

Research Paper

A Geolinguistic Study on the Greeting Expressions and Behavior in Japan

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This study geographically describes the greeting expressions and behavior in Japan, which vary according to dialects. The questionnaire consisted of 11 parts with 88 questions about Japanese daily greeting expressions. Fieldwork was done in each Japanese prefecture from 1994 to 2000, followed by a postal survey from 1997 to 2000 using the same questionnaire.

A sample result showed that when family members in urban areas speak to each other after getting up in the morning, they use the expression *Ohayo-gozaimasu*. However, this expression is not heard in rural locations. The use of this expression depended on the use of separate rooms in the urban areas. However, old houses in rural areas have rooms divided simply by paper screens with wood frames called *Shoji* or *Karakami*. This makes it natural for family members not to use courtesy expressions during their first meeting every morning. After the 1960s, however, changes occurred.

In conclusion, the author believes that the interpretation of the greeting expressions, related to changes in social life, becomes increasingly important. Also a dynamic view and sense should connect the atlas with changes in human life.

Key words: greeting expression, greeting behavior, geolinguistics, linguistic atlas

日本のあいさつ表現とあいさつ行動の地理言語学的研究

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本研究は、多様な地方差が見られる日本のあいさつ表現とあいさつ行動を地理言語学的に研究したものである。あいさつの調査票は日常のあいさつ表現について11分野、88項目で構成されている。実地調査は1994年から2000年にかけて、日本の全県で行い、併せて、通信調査を1997年から2000年にかけて、全国約500余地点で実施した。

本稿には、二種のサンプル地図がある。一つは、「朝起きた時に家族にどんなあいさつをするか」であり、他の一つは「朝家族を玄関で見送る時のあいさつ行動はどのようなものであるか」である。研究の結果、次のことが明らかになった。

①朝起きた時家族に「オハヨーゴザイマス」とあいさつするのは都市の家族であり、これは地方では聞かれない。都市においてこの表現が頻用されるのは、個室に分割された居住環境に基づく。地方の古い家では、障子や唐紙によって各部屋を仕切っただけの居住環境であり、朝起きた時に他人行儀なあいさつ表現を行わない。しかし、1960年以降の高度経済成長に伴い、この傾向は変化しつつある。ただし、②「朝家族を見送る時のあいさつ行動」の地図が明示するように、都市には「イッテラッシュイイキマス」という行為（建て前）が見える。地方では「無言」（本音）があり、対立は厳然としている。

あいさつ表現の言語地図を解釈するためには、社会生活の変化に対応した人間生活の変化とその意識を考慮しながら行う、ダイナミックな見方や感性が必要である。

キーワード: あいさつ表現, あいさつ行動, 地理言語学, 言語地図

1. Introduction

1.1 The mainstream of Geolinguistics in Japan

Many Geolinguistic studies in Japan have aimed at studying voice, grammar and vocabulary. For example, the "Linguistic Atlas of Japan", "The Linguistic Atlas of Itoigawa Niigata Prefecture, Japan" and the "Linguistic Atlas of Seto Inland Sea" were all made with this aim. I have also used the same approach. For instance, a study of my works, "A New Interpretation of Dialect Atlas Data of Two Age Groups in Japan", published in the journal "Dialectologia et Geolinguistica" in 1999, is based on the traditional approach.

1.2 My new project

This study, however, collected sentences and language behavior as investigative items. That is to say, the study project systematically examined the totality of greeting expressions and behavior. Consequently, another way was needed to interpret linguistic atlases. It also turned out that this new method could add insight to the history of human life.

1.3 Characteristics of the study of greeting expressions and behavior

All questionnaire items were concentrated on greeting expressions and behavior. Daily greeting life was divided into 11 areas. The field survey, consisting of my own fieldwork and postal research, was conducted all over Japan. In order to interpret the dialect atlas, it became clear that human data, concerning social change and human exchange, was necessary.

1.4 Purpose

The study has two purposes. One is to interpret the linguistic atlas of greeting expressions and behavior to family members at the first meeting in the morning. The other is to interpret the atlas of greeting expressions and behavior to family members when leaving home in the morning.

In this paper, I will use only three sentences from the 88 items listed in the questionnaire.

