



The Hokkaido Dialect

A Standardising Dialect?

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the standardisation process of the Hokkaido Dialect, a Japanese variety spoken on Japan's northernmost island. This dialect, in turn, will be compared to the island of Okinawa and its regional equivalent Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi. These islands are parallel to each other as they share similar historical and political events. To investigate the standardisation process and to be able to compare it to Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi, a survey was conducted. The aim of the survey was to investigate the usage of Hokkaido Dialect and the users' attitudes towards the dialect among three different generations of Dosankos, people from Hokkaido. This study concludes that the standardisation process has been long in the making but that it has slowed down over time. Furthermore, evidence shows that the young generation is more positive about the Hokkaido Dialect than past generations. Based on this, one can conclude that rather than standardising, the dialect is stabilising.

Keywords: Hokkaido Dialect, Dosanko, Kokugo, standardisation, language attitudes, language ideology, Standard Japanese, Common Japanese, Okinawa, Uchinaa-Yamatoguch

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CONVENTIONS

Romanization

For this thesis the modified Hepburn system will be used. Japanese words will also be written in italics, with the exception of words that are normally in English, for example Tokyo. Exceptions to this rule will be ‘Dosanko’, as written below, as well as ‘Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi’.

Other Conventions

People from Hokkaido will be referred to as 'Dosanko'.

There are many ways one can express ‘Hokkaido Dialect’, for example *Hokkaidō Hōgen*, or *Hokkaidōben*. For this thesis, only ‘Hokkaido Dialect’ will be used.

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1 INTRODUCTION

In the early Meiji Period, Japan forcefully colonised Hokkaido, the island populated by the indigenous population known as Ainu. While the Japanese for the most part ignored them to achieve greater things, eventually they turned their eyes towards the Ainu. At this time, the Japanese had a dream: to unify their people under one banner, under one race, under one language. Thus, the Ainu and their language became a problem. Policies were created to assimilate the Ainu into the Japanese bloodstream, essentially to remove their culture and language from existence. These policies and the forceful integration of Ainu into the Japanese society forced forward a new dialect: the Hokkaido Dialect. This new dialect is an amalgamation of a wide range of Japanese dialects and, to a lesser extent, the Ainu language.

The Japanese dream of unification was not limited to Hokkaido, as evidenced by the history of Okinawa. Since the start of the Meiji period, and even before that, the two islands have shared a parallel history of forceful colonisation and assimilation. The same language policies that resulted in the Hokkaido Dialect, also created the Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi dialect based on Okinawan and Japanese on Okinawa and left both indigenous languages close to extinction.

1.1 PURPOSE

The Ainu language has, especially in recent years, received a lot of attention, not just from Japan, but in the entire linguistic world. Despite modern revitalisation attempts, the Ainu language is likely to become extinct without drastic changes of Japanese language ideology. Studies on the Hokkaido Dialect, the consequence of these ideologies, has however been notably slim in recent years, with most of the studies done during the 20th century. It is possible that this is because the Hokkaido Dialect appears to be Common Japanese. Thus, the purpose of this paper is,

- To investigate the current situation of the standardisation process of the Hokkaido Dialect.
- To illuminate what the different generations of Dosankos think about their dialect.

Further, my study on the Dosanko attitudes to the Hokkaido Dialect will be compared to a previous study done by Josef Holmér in 2013. His study was on Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi, the Okinawan equivalent of Hokkaido and the Hokkaido Dialect. I based my study on his thesis. This will help answer my final purpose:

- Are there any difference between Dosanko's view of their dialect and Okinawan's view of Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi?

1.2 STRUCTURE

This thesis is divided into three different parts. The first part is a historical and sociolinguistic analysis of Hokkaido. This includes vital history leading up to the Meiji Restoration. Further, language ideology in Japan and how it functioned on Hokkaido will be discussed in detail. Then I will discuss the languages of Hokkaido, namely the Ainu language and the Hokkaido Dialect. The second part is a comparison of Hokkaido and Okinawa, which will be based on the previous part discussing Hokkaido. This will be done to provide a historical and sociolinguistic background of the two islands, and include a review on Josef Holmér's thesis. The third part is where I will outline my study and methodology. I will then analyse the results of the survey that was conducted, and compare them to Holmér's study. Finally, I will conclude the thesis by discussing the research and comparison.

2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF HOKKAIDO

During Tokugawa Shogunate, the Oshima Peninsula in southern Hokkaido was the domain of the Matsumae, the Shogunate's contact with the Ainu (Jansen,2000:258, Howell,1995:28,96-97). The Ainu land, known as *Ezochi*, 'land of the eastern barbarians' or 'alien land' (Howell,1999:96, Heinrich,2012:93). The Ainu tried to get rid of the invaders in 1669, but failed to unite and never tried again (Howell,1995:29, Heinrich,2012:93, see Walker,2001).

In 1853, the United States sent Commodore Matthew C. Perry on a mission to open Japan (Jansen,2000:275). He was instructed to resort to gunboat diplomacy, if all else were to fail. For weeks Perry and Japan negotiated until they finally reached the conclusion that the Japanese would open the two ports to the outside world (Jansen,2000:2-77278, see Hawks,1856, Ch XXIII). This, in effect, opened more than just the ports themselves. It also created a dialogue for Japanese politics. It was now clear they could no longer be isolated from the world. In turn, this led to the downfall of the Tokugawa Shogunate. This became known as the Meiji Restoration (Jansen,2000:280-283,294).

The Meiji Restoration began with the Japanese development of Hokkaido, later described as colonisation by Mason (2012), Howell (1995) and Siddle (1996). It is not surprising that Hokkaido's previous linguistic identity was taken, and given the new name Hokkaido, *North Sea Circuit* (Heinrich,2012:93). The Ainu became *kyudojin*, 'former aborigines', an ethnic minority. (Howell,1999:101, Howell,2004:7-9,11-13, Heinrich,2012:95-96). The Ainu would join the Japanese bloodstream or be exterminated (Howell,2004:24). Siddle (1996:3) writes that the Japanese colonialism was much like western colonialism, in that racism became a defining tool. As such, the Ainu became defined as anyone that would be recognised as an aborigine (Howell,2004:12).

3 LANGUAGE POLICIES, IDEOLOGY, STANDARDISATION

The Meiji Restoration brought a lot of changes, not just political, but also a new infrastructure and culture. One of the most important changes was the new language policies. For a modern society they had to achieve a national language. The Meiji government had to get support from the people to evolve the Japanese language (Heinrich,2012:59). Especially since before the forced modernisation, Japan did not need any language policies. After Commodore Perry forcefully opened the country, the Japanese found themselves backed into a corner. They needed to define their place to avoid colonisation (Heinrich,2012:3-4). The Meiji government did this by creating, “the Japanese”, by forcefully making their lands monolingual (Heinrich,2012:6).

3.1 KOKUGO, HYŌJUNGO AND KYŌTSŪGO

Ueda Kazutoshi, a Japanese linguist, had an idea of how Japanese could be the common language. When he studied in Europe, he had witnessed national languages in Germany and its surrounding countries. This convinced him that Japan needed a national language to show national unity and to stand next to other countries in the modern world (Heinrich,2012:60-63). To achieve this dream, he had already accepted eradication of dialects as an acceptable means to achieve a national language like in Germany. He spent many years arguing for his dreams and gaining recognition. He eventually became the director of the Ministry of Education’s bureau of Higher Education. In April 1901, his plans went into action. A national language was established into the school curriculum. Ueda had a domino effect, leading to Japan’s school subject *Kokugo*, ‘national language’, being created (Heinrich,2012:67).

There are several terms used in these scenarios that needs to be properly addressed going forward. *Kokugo*, as explained above, is national language. One could say it is the main official language of the country; the language that unites the nation. For Japan, it is Japanese; for Germany, it is German, etc. In some ways it is an ideology, not just a language (Heinrich,2012:81-82). Sibata (1999:186) states that *Kokugo* is a term unique to Japan, and hence troublesome to translate. This is because translators, in other words, non-natives, do not understand the reasons why it is different to “Japanese language”.

Standard Japanese, on the other hand, is a bit different. Known in Japan as *hyōjungo*, it is not an ideology like *Kokugo*, but rather the effect of *Kokugo*. In the early 19th century, this was the Standard Japanese. Standard Japanese was established in 1916 by the upper class to unify

Japan. Only the Standard, so called correct, Japanese was allowed. This new Japanese became widely enforced throughout Japan and attempted to destroy minority languages as well as other Japanese dialects. These languages and dialects were in the way of *Kokugo* (Ota and Takano,2014:171-172, Shibatani,1990:186-187).

Common Japanese is a more accessible post-war version of Standard Japanese, known as *kyōtsūgo*. Enforcing people to speak the Tokyo dialect was no longer in effect and it was more open to dialectal traits of Japanese. This allowed bi-dialectalism, the ability to speak the ‘standard’ language and one of its dialects at the same time (Ota and Takano,2014:171-173, Shibatani,1990:186-187), to flourish. However, when comparing *hyōjungo* and *kyōtsūgo*, Ota and Takano writes (2014:173):

Precisely speaking, they are different, but their distinction is not always clear; people have only vague normative ideas about them.

In other words, Standard Japanese and Common Japanese can be interpreted in practice and theory to be the same.

With the beginning of the Meiji era, school enrolment was almost total. Because of this, the *Kokugo*, now in the form of Standard Japanese, was effectively taught to all citizens. However, the effectiveness of this education did not go far beyond the scopes of reading or writing. Effectively making Standard Japanese the “language of State approved textbooks” (Sibata,1999:190). In the 1960s, a notable experiment was performed in Hokkaido to investigate the process of Standard Language. Students were given sentences in Hokkaido Dialect, with the instruction to correct them to what they thought was Standard Japanese. They were expected to change the dialect form of *shimere*, to the standard *shimero*, ‘to close’. Instead, they changed the colloquial form of *teru* into *te iru*. The examples they gave were normal in Tokyo, after correction of the dialect word. People from Tokyo would most likely find this acceptable. However, the reason the students chose what they did is that the written Standard Japanese is all they had to go on. For the participants, Standard Japanese was only the written language, the participants’ language when speaking was still mostly unaffected by both Standard and Common Japanese (Sibata, 1999:190).

3.2 HOKKAIDO DIALECT

Takano (2013:1) writes that after the war, different dialects across Japan were rigorously studied and observed for the effects of standardisation. One such dialect, the Hokkaido Dialect, became known to be one of the most standardised dialects. This followed a lot of linguistic studies observing the phenomenon in Hokkaido. However, this for the most part ended in the 1980s. Research on the Hokkaido Dialect since then has been slim, with the likely cause that people firmly believe that it has dialect levelled to Common Japanese (Takano,2013:30, Dallyn,2017:19). Sibata's editors (1999:229) summarises that it is "popularly supposed" that the Hokkaido Dialect is Standard Japanese. According to the editors, Sibata's work shows that it might not be correct that the dialect is standardising. However, the original work was published in 1959 so it may not be true to later studies.

Sibata's paper, *The evolution of Common Language in Hokkaido*, was translated and published by his editors in 1999. He created the term Hokkaido Common Language based on the notion that even in the 1950s, Hokkaido Dialect was said to be like the Common Language, a then new term in the field. Sibata began his study in 1958, by locating families that had members of three different generations. The first generation moved to Hokkaido at the time of colonisation, from western Japan. Their children and grandchildren grew up on Hokkaido and became the second and third generations in the study. These families were also all located inland, so they spoke inland Hokkaido Dialect.

When Sibata compiled the data from their interviews, they learned many things. Contrary to what one might expect, even the first generation spoke a butchered mix of different dialects, a mix of their original dialects and the dialects they came into contact with. For example, in Common Japanese one would say *sutōbu*, when referring to a stove. The first-generation informant used *sutōfu*, an example of Aomori dialect, rather than their native Kochi Dialect. The second and third generations, however, used *sutōbu*. This is an example of what Sibata describes as Hokkaido Common Language. Second-, as well as third-, generation individuals seemed to be closer to Standard Japanese, with their own unique traits. Sibata agrees that Hokkaido Dialect is like Tokyo Japanese. The parts that are not like Tokyo Japanese can mostly be attributed to Northern Tohoku, although this is probably only indirectly. It is more likely that these parts came from the southern coastal regions of Hokkaido, the coastal dialect. Sibata concludes that this needs further study (Sibata,1999:241,248).

Takano (2013:1) writes that although a largescale standardisation has been observed, New Dialects (or neo-dialects) have been formed across Japan. These New Dialects have been observed in conjunction with the standardisation in Hokkaido. Since the peak of the 1980s, Takano (2013:1) argues that large-scale studies on the actual state of the Hokkaido Dialect remains undone, which is why he chose this area of study. He conducted his study(2013) in the early 2010s, which he then compared to 50 and 25 year-old studies of the Hokkaido Dialect conducted by NINJAL (1965,1997) and Ono (1983).

Language does not change much in people's individual time lines. As illustrated by Takano (2013:2), seniors today will have their language acquisition from the 1940s-1960s. After exiting their language acquisition period, language change naturally becomes difficult. This effect can be seen early, even in Sibata's (1999:231) first generation speakers. These speakers lived outside Hokkaido since birth until they were around 15 years old. This would mean they continued their language acquisition in Hokkaido, with the mixtures of dialects. Hence, they started speaking butchered dialects.

Takano's own survey (2013:5) was carefully conducted in line with the previous studies so they would be easier to compare. The respondents came from three regions, Sapporo, Inland Hokkaido excluding Sapporo, and the coast. Takano chose to do this, so he could observe the coastal and inland differences of the dialect. Further, he had 241 respondents, 163 (67.63%) females, and 78 (32.36%) men.

