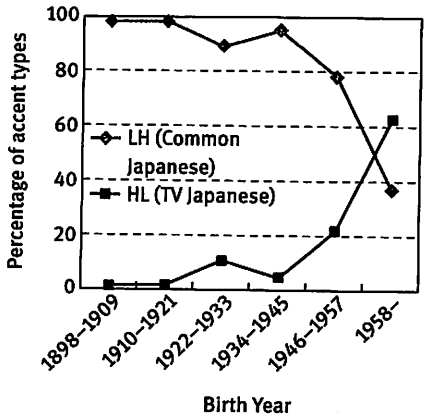

Figure 9: Replacement of *kuma* ('bear') in Odagiri with the non-standard TV accent (Mase 1981: 12)

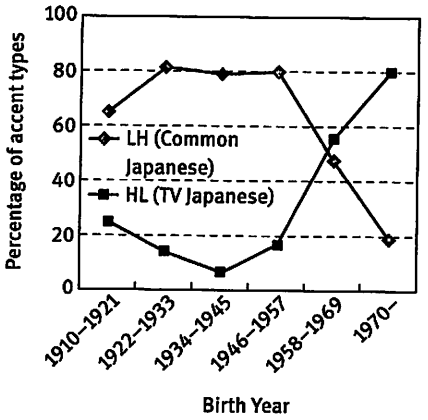

Figure 10: Replacement *kuma* ('bear') in Sapporo with the non-standard TV accent (Ono 1993).

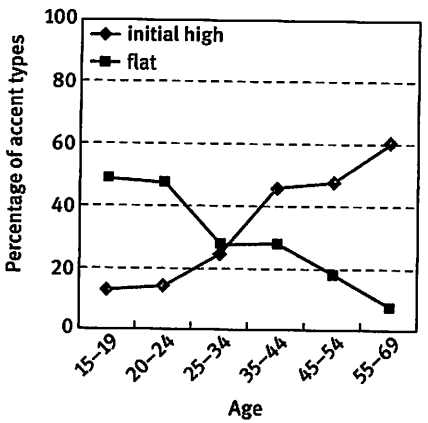

Figure 11: Systematic correlation between speakers' birth year and the accent for the word *channeru* ('channel') in the Tsuruoka surveys (NIJL 2007: 141)

spread of TV starting from around 1960. The initial high accent pattern has been replaced by the flat accent pattern. Both are considered to be Common Japanese in the fourth edition of the NHK accent dictionary published in 1998, but the flat one, which is usually heard on TV, is diffusing among younger people. The lines intersect at the 25–34 cohort – people born between 1957 and 1966, who are the first cohort surrounded by the TV accent during their period of language acquisition. For the cohorts born after 1966, the score of the flat accent greatly exceeds the other.

These results clearly indicate that TV Japanese exerted 'supra-local' effects on first-language acquisition of children regardless of where they were born or grew up. The impact of the audio-visual media such as TV and video content on language seems relatively smaller these days because many regional dialects have already been levelled out and have increased the homogeneity of their linguistic features. However, it is true that the media are still one of the powerful factors in the sense that they are constantly changing linguistic situations by introducing new linguistic materials as inputs for language acquisition. Of particular significance are the facts that the media allow those new materials to be adopted simultaneously by the younger generations all over the country without direct communicative contact and that these uniformitarian innovations (i. e. de-standardization) coexist with large-scale standardization of local dialects in Japan.[9] The following section presents further empirical evidence for this uniformitarian impact of the media, focusing on sentential prosody.

3.2 Sentential pitch levelling as a supra-local innovation and its social meanings

More than three decades ago, Sibata (1978a) first pointed out that pitch in Japanese had increasingly been levelled in the speech of younger generations. Sibata restricts his observations to the speech of younger people in Tokyo, while suggesting the necessity to look into other local dialects for further confirmation of this potential linguistic change. It is certainly an intriguing question: Is the levelling of sentential pitch simply a localized phenomenon specific to Tokyo, or is it a nationwide linguistic change-in-progress observed in the speech of the younger generations throughout the country?