2. Method

2.1 Dialect questionnaire

In order to systematically study the greeting expressions and behavior, examples were classified into eleven categories as follows:

1) morning, afternoon, night; 2) farewell, leaving, sending a person off; 3) labor; 4) marriage; 5) shopping; 6) funerals; 7) daily courtesies; 8) thanks, apology, exchange of gifts; 9) sympathy; 10) annual events; 11) social intercourse.

2.2 Investigations

a. Fieldwork from 1994 till 1997 was conducted by the author. One village was investigated in each prefecture at a total of 47 locations.

b. Both the first postal survey from 1996 through 1997 and the second from 1999 through 2000 were conducted throughout Japan.

In this paper, I will use the Japanese dialect data collected from about 500 locations.

3. Greeting expressions and behavior to family members at the first meeting in the morning

3.1 On the interpretation of Map 1, "Greeting expressions to family members at the first meeting in the morning"

On this map, all the data collected from 1994 until 2000 have been displayed. The question asked in the questionnaire was "What do you say to the members of your family when you first meet them in the morning?"

3.1.1 On the broad distribution of OHAYO-GOZAIMASU and OHAYO in Japan

The small circles throughout Japan represent the word OHAYO-GOZAIMASU or OHAYO. This is the standard Japanese expression. It is the regular form of speech to others after waking up, and it means "it is early" or "we have met together early". However, it is believed that there is a strong sense of solidarity between family members in Japan, and that it is therefore quite natural for members of a Japanese family not to say any words to each other at all when they meet in the morning.

Contrarily to that belief, OHAYO-

GOZAIMASU is distributed throughout the whole country. The wide diffusion of this expression is a quite recent phenomenon.

3.1.2 On the scattered distribution in Japan of OKITAKA and MEGA-SAMETAKA

There is another form of morning greeting, which is OKITAKA or MEGA-SAMETAKA. OKITAKA means "Have you gotten up?" and MEGA-SAMETAKA means "Have you woken up?". These expressions take place as confirmation of the action. They are not skillful or sophisticated, and the way of thinking behind them seems rather primitive. These types of expressions merely describe actions all over Japan.

3.1.3 Speech act without any words

The stars on the map represent silence. Many can be seen throughout Japan, and this indicates that members of many Japanese families do not exchange any words for greeting at the first meeting in the morning. Why should this be?

Let us consider the significance of the stars.

3.2 Why are the stars distributed mainly in mountainous areas?

Let us turn to Map 2, "Comparing the Stars with the location of mountain ranges in Japan". The contours of 1000m have been drawn on this map. Looking at it, the majority of places where people do not exchange any particular words at the first meeting in the morning are located in mountainous areas. (The exceptions are in rural areas on the seashore.) It might therefore be assumed that there is some connection to a more traditional life-style, which differs from the present-day urban life. Silent behavior among family members in the morning remains in thinly populated areas, which lends support to the belief that the custom of greeting in the morning in the traditional Japanese rural society was not vocalized.

3.3 Traditional greeting behavior in the morning between a married woman and her parents-in-law

Now look at Map 3 "Greeting expressions between relatives at the first meeting in the morning". This shows the collection of informant

comments which were received during the field-work. These are considered important for the interpretation of the atlas.

Customarily, a married woman is obliged to greet her grandfather-in-law and grandmother-in-law, even if there are no words used between other family members.

Map 3 shows us through the informant comments that married women must greet the parents-in-law. Those comments are as follows;

Spot 1, Tozawa village, Yamagata Pref. (Terauchi Kinbei 1929b., Yamauchi Sakuko 1928b., Kobayashi Sadako 1928b.) "The wife usually says to the grandparents-in-law, OHAYO-GOZAIMASU. But the grandparents do not say it to each other. The father-in-law responds to the wife, OHAYO."

Spot 2, Torigoe village, Ishikawa Pref. (Shimada Katsumi 1929b.) "Among the family, we use no words in the morning. But the wife usually greets the parents-in-law very respectfully. For instance, she must do this while touching both hands to the tatami. Polite words are especially important to the head of the family."

Spot 3, Minami-Yamashiro village, Kyoto Pref. (Tenaka Sadayuki 1912b., Iga Kimino 1915b., Matsumoto Tamotsu 1922b.) "The daughter-in-law says OHAYO-SAN to the parents-in-law. Then, her father-in-law responds to her OHAYO or HAYAIDE. No words are spoken between son and father."

Spot 4, Toyo'oka village, Shizuoka Pref. (Matsushita Masao 1918b., Matsushita Shizuno 1922b.) "If relatives happen to lodge in our house, we usually say greeting words to each other in the morning. In daily life, we do not use greetings in our house. We have no experience being forced to say greetings to others."