Further evidence of the standardisation trend in the Hokkaido Dialect could be found in his data (2013:27). However, standardisation has slowed down in the coastal areas of Hokkaido. A trend like this could be seen in one of the previous surveys that he investigated, which showed regional differences in the standardisation of the dialect. Further, even though the standardisation seems to continue, some forms of the dialect remain unchanged and grows in parallel with the Common Language. Takano concludes that the young generation in Hokkaido clearly can use Common Language in conjunction with their dialect forms.

Ota and Takano (2014:171,173) gives us a scenario of a parent complaining that their kid watches too much TV, thus losing their dialect. Ota and Takano call this TV Japanese, which spreads Common Japanese, at a fast rate across the entire country. Ota and Takano (2014:181-182), analyse Ono's study (1993) of lexical accent in Sapporo, Hokkaido. Hokkaido is a region commonly known to be standardising, with markedly higher standardisation in the generations of

people watching TV. This is one of Ono's main arguments for the Hokkaido Dialect being in the process of standardising. However, Ota and Takano (2014:186) claim that any survey like this should be taken as the individual speaker's comprehension, instead of their actual use of Common Language (TV Japanese). Further, Ota and Takano (2014:199) explains that it is difficult to accurately assign the TV itself as a cause of standardisation, as it became common during the post war era when society was modernised in many ways.

Another survey was conducted to test doctors' dialect usage when interacting with patients in 2006 (Yasuhara et al. 2008). Their results (17-18) showed that, generally, the doctors in Hokkaido and Tohoku use dialect less than in other regions. The reason for that is unknown, especially since the Tohoku region is often cited as having a thick accent. There could also be a greater divide between Hokkaido and Tohoku, further study is necessary as in the study they were counted as the same region.

3.3 AINU

While previous contact with Ainu existed before the Meiji Restoration, as seen in section 2.1 and 2.2, they were not subjected to linguistic assimilation at the time. They were free to do as they wished; some Ainu even reached proficiency in neighbouring languages. Even at the start of the restoration, not much emphasis was placed on assimilating the Ainu with the general population. Notably, the Ainu were a very small population. Later, Ueda's dream of *Kokugo* turned the Ainu into a problem, which would be solved through assimilation (Heinrich,2012:94-95). Special schools for Ainu were created following the Ainu Education System in 1901, with the intent of furthering the Ainu integration into Japanese society. 89% of Ainu children went to school in 1907, peaking at 99% in 1927. These schools were in Japanese only, to enforce *Kokugo*. The Ainu language was strictly prohibited at school. This was an act of kindness, even though it resulted in further discrimination (Howell,2004:9-10, Heinrich,2012:95-96).

The Ainu Education System focused primarily on Japanese language and assimilation into society, while ignoring school subjects that the Japanese people received, for example history or geography. Takekuma Tokusaburou, an Ainu elementary school teacher, was concerned over these schools being negative for his people. He emphasised proper education, something that the Ainu desperately needed to help them integrate into society. The Ainu only got 4 years in school, while the Japanese had 6. More education would allow the Ainu to become useful citizens. Not

only were they discriminated against in terms of the education, they were told at school that they were an inferior race, simply because of blood. The *Kokugo* dream destroyed language, dialects, and minorities. Some called it a natural consequence of modernisation (Howell,2004:15, Heinrich,2012:97). Kyosuke Kindaichi, author of *Study of the Ainu* (1925), said

It is common knowledge that the Ainu population will disappear completely from the earth within the next two generations. (cited in Nakagawa, 1999:371)

Kokugo and its effects lead to a downfall in Ainu culture and language. The Ainu people and their language had three main branches: Kuril Islands, Sakhalin, and Hokkaido. Kuril Islands Ainu became extinct in 1963, and Sakhalin Ainu in 1994. Hokkaido Ainu remains the only survivor of the three branches. However, most of the native speakers have passed away. Left are only semi-speakers, second language learners, and token speakers that only use the language in restrictive domains, such as music. This in turn has led UNESCO to pronounce the language as critically endangered (Heinrich,2012:141-143). Nakagawa (1999:373), however, seems more optimistic that the language will survive, and that Ainu is not yet dead, although quite endangered. In contrast, Dubreuil, the co-editor of *Ainu Spirit of a Northern People* (2007:33), says

We have to face the fact that the Japanese language is the language of Japan, and we were forced to be part of Japan. The Ainu language will never again be the ‘spoken’ language of the Ainu people, and to now throw money at us for Ainu language study is hypocritical!

She is not optimistic about the prospect of the Ainu language once again becoming their spoken language. She claims more good will come from focusing on other aspects of the Ainu.

3.4 SUMMARY

As we can conclude from this section, a lot of the studies available seem to indicate that the Hokkaido Dialect is slowly turning into Common Language. Ainu is almost extinct. Country wide standard education, mass media, culture, travelling, etc. could all potentially cause dialects to standardise into one united language, and cause minority languages to disappear. It is a harsh environment for languages and dialects not considered standard.

4 LANGUAGES OF HOKKAIDO

Historically, most of Hokkaido spoke variations of Ainu, while the south of Hokkaido spoke old Japanese. This was generally stable up until the Meiji period's colonization, and the *Kokugo*. Based on this, we can conclude that the Hokkaido Dialect is a mixture of multiple dialects. Sibata (1996, cited in Kato 2016:43), who reviewed the *Linguistic Atlas of Japan (NINJAL)*, conducted a study that compared and contrasted 1675 words from the Hokkaido Dialect with those from other prefectures. Sibata's study concluded that, at most, Hokkaido Dialect had a 42.6% similarity with Tohoku dialect, followed by Chūbu at 34.5%. When you look at individual prefectures which are presented in in Kato (2016:44), the prefecture with the most similarity is Niigata in Chūbu with 51.5% similarity. Surprisingly, however, is that Aomori, the prefecture closest to Hokkaido, shares only 41% dialect similarity.

Hokkaido Dialect itself is generally split in two groups, the coastal dialect that has been developed since the start of Matsumae domain, and the inland dialect that has developed since the Meiji Restoration (Asahi, 2015:68, Dallyn, 2017:20). Thus, the Tohoku influence is stronger on coastal, while Tokyo dialect became stronger inland. This is further emphasized in Sanada and Uemura (2007:359), who state that, apart from Hokkaido, the further you are from Tokyo, the less Standard Japanese it becomes. However, the Hokkaido Dialect has a lot of unique traits of Japanese you do not see in or to the same extent as other dialects, such as Anticausativization and Passivization (see Nishimoto, 2010, Sasaki,2013, Sasaki,2015, Sasaki and Yamazaki, 2006,

Ainu, on the other hand, has tried to survive ever since they were forced to assimilate. Now, only a handful of Ainu speakers remain. A lot of Ainu grammar has been influenced by Japanese, though Ainu had no impact of its own on Japanese grammar, and only a small influence of words (Bugaeva,2012:498-499, Tamura,1999:60). The largest influence they had on the Japanese language was their place names, all over Hokkaido (OAMP), which are notoriously hard to read (Sibata,1999:264). For further information about the Ainu language, refer to (Bugaeva, 2012, Tamura,1999, Sibata 1999, Shibatani, 1990, OAMP).

5 HOKKAIDO AND OKINAWA ANALYSIS

Before comparing the results of this survey with a previous study done based on an Okinawan dialect (Holmér,2013), we must first discuss why it is important to compare the two.

Linguistically, they are very different, and, as can be seen in Kato's data (2016:44), they only have a 5.4% similarity in lexical comparison. The reason for comparing these two islands is the historical and sociolinguistic similarity between the two islands, which is often not discussed.

Hokkaido and Okinawa are on the opposite sides of Japan. Hokkaido is a snowy island in the north, while Okinawa is a tropical island in the south. Both have their own indigenous people, the Ainu for Hokkaido and the Ryukyuan people for Okinawa. They were both relatively free up until the Meiji restoration, when both islands were colonised by the Japanese mainland. They then shared a similar history on opposite sides of Japan until the Second World War. At this point, their development started to branch off in different directions, notably because of the American settlement of Okinawa.

5.1 HISTORICAL COMPARISON

The Ryukyu Islands were once an independent kingdom with well established contacts with the outside world. (Heinrich,2012:84, Hein and Selden,2003:10). This contrasts with what was discussed in section 2 regarding the Ainu. While the Ainu did not have a kingdom, they could separate their land and the Japanese land (Siddle,1999:69). They were a free independent people like the Ryukyus. In addition, they had the freedom to contact the outside world, although they mostly kept in contact with non-Hokkaido Ainu from Sakhalin or the Kuril Islands.

In 1609, at the start of the Tokugawa period, the Satsuma clan invaded the Ryukyu Kingdom, which formally caused Okinawa to become part of Japanese politics. They disarmed the kingdom and turned it into a vassal state. Satsuma claimed that the people of Ryukyu were not only foreign, in contrast to the Japanese, but also *barbarians*. (Heinrich,2012:84, Jansen, 2000:86, Hein and Selden,2003:9-10). In Hokkaido, the Matsumae had moved in to the Oshima Peninsula, formally opening their relationship with the Ainu. Like the Okinawans, they were so called barbarians, not Japanese.

Before Commodore Perry forcefully opened Japan and triggered the Tokugawa downfall, he visited Naha, on Okinawa. He believed that it was under tyrannical rule, and that the United States should consider taking the islands for themselves. However, even though Okinawa was a

vassal state of Japan, ships, American or otherwise, could already pass and stop at Naha before the opening of Japan (Jansen,2000:277-278). One could argue that the Tokugawa cared more about Hokkaido than they did about Okinawa. This could be because of the Russians roaming around Hokkaido (see Jansen,2000:261). If the Japanese lost Hokkaido, they would be in a bad position in case of potential Russian invasion, so they had closed off the island. Okinawa, on the other hand, was already opened and influenced by outside powers.

The last two prefectures of Japan proper were Hokkaido followed shortly by Okinawa. Both were forcibly colonised without concern for the indigenous people. Although, after the Ainu's failed attempt in 1669 to be free from the Japanese, the Ainu stopped resisting completely (Heinrich,2012:84-85).

From a historical perspective, Hokkaido's and Okinawa's parallel history branches of at the end of the Second World War. America invaded Okinawa in April 1945, in one of the bloodiest battles in American history. It was even bloodier for the Japanese and the Okinawan population (Jansen,2000:650, Hein and Selden,2003:13). While Hokkaido did not suffer as greatly as other parts of Japan, especially compared to Okinawa, it was in danger of getting invaded by the Soviets (WC1, 1945, WC2,1945, WC3,1945, WC4,1945). The planned invasion never happened, possibly due to the American atomic bombs, and the fact that the Soviets did not have their own nuclear weapons until 1949 (Truman, 1949).

With an American presence remaining from the Second World War up until the Korean War, it became clear to the Okinawans that the Americans intended to permanently occupy the Ryukyu Islands because of their interests in the area. The Japanese even used this notion to achieve their own independence from America in 1952, leaving Okinawa secluded from Japan as it was turned into an American military colony. The island was, however, returned to Japan in 1972, on the condition that the American military was allowed to remain. While the Okinawans wanted to return to Japan, they expected to get rid of the American military when they did. That this did not happen caused Okinawans to be further displeased with the situation (Heinrich:2012,99-100, Hein and Selden,2003:19-22)

5.2 LANGUAGE POLICIES AND IDEOLOGY COMPARISON

Initially, the Japanese problem with Okinawans on Okinawa was like that of the Ainu on Hokkaido. Communication issues and the simple fact that they existed in opposition to what

came to be Ueda's *Kokugo*. The Japanese Government needed to assimilate the roughly 600 000 Okinawans, starting in the 1880s. This was done earlier than on Hokkaido, because the Ainu's low number of an estimated 17 000, they were not a large concern to the Japanese before *Kokugo* (Heinrich,2012:88,95).

The Okinawan language was forbidden to be used in public. Furthermore, it became defined as a Japanese dialect in 1907 and was subsequently outlawed. This was unique to Okinawa, as it was not considered necessary to use such force for other dialects. This led to most Japanese, as well as the Okinawans themselves, referring to their languages as dialects since 1907 (Heinrich,2012:155). An effect of this were the so-called dialect tags. If a student spoke Okinawan, which was considered bad language, they would have to wear a dialect tag around their necks until someone else spoke it and they could pass the tag on. This led to *Kokugo*, Standard Japanese, being strictly enforced on Okinawa (Heinrich,2012:89-90). For Ainu in Hokkaido, the compulsory education with strict Standard Japanese, the *Kokugo*, also began in the early 20th century. Although the Ainu were certainly discriminated against, as discussed earlier, they do not seem to have had to use dialect tags, which could possibly be because it was deemed unnecessary due to the small Ainu population (Heinrich,2012:95).

During the early years of the American occupation of Okinawa, another key difference is that the Okinawans were allowed, and even encouraged, to use their own languages, unlike the Ainu in Hokkaido. Even General McArthur, the Commander of the Allied Forces, supported the fact that Okinawans were not Japanese, something that the Japanese had long tried to make the Okinawans believe. But even so, with the US giving them the power to choose their own education again, they returned to pre-war Japanese education, the *Kokugo* education, from the 1950s onward (Heinrich,2012:101-103).

There are several languages on the Ryukyu Islands, and they are noticeably less endangered than the Ainu language (Heinrich,2012:155). This difference could be related to several factors. As discussed in the previous paragraph, the fact that the US let them use their language again could have breathed life into the language, while the Ainu language has been suppressed for a longer period. Additionally, there has always been a lot less Ainu than Okinawans, though there does not seem to be a concise answer to how many Ainu there are, other than the fact it is a low number. A. H. Savage Landor wrote in his book *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* (1893), that there could not have been more than 8 000 Ainu across Hokkaido

(1893:x). This is in strong contrast against the rough estimate of 17 000 Ainu in the early 19th century.