9 The linguistic effects of television are also evident in the 'supra-local' adaptation of Kansai (western Japan) dialect features by the younger generations. In the volume Jinnouchi and Tomosada (2005), which investigates the current state of reception of Kansai dialects in various regions of Japan, a number of chapters (e.g. covering Okinawa, Hiroshima, Okayama, Tokyo, and Sapporo) point out that television is responsible for younger speakers' adoption of Kansai dialects in each local community. All of the chapters, though without any scientific evidence, share an interpretation of social meanings of Kansai dialects associated with the popular culture of Kansai-style comedies. Comedians from Kansai are not expected to shift their dialects to Common Japanese (and if they do so, they usually sound strange!). Their rigorous use of Kansai dialects contributes to their effectiveness in making people laugh, and is well-accepted by young people all over Japan.

In this section, we illustrate the levelling of sentential pitch (F0) as another example of a supra-local (i. e. de-standardizing) innovation, which we hypothesize results from the uniformitarian force of the media operating on the TV generations. A series of our studies show that pitch contours in the speech of the younger generations in Japan have become (at least stylistically) similar on a nationwide scale, despite large discrepancies in the accentual systems of different dialects and the scarcity of speakers' direct mutual contacts (Takano and Ota 2005, 2007; Ota and Takano 2007, 2008a,b,c; Ota et al., 2012).

For our fieldwork sites, we chose two dialect regions at opposite ends of Japan (Hokkaido and Kagoshima) that differ typologically from each other in accentual systems (Hirayama 1960) and that can also be assumed to lack direct mutual contact (see Figure 1). Data on Hokkaido dialects, which are generally divided into two subgroups (i. e. inland and coastal), were collected in two places, the city of Sapporo (inland) and the rural town of Shin-Hidaka on the south coast of Hokkaido (coastal). Kagoshima dialect data were collected in the city of Kagoshima.

Given the general fact that descriptions of prosody are stylistically deprived in past studies, we aimed to examine this variable as demonstrated in multiple registers derived from three specific speech-production tasks: (1) reading aloud artificial sentences in isolation, (2) news passage reading, and (3) spontaneously describing a cartoon story. They were considered to differ in the continuum of context of use, with Task (3) at the most naturalistic end. In the succeeding sections, we will discuss the findings mainly from the first two tasks (i. e. sentences and news passages read aloud), based on our recent re-analyses of the data.[10]

As illustrated in Section 2.1.2., Japanese is a pitch-accent language. Each word is specified as either accented (*yuu-kaku*) or unaccented (*mu-kaku*), although there is a great deal of dialectal variation. As the stimuli, we constructed five artificial, de-contextualized sentences that consisted only of accented words. For example, a sentence ***/Do'ryoku/ /shite'mo/ /i'mi ga/ /na'i/*** ('It is meaningless to make efforts') consists of four accented accentual phrases (AP hereinafter),[11] and each AP contains one accented word. We constructed several sets of five 4-AP sentences like this and asked each participant to read them aloud.

10 This process has been supported by the NINJAL Collaborative Research Project (organized by Yoshiyuki Asahi), "A construction of a typological theory on linguistic change and variation based on dialect contact phenomena." The third task focuses on age-related variability in 'de-accentuation' or de-phrasing of accentual phrases in a more naturalistic context for speech production. Our re-analyses of the data are underway, and the results will soon be presented.

11 An AP is demarcated by /x'x/, where 'x' indicates the location of a lexical accent.

Table 4 shows the demographic information on the participants and the number of tokens (i. e. number of sentences read aloud) analyzed for each of the speaker groups. Note that our data do not include the older generation of Kagoshima-dialect speakers. In the course of our fieldwork, we decided not to take into consideration older Kagoshima speakers for our region/age comparisons because even in the read-aloud task their sentential pitch contours were far too distinct to be comparable with the remaining groups. Each participant read a set of five different de-contextualized sentences.[12] The Hokkaido participants in particular read each sentence at least twice, and we decided to include all of the readings as tokens for analysis.