Spot 5, Ikuno town, Hyogo Pref. (Hashimoto Haruo 1932b., Fujimoto Tsuyako 1925b.) "When relatives happen to stay in our house, they usually say in advance to us the morning greeting, OHAYO-GOZAIMASU. There is no greeting expression every morning in our house."

Spot 6, Shiga village, Nagano Pref. (Oguchi Nagimi 1922b.) "When my elder sister, the wife, visited the house of her real parents seven days after her marriage, the members of her former family said to her, OHAYO, or OHAYO-GOZAIMASU. We

did not say greeting words before her marriage, so that event made me feel that she had become a member of another family.

According to these informant comments, it can be recognized that in many families in rural Japan, no morning greeting is used. But where families of three generations live together, the daughter-in-law has the duty to greet the parents-in-law. The greeting action indicates clearly that there is no blood relation between them. Even if several decades pass, the daughter-in-law still uses the same greeting custom with her parents-in-law.

3.4 The use of Shoji or Karakami in traditional Japanese houses, meant that morning greetings were unnecessary within the family

In traditional Japanese houses, metal and concrete are not used. Skillfully constructed of wood, strong houses, which can endure earthquakes and avoid humidity, have been a part of the traditional Japanese landscape since ancient times. Especially in rural areas, wooden houses with thatched roofs could be seen until 40 years ago.

We do not see European doors, with locks and keys, in traditional Japanese houses. Many rooms in the latter are connected, and none are completely closed to ensure privacy. The rooms in old houses in rural areas are divided simply by Shoji or Karakami.

Shoji is a sliding paper screen and Karakami is a sliding paper door. At the upper part of each room, there is the Ramma, a transom, which easily receives light and sound from the window.

As in many countries, however, economic growth since the 1960s has created a dramatic shift in population from rural areas to large cities. Coinciding with this movement has been a tendency to construct European-style houses.

The expression, "My Home Shugi", connotes the negation of traditional housing of Japan. A new fashion of "Kaku-Kazoku" is explained as two generations living together, the young couple escaping from living under three generations.

In the European-style house, private rooms are given to each child, and can be locked if the individual wants privacy or solitude. This change in the living environment has produced a situation where individual family members must meet every

morning.

<Conclusion>

- (1) The traditional custom in Japan is not to have any verbal greetings between family members at the first meeting every morning. The expressions of OKITA-KA or MEGA-SAMETA-KA are new with the expressions of OHAYO-GOZAIMASU or OHAYO taking on the newest, standard forms.
- (2) No verbal greeting is maintained in rural areas. There are two reasons to explain this. One is that traditional houses are still used there, and the other is the way that close blood relations are regarded as a unified whole.
- (3) After the 1960s, swift economical and social changes in Japanese traditional society meant that the former customs and values described above were no longer followed. Because of the revolutionary change in the housing structure and life-style, the standard greeting, OHAYO-GOZAIMASU, has spread throughout Japan.

Let us now interpret more linguistic atlas data on greeting behavior in the next section.

4. Greeting expressions and behavior to the family when leaving every morning

4.1 On Map 4 "TATEMAE", Greeting expressions and behavior to the family members when leaving in the morning"

This map shows the results of a postal survey to adults of around 70 years old. Two kinds of greeting expressions have been combined into one map as follows. Next the data will be displayed in a dialogue style.

Question 2: What do you say when you see off family members when you are about to leave in the morning?

Question 3: What do you say when you see off family members at the front door in the morning?

Map 4 unified the data collected in questions 2 and 3. This map was made from data based on a postal survey from 1996 until 2000.

An interpretation of Map 4 produces the following.

4.1.1 Only one star can be found on Map 4, and it is in Shizuoka Prefecture. Why is this so? Furthermore, just at just one location, in Tottori Prefecture, a silent response to the speaker can be seen, in spite of the morning greeting of ITTE-KURU. These are the only such examples registered in a total number of five hundred dialogues.

4.1.2 Next we shall look at the broad distribution of the triangular marks. These are the paired conversations where the departing family member say to the one who remains, "ITTE-KURU" and then the one who remains responds with "ITTE-KOI." The pair of calling and response is the basic pattern, and there can be no honorifics in either sentence. Both sides are exchanged equally without any hierarchical difference.