5.3 THE HOKKAIDO DIALECT AND THE UCHINAA-YAMATOGUCHI

As we have thoroughly discussed, the Hokkaido Dialect was a direct result of language ideology and historical context by combining the languages of the colonisers of Hokkaido, while discarding the local ‘barbaric’ language of the Ainu. Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi, on the other hand, is a dialect that was the result of similar ideology and historical context by combining the languages of the colonisers with the local ‘barbaric’ Okinawan language, another Japonic language (Holmér, 2013:10,15,17,19). The key difference here is that Ainu had almost no influence on the Hokkaido Dialect, as established in section 3.3 and 4, while the local language of Okinawan in Okinawa, despite Japan’s best efforts, had a large influence on Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi (Holmér, 2013:19). For more detailed discussion of the Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi, readers are referred to Holmér (2013).

5.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I briefly discussed the similarities between Okinawa and Hokkaido. The invasion and subsequent control of the then Okinawan vassal state by the Satsuma clan, who were the Okinawan equivalent of Hokkaido’s Matsumae. These clans, and other Japanese, viewed both indigenous people as barbarians. Further, Commodore Perry visited both islands as he was opening Japan. I also discussed the main differences between Okinawa and Hokkaido, namely the effects of the Second World War.

With regard to Japan’s language policies, Okinawa was considered a more pressing matter than Hokkaido when it comes to assimilation of the indigenous population, mostly because of their difference in numbers. The similarities of the new prefectures, when it comes to their education and forced usage of Japanese in the classroom to achieve their goal of *Kokugo*, is immense. The people of Okinawa as well as the Ainu faced various kinds of discrimination for using their language, or simply being alien. Finally, the differences between the dialects were explained.

6 OVERVIEW OF UCHINAA-YAMATOGUCHI: YET ANOTHER ENDANGERED VARIETY ON OKINAWA?

Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi: Yet Another Endangered Variety on Okinawa? is a bachelor's thesis written by Josef Holmér in 2013. He performed the original study on which I based my own and which I will compare my results to. This section will be a short overview of his thesis.

Holmér's thesis starts with a historical overview, outlining major events in relation to Okinawa, but also includes detailed descriptions of Okinawan language policies. The next section is written to define Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi's place on Okinawa, by defining the Okinawan languages and different dialects. Holmér (2013:15) states that the general agreement between linguists is that it is Standard Japanese tinged by the Okinawan Language. However, it is best to describe it as a mixed language, in contrast to dialects (2013:28).

Holmér wants to highlight the future of Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi and the dangers of standardisation it faces. He identifies the potential dangers of mass media, TV Japanese as Ota and Takano (2014) would call it, but also highlights the potential of language revitalisation using said media. The previous language ideology, *Kokugo*, is also still a strong concept in Okinawa, as one cannot both be Japanese and Okinawan at the same time (Holmér,2013:32). Holmér (2013:34) speculates that because the youth in Okinawa already achieved a satisfactory level of difference from Japan, they do not need to revitalise the Okinawan language. Thus, this mixed culture has become their new identity.

His survey targeted Okinawans in the age group 15-25, as previous generations of Okinawans have already been thoroughly discussed elsewhere. A total of 53 participated in his survey, 13 men and 40 women. The participants were further tasked to answer if they live on the island or on the mainland. However, Holmér (2013:41) maintains that no tendency can be discerned based on gender or location and will not discuss them further in his study. His study generally confirmed what previous studies have shown, but that he could still observe that Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi is still moving towards standardisation. Despite this, attitudes to the dialect and the Okinawan language itself are very positive (2013:56-59). I will compare all his relevant results to my own study in section 8.

7 SURVEY

Until now I have discussed in detail the history of Hokkaido, the language policies, ideologies, etc. of Japan, and how it was executed on Hokkaido and towards the Ainu. I then briefly discussed an overview of dialects in Japan, and wrote in more detail about the Hokkaido Dialect, as well as the Ainu language.

I then compared these discussions to the prefecture of Okinawa, to establish a sociolinguistic connection to justify this thesis. In the next sections, I will analyse the Hokkaido Dialect survey and its result and compare it to Josef Holmér's bachelor's thesis, *Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi: Yet Another Endangered Variety on Okinawa?* (2013), which is the backdrop to my thesis.

7.1 METHODOLOGY

While interviews would have been preferable from a qualitative perspective, a survey was ultimately chosen. This was because the quantity of answers becomes important in studies about attitudes to their own language or dialect. It was also chosen because the target demographic are people who were born and have grown up on Hokkaido. Most of these people still live on Hokkaido, so conducting interviews from Sweden would have been impractical.

In contrast to Holmér's methodology, I included all age groups of Dosankos instead of focusing on the age group of 15-25 years of age. I deliberately chose this because a previous dialect attitude study like Holmér's on Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi, has not been done on the Hokkaido Dialect. In fact, most previous research (see Takano,2013, Dallyn,2017, Sibata,1999, Ota and Takano,2014, Nishimoto,2010) focuses on the standardisation of the dialect and general vocabulary.

The survey consists of 18 questions and 11 sub-questions. 13 of these questions were made optional and were included to provide further insight from the Dosanko respondents if they wanted to clarify their choices or to provide other information. An additional 7 questions, 3 of which were optional, were asked to obtain background information on the participants in order to potentially categorize them.

Since this is a sociolinguistic study that relies on the respondents' answers and attitudes, a few points need to be addressed. While great precaution was taken with regard to distributing the survey to reach Dosankos and not other Japanese, it still puts the survey at risk. It is possible that

the Dosanko contacts only spread it to people with similar views and beliefs, or that Dosankos with a negative view of the Hokkaido Dialect and culture simply did not care to answer the survey. Additionally, some questions could be considered as taboo by the respondents, which would impact how they would respond to those questions. These are important points to consider in this study, as it is a study about their attitudes. It should be further noted that since it is a study about attitudes, it cannot accurately portray the actual situation of standardisation.

7.2 WORD CHOICES

I have been very deliberate in the wording of the survey questions 2, 3, 5, 11a, 13a, 16b, 16c and 17 in Japanese. As discussed in section 3.1, there are several terms used to describe standardisation. I chose the term *hyōjungo* when I asked these questions, because I felt it was the most accurate word to describe the historical and language policy context of the aggressive Hokkaido Dialect Standardisation. Further, in section 3.1, I discussed the other term, *kyōtsūgo*, which became the normally used term after the Second World War. I still decided to employ the other term, *hyōjungo*, except in one question where I decided to use *kyōtsūgoka* instead. *Kyōtsūgoka* could also be translated simply as ‘standardisation’ as it is when used by Takano (2013). A more complex translation would be ‘Common Language standardisation’. I chose this change to provide a contrast between question 11a and 11e. 11a is as follows, *Do you think the Hokkaido Dialect will standardise to the point it no longer exists?* In Japanese, I phrased this question with *hyōjungo* to reflect Standard Japanese, on par with pre-war Japanese language ideology, which is more aggressive. On the other hand, 11e, *Do you think Hokkaido Dialect is becoming standardised? Yes? No?* In English, we would use the same term, standardised, but in the actual Japanese question, I phrased it with *kyōtsūgoka*. *Kyōtsūgoka* reflects post-war Common Language ideology, which was not as aggressive as *hyōjungo*. The first question, 11a, is asking if the respondents think the Tokyo Japanese is aggressively making Hokkaido Dialect Standard Japanese. The point of 11e is instead asking if the respondents think that the Common Japanese is their main language, while still allowing them to be bidialectal. I chose to phrase it this way, even though Ota and Takano (2014:173) noted that while there are differences in the terms, most people do not know the difference.

7.3 RESPONDENTS

The survey was distributed using Google forms, through a variety of Dosanko contacts who helped me spread it around Hokkaido, which resulted in 100 respondents. The first question I asked was if they were a Dosanko or not. Dosanko is a word used in Hokkaido as well as throughout modern Japan to identify someone as being born on Hokkaido. As Kotobank (2018) simply puts it, ‘Person born on Hokkaido’.

I gave the options to say ‘yes’, ‘no’, ‘*Hokkaidōjin*’ and ‘Ainu’. 79 respondents identify as Dosanko, while twelve says they are not. *Hokkaidōjin* can be translated as ‘person from Hokkaido’, but it is not the term normally used. I specifically chose to add this in case a respondent was born in Hokkaido but did not identify as Dosanko. I believe adding the *Hokkaidōjin* option was a mistake as, based on the data, I did not get my point across. However, the nine that responded *Hokkaidōjin* are, based on their responses, noticeably Dosanko by the word’s very definition, so they will be added to the Dosanko total (88). The twelve remaining respondents that stated they were not Dosanko could, based on their answers, be considered Dosanko by others. However, since they did not identify as Dosanko or *Hokkaidōjin*, and in some cases cannot even be identified as being born in Hokkaido, they will not be included in the main part of the survey, and they will not be further discussed. Finally, the option to respond with ‘Ainu’ was given in case someone would be or identify as Ainu. I got no response there, so it will not be discussed further in this paper.

The respondents were asked for their age, which I further divided into three age groups: ‘18-29’, ‘30-49’, and ‘50+’. As expected, most respondents were in the first age group, with the second group not far behind. The third age group was, as expected, the lowest at only 16 respondents. Further, I asked for their gender, with the option not to state their gender. Almost everyone responded either ‘male’ or ‘female’, the clear majority of which were female respondents, at 71 with 27 at men respectively. Lastly, I asked how many were currently living in Hokkaido, most of which were still living there. Due to a combination of largely uneven numbers of the genders, as well as the fact that there does not appear to be a general tendency based on gender, this will not be discussed further.

Table 1: Participant's identity

Total Number of Participants:	100
Dosanko + <i>Hokkaidōjin</i>	88 (88%)
Not Dosanko	12 (12%)
Ainu	0 (0%)

Table 2: Participant's age

Age span:	18-61 years
18-29	46 (46%)
30-49	38 (38%)
50+	16 (16%)

Table 3: Participant's gender

Gender	Participants
Men:	27 (27%)
Women:	71 (71%)
Prefer not to say:	2 (2%)

Table 4: Participants living in Hokkaido

Residing in Hokkaido	Participants
Currently living:	83 (83%)
Currently living elsewhere:	17 (17%)

Other than the statistics asked about above, I asked them some optional questions. First, which subprefecture of Hokkaido they were currently living in. If they were not currently living in Hokkaido, I asked which region they do live in. There is a total of 14 subprefectures of Hokkaido (see SUBP for further information). When I reviewed the data, this proved to have been a mistake as I discovered that a lot of them do not know the subprefectures, even the one they currently live in. This meant that most of them, luckily, added in their current city instead. However, it is possible that because they did not know the subprefecture, they added a city they assumed I would know the location of, which is Sapporo in Ishikari subprefecture. I should instead have asked for the capital or biggest city in each subprefecture and provided a map asking which they live the closest to instead. After compiling the data, I got a total of 76 answers (out of the 83 currently living in Hokkaido) from a total of eight subprefectures. Additionally, one of them responded *Dōō*, 'Central Hokkaido'. A second responded with 'no'. As expected, most answers were in Ishikari subprefecture. This could be because of this investigation being unable to reach other parts of Hokkaido than Ishikari. Because of this, an accurate representation of Hokkaido as a whole cannot be given and needs further investigation in other subprefectures.

Table 5: Participants current prefecture.

Subprefecture	Participants
Sorachi (Yubari)	1 (1.35%)
Ishikari (Sapporo)	59 (79.72%)
Shiribeshi (Otaru)	5 (6.75%)
Iburi (Muroran)	2 (2.7%)
Oshima (Hakodate)	2 (2.7%)
Kamikawa (Asahikawa)	2 (2.7%)
Tokachi (Obihiro)	2 (2.7%)
Kushiro (Kushiro)	1 (1.35%)

A total of 18 people responded if they were living outside of Hokkaido. One respondent seems to have misread the question as *Have you lived outside Hokkaido?* instead of *If you responded that you live outside Hokkaido, where do you live?*. As such, I redacted her from this section. 100% of the respondents stating they currently do not live in Hokkaido responded with where they currently live. 23.5% of them live outside Japan, while 76.5% currently reside elsewhere in Japan. 11.76% of respondents living outside Hokkaido responded ‘no’ to being a Dosanko, while 17.64% considered themselves *Hokkaidōjin*. The remaining 70.6% of the respondents considered themselves to be Dosanko. As this did not show any general tendency on the questions either, this will not be further discussed.

The last optional question in this section asked for how long they have lived outside Hokkaido. A total of 40 (40%) respondents answered the question. 4 of the respondents responded they never lived outside Hokkaido, so they will be redacted. A fifth respondent answered with four months. They were the only one with less than a year living outside Hokkaido, so this respondent is removed for lack of experience. This leaves 35 (35%) respondents. The average of these 35 respondents becomes 15.85 years living outside Hokkaido. 17 (48.57%) respondents have lived less than 10 years outside Hokkaido, while 18 (51.43%) respondents lived up to 50 years outside Hokkaido. Based on the data, time living outside of Hokkaido did not seem to change anyone’s opinion, so this will not be further discussed.

The rest of the survey, which I will go into detail of in the next section, are various questions related to Dosankos and their dialect. These questions are structured mostly like Holmér’s questions. In some cases, I have switched out the questions Holmér used to be more relevant to this Hokkaido study.

7.4 RESULTS

In this section each question will be presented together with the results and a discussion.

7.4.1 QUESTION 1

Which age-group do you think use Hokkaido Dialect the most?

Table 6: Different age-groups usage of the Hokkaido Dialect.

Respondents (88)	Youth	Middle-aged	Seniors
18-29 (43)	1 (2.32%)	7 (16.27%)	35 (81.39%)
30-49 (33)	3 (9.09%)	9 (27.27%)	21 (63.63%)
50+ (12)	1 (8.33%)	1 (8.33%)	10 (83.33%)
Total (88)	5 (5.68%)	17 (19.31%)	66 (75%)

It is very clear that the majority, 75%, considers seniors to use the dialect the most. Such a question does not provide accurate answers to if the dialect is standardising or not, as both the youth and the middle-aged could use Hokkaido Dialect frequently. That said, both other groups, as well as the seniors themselves consider seniors to speak it more. An added question, *Which age-group do you think use Hokkaido Dialect the least?*, could have been given to provide further insight.