Speaker Groups	No. of Speakers	No. of Tokens
Sapporo Young (20 to 23 years of age)	16 (1 males, 15 females)	149
Sapporo Old (51 to 77)	10 (10 females)	105
Shin-Hidaka Young (14 to 21)	10 (7 males, 3 females)	98
Shin-Hidaka Old (57 to 77)	15 (6 males, 9 females)	166
Kagoshima Young (19 to 20)	7 (2 males, 5 females)	35

Table 4. Participants in the task of reading de-contextualized sentences, and the number of tokens analysed

To measure degrees of magnitude of pitch (F0) movement, we focused on five aspects of movement (Fig. 12): Shift 1 [S1: the first AP peak to its bottom], Shift 2 [S2: the first AP bottom to the second AP peak], Shift 3 [S3: the second AP peak to its bottom], Shift 4 [S4: the second AP bottom to the third AP peak] and Shift 5 [S5: the first AP bottom to the second AP bottom] (Fig. 12). Shift 5 in particular is meant to measure the degree of pitch declination.

Measurements of pitch values (i. e. Hz) were executed at 0.01-s intervals automatically by PitchWorks for PC (Scicon RandD Inc in Beverly Hills, CA). We converted those raw Hz to z-scores for normalization, and then we manually identified each of the following scores: first AP peak, first AP bottom, second AP peak, second AP bottom, and third AP peak. Finally, we calculated the difference between two scores (e.g. AP1 peak – AP1 bottom for Shift 1) as an index for each of the above-mentioned shifts in pitch (Shifts 1 through 5; see Table 5).

12 It was not necessarily the case that all of the participants read the identical set of de-contextualized sentences because we modified a few of the stimuli sentences in the course of our fieldwork.

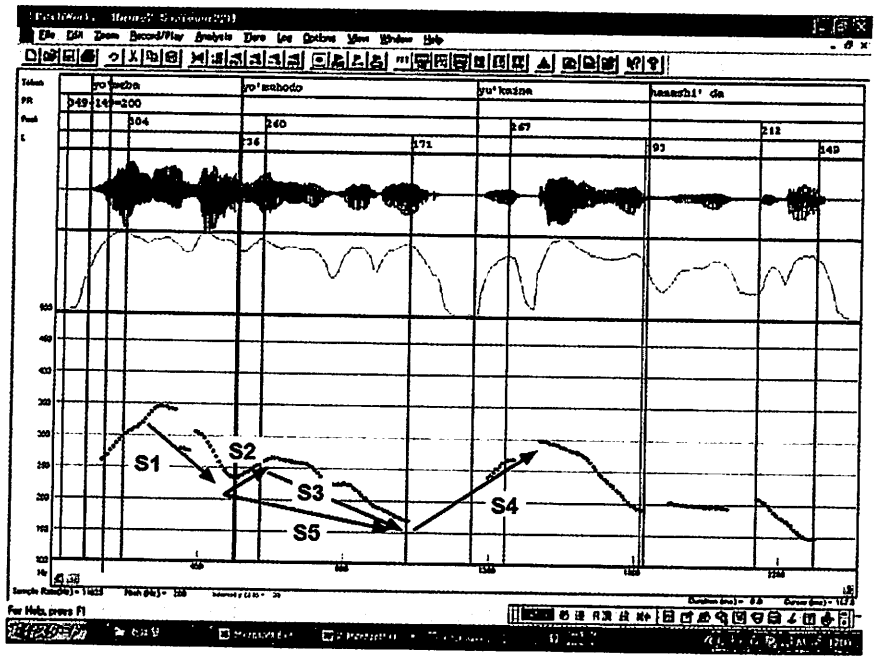

Figure 12: Measuring pitch movement with one of the stimuli (/Yo'meba/(AP1) /yo'muhodo/ (AP2) /yu'kaina/(AP3) /hanashi' da/(AP4)) read by a 22-year-old Sapporo woman[13]

Speaker Groups	Shift 1	Shift 2	Shift 3	Shift 4	Shift 5
Sapporo Young	−1.71	0.61	−1.43	1.39	−0.82
Sapporo Old	−1.88	0.91	−1.48	1.88	−0.57
Shin-Hidaka Young	−0.93	0.30	−0.90	0.95	−0.59
Shin-Hidaka Old	−1.68	0.90	−1.49	1.85	−0.59
Kagoshima Young	−0.94	0.36	−0.76	0.70	−0.39

Table 5. Pitch movement indices (based on z-scores) across five age/region groups (read-aloud sentences)

It is evident in Table 5 and its schematic representation (Fig. 13) that the two younger groups (Shin-Hidaka and Kagoshima) show almost identical patterns of pitch movement, as do the two older groups (Sapporo and Shin-Hidaka, marked

13 Our identification of each AP peak is based on an actual trajectory of pitch regardless of the perceptual alignment of pitch accent, usually with a vowel.