Traditionally, there existed a relationship of quality in rural areas between the family member who went out to work and the one who remained at home. This resulted in speech between them which lacked any kind of honorific. The white triangular marks represent the greeting acts where one side uses an honorific form and the other does not, thus indicating an imbalance in the relationship.

4.1.3 The third noticeable point is shown by the small circles

These circles are predominant throughout Japan, but there are few in the Tohoku area. This mark indicates a dialogue where both parties use the honorific form. The departing person says, ITTE-KIMASU to the family member, and the responding person answers with ITTE-RASSHAI. We can see the honorifics at the predicate, for example, MASU or RASSHAI, on both sides. This suggests that this standard urban style of greeting is now used broadly throughout Japan.

4.1.4 I will identify this Map 4 as TATEMAE-no ZU. TATEMAE is opposed to HONNE, and means the surface appearance rather than inner feelings. Even though there were no differentiations with the facts, it is suggested that informants may have preferred to respond that they used the standard style, even if the actual use was different. The fact that there is only one star gives support to the idea

that this Map 4 is really the TATEMAE-no ZU. In the postal survey, we might have received answers which reflected TATEMAE, or perceived use rather than HONNE, or actual use. I think that many respondents may have answered using the standard sayings by imitating the urban style. But we should emphasize the next observation. That is, in Japan, before 1960, it was common for people in the same family to be engaged in the same occupations. During this time, the occupations of agriculture, forestry, fisheries and cottage industries and so on were far more prominent than today. Likewise, the number of office workers was not so high. However, after 1960, Japan began to rapidly change into an industrial country, and the number of the office workers increased. Because of this growth, there was an increase in a different life-style which led to people leaving the house in the morning and coming back in the evening. With this change came a parallel increase in the use of urban style greetings using honorifics.

Next, we should consider the distribution pattern of Map 5, which is a "HONNE" atlas.

4.2 On Map 5 "HONNE", An analysis of inner feelings of greeting expressions and behavior to family members"

This map contains data collected during a field survey that was conducted from 1994 until 1997. Each of the 47 villages of the prefectures in Japan was surveyed by the same interviewer. In Map 5, the numbers of the dialect data and the village locations are the same.

In this map we can confirm the following three points.

4.2.1 There are seven instances of stars on this map. It is noteworthy that in the responses of 20 % of the 47 locations, there was no vocalization used when seeing off the family. Accordingly, it appears that greeting expressions and behavior when someone leaves for work in rural society in Japan are not needed. Moreover, the answers in the villages of Tokyo and Kanagawa prefecture, which have large populations, were that they also did not vocalize. As for the reason for this, many informants said that each family member has his or her own work to do very early in the morning, and does

not wish to disturb the rest of the family.

The life of the village is not simple, and office workers usually do not return home until they have finished their work. But the traditional life of the village is visible in each household, and the family members meet many times a day. Therefore there is no need to mark each meeting with a special greeting. In these villages, where societies follow traditional lives, it is difficult to use courteous greetings in the families.

4.2.2 Next, it is important to note the triangular marks. Here the ITTE-KURU is balanced with the ITTE-KOI. The dialogue does not have honorifics. In the field survey, we can see such sayings which do not have honorifics in rural areas. It is very natural that we do not see honorifics here, because they are usually used as a courtesy to respected or upper class people.

We can see plain dialogues in both Maps 4 and 5, which do not have honorifics.

4.2.3 The circles are very few. On the maps based on the field survey, there are very few standard dialogues using the paired greeting expressions, "ITTE-KIMASU and ITTE-RASSHAI." In country areas, it is not necessary to imitate the urban manner. The greeting acts are slightly different from the urban style.

From the distribution patterns in Maps 4 and 5, the following conclusions were reached.

<Conclusions>

- (1) Map 4 is recognized as a linguistic atlas of "TATEMAE" based on the postal survey. It is a necessary part of the social life in urban areas to exchange greetings when family members leave for work in the morning. There is an inclination to give the standard style in response to the postal survey. An increase in the urban behavior of greeting resulted from the economical and social changes in Japan after 1960.
- (2) Map 5 is regarded as a linguistic atlas of "HONNE" based on the observed field survey. Many people in the villages are engaged in jobs near a small community. In these circumstances, it is rare to see the greeting behavior of

seeing off every morning.