7.4.2 QUESTION 2

What do you use when you speak to strangers?

Table 7: Usage of the Hokkaido Dialect when speaking to strangers.

Respondents (88)	Standard Japanese	Hokkaido Dialect	Other
18-29 (43)	28 (65.11%)	9 (20.93%)	6 (13.95%)
30-49 (33)	26 (78.78%)	5 (15.15%)	2 (6.06%)
50+ (12)	10 (83.33%)	2 (16.66%)	0 (0%)
Total (88)	64 (72.72%)	16 (18.18%)	8 (9.09%)

64 respondents (72.72%) speak to strangers in Standard Japanese, while 16 respondents (18.18%) uses Hokkaido Dialect and the remaining 8 (9.09%) uses other. This suggests that most people in Hokkaido, at almost three quarters, uses Standard Japanese in the public domain. This could be a factor as to why there is an illusion of Hokkaido having no dialect, as illustrated in section 3.2.

In the 18-29 age-group, six (13.95%) responded with other. The first respondent said they use both Standard Japanese and Hokkaido Dialect. This could potentially mean the respondent actively listen and change their speech depending on the listener. It could also mean they are not exactly aware of what they are speaking, as in the case with four other respondents who says they unconsciously or is simply not aware, use both. The last respondent said they speak Kansai Dialect. This respondent stated that they currently live in Hyōgo prefecture since three years. This is most likely the reason they speak Kansai Dialect to strangers, because Kansai Dialect is the dialect of Hyōgo prefecture.

For the 30-49 age group, two (6.06%) responded with other. The first respondent says that they are not consciously aware, but believe that they probably say things in Hokkaido Dialect without realising or understanding that they speak the dialect. Another respondent thinks that they speak Standard, but that it ends up becoming Hokkaido Dialect, presumably because they are not aware of it themselves.

7.4.3 QUESTION 3

What do you use when you speak to friends who are Dosanko?

Table 8: Usage of the Hokkaido Dialect when speaking to Dosanko friends.

Respondents (88)	Standard Japanese	Hokkaido Dialect	Other
18-29 (43)	12 (27.9%)	23 (53.48%)	5 (11.62%)
30-49 (33)	11 (33.33%)	20 (60.60%)	2 (6.06%)
50+ (12)	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	0 (0%)
Total (88)	29 (32.95%)	49 (55.68%)	7 (7.95%)

49 respondents (55.68%) speak Hokkaido Dialect to their Dosanko friends while 29 respondents (32.95%) speak Standard Japanese. Many more respondents speak Hokkaido Dialect to their friends in contrast with question 2's 16 (18.18%) respondents who speak the dialect to strangers. 29 (32.95%) of the respondents still speaks Standard to their Dosanko friends.

For the 18-29 age group, 5 responded with other (11.62%), 3 of which also responded other in the last question. Two respondents stated that they used both, one of which stated that they use both in the previous question as well. This respondent answered in the previous question 2 that they unconsciously use the dialect. However, in this question the respondent strongly states that they use both. This could be interpreted as two things. Firstly, that they are more aware of the fact they speak both Standard Japanese and the dialect when speaking to

strangers. Secondly, it could simply be that the respondent did not want to write the same response again and went with a short response. The final of these three respondents indicates that they will talk what they want, but that Hokkaido Dialect may unconsciously come up in conversation. This is the same as their response in the previous question, as they are simply not aware.

For the other two respondents, one stated that they are not aware of how they talk. The last respondent stated that Hokkaido Dialect and Standard Japanese are a ‘midpoint’. This could potentially be interpreted as the respondent stating that they are one of the same, or simply that they speak both equally. Based on other answers of the respondent, this is not very clear.

For the 30-49 age group, two responded with other. One thing to point out is that these are the same respondents as question 2’s others in the same group. The first respondent writes that since they do not understand the Dialect, they may use it unconsciously. The other respondent on the other hand, believes that they are speaking Standard Japanese, but may be speaking Hokkaido Dialect unconsciously.

7.4.4 QUESTION 4

When you speak to friends who are not Dosanko, do you think that you unconsciously speak Hokkaido Dialect?

Table 9: Unconscious usage of Hokkaido Dialect to non Dosanko friends.

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	39 (90.69%)	4 (9.3%)
30-49 (33)	28 (84.84%)	5 (15.15%)
50+ (12)	9 (75%)	3 (25%)
Total (88)	76 (86.36%)	12 (13.63%)

76 respondents (86.36%), responded that they unconsciously speak the Hokkaido Dialect to their non Dosanko friends. Comparing this to question 2’s data on the 64 (72.72%) respondents who prefer speaking Standard Japanese to strangers in the public domain. In the private domain however, even when speaking their dialect to non Dosankos, they seem to be more comfortable. It must be noted that they could potentially be speaking their dialect unconsciously in the public domain as well.

7.4.5 QUESTION 5

What do you use when you speak to your family?

Table 10: Usage of the Hokkaido Dialect when speaking to Dosanko family.

Respondents (88)	Standard Japanese	Hokkaido Dialect	Other
18-29 (43)	11 (25.58%)	27 (62.79%)	5 (11.62%)
30-49 (33)	11 (33.33%)	20 (60.60%)	2 (6.06%)
50+ (12)	5 (41.66%)	7 (58.33%)	0 (0%)
Total (88)	27 (30.68%)	54 (61.36%)	7 (7.95%)

54 respondents (61.36%) speak Hokkaido Dialect to their family. This is approximately 6% higher than the 49 respondents (55.68%) in question 3 when they speak to their friends. The respondents speak slightly more Hokkaido Dialect with their family than with their friends. In turn, they speak less Standard Japanese at home than with their friends at 27 respondents (30.68%) instead of the 29 respondents (32.95%) in question 3.

For the 18-29 age group, five responded with other (11.62%), four of which has responded to previous other category in question 2 and 3. They responded in the same manner and will not be further discussed. The last one that responded with other wrote that they occasionally use the dialect, but implies that they normally use Standard Japanese. This could imply that they only use it for example at family gatherings with the seniors of the family. Could also simply be translated as ‘both’.

For the 30-49 age group, two responded with other (6.06%). These were the same people who responded with other as in question 3 and 2, and they responded in the same way, so this will not be further discussed.

7.4.6 QUESTION 6

To what degree do you think that you understand Hokkaido Dialect?

Table 11: Respondents understanding of the Hokkaido Dialect according to themselves.

Respondents (88)	Perfect	Good	Some	Low	No	Average
18-29 (43)	1 (2.32%)	13 (30.23%)	16 (37.20%)	10 (23.25%)	3 (6.97%)	2.97
30-49 (33)	5 (15.15%)	15 (45.45%)	7 (21.21%)	5 (15.15%)	1 (3.03%)	3.54
50+ (12)	1 (8.33%)	8 (66.66%)	2 (16.66%)	1 (8.33%)	0 (0%)	3.75
Total (88)	7 (7.95%)	36 (40.90%)	25 (28.4%)	16 (18.18%)	4 (4.54%)	3.29

Despite many claims that the dialect is standardising, a total of 43 respondents (48.86%) claimed good or perfect understanding of the dialect. The other three groups, of some to low understanding, is slightly more at 45 respondents (51.13%). Further, it is possible that these numbers are not accurate as these are the respondent’s own interpretation of their understanding of the dialect, instead of a reflection of their tested abilities. They may be underestimating or overestimating their own abilities. A total of 84 respondents, (95.45%), claims to have at least low understanding of the dialect, compared to the four (4.54%), that claims no understanding. These four respondents on the other hand, all show low understanding of the dialect based on their responses in other questions. Even the single respondent in the 30-49 group, who adamantly claims that they do not understand the dialect, shows at least low understanding of the dialect. This further shows that it is based on their own interpretation and needs a more directed study.

However, when you look at the average understanding reported above, with 5 being ‘Perfect’ understanding and 1 being ‘No’ understanding, the respondents’ understanding of the dialect goes down over time, from an average of 3.75 within the 50+ age group down to an average of 2.97 within the young age-group. This also shows a potential trend of standardisation in the modern age, based on their own perception. This goes in line with Takano’s (2013) conclusion that the dialect is still being standardised, although at a slower rate. It must be stressed, however, that the 50+ age group participation rate is too low to show an accurate picture. On the other hand, the 30-49 age group is closer to the same participants as the 18-29 group and shows a better trend, as the average lowered with 0.57. A larger scale study with more even participants is needed to get a better picture of their own perception.

7.4.7 QUESTION 7

If you think you speak Hokkaido Dialect, what do you think is the reason? More than one option can be chosen.

Table 12: Reasons why they speak the dialect according to themselves.

Respondents (88)	I feel like a Dosanko	I can express myself well	We must protect our traditional language	No reason, it is just the way I talk	I don’t speak Hokkaido Dialect	Other
18-29 (43)	7	29	1	21	2	1
30-49 (33)	2	14	2	20	1	3
50+ (12)	1	6	1	6	2	1
Total (88)	10	49	3	47	5	5

The reason that received the most responses were unsurprisingly that they can express themselves well (49), closely followed by no reason, it is just the way I talk (47). This does not give us much information as to why they use Hokkaido Dialect, other than it, as the reason suggests, is just the way they talk – the way they were raised. The third most expressed reason was I feel like a Dosanko, at only 10 checks. The most interesting thing about this option is that it got the most checks from the 18-29 age group with 7 checks. This hints that the young people in Hokkaido care more about the Hokkaido Dialect and the Dosanko identity than the previous generation.

As such, the dialect could be in process of revitalisation, in contrast to old standardisation claims. Four checks went in for protecting their traditional language and an additional five went into that they do not speak the dialect. Additionally, we have five checks in other.

7.4.8 QUESTION 8a

Have you ever been reprimanded, insulted, or in other ways been affected negatively because you speak Hokkaido Dialect?

Table 13: Respondents being negatively affected by using the dialect.

Respondents (88)	It happens often	It happens occasionally	It happens sometimes	It happened a few times	It has never happened
18-29 (43)	0 (0.00%)	1 (2.32%)	7 (16.27%)	1 (2.32%)	34 (79.06%)
30-49 (33)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	9 (27.27%)	2 (6.06%)	22 (27.27%)
50+ (12)	0 (0.00%)	1 (8.33%)	3 (25%)	2 (16.66%)	6 (50%)
Total (88)	0 (0.00%)	2 (2.27%)	19 (21.59%)	5 (5.68%)	62 (70.45%)

62 respondents (70.45%), has never been personally negatively affected because they speak the Hokkaido Dialect. The other 26 respondents have personally been affected by it. For most of these respondents, however, it only happens sometimes (21.59%). However, not a single respondent answered that this has happened often, rather that it happens more rarely.

7.4.9 QUESTION 8b OPTIONAL

If you answered that it happens / has happened, can you give examples?

24 (92.3%) out of the 26 respondents whom have personally experienced negative attitudes answered this question. 8 respondents (30.76%) were from the first age group, 9 (34.61%) from

the second in addition to 7 (26.92%) from the final group. Since all the explained situations are similar, they will not be individually discussed per age group.

Most of the respondents answered they have in one way or another been bullied or laughed at because of their use of the dialect. Some of the respondents commented that some people told them that their intonation or accent is wrong. Others that the words are wrong, that the way one would end the sentences in the dialect is wrong. One respondent noted that they had accidentally thought a word was Standard Japanese, which caused others to laugh at the respondent. Another respondent wrote that when they accidentally used the dialect, the other Japanese told them to speak words that people can understand.

Two respondents said that they had been scolded by their mother for using ‘bad words’. Further, one respondent clarified that their mother was from Kanto, while the other respondent does not clarify if their mother is a Dosanko or not. A third respondent said they were told as a kid it is better not to speak any dialect, but does not clarify who said it.

7.4.10 QUESTION 9

Do you see negative attitudes towards Hokkaido Dialect in Hokkaido?

Table 14: Respondents seeing negative attitudes towards the dialect.

Respondents (88)	You see it a lot	You see it occasionally	You rarely see it	You never see it
18-29 (43)	0 (0.00%)	5 (11.62%)	15 (34.88%)	23 (53.48%)
30-49 (33)	1 (3.03%)	5 (15.15%)	13 (39.39%)	14 (42.42%)
50+ (12)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	10 (83.33%)	2 (16.66%)
Total (88)	1 (1.13%)	10 (11.36%)	38 (43.18%)	39 (44.31%)

The largest group is that they never see it, at 39 respondents (44.31%). Followed closely with just 1 less respondent, (43.18%) is that they rarely see it. A total of 49 respondents (55.68%) see it at least rarely. In question 8, I established that most respondents have not been personally affected by negative attitudes. However, more respondents see negative influences on others, although rarely. One respondent, on the other hand, stated that they see it a lot. This respondent has personally not experienced any negative attitudes according to their answer in question 8. Further, this person continues in question 10 that this comes from other Japanese. As an exception to the rules written in the Methodology, it is interesting to note that this person also lives on Hokkaido and has never left the island, and has thus noticed this behaviour on Hokkaido.

One could speculate that the respondent in question could be working close to a stressful situation where a lot of Dosanko and other Japanese meet, such as a large station, which could explain the respondent being the sole respondent in this category.

7.4.11 QUESTION 10 OPTIONAL

Are these attitudes coming from other Japanese, or even Dosanko themselves, or both?

Table 15: Where are these negative attitudes coming from according to the respondents.