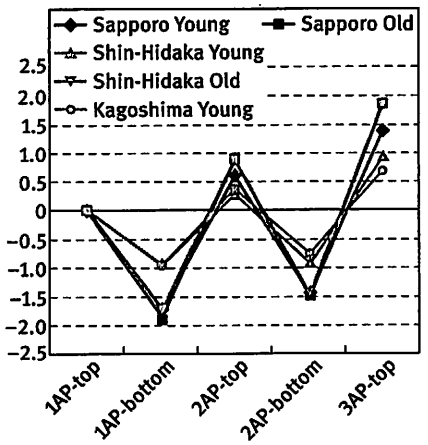

Figure 13: Schematic representation of pitch shifts across five age/region groups (read-aloud sentences).

by dotted lines), which creates two homogeneous age groups. The younger group shows relatively 'levelled' realizations of pitch as compared with the older group, which shows greater degrees of rise and fall in pitch contours. The pattern of Sapporo younger speakers is rather similar to that of the older groups, but it is still consistent with smaller indices of rise and fall than those of the older groups.

Of particular significance are the facts that the younger participants from Hokkaido and Kagoshima speak in almost identical pitch contours despite the infrequency of their mutual contact as well as large differences in their accentual systems.

A series of statistical analyses[14] confirmed significant differences between the two age groups of Hokkaido with respect to all the points of measurement.[15] Among the three younger groups, no statistically significant differences were found between the Shin-Hidaka and Kagoshima groups for any of the indices, but the Sapporo younger group significantly differed from both Shin-Hidaka and Kagoshima in Shift 1 (S −1.71, SH −0.93, K −0.94) and Shift 5 (S −0.82, SH −0.59,

14 Due to the lack of data in the Kagoshima older group, statistical analyses were conducted through two steps: firstly to test the differences between the four region/age groups only from Hokkaido (Sapporo Younger, Sapporo Older, Shin-Hidaka Younger, Shin-Hidaka Older), and secondly to test the differences among the three younger groups (Sapporo, Shin-Hidaka, Kagoshima).

15 ANOVA (region x age x gender, $p < 0.05$) was used, and it revealed the following age-group differences: S1- young −1.40/old −1.76; S2- young 0.49/old 0.90; S3- young −1.22/old −1.49; S4- young 1.23/old 1.86; S5- young −0.73/old −0.58.

K –0.39), and from Shin-Hidaka alone in Shift 2 (S 0.61, SH 0.30).[16] Statistical analyses also demonstrated that regardless of their region or age cohorts, women consistently show greater degrees of shifts in pitch than men. This particular finding may suggest that Sapporo younger speakers' deviations from the other two younger groups are due to the skewed composition of gender in the data (i. e. 15 females and 1 male).

Declination of pitch (Shift 5 in Table 5) is also found to be statistically significant between the two age groups in Hokkaido, as reflected in the younger speakers having a steeper declination (–0.73) than that of the older speakers (–0.58). However, the three younger groups (Sapporo, Shin-Hidaka, and Kagoshima) are found not to be homogeneous. Similar to the patterns of pitch shifts discussed above, the Sapporo younger group demonstrates a greater degree of declination (–0.82), to a statistically significant extent, than the remaining groups, Shin-Hidaka (–0.59) and Kagoshima (–0.39). Here again, it is confirmed that women's values for Shift 5 (declination) are consistently larger than those of men regardless of the region/age groupings, and thus it might also be the case that Sapporo younger speakers' divergent behaviour stems from the skewed sampling in relation to gender.

Moreover, our recent investigation of variable formation of accentual phrases in Japanese (Ota et al. 2012) involved two additional research sites: Fukuoka (northern Kyushu) and Tokyo (as well as Sapporo and Kagoshima) (see Figure 1, the map of Japan). As compared with older counterparts,[17] greater degrees of what we call "prosodic subordination"[18] have been consistently found in the speech of younger speakers living all over the country, regardless of the speech production tasks (isolated sentence reading, performing roles in scripted conversations). These results further confirmed more 'levelled' realizations of pitch as nationwide innovations prevalent among the younger generations.