- (3) It is a rural custom not to say anything to close blood relations in the morning. Also, the morning expressions are performed simply, without honorifics.
- (4) It is anticipated that the distribution of Map 5, will gradually change into that of Map 4 because of urbanization. The "HONNE" will probably disappear and the "TATEMAE" will gradually increase.

As mentioned above, I tried to interpret the linguistic atlas of greeting expressions and behavior in Japan. In this paper, the dialect atlas of only three questions was analyzed. Now, there are 85 items remaining, which are to be interpreted in the near future. I can not imagine how many problems there will be in trying to analyze them.

We could interpret the atlas by applying phonological rules, wave theory, analogical changes, homonymic conflict, and homonymic attraction etc. But on the interpretation of the linguistic atlas of greeting expressions and behavior, we could not utilize these rules at this time.

Finally, the following should be noted.

- When we study the linguistic atlas of greeting expressions and behavior, we must consult the changes in the human condition such as the economic situation and settlement- environments. This is the reason why the linguistic atlas displays the history of human life. And then, we need these synthetic viewpoints to interpret the linguistic atlas.
- For the sake of the development of geolinguistic study in the 21st century, we must actively study the language expressions and language behavior as found in the questionnaire answers and try to interpret them dynamically.

Note

This article is a revised version of a paper read at the plenary session of the Third International Congress of Dialectologists and Geolinguists in Poland, July 2000.