Respondents (52)	Dosanko	Other Japanese	Both	Other
18-29 (20)	5 (25%)	8 (40%)	5 (25%)	2 (10%)
30-49 (23)	1 (4.34%)	15 (65.21%)	5 (21.73%)	2 (8.69%)
50+ (9)	0 (0.00%)	6 (66.66%)	2 (22.22%)	1 (11.11%)
Total (52)	6 (11.53%)	29 (55.76%)	12 (23.07%)	5 (9.61%)

A total of 52 respondents answered this question, 29 (55.76%) of which responded that it comes from other Japanese. If you include the ‘both’ respondents, it becomes 41 respondents (78.84%), were the negative attitudes come from other Japanese. A relatively low number of 6 respondents (11.53%), claim that these attitudes come from Dosankos, and this goes up to 18 (34.6%) when including both. It is interesting to note that 5 out of those 6 respondents (83.33%) are from the young age group.

5 respondents (9.61%) answered other. The first group, 18-29, has two respondents, one who states that they have never personally been negatively affected, so presumably does not know.

The other respondent said that negative attitudes comes from foreigners instead of Dosankos or Japanese. One could assume that this answer came because of personal negative experiences with foreigners. However, the same respondent has never been negatively affected for speaking Hokkaido Dialect, according to their response for question 8. It is likely that this answer was an isolated incident that they witnessed. The respondent did not leave any further comment.

For the 30-49 group, one respondent personally stated that it comes from themselves, as they personally do not like the dialect. The other respondent, as well as the single respondent who commented in the 50+ group, states that they do not know.

7.4.12 QUESTION 11a

Do you think the Hokkaido Dialect will standardise to the point it no longer exists?

Table 16: Do respondents think the dialect will standardize until extinction?

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	19 (44.18%)	24 (55.81%)
30-49 (33)	6 (18.18%)	27 (81.81%)
50+ (12)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)
Total (88)	28 (31.81%)	60 (68.18%)

Despite previous shown trends of standardisation, 60 respondents (68.18%) believes that the dialect will not standardise to extinction. This could be because, as shown in the early questions, the Hokkaido Dialect is still considered the most common form of speech in the private domain. As also shown, when speaking to strangers they tend to use Standard Japanese. However, it is possible that the dialect may become extinct in the public domain but live on in the private domain. This may be why a lot of these respondents said no, while it could also explain why some people chose yes, as maybe they were thinking of the public domain. Another interesting aspect is that the group that seems to be the most worried about the dialect standardisation is the 18-29 age group with 19 respondents (44.18%) stating yes.

7.4.13 QUESTION 11b OPTIONAL

If yes, does it bother you?

Table 17: Respondents feelings towards standardising dialect.

Respondents (28)	Yes	No
18-29 (19)	11 (57.89%)	8 (42.1%)
30-49 (6)	3 (50%)	3 (50%)
50+ (3)	3 (100%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (28)	17 (60.71%)	11 (39.28%)

A total of 4 respondents were removed as they answered 'no' in the previous question. 3 from the first age group and 1 from the 50+ age group.

17 of the respondents (60.71%) are bothered by the standardisation of the dialect. The data shows that the clear majority of those that think it is going extinct is bothered by it. The group that seems to be the most worried about potential dialect extinction is the 18-29 age group.

7.4.14 QUESTION 11c OPTIONAL

If it does bother you, please explain.

16 (94.11%) out of the 17 respondents who claimed to be bothered answered. 10 (58.82%) were from the first age group, 3 (17.64%) from the second, in addition to 3 more (17.64%) from the final group. Only one of them, in the first age group, did not respond. Furthermore, one additional respondent answered this question, even though they claimed not to be bothered.

The general tone of the respondents is that they do not want the dialect, the prefecture's personality, to disappear. The dialect is intertwined with the culture, which should not fade. They want to hand down the culture, including the language, to future generations. However, one writes that it is dangerously close to Standard Japanese, which could imply that the respondent thinks it is too late.

There are more of the young age group who did respond than the other groups combined. I found it interesting that 4 (36.36%) of the 11 who claimed they were bothered answered almost the same. They responded mainly with one important word, *sabishii*, 'lonely'. One way this could be interpreted is that these respondents feel that the Hokkaido Dialect is part of their identity, their Dosanko identity. Losing the dialect seems to make them feel like they are losing a part of themselves, a part they long for.

The additional respondent who answered the question while not being bothered wrote that as the Ainu language goes extinct, so will the words of Hokkaido fade away. This implies that the respondent believes that the dialect is heavily influenced by the Ainu language, in contrast to what was discussed in section 4. The respondent could be thinking of the Ainu place names as discussed the same section.

7.4.15 QUESTION 11d OPTIONAL

If it does not bother you, please explain.

11 respondents in question 11b said it did not bother them, 6 (54.54%) from the first group and 1 (9.09%) from the second group responded to this question. On the other hand, 18 more respondents answered this question while not answering 11b. Thus, they will be separated.

The responses are quite different than the responses in question 11c. Most responses are along the lines of the Hokkaido Dialect being close to Standard Japanese, and always has been.

One respondent writes that since it was the same since conception; it has not changed, and it will not change. Hokkaido has other unique characteristics that are strong in local communities, and because of this it is not an issue if the dialect disappears, according to another respondent. Further, one respondent implies that just because the dialect is standardising, it does not mean that they cannot speak it. This contradicts the question because it would mean that the dialect has not standardised to the point where it no longer exists. The final respondent, from the 30-49 group, believes that because of modernisation, for example TV and the internet, different regions come into contact. The respondent implies that this becomes the new everyday, where dialects will mix because of these influences.

An additional 4 respondents from the 18-29 group answered this question. These same respondents do not think that the dialect is being standardised to extinction (11a), and furthermore did not answer question 11b. One respondent is adamant that this is not restricted to the Hokkaido Dialect and that words will naturally change over time. Another respondent thinks that the Hokkaido Dialect will be handed down to the next generations. A third respondent seems to agree with this, implying that the dialect will always have remnants. The final respondent writes that they are not aware of themselves using the dialect, and because of that it does not bother them. On the other hand, the words of the dialect that the respondent is unconsciously using will not disappear.

Nine respondents from the 30-49 age group further responded. The responses are quite similar to the previous group, but has some distinct answers. Some of the respondents claim that the dialect is related to Hokkaido's region and culture. Because of this, it will not disappear. One respondent claims that in some parts of the region, young people are already speaking the dialect, which in turn will bring it to new generations. Another respondent further clarified that they already speak dialect to their kids, although not with intention. However, one respondent believes that many people around them who appears to be speaking the dialect, actually speaks Standard Japanese. The final respondent is the most interesting in this group. They answered that they do not have an inferiority complex.

This could imply the opposite of the respondents whom answered 'lonely' in 11c. As in, the respondent does not associate the dialect with their own identity, and that it does not define them.

6 of all respondents (50%) in the 50+ group decided to respond to this question, despite claiming they do not think it is being standardised. Some of them believe that the dialect has deep roots in the region and culture; because of this it will always be here. The most interesting response is that Hokkaido is the only region with an ‘immortal’ dialect. This response seems to imply that the respondent believes that the dialect will stay forever, and not change. On the other hand, one comments that language is always changing.

7.4.16 QUESTION 11e

Do you think Hokkaido Dialect is becoming standardised? Yes? No?

Table 18: Do respondents think the dialect is standardising?

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	13 (30.23%)	30 (69.76%)
30-49 (33)	17 (51.51%)	16 (48.48%)
50+ (12)	9 (75%)	3 (25%)
Total (88)	39 (44.31%)	49 (55.68%)

A little more than half of the respondents (55.68%) do not believe that the dialect is becoming Common Language. One very interesting thing is that going from the oldest age group to the youngest, the percentage of the answer no increases, culminating at 30 respondents (69.76%) in the young age group. There seems to be a large disagreement between the age groups if they think it is standardising or not. However, I made a mistake when making this question. I should instead have turned it into two different questions to help clear ambiguity and interpretation error. Some respondents noted that, while Hokkaido Dialect is standardising, it has since its inception been claimed by some to simply be Common Language, and yet it is still here as a distinct dialect today.

7.4.17 QUESTION 12a

Do you think more people are learning and speaking Hokkaido Dialect?

Table 19: Are people learning and speaking the dialect?

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	13 (30.23%)	30 (69.76%)
30-49 (33)	2 (6.06%)	31 (93.93%)
50+ (12)	4 (33.33%)	8 (66.66%)
Total (88)	19 (21.59%)	69 (78.4%)

69 of the respondents (78.4%) seem to think that people are not learning and speaking the dialect. People not learning a dialect could be because of standardisation, as in simply not realising it exists. Further, when most of the people that do speak the dialect, speak to strangers using Standard Japanese as in question 2, it does not create the most helpful environment to learn in the public domain. However, as most of them seem to unconsciously speak the dialect to non-speaking friends like in question 4, this could help create an environment where more people would be willing to learn in the private domain. In the next question I will discuss what the Dosankos themselves think.

7.4.18 QUESTION 12b OPTIONAL

If not, why?

For the 18-29 group, responses came from 28 out of the 30 that responded no to the previous question. A wide variety of reasons were given.

One of the most common reasons reported is that speaking Hokkaido Dialect has no merit or use. So, if someone is learning at all, it is rare. Why anyone should learn were questioned by some. This could be potentially because of it having no actual use in real life. Some stated that one acquires it by nature, not by formal learning. It seems that some consider the dialect to be part of their born Dosanko identity. Such identity cannot simply be obtained for outsiders. Another respondent agrees with this and goes on, as they approach Standard Japanese, the dialect seems to disappear. Others believed that they had never heard of anyone formally learning it, thus, thinking that people studying the dialect do not exist. Further, some of the respondents think that few people learn the local dialect of the region that they are in, regardless of what dialect. On the other hand, some responds that there is no environment for it to be learned anyway. They could mean that outsiders do not have access to the private domain.

One comment explains in detail that the Hokkaido Dialect is not just one dialect, but rather several dialects based on the area you are in. As such, it gives even less reason for one to learn the dialect as it differs across the island. A second respondent also agrees with the first respondent, and clarifies that with the young people, Standard Japanese is increasing. Which is something a third respondent agrees with.

The most interesting comment I got from this section is the simple phrase, *shōshikōreika*. This phrase is unique to Japan, but it is used to describe a decreasing birth-rate and an aging population. This is difficult to interpret as no further context or explanation was given. It could have been used as a metaphor for standardisation: when the population ages, the dialects ages with them.

For the 30-49 group, 27 out of the 31 that responded no to the previous question responded. A wide variety of reasons were given. However, as most of them are the same as the previous group, these will not be further discussed. Instead I will focus on the more unique comments.

One respondent stated that the Hokkaido Dialect is not as clear as other dialects, like Osaka or Fukuoka. Further issues with this is that not everyone is speaking it in the public domain, so it becomes difficult to even attempt to learn. Another respondent furthers that each region has their own dialect. Because of this, there is no reason to stick to one dialect. One respondent boldly claims that the Hokkaido Dialect is simply not an attractive option of a dialect, especially since it is no different from Standard Japanese.

For the 50+ group, I got responses from twelve out of the twelve that responded no to the previous question, giving a wide variety of reasons. Again, I will not further discuss responses that repeat the previous groups', but rather look at the comments that differ and add to the picture.

Two respondents were particularly interesting. They wrote that the meaning of the verb 'to learn' in question 12b is unclear, which is why one of them responded with no. Further, they wrote that if one can learn to speak from nature, surely there will be someone speaking in the future. This is how it is supposed to naturally work. One of them maintains, however, that the fact that young people uses the dialect less, means it will decrease over time. In effect, not many more speakers will come out of it.

7.4.19 QUESTION 13a

Do you think it is better if Dosankos stop speaking Hokkaido Dialect? In other words, using standard language only.

Table 20: Should Dosankos stop speaking in dialect?

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	1 (2.32%)	42 (97.67%)
30-49 (33)	0 (0.00%)	33 (100%)
50+ (12)	0 (0.00%)	12 (100%)
Total (88)	1 (1.13%)	87 (98.86%)

Almost 100% (98.86%) of respondents think it is better to use continue speaking the Hokkaido Dialect. With only one person, in the 18-29 age group who thinks otherwise.

7.4.20 QUESTION 13b OPTIONAL

If yes, why do you think so?

The person claiming it is better to use Standard Japanese, states that there are no good reasons to not let dialects in general, not just the Hokkaido Dialect, become obsolete. The respondent did not provide any more reasoning than this. One can speculate that having a Common Language, a Common Japanese, is a good thing as it makes communication simpler. But, on the other hand, one's dialect can become part of one's own cultural identity. As some points out in question 11c, it can get 'lonely'.

7.4.21 QUESTION 14a

Do you like Hokkaido Dialect?

Table 21: Do the respondents like the Hokkaido Dialect?

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	39 (90.69%)	4 (9.3%)
30-49 (33)	33 (100%)	0 (0.00%)
50+ (12)	12 (100%)	0 (0.00%)
Total (88)	84 (95.45%)	4 (4.54%)

Most respondents claim they like the Hokkaido Dialect, with only four of them (4.54%) not liking it. This gives the impression that despite the fact that it is still standardising, people still like the dialect and want it to exist, as further evidenced by question 13a. Surprisingly, the

respondent who said it is better to stop using the Hokkaido Dialect in the previous two questions claims to like the dialect. At the same time however, the respondent referred to dialects in general, not just the Hokkaido Dialect, becoming obsolete. Answering this question with ‘yes’ becomes a bit contradictory, because, surely, if they like the dialect, why would they want to let it become obsolete?

7.4.22 QUESTION 14b OPTIONAL

If you like or don't like, please elaborate.

Four respondents in the 18-29 age group claimed they do not like the Hokkaido Dialect. These respondents are, however, neutral. Three of them writes that they neither dislike nor like it. Two of them add that, while they are either unconsciously or consciously aware they are using it, it is not something they take a liking to. The final respondent who answered no, simply prefers Standard Japanese.