Based on past studies and our own investigation, we are insistent that pitch levelling carries particular social meanings among younger people in Japan. Sibata (1995: 178–187), for example, argue that among younger speakers of Tokyo, the levelling of lexical accents "is explosively diffusing as an 'ingroup code', which conveys the images of being 'novel', 'youthful', and 'metropolitan'". Furthermore, Sibata conjectures that the levelling of intonation or "an overall pitch of speaking" initiated the levelling of lexical accents (pp. 185–186), along with youngsters' general preference for "non-prominence". This can be interpreted to mean that the levelling of sentential pitch has helped the levelling of lexical accents to act as a reinforcer.[19]

Ota and Takano (2007) conducted an experiment to examine the social meanings of levelled pitch, adapting the matched-guise format. The experiment included 156 college students (Sapporo 77, Kagoshima 79), who were asked to guess the speaker's age from hearing read-aloud sentences that contained the pairs of sentences—one of the pair being in its original, 'levelled' pitch and the other being a synthesized version with greater degrees of pitch shifts (although both were produced by the same speakers). The judges tended to perceive the speakers with a synthesized version with more dynamic pitch contours to be older than the originals. This is to say that levelled pitch struck the listeners as 'youthfulness' of the speaker. Part of Sibata's above-mentioned insights into social meanings has been confirmed empirically.

Although we lack substantial direct evidence at this point, we are tempted to interpret this innovation as linguistically exemplifying younger speakers' positive attitudes toward the youth culture or indexicalizing of their youth identity. Moreover, if it can be assumed, as Sibata (1995) claims, that this particular innovation originates in Tokyo, the media are a very likely vehicle for delivering such social meanings as 'novelty' or 'metropolitanism' associated with the city to younger speakers around the country, regardless of their dialectal origins and the scarcity of direct communicative interactions.

4 Stylized performance based on the media models

As mentioned in 2.3., dialectological surveys on Japanese standardization have focused primarily on the development of command of the standard variety within individual speakers. In such a methodological tradition of sociolinguistic research in Japan, the media, especially television, have been given special operational meanings. In a number of past studies that primarily use questionnaire-based

16 ANOVA (region x gender, $p < 0.05$) was used.

17 These older groups include only the speakers from Fukuoka and Sapporo.

18 Given multiple sentences produced by the tasks of reading aloud and performing in scripted conversations, the degree of prosodic subordination was based on the depth of a pitch valley between the first and second APs. The shallower the pitch valley is, the greater are the degrees of prosodic subordination that are identified, which implies that pitch contours are more levelled (as far as the initial part of the utterance in question is concerned).

19 The levelling of lexical accents or 'de-accentuation' among younger speakers in Japan is another common example of supra-local linguistic innovations running counter to the large-scale standardization of Japanese dialects. This particular innovation has been reported in a number of previous studies that deal with standardization of different local dialects, including Hokkaido and Tokyo (e.g., Sibata 1959; Nomoto 1960; Haga 1961; NIJL 1965; Inoue 1981; NIJL 1997).

elicitation techniques in interview settings, 'television' represents the domain of social lives that requires the speaker's most formal, standardized style of speech. Researchers often took advantage of 'television' to elicit formal-style speech from their informants, asking them: "How would you say it [a variant in question] if you had a chance to say it appearing on television?" (e.g. Hokkaido Hoogen Kenkyuu-kai 1978; Inoue 1983). Informants who had a better command of Common Japanese were expected to be able to 'perform' their formal-style speech with the word 'television' as the situational cue.

Such prescribed effects of television as a virtual sociolinguistic domain are attested to in the varying Japanese uses of prosody. Sugitou (1983), for example, analyses regional variation in lexical accents from a passage-reading task in a laboratory setting and points out that the researcher's overt instructions to college students (informants) engaged in the task seem to heavily affect how words are accented. An instruction such as "read as if you were a television announcer" significantly contributes to their production of standard Japanese accents as compared with the spontaneous reading of an identical passage in their native dialects. Although it was quite unlikely that the participants had had any chance to talk on TV before or were actually announcers, they succeeded in stylizing their linguistic performance toward the Common Japanese (or Standard Japanese) that is considered appropriate to the social domain.