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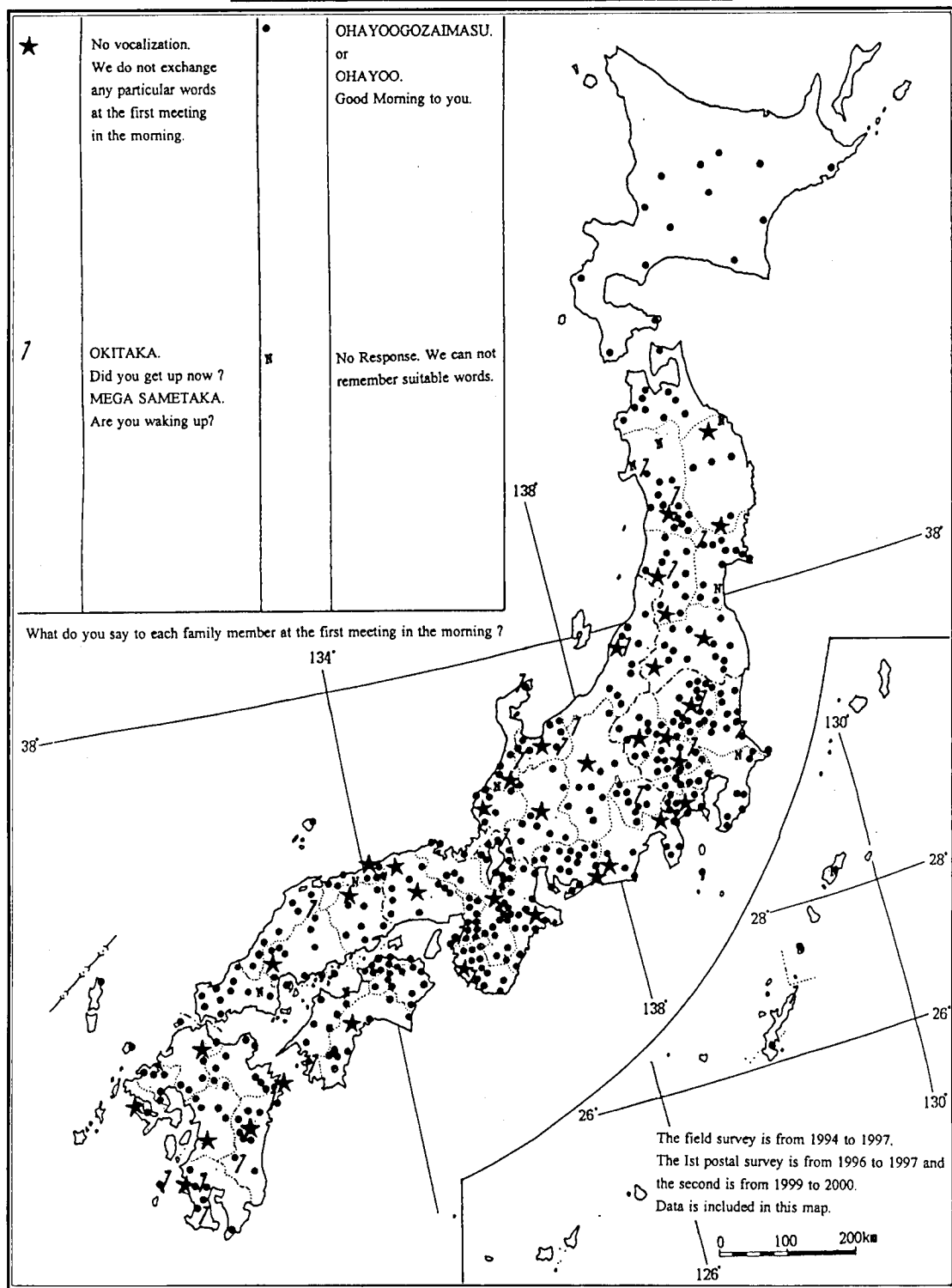
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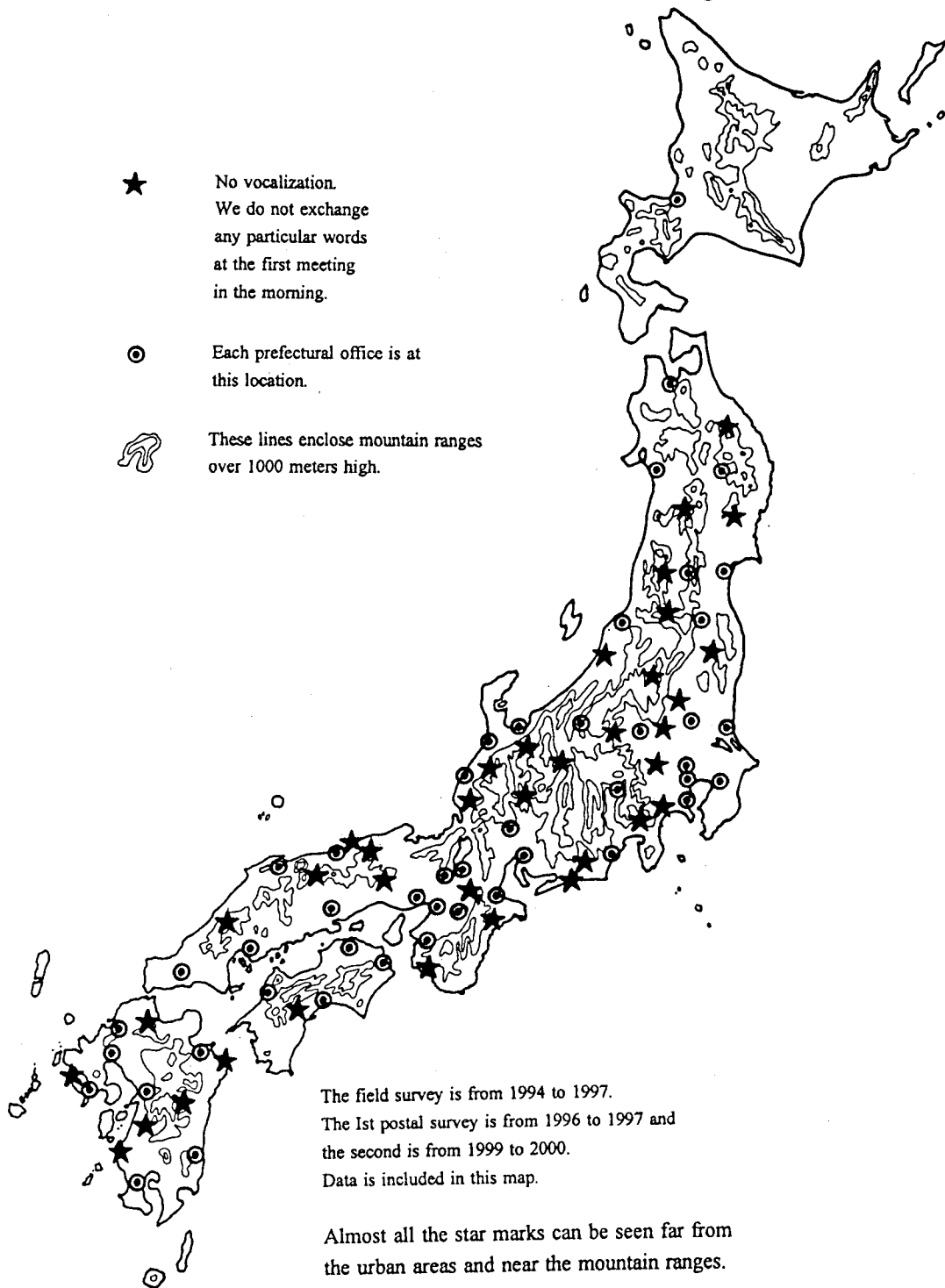