73 respondents who said yes to 14a, answered this question. There was no general tendency between the age groups here either, so this will not be further discussed. While some of the responses can certainly be interpreted as neutral responses, they are a minority. In fact, most of the responses are very positive and in favour of the dialect over Standard Japanese. Many of the respondents speak of why it is important to them, as well as why Hokkaido, nature, culture, etc. is important to them and the dialect itself. It is familiar and unique to them. Some elaborated along the lines of the previous question 7, that it gives them the ability to express themselves clearly, more so than the Standard Language. It is their language, their identity.

7.4.23 QUESTION 15a

What do you think of Hokkaido and Dosanko culture?

Table 22: What do respondents think of Hokkaido and Dosanko culture?

Respondents (88)	5 (Very interesting)	4	3	2	1 (Uninteresting)	Average
18-29 (43)	10 (23.25%)	18 (41.86%)	15 (34.88%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	3.88
30-49 (33)	13 (39.39%)	12 (36.36%)	8 (24.24%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	4.15
50+ (12)	2 (16.66%)	2 (16.66%)	7 (58.33%)	1 (8.33%)	0 (0.00%)	3.41
Total (88)	25 (28.4%)	32 (36.36%)	30 (34.09%)	1 (1.13%)	0 (0.00%)	3.92

Almost all respondents (87) find Hokkaido and the culture at least somewhat interesting. Further, most of the respondents find it interesting with 32 respondents (36.36%), followed by very interesting at 25 respondents (28.4%). What is surprising is that the oldest group, has the lowest average at 3.41. One would expect it to be the highest and not the lowest of the age groups. This is possibly an effect of the low number of older respondents leading to skewed results.

7.4.24 QUESTION 15b OPTIONAL

Please give examples of your culture.

61 respondents (69.31%) answered this optional question. A general tendency depending on the age groups could not be found except for the youngest age group, which will be discussed first. After which, it will be discussed in general terms across the age groups.

13 respondents (44.82%) in the 18-29 age group, close to half of the 29 of the group that responded, associated Ainu with the culture of Hokkaido and Dosankos. To these people, at the very least, it seems like they consider Ainu to be Dosankos, as well valuing Ainu culture. This seems to contrast with what was discussed in section 2.5, that the Ainu only recently gained recognition by other Japanese. That recognition, however, was also minor (Heinrich,2012:151-154). For the other groups, a total of three respondents acknowledged the Ainu as part of the Hokkaido and Dosanko culture.

The rest of the cultural aspects given are mainly related to Hokkaido's nature and food culture. For example, *jingisukan*, 'Ghenghis Khan', which is a form of lamb barbeque that is popular in Hokkaido. This was also mentioned in conjunction with beach barbeques, as well as the Hanami, which are both popular events for grilling food in general, even outside Hokkaido. Nature is highly regarded in conjunction with this food culture, as they both go hand in hand.

A culture aspect that is mentioned frequently is Hokkaido's winter culture. Snow, according to some, is integral for Hokkaido life and culture. The culmination of which is the Snow Festival, which is celebrated every year with snow sculptures, activities and food.

One respondent writes that after funerals, they take group photos. Another continues that roads being spacious is apparently also a cultural feature, according to a single respondent. Further, there were a handful of respondents who said they really did not know what their unique culture is. One respondent stating that the culture is like Tohoku's culture, only in Hokkaido.

7.4.25 QUESTION 16a

Do you think there are words uniquely used in Hokkaido?

Table 23: Unique words in Hokkaido?

Respondents (88)	Yes	No
18-29 (43)	37 (86.04%)	6 (13.95%)
30-49 (33)	30 (90.90%)	3 (9.09%)
50+ (12)	3 (25%)	9 (75%)
Total (88)	70 (79.54%)	18 (20.45%)

70 respondents (79.54%), believes that there are unique words that are only used in Hokkaido. Both the 18-29 as well as the 30-49 age groups answered ‘yes’ as the vast majority, with only 20.45% responding no. On the other side, 75% of the 12 respondents in the 50+ group believes there are no unique words.

7.4.26 QUESTIONS 16b AND 16c OPTIONAL

If yes, can you give examples? / If there are expressions only used in Hokkaido Dialect, please explain.

The intention between these questions were to separate words and expressions, however, the questions I gave them seem to have been too ambiguous as most of the respondents answered in a similar fashion to both questions. Because of this, I combined these two questions in my analysis. A list of the words with respondent’s interpretation of the word in Standard Japanese as well as English translations is listed in the appendix.

Further, there is no guarantee that any of these words are unique to Hokkaido, or even a word that belong to the dialect. For example, one of the popular words given was *azumashii*, ‘comfortable feeling’, which is a widely used term in both Akita and Aomori (Nishimoto,2010:14). In some cases, a word would be reported by a single respondent. It is possible that those respondents are from another subprefecture of Hokkaido, which means it is possible they speak a different, most likely coastal dialect. It could also mean it is a word that they use within family or a small local community that has not caught on yet. To answer questions these concepts would raise, another investigation will have to be done as this survey is not suitable for that purpose. Finally, I stress that these words and expressions might better reflect the Hokkaido inland dialect used in Sapporo, as most of the respondents are from Ishikari.

7.4.27 QUESTION 17 OPTIONAL

What are the words and expressions that you use with your own generation? Please provide meaning in Standard Japanese as well.

This question's intent was different from questions 16b and 16c. I asked this question to see if there is a difference between the age groups usage of these words and expressions. There does not seem to be a tendency here. This might have been a side effect of the unequal group sizes. All groups pointed towards the most commonly known words and expressions. The respondents who wrote another word usually had another person in another age group answer the same word in questions 16b and 16c. In a few cases, the respondents were in the same age group, however, since too few responded with those words, it is hard to even guess an answer. There was, however, one interesting pattern to note. The grammatical suffix, *dabe (sa) (ya)*, that roughly means 'that's right', were only reported by the young age group. Further, this suffix was only reported by these 5 respondents in this question, and not in question 16b and 16c. This seems to be odd as Nishimoto (2010:c3) implies that it is a widely used suffix for all generations. I stress however, that like question 16b and 16c, it is not possible to make any definitive claims by the limited scope of this survey. However, more details on how the dialect has changed generation by generation can be seen in Takano (2013). As with question 16b and 16c, it needs to be noted that this may be a reflection of the Sapporo inland Hokkaido Dialect, as most respondents are from Ishikari. A complete list of reported words with English translation is provided in the appendix.

7.4.28 QUESTION 18 OPTIONAL

People of Hokkaido, why do you think that you use the word "Dosanko" to explain yourself?

71 (80.68% of total respondents) respondents answered this question. 32 (45.07%) responded in the first group, 28 (39.43%) in the second and finally 11 (15.49%) in the third group. There was a wide variety of answers. They do not seem to be distinct based on age, so this will not be further discussed.

The three most widely mentioned responses is love, pride and the fact that they were born there. Their love and appreciation for the Hokkaido is important. When you call yourself Dosanko, according to these respondents, it is to show that you are proud of these characteristics.

On the other hand, a few of the respondents claimed that they do not call themselves Dosankos, only other Japanese do. Some claimed it is the media who uses the term.

The term ‘Dosanko’, according to some respondents, is like how people say New Yorkers or how the people of Hawaii do not call themselves American. Two respondents say Dosanko is the equivalent of *Edoko*, the term used for people from Tokyo. Some point out that the word itself was originally a breed of horse from Hokkaido. The interesting responses based on the word itself is that it just makes sense. They take the last kanji in the word Hokkaido ‘北海”道”’, *dō*, the first kanji in the verb “産”まれる’ *umareru*, ‘to be born’ and finally adding the kanji “子”, *ko*, for child. This forms the word 道産子、Dosanko. The kanji’s literal meaning becomes ‘Child born on Hokkaido’.

7.5 SUMMARY

A study similar to Holmér’s Okinawan study has, to my knowledge, not been done based on Hokkaido and the Hokkaido Dialect. I can however conclude that in many aspects, my study confirms previous research in the Hokkaido Dialect’s main field of study, standardisation.

The standardisation of Japanese has been investigated in many ways throughout history, for example Sibata (1999) and Takano (2013). These two studies have in common a focus on actual change of usage over time. They do not separate the private and the public domain, so actual usage may vary; as I discovered there is a large difference in how Dosankos talk privately and publicly. While Takano’s (2013) study concluded that standardisation is still happening to the dialect at a slow pace, it seems that Dosankos from all age groups generally are not too worried about it. I have come to this conclusion since the majority does not think the Hokkaido Dialect is being standardised or think the dialect is going extinct, despite data from previous studies, that the respondents most likely do not know about, proving otherwise. Further, almost 100% of respondents think it is better to keep using the dialect. So even though the dialect still seems to be standardising, it seems that Dosankos will continue to speak it, at least in the private domain.

If we look at their general opinions, they seem to have pride in their land, culture and dialect. The majority of the respondents like the dialect and the culture of the land, many of them commenting things that could be interpreted as them considering the dialect and culture as

interconnected. These positive opinions about the dialect and region seem to be shared by all age groups. The dialect is seen most positively by the young age group, as many claim they can express themselves better and some even feel like a Dosanko for speaking it. The Hokkaido Dialect is part of their identity.

8 COMPARISON

Since I have now presented all the results of my survey, I will compare them with Holmér's thesis. Attention will be given to our respective young age group, 18-29 for this survey, and 18-25 of his survey. I will, however, compare the other age groups of my study to his, when appropriate.

As explained earlier, I based my own survey on Holmér's. However, in some instances, I had to change the question to better fit the study of the Hokkaido Dialect. So, in some cases, comparisons are not directly applicable. Thus, they will not be discussed here.

To avoid confusion, all Holmér's questions will start with an H and then the question number, for example H8A. In my case, it will be 8a.

8.1 GENERATIONAL USAGE

Holmér's first relevant question, H2 is, *Do people in the ages around 35-40 use more Okinawan and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi words and expressions than people in your own generation?*

When I did my survey, it was clear that I had to focus on more than one age group, which made me change question 1 into *Which age-group do you think use Hokkaido Dialect the most?*

His data showed that Okinawan and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi usage has decreased since the last generation, which he defined as ages 35-40. In contrast to this, 35 (81.39%) respondents of my young age group claim that seniors are the ones who use Hokkaido Dialect the most. In fact, this is the trend seen in all my age-groups. The problem with comparing this data is that Holmér specified the age-group as ages 35-40, instead of asking for a more balanced view of both middle aged and seniors. It is still clear that in both Okinawa and in Hokkaido usage of their respective dialects have declined since previous generations according to the respondents.

8.2 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DOMAIN

The next area of interest is Holmér's questions H3 and H4. If we start with H3, *Which do you use when speaking with friends?*, I slightly changed this for my question 3 by adding *...who are Dosanko?*

Based on his survey, Okinawans who used Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi is in the clear majority, with 43 respondents (81.13%), with 7 respondents (13.21%) using Standard Japanese and 3

respondents (5.66%) that uses Okinawan in the private domain. My Hokkaido study, however, showed less use of dialect when speaking with their Dosanko friends in the private domain. In my equivalent age group, only 23 respondents (53.48%) speak dialect. When you compare to my other two age groups, slightly more speak the dialect to their friends at 26 respondents (57.77%). Even when combining all three age groups, 49 respondents (55.68%), it is still less than the Okinawans who uses the dialect.

His question H4 and my question 5 are identical questions, *What do you use when you speak to your family?* According to his data, 41 respondents (77.36%) use Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi with their families. This makes Standard Japanese also slightly more commonly used within Okinawan families compared to their friends at 10 respondents (18.87%). In my study, 27 respondents (62.79%) of the young age group speaks the Hokkaido Dialect with their family, which is a 17.4% increase from question 3. It is interesting to note that while his percentage decreased, mine increased. My other two age groups become 60%, just slightly less than the young age group in comparison.

Both Holmér's H3 and H4 are examples of language use in the private domain. I decided to give contrast and added question 2 *What do you use when you speak to strangers?* I chose to do this so that I could compare the public domain with the private domain. 28 respondents (65.11%) of the young age group speak Standard Japanese to strangers. This makes it more common to speak Standard Japanese in the public domain than the dialect in any private domain. The same effect can be seen with my other age groups, with 26 respondents (78.78%) and 10 respondents (83.33%) respectively.

8.3 COMPREHENSION AND PERSONAL USAGE

This area of interest here is questions H5 and H7. Holmér's question H5 and my question 6 are identical questions with identical options: *To what degree do you think that you understand Hokkaido Dialect/Okinawan?* There is one major difference with intent with Holmér's question, and that is that he asked for their understanding of Okinawan, and not the dialect Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi. Holmér phrased it this way because his intent was to see if the Okinawan language still has influences on the dialect. He concluded that it did, because most of his respondents understood at least some of the Okinawan language. The best question for me to ask for the best comparison would have been asking them about their understanding of the Ainu

language. I chose against this, because, as written extensively in section 2, 3 and 4, the Ainu language only had a minor impact on the Hokkaido Dialect. The Ainu were also far fewer in number compared to Okinawans. Because of these reasons, asking this question with Ainu language instead of Hokkaido Dialect would have resulted with almost everyone responding, ‘no understanding’. While these are the individuals’ own interpretation of their understanding of the language or dialect, I can conclude that Dosankos, in all generations, consider themselves better at their dialect with 43 respondents (48.86%) than the Okinawans consider themselves at Okinawan with 4 respondents (7.55%).