As part of our research project (Section 3.2), we examined pitch variability in younger speakers' news readings in terms of similarity or dissimilarity to language employed in the media. We asked the participants to read the following excerpt of a news passage from an evening news program on NHK (March 28, 2002).[20] Most participants were newly recruited (see Table 6).

(kono choo'sa wa) /otona'shiku mi'eteita kodomo ga/ **(IU1)**[21]
this survey TOP obedient look child SUB[22]

/totsuzen boo'ryoku o huruida'su to itta/ **(IU2)**
suddenly violence OBJ do-begin PAT say

/saikin no kodomo'tachi no
recent GEN children GEN

mondai koo'doo no ha'ikei o saguroo' to/ **(IU3)....**
problem behaviour GEN background OBJ investigate PAT

20 NHK is the semi-governmental broadcasting company located in Tokyo.

21 The phrase at the beginning, *kono choo'sa wa*, was often pronounced as a separate intonation phrase by the subjects. Therefore, it was disregarded in the analysis.

22 OBJ = Object Case Marker; PAT = Postpositional Particle; GEN = Genitive Case Marker.

Translation:
'This survey aims to investigate the background to the recent problematic issue of children who appear mild-mannered, then suddenly start to exhibit violent behaviour.'

Speaker Groups	No. of Speakers	No. of Tokens
Sapporo Young (20 to 23 years of age)	10 (5 males, 5 females)	20
Shin-Hidaka Young (17 to 29)	10 (5 males, 5 females)	18
Kagoshima Young (19 to 20)	11 (5 males, 6 females)	22

Table 6. Participants in the task of news-passage reading, and the number of tokens analysed

We first identified a single intonation unit (IU hereinafter) based primarily on the Japanese ToBI system for prosodic transcriptions (Venditti 2005), and then we broke down the passage into segments as the units of analysis. We determined the beginning of a brand new IU based on Break Index 3 (i. e. the intonation phrase boundary), the largest juncture typically accompanied by pitch reset, pause, and final syllable lengthening.[23] Consequently, the passage shown above as an example was divided into three IUs.

Based on the identical procedures in our analyses of pitch levelling discussed above (Section 3.2.), Figures 14–16 compare pitch shifts between the three younger groups and the NHK newscaster who actually read the passage on the air.

The homogeneity of the three younger groups is found to be robust in this production task, and the patterns of pitch shifts are very similar to that of the NHK newscaster. Our statistical analyses indicate no significant differences among the three younger groups, except for the Sapporo younger speakers' high values in 2AP-top in IU2 (Sapporo 1.48, vs. Kagoshima 0.89, cf., Shin-Hidaka 1.20) and in IU3 (Sapporo 1.40 vs. S-Hidaka 0.76, Kagoshima 0.68).[24] While it is quite unlikely that these younger speakers actually heard this particular news broadcast on television, the supra-regional similarity indicates that people have acquired the competence of stylizing their linguistic performance following the mental models

23 Other criteria for determining an intonation unit come from Cruttenden's notion of 'intonation group boundaries' (1986: 37) and Chafe's discourse notion of 'intonation unit' (1993: 57). In the former, a unit is based on an identification of such markers as pause, anacrusis, final syllable lengthening, and pitch level change, whereas the latter includes a wider repertoire including such devices as both pre- and post-pauses, acceleration/deceleration in syllable duration, overall pitch declination, and voice quality (e.g. creaky voice at the end).

24 Comparisons between two age groups indicate a statistically significant difference only in Shift 1 in IU2: older group –1.26, younger group –0.81. This result means that it is likely that the older speakers' linguistic performance is also subject to the media models.