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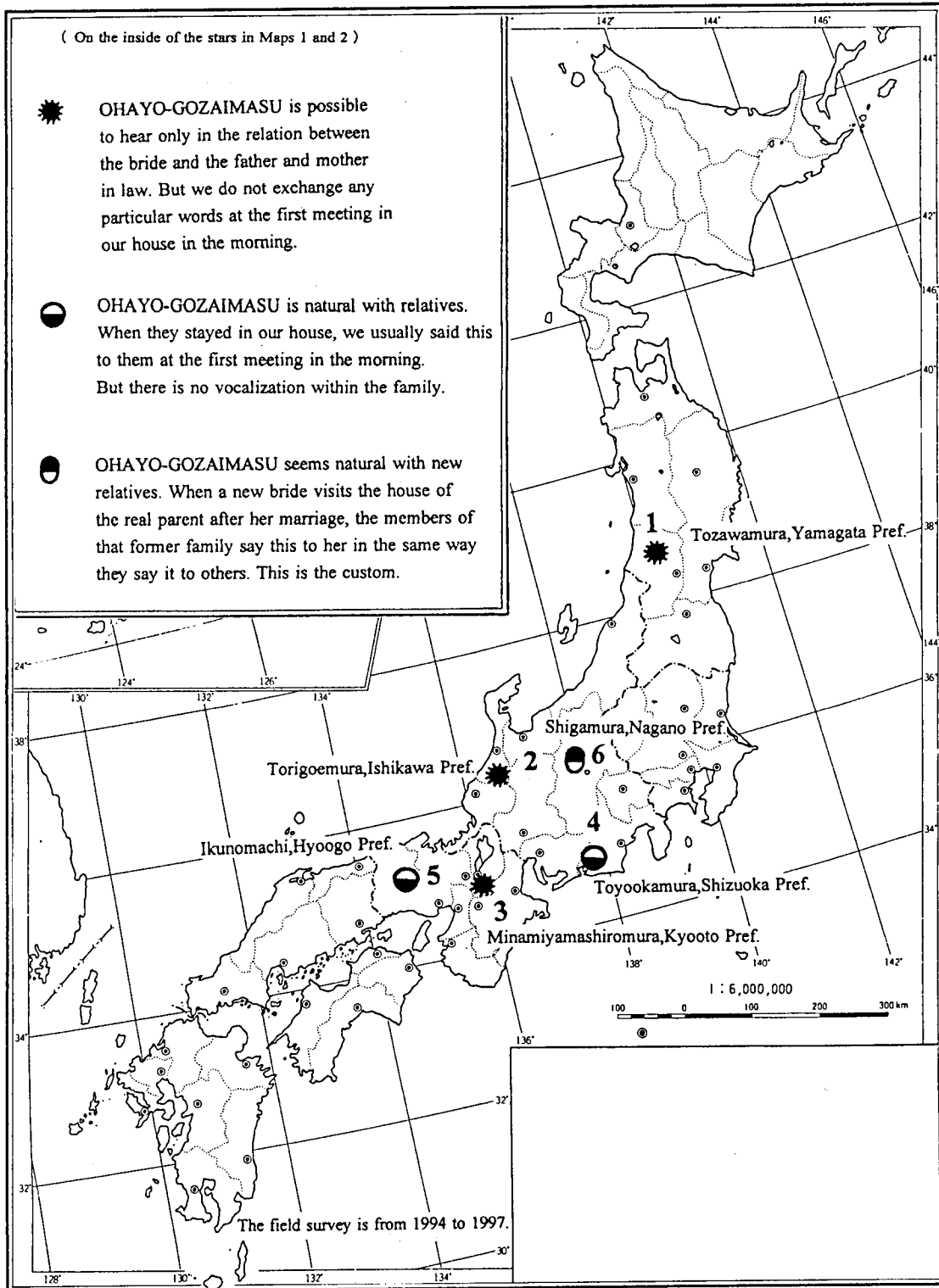
Map 1 Greeting expressions to the family at the first meeting in the morning