Holmér’s question H7, *What do you think is the reason that you use Okinawan words and expressions and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi? More than one alternative can be chosen.* I slightly changed my question (7), to fit the context better. I did this by adding the option ‘*I don’t speak Hokkaido Dialect*’, which only a handful people responded to. For Holmér, most respondents (30) answered that they can express themselves well. This was also true for my survey (29). However, 24 of Holmér’s respondents stated that using their dialect and expressions makes them feel Okinawan, while only seven comparative respondents, with an added three from the other age-groups, in my survey answered it makes them feel like a Dosanko. This puts it into perspective, because when you look at for example Question 11 and 13a, it appears that Dosankos love the dialect. At the same time, it does not seem to be integral to their identity. With Okinawans, however, it does seem to be important as it was the second highest chosen option. Further, seven of Holmér’s respondents claimed that they need to protect their traditional language, compared to my single respondent, with an added three from the other groups. Finally, a large portion in his survey (21), and mine (21), simply stated that it is just the way they talk, which both Holmér and I expected to be a common answer.

8.4 NEGATIVE INFLUENCES TOWARDS THE DIALECTS

The next set of questions to compare are Holmér’s H8A, H8B and H9 and my questions 8a, 8b, 9 and 10. These questions serve the same purpose, however, I chose to elaborate on my question 8a. Holmér’s question was to simply ask *Have you ever been scolded for using Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi?* I, on the other hand, rephrased it to *reprimanded, insulted, or in other ways been affected negatively.* This was done because I believe that Holmér’s question was not suitable to

ask for this purpose. I expanded the phrasing to try to include more situations of being negatively affected for speaking the dialect, instead of the limited, subjective scope of ‘scolding’.

Barely less than a quarter (24.53%) of Holmér’s 53 respondents have been scolded for using their dialect. By comparison, just 10% (10.21%) of my young age group (43) responded that they have been affected negatively for using their dialect. When including all my 88 respondents, only 29.5% have been affected negatively. This suggests that the original effects of *Kokugo* in the early 20th century has been replaced by Common Japanese, allowing for less aggressive language shift.

The examples respondents gave to H8B and my question 8b are largely the same. The largest difference is that in Holmér’s study, many responded that the middle-aged or elderly considers the young Okinawan’s use of the dialect as bad language. In my study, only one of the same age group even stated that it came from the middle-aged or elderly, which was their own mother. On the flip side, a lot of my respondents said that these negative influences came from other Japanese when describing these situations. In Holmér’s study, he implies that only one of them responded that it came from other Japanese. This seems to imply, based on the available data, that on Okinawa, older Okinawans has negative attitudes towards the young Okinawans use of language. In my study, it seems that the negative attitudes mostly come from other Japanese, not from other generations of Dosankos.

As question H8A, H8A, 8a, and 8b are their personal experiences, both me and Holmér asked if they can see negative influences towards their dialect on the respective islands (H9, 9). Almost half (49.06%) of Holmér’s respondents said that they see it sometimes or rarely. When looking at H8A, 26 of his respondents had seen it, although had not personally been affected. In the same age group on Hokkaido, 20 (46.51%) respondents (out of 43) had seen it. This goes up to 48, a little more than half of my total respondents, when including the other age groups. From this we can see that Okinawans see negative responses more than Dosankos, although the statistical difference is small. Holmér concluded that this was a rare occurrence, given that most of his respondents (19 out of 26) chose the lowest alternative, which is also true in my case (15 out of 20).

I chose to add another question to elaborate on this. Question 10, *Are these attitudes coming from other Japanese, or even Dosanko themselves, or both?* This question was added to get a clearer picture on who the agent of negative attitudes was. 20 of the young age group

responded (46.51%). Based on their responses, the Japanese are in the majority for negative attitudes towards the Hokkaido Dialect. However, contrary to what H8b and 8b implies, Dosankos providing negative attitudes may be more than what the available data provides. 40% of the respondents clearly stated ‘Japanese’, while 25% exclusively said ‘Dosanko’. An additional 25% stated that it comes from both. When looking at the older generations, the responses with ‘Dosanko’ drops in each older generation, which could imply that Dosankos being negative towards the dialect is a modern topic, which should be studied further.

8.5 LANGUAGE AND DIALECT EXTINCTION

Here, I will compare Holmér’s H10A, H10B and H10C, with my 11A, 11B, 11C, 11D and 11E. Holmér and I asked different things in these questions, which makes our results a bit harder to compare. However, the base of the question is the same. Holmér asked if they think the Okinawan Language will go extinct, rather than the dialect. I wrote about this extensively in section 8.3. I, on the other hand, asked if they think the Hokkaido Dialect is going to standardise to the point it no longer exists. For my specific choices in language usage about my question 11a-11e, see section 7.2, Word Choices.

In question H10A, 43 (81.13%) of Holmér’s respondents think that there is a risk of the Okinawan language becoming extinct. On the other hand, with my question 11a, 19 (44.18%) out of my 43 respondents of the same age group, believe that the dialect is risking extinction. Okinawans certainly seem to be aware of the danger of extinction the Okinawan language faces, and, as Holmér concludes, it is alarming that they seem to be aware, but still not take steps to preserve it. On Hokkaido, the Ainu language preservation is a more pressing matter than to preserve the Hokkaido Dialect.

It seems the young generations of Okinawa and Hokkaido are both worried about the standardisation, while 36 respondents (80%) of the older generations in my study has no concern of language standardisation. This is despite the fact that Hokkaido Dialect standardisation is still going on in Hokkaido, as illustrated by Takano’s 2013 study.

H10B shows that a strong majority with 40 respondents (93.02%) of Holmér’s respondents claim that it bothers them that Okinawan language is going extinct. In my 11b, only 19 people of the young age group responded. Further, only eleven (57.89%) of these respondents were bothered by standardisation. In H10C some of those who said it did not bother them explained

that they cannot use or understand Okinawan, so their consensus is that they do not care. In 11d, my respondents imply that the Hokkaido Dialect is mostly Standard Japanese already. It is possible that these respondents cannot accurately identify the Hokkaido Dialect, which might explain their response.

Additionally, I added several questions to provide more nuanced data. Holmér never asked for clarification from those it bothers that the Okinawan language is close to extinction. I chose to ask this in 11c. Finally, I asked them another question 11e, *Do you think Hokkaido Dialect is becoming standardised? Yes? No?* This additional question was asked for reasons explained in section 7.1, Methodology. 30 respondents (69.76%) of my young age group do not think it is being standardised. When using the term *kyōtsūgoka* instead of *hyōjungo* in question 11a, the number of respondents believing it is being standardised dropped 31.57%.

One needs to note the difference in use of language. 11a and H10A both indicate an end, in this case extinction. On the other hand, Question 11e indicates a continuous event that may or may not actually end with complete standardisation. It is interesting that more Dosankos in the young age group believes the Hokkaido Dialect risks extinction, than believe that it is standardising.

8.6 IS IT BETTER NOT TO SPEAK THE DIALECT?

The next area of interest is H13A, H13B, H13C, 13a and 13b. With H13A, *Do you think that Okinawans ought to stop using Okinawan and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi? In other words, do you think it would be better if they only used standard Japanese?* Holmér had an overwhelming majority answering no to this question, with only two respondents agreeing. I had the same situation happen in all age groups, with only one from the young age group who agreed they should stop. Holmér writes that the young generation does not share the negative sentiment towards their dialect and culture with that some of the older generation hold. We can, however, assume that all generations of Dosankos agree that it is better to continue speaking the dialect.

The only respondent who thinks it is better to stop speaking Hokkaido Dialect elaborated in 13b that there is no good reason to not let dialects, all dialects, become obsolete. In Holmér's H13B, on the other hand, one of the two respondents agreeing with H13A elaborated that people outside Okinawa cannot accurately understand their speech. His respondent does not seem to be against Okinawan language or the dialect, rather that they want to be able to communicate

effectively. This seems to be the case with my respondent as well, even though their comment may sound harsh.

H13c, *If you answered “no” on question 13A: do you feel that there is a need to learn Okinawan as well besides standard Japanese or do you feel that it is sufficient with Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi?* I chose not to ask a question like this related to the Ainu or the Hokkaido Dialect. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, it is hard to motivate asking a question like this when *Kokugo* is the wide spread subject in Japanese schools. It is true that modern day *Kokugo* is like Common Japanese, so that is what they learn and use, which allows the dialect on the side. It is still not the intended language of instruction. The second reason is because Ainu is much more critically endangered than Okinawan. Additionally, there has always been more Okinawans than Ainu throughout history, as explained in 5.2. As the Ainu language and culture were outlawed, the other Dosankos naturally did not learn Ainu. While Okinawans, as illustrated in H5, understands at least some Okinawan, that is most likely not the case for Dosankos and Ainu language. Because of these reasons, asking this question does not make any sense in the context.

8.7 WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS

The last comparative section concerns H1A, H1B, H15, 16a, 16b, 16c and 17. H1a (H1b), *Do you think there are words and expressions unique to the island of Okinawa which are solely used by high school students or people below that age?* did not make much sense in the context of my study with three different age groups, and was rephrased into 16a, *Do you think there are words uniquely used in Hokkaido?*, with the opportunity to write examples in 16b and 16c. I would like to note that in H1A, 54% of his 53 respondents believe that there are no words unique to Okinawa and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi used only by high school students and below. In contrast, 37 out of 43 respondents (86.04%) in my young age group, believes that the Hokkaido Dialect has unique words. It needs to be clarified that Holmér’s results does not necessarily imply that there are no unique words and expressions to the language and dialect, just that there are none used specifically by high school students and below.

When it comes to H15, *Please write down examples of Okinawan and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi expressions you often hear used by people in your own generation. Please provide their meaning in standard Japanese as well.* I rewrote the question slightly to include ‘words’ as well. Because these questions are asking about words in their respective dialects, they cannot be

further compared. One thing that can be noted, is that Holmér got a lot more variety of different words for his survey than I got in mine. This could imply that Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi is more ‘lively’ with developing new words for the dialect. As one can see in the appendix, most of the words I got as a response were words common in every generation; the famous words like for example *namara*, ‘very’. Other words were only reported by individuals, so their vitality cannot be confirmed, an example of this would be *tagomasaru*, ‘to collect’.

8.8 REMAINING QUESTIONS

There are a handful of questions that Holmér used that I chose to not include, and instead replaced with different questions. I will briefly explain my reasoning for not using the following questions:

H6 and H6A, *Do people tend to use less Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi with age? For example, have your friends begun using less Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi since you were children? and If they have come to use it less, what do you think is the reason?* The reason I decided not to ask these questions is because I believed that they would be difficult for the respondents to answer, due to including three age groups instead of Holmér’s single group.

H12, *how do you think an increased usage of Okinawan would affect Okinawa’s economy?* Holmér posits that, at a local level, speaking Okinawan could help businesses, however, they need Standard Japanese as Okinawa’s economy is reliant on investments from the mainland or beyond. This would very much be true of Hokkaido as well. As this thesis focuses more on the standardisation process and Dosanko’s view on the dialect, I decided this question was not appropriate.

H14, *do you think that bilingualism affects school grades negatively?* was not included as Hokkaido dialect speakers are not truly bilingual. The question made sense in the Okinawan context because Okinawan is a separate language from Japanese, with Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi as a dialect bridging the languages together. The Hokkaido Dialect, on the other hand, does not bridge the gap between two languages and Ainu has, as established in 4 and 5.3, only had minor effects on the dialect. Asking this question would then not make much sense, as Hokkaido Dialect speakers are more monolingual than bilingual.

8.9 SUMMARY

In this chapter I compared Josef Holmér's study (2013) with this study. As one can conclude in comparison 1, the Hokkaido Dialect seems to have been standardising at a faster pace than Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi has in Okinawa. In the private domain, both Hokkaido Dialect in Hokkaido and Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi in Okinawa are used more than the Standard Japanese.

It seems that Dosankos, like Okinawans, do not usually contemplate their language choices. However, Okinawans has more pride for their language and dialect than Dosankos have for their dialect. One can get the impression that Okinawan is more integral to Okinawan identity, whereas it does not appear as crucial for Dosankos.

More Okinawans are scolded or see negative attitudes toward their language and dialect than Dosankos do, although only slightly more. Furthermore, Okinawans seem to be more concerned for their Okinawan language than Dosankos for their dialect. However, most Okinawans and most Dosankos agree it is better to keep speaking their respective dialects.

I briefly wrote about our questions concerning words and expressions used in respective dialects. Finally, I looked at Holmér's remaining questions that I did not use and gave reasons as to why I did not use them for my survey.

9 CONCLUSION

I will begin this conclusion by once again stressing that the amount of data available in my study is not sufficient to be proof of tendency, especially regarding the elder generation. I can conclude that based on previous research and the new data I obtained from my respondents, the Hokkaido Dialect still is slowly proceeding towards complete standardisation into Common Japanese. However, I want to bring in a new hypothesis. Based on my results, I argue that the Hokkaido Dialect has already exited the standardisation process and instead has entered stabilisation.

While Takano's 2013 study concluded that the dialect was still standardising, if slowing down, my results challenges this idea. When you look at the responses to questions 11a and 11e, the majority, especially in the young generation, do not believe that the dialect will disappear, or even that it is being standardised at all. Almost all respondents from all generations do not want Dosankos to stop using the dialect, rather they express a positive attitude to the dialect being integral to the culture of Dosankos, as seen in 11c, 11d and 13a. Although, in question 7, most of the respondents did not necessarily agree that speaking the dialect made them a Dosanko, it is important to note that the generation that did consider speaking the dialect made them a Dosanko the most, was the young generation. Further, as can be seen in Questions 14a and 15a, there is a strong positive attitude towards the Hokkaido Dialect and the Dosanko culture in general.

Japanese language ideology on its own has undergone many changes from the originally hostile *Kokugo* and Standard Japanese, to the modern Common Japanese. While no one can argue against that fact that Common Japanese is spreading more rapidly country-wide due to mass media, one must consider that the TV, and other forms of media cannot entirely be blamed for standardisation of language. One reason for this is that studies on Common Japanese, and, by extension, standardisation can never accurately reflect individuals' use of Common Japanese, only the individual's comprehension of their use. Further, since Common Japanese is not as aggressive as Standard Japanese, it allows bi-dialectalism. Because of this, the local dialect does not necessarily have to be affected by the Common Japanese. This is further evidenced by the fact that in the private domain (as illustrated in question 3, 4 and 5), most Dosankos to this day still use their dialect. The respondents are also sure that they are unconsciously using Hokkaido Dialect when speaking to their friends who are not. According to the data, the only time Dosankos do not use the dialect is in the public domain, when strangers are involved. Even then, as we can see with question 2, 18.18% use Hokkaido Dialect in the public domain as their

default. If you consider just the young respondents, this number goes up to 20.93%. This also makes them the group with most respondents who uses dialect with strangers.