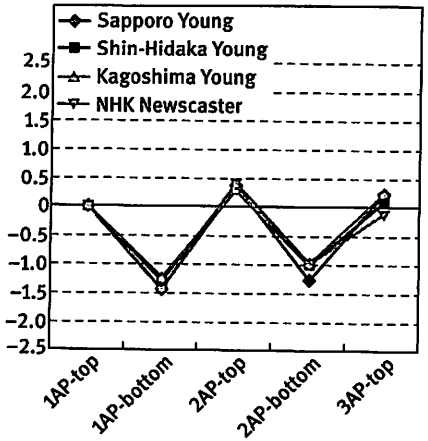

Figure 14: IU1: /otona'shiku/ /mi'eteita/ / kodomo ga/

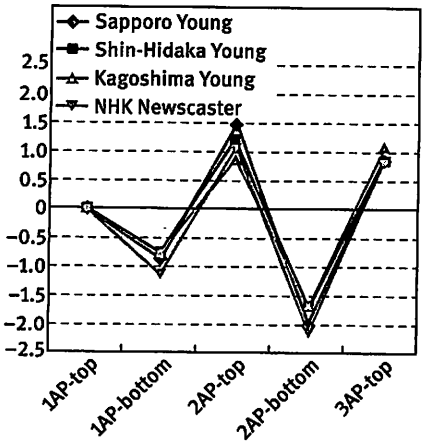

Figure 15: IU2: /totsuzen/ /boo'ryoku o/ / huruida'su to itta/

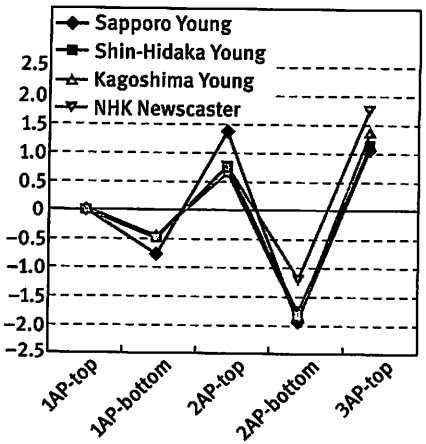

Figure 16: IU3: /saikin no/ /kodomo'tachi no/ /mondai koo'doo no/ (/haikei o/ /saguroo' to/)

provided by the media. Being exposed equally to a news-reading register in their daily lives, the speakers seem to somewhat 'know' or have acquired information about how to enunciate news in 'proper' pitch contours, regardless of their dialectal origins.

5 Discussion and conclusion

It is an extremely difficult task to establish the cause-and-effect relationships between the media and linguistic change in Japanese sociolinguistic contexts, primarily because the appearance of TV, the most pervasive medium, coincides temporally with the post-Second World War modernization of the society, when a number of social changes (e.g. the rise in educational standards, social and geographical mobility) 'standardized' how people talked and what they knew about their language. Unique to Japanese sociolinguistic contexts, however, the effects of the media (especially television) have been tacitly acknowledged as a social factor promoting language standardization without rigorous scientific investigation. Nevertheless, we tried to justify this perspective mainly by assembling 'indirect' evidence from past influential work.

To address the other side of the coin of standardization of local dialects in Japan, we also shed light on linguistic innovations running counter to standardization ('de-standardization') carried out typically by the younger generations all over the country. As rather 'direct' empirical evidence, we demonstrated that the way of transmission of non-Common, innovative TV Japanese variants is supra-local in its nature. The variants spread not through direct human contact (i. e. dialect contact) but through exposure to such media as television, which are equally available all over the country.

We then infer, though without substantial evidence, that this supra-local spread of non-standard, innovative features is attributed to the youth cultural norms or the youth identity shared by younger people in the society. After finding no systematic correlation between the hours of exposure to television and the adaptation of innovative variants among individuals, Mase (1996), for example, suggested the importance of individual personality for adopting the features of TV language. The pupils at Odagiri Junior High School were divided in terms of the TV Japanese score into three groups, the more TV Japanese group, the less TV Japanese group, and the middle group. Mase found that in the more TV Japanese group there were more people with higher scores in active and positive personality. This indicates that TV cannot change language by itself. The change needs to be caused by speakers when they want something more than what they have. It is vital for future research to pursue more qualitative investigations into the speakers' 'identity work' in local communities and its relationships with the adaptation of language use available in the media.

Finally, we also illustrated that the effects of the media sometimes surface in the speaker's conscious, stylistic manipulations of linguistic performance based on his or her mental models. In Japanese sociolinguistic contexts in particular, 'television' is a special public space. It has had a special status as the trigger for

the ultimate formal speech. This finding implies that the media language has had a uniformitarian impact on Japanese language socialization without any regional discrepancies and that language use in the media, at least in Japan, could be regarded as an integral part of speakers' competence—or at least their knowledge about the language. We suggest that future researchers should not consider the vernacular as the only resource for investigating linguistic change and variation but rather should develop versatile perspectives on speakers' stylized performance and its social meanings, to which we are sure the media contribute significantly.

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