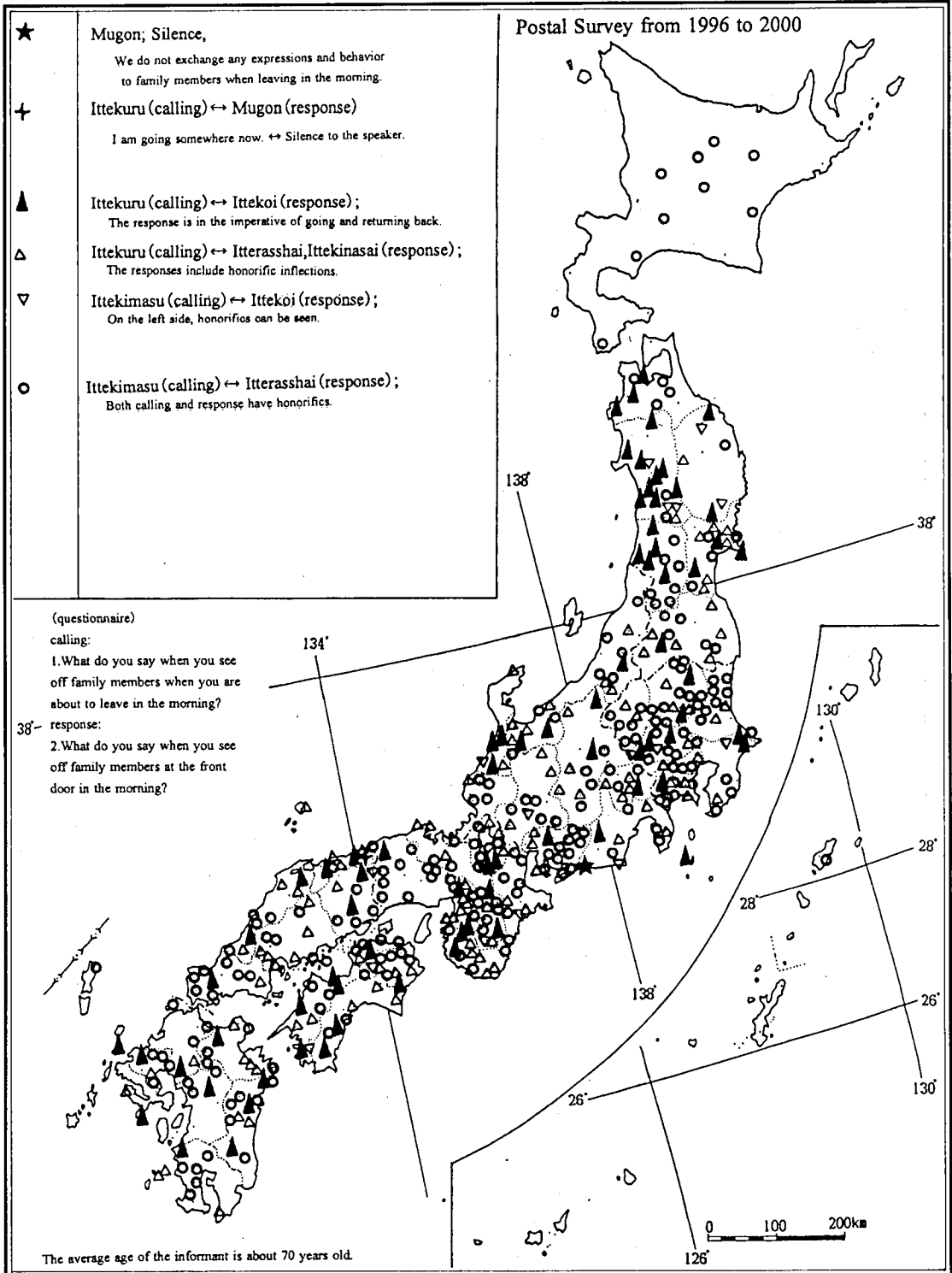
Map 2 Comparing the star marks with the situation of the mountain ranges in Japan



Map 3 Greeting Expressions to relatives at the first meeting in the morning



Map 4 " The TATEMAE ", Greeting expressions and behavior to family members when leaving in the morning



Map 5 "HONNE", An analysis of inner feelings of greeting expressions and behavior to family members."

Field Survey from 1994 to 1997