When comparing the Hokkaido Dialect with Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi, it is clear that the speakers have many similarities in their attitudes towards their dialects and culture. Okinawans, like Dosankos, most widely use their own dialect in the private domain. The young generations of each island seem to identify with their dialect and culture as a source of pride. Holmér seems sure that Uchinaa-Yamatoguchi will stabilise and keep its uniqueness based on Okinawan culture and identity.

The Ainu have been getting more recognition from other Japanese these past few decades, and that seems to be true with Dosankos as well. A large portion of the young generation seems to consider Ainu to be a good part of Hokkaido and Dosanko culture. It is unlikely that the Ainu language will revitalise. However, it is possible that future generations of Ainu and Dosankos will bond further, move on and unify their cultures and languages as children of Hokkaido.

These are the reasons why I argue that the dialect is stabilising, rather than standardising. While throughout history, concrete evidence of the Hokkaido Dialect standardisation can be seen, the fact it has slowed down in recent times shows that a trend has started. If you add this to the answers of my young generation, with their positive attitude towards their language and culture, it gives grounds for stabilisation. This trend can be witnessed on Okinawa as well, as their dialect seems to be stabilising. Holmér (2013:59) argues that this is because the dialect is not under a language ideology threat in the private domain. This could also be applied to the Hokkaido Dialect, as modern Japanese language ideology is not in conflict with the private domain, if even in the public domain. Thus, the Hokkaido Dialect is likely to remain stable and keep its unique flavour of Dosanko.

Dealing with standardisation or stabilisation of dialects, in any language, is certainly quite complicated. Because of limited time and space, a lot of interesting aspects have sadly been left unchecked. I must stress that the study is on dialect attitudes of the Dosankos and that I cannot definitively prove a stabilising trend. However, it shows that it is something that should receive further, more detailed study. While writing this bachelor's thesis, there are several points brought to life that should be further investigated, which could bring new and important information to the scientific community.

- A large-scale investigation of Okinawa and Hokkaido's cultures, histories, languages, etc. could be conducted as the similarities goes beyond the scope of this thesis.
- How far the coastal dialect variety of the Hokkaido Dialect had progressed by the time of Commodore Perry's arrival in Hakodate and differentiate that to his visit to Okinawa.
- The modern attitudes of young Hokkaido inland dialect users and the coastal dialect users should be observed.
- The differences of opinion between each Hokkaido subprefecture instead of mostly Sapporo respondents needs to be investigated.
- And finally, a detailed analysis of attitude and standardising studies to further investigate if the Hokkaido Dialect is stabilising or not.

I hope this work can be used for future research regarding the Hokkaido Dialect, Dosankos and their symbolic relationship with Okinawans.

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APPENDIX A: QUESTION 16B, 16C AND 17.

For the sake of keeping it compact on the page, the age groups have been omitted. The age group follows youngest to oldest, so Q16b is 18-29, the next is 30-49, finally, 50+. The same pattern is repeated two more times, for 16c and 17.

Hokkaido Dialect	Japanese	English	Q16b	Q16b	Q16b	Q16c	Q16c	Q16c	Q17	Q17	Q17
~さ, <i>sa</i>	~よ, <i>yo</i>	Sentence ending particle like yo							2	2	
~さる, <i>saru</i>	~しまつて, <i>shimatte</i>	Doing something (by mistake)	1	3	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
~しょ, ~ <i>sho</i>	~でしょう, だろう, <i>deshō, darou</i>	Right?				1			1	2	
~だべ(さ)(や), <i>dabe (sa) (ya)</i>	だよね, でしょう, <i>dayone, deshō</i>	Right?, That's right							5		
「ゴミを」投げる, (<i>gomi o</i>) <i>nageru</i>	捨てる, <i>suteru</i>	To throw (garbage)	4	3	1	3	1		3	3	1
あずましい, <i>azumashii</i>	気持ちがいい, <i>kimochi ga ii</i>	Comfortable feeling	2	4		1	5	2	1	1	
いずい, <i>izui</i>	違和感, <i>iwakan</i>	Uncomfortable Feeling	4	1	2	3	4				
いんでないかい, <i>indenaikai</i>	いいと思います, <i>ii to omoimasu</i>	It is fine, right?								1	
うるかす, <i>urukasu</i>	浸す, <i>hitasu</i>	To soak (e.g. dishes, rice)	2	2		1	2	1		1	
おっちゃんこ, <i>occhanko</i>	座る, 正座, <i>suwaru, seiza</i>	To sit (like in seiza)			1						
オデキ, <i>odeki</i>	ニキビ, <i>nikibi</i>	Acne	1								
かさぶた, <i>kasabuta</i>	凝固, <i>gyōko</i>	Coagulation	1								
かっちゃんく, <i>katchaku</i>	引っ掻く, <i>hikkaku</i>	To scratch				1					
かっぱがえす, <i>kappagaesu</i>	ひっくり返す, <i>hikkurikaesu</i>	To turn over						1			
ガンベ, <i>ganbe</i>	ニキビ, <i>nikibi</i>	Small acne	1								
くまる, <i>kumaru</i>	からまる, <i>karamaru</i>	Get entangled in							1		
こちよばしい, <i>kochohashii</i>	くすぐったい, <i>kusuguttai</i>	Embarrassing	1						1		
ごめ, <i>gome</i>	かめも, <i>kamemo</i>	Seagull	1								
こわい, <i>kowai</i>	疲れた, だるい <i>tsukareta, darui</i>	Tired, Sluggish	4	1						1	
ザンギ, <i>zangi</i>	唐揚げ, <i>karaage</i>	Karaage (Fried Chicken)	1	1							
したつけ(ね), <i>shitakke(ne)</i>	またね, そうしたら, <i>matane, sōshitara</i>	See you later, then	1	1	1	1	1		6	3	3
したら, <i>shitara</i>	そうしたら, <i>sōshitara</i>	Then					1				1
しばれる, <i>shibareru</i>	寒い, <i>samui</i>	Cold	2	3		3		1		1	
しゃっこい, <i>shakkoi</i>	冷たい, <i>tsumetai</i>	Cold (to touch)	2								
じよっぴんかる, じよかる, <i>joppinkaru, jokaru</i>	鍵をかける, <i>kagi o kakeru</i>	To lock (the door)	4	6				1		1	
ショボい, <i>shoboi</i>	小さい情けない, <i>chiisai nasakenai</i>	Slightly deplorable					1				
そしたらね, <i>soshitarane</i>	バイバイ, <i>baibai</i>	Goodbye						1			

Hokkaido Dialect	Japanese	English	Q16b	Q16b	Q16b	Q16c	Q16c	Q16c	Q17	Q17	Q17
そだね, <i>sodane</i>	そうだね, <i>sōdane</i>	That's right				1				1	
たごまさる, <i>tagomasaru</i>	まとめる, <i>matomeru</i>	To collect	1								
だはんこく, <i>dahankoku</i>	ごねる, <i>goneru</i>	To grumble, complain						1			
ちよす, <i>chosu</i>	触る, <i>sawaru</i>	To touch	1		1						
って言ったっしょや, <i>tte itta sshoya</i>	言ったでしょう, <i>itta deshō</i>	I told you right									1
とうきび, <i>tōkibi</i>	とうもろこし, <i>toumorokoshi</i>	Corn		1							
とっぴ, <i>toppi</i>	取っておく, <i>totteoku</i>	Take something (for me) e.g. a seat					1				
なまら, <i>namara</i>	とても, <i>totemo</i>	Very	2	2	1	3	2	1	6	7	
なんも(なんも), <i>nanmo (nanmo)</i>	構わない, <i>kamawanai</i>	I don't care, no need to bother, it is fine	2		1	1		1	3		
ねっばる, <i>nepparu</i>	べたべた, <i>betabeta</i>	Sticky (and sticks to you)							1		
ばくる, <i>bakuru</i>	交換する, <i>kōkansuru</i>	To exchange)	2		2		1				
ばたばたでワヤ, <i>batabata de waya</i>	混乱していて大変だ。 <i>konran shite ite taihen da.</i>	Chaos is hard (to deal with)	1								
はんかくさい, <i>hankakusai</i>	バカ, <i>baka</i>	Idiot (affectionate)	1	1			1				
めっぱ, <i>meppa</i>	ものもらい, <i>monomorai</i>	Stye on the eyelid					2				
やばっちい, <i>yabacchii</i>	水から気持ち悪い, <i>mizu kara kimochi warui</i>	The ill feeling of being wet (e.g. rain)					1				
わや, <i>waya</i>	大変、すごい, <i>taihen, sugoi</i>	Hard, awful, terrible, amazing, cool, etc	2		1				1	2	
手袋をはく, <i>tebukuro o haku</i>	手袋をはめる, <i>tebukuro o hameru</i>	To put on (gloves)				2				1	
押ささる, <i>osasaru</i>	誤って押ししてしまった, <i>ayamatte oshite shimatta</i>	By mistake pushed (something).	7	3		7	7		2		
走って歩き, <i>hashitte aruki</i>	忙しい動き回る, <i>isogashii ugoki mawaru</i>	Hastily move around					1				

APPENDIX B: SURVEY (IN JAPANESE)

北海道弁について調査をしています。ご協力いただけたらうれしく思います。

このアンケートでは、5～10分かかります。

あなたの個人情報は匿名で、私の研究しか使いません。

宜しくお願い致します。

道産子ですか。北海道人ですが、道産子がわからなかったら、北海道人を選んでください。

1. はい
2. いいえ
3. 北海道人
4. アイヌ

性別は何ですか？

1. 女性です。
2. 男性です。
3. 言いたくないです。

おいくつですか？

今、北海道に住んでいますか？

1. はい
2. いいえ

「はい」と答えた場合、北海道のどの振興局に住んでいますか？

「いいえ」と答えた場合、どの都道府県に住んでいますか？

そして、何年間北海道の外に住んでいますか

北海道弁について質問

1: どの年齢層が最も頻繁に方言を使用していると思いますか

1. 青年層
2. 中年層
3. 老年層

2: 知らない人と話すとき、どれを使いますか。

1. 標準語
2. 北海道弁
3. 他

3: 道産子の友達と話すとき、どれを使いますか

1. 標準語
2. 北海道弁
3. 他

4: 道産子じゃないの友達と話すとき、知らず知らずに北海道弁で話すと思いますか。

1. はい
2. いいえ

5: 家族と話すとき、どれを使いますか。

1. 標準語
2. 北海道弁
3. 他

6: 北海道弁をどのくらい理解していると思いますか。

全然理解していない 1から5まで 全部理解している

7: 北海道弁で話す理由は何ですか。複数選択可。

1. (北海道弁を話すことで)道産子だと感じている
 2. それを使用すると、言いたいことをうまく表現することができるから
 3. 私達の伝統的な言語は守らなければならないから
 4. 理由はない。それが私の話し方だから。
 5. 北海道弁は話せません。
 6. 他
- 8: 北海道弁で話している時、それを誰かに叱られたり、侮辱されたり、他の方法で否定的な影響を受けたことがありますか。
1. よくある
 2. たまにある
 3. 数回あった
 4. 2—3回あった
 5. 一度もない
- 8 b: 「ある | あった」と答えた場合、どの状況でしたか。
- 9: 北海道で北海道弁に対して否定的な態度がみられると思いますか。
1. よくみられる
 2. たまにみられる
 3. あまりみられない
 4. 全然みられない
- 10: そのような態度を取るの、道産子ではない日本人ですか。他の道産子ですか。それとも、両方ですか。
1. 他の日本人
 2. 道産子
 3. 両方
 4. 他
- 11 a: 北海道弁は、これから標準語に近づいていって、消滅していく危険があると思いますか。
1. はい
 2. いいえ
- 11 b: 「はい」と答えた場合、それは気になりますか。
1. はい
 2. いいえ
- 11 c: 「はい」と答えた場合、どうして気になりますか。理由を書いてください。
- 11 d: 「いいえ」と答えた場合、どうして気になりませんか。理由を書いてください。
- 11 e: 北海道弁は共通語化していると思いますか。していますか？していませんか？書いてください。
- 12 a: もっと北海道弁を習って話せる人が増えると思いますか？
1. はい
 2. いいえ
- 12 b: 「いいえ」と答えた場合、理由を書いてください。
- 13 a: 道産子が、北海道弁の使用をやめたほうが良いと思いますか。つまり、標準語だけで話したほうが良いと思いますか。
1. はい
 2. いいえ
- 13 b: 「はい」と答えた場合、なぜそうと思いますか。書いてください。
- 14 a: 北海道弁が好きですか？
1. はい
 2. いいえ
- 14 b: 北海道弁が好きな／好きではない理由を書いてください
- 15 a: 北海道や道産子の文化はどう思いますか。
全く面白くない 1から5まで とても面白い

15 b: その文化の例を書いてください。

16 a: 北海道でしか通じない言葉があると思いますか？

1. はい
2. いいえ

16 b: 「はい」と答えた場合、例を書いてください。標準語での意味も書いてください。

16 c: 北海道弁の言葉で、標準語にない表現がありますか。あれば、その表現と、意味を説明してください。

17: あなたと同じ年代の人で、よく使う北海道弁の語彙や表現の例を書いてください。標準語での意味も書いてください。

18: 北海道の人が、自分を道産子と呼ぶのはなぜだと思いますか。

ご協力ありがとうございました