

**‘COOKBOOK METHOD’ AND KOINE-FORMATION: A CASE OF  
THE *KARAFUTO* DIALECT IN SAKHALIN<sup>1</sup>**

Yoshiyuki Asahi

The National Institute for Japanese Language

yasahi@kokken.go.jp

**Abstract**

This paper considers the direction of the linguistic change in a Japanese regional koine with a new method, called ‘cookbook method.’ Accentuation patterns of the two mora nouns have been focused for the analyses. Following the idea of the ‘cookbook method,’ two speakers have been chosen for the analyses in order to elucidate the language change on the real-time framework. Based on the finding of the survey conducted in 1938, a comparison has been made with a data collected in 2008 to examine to what extent the linguistic change in this particular aspect of Karafuto dialect occurred. Result shows that no systematic change occur in the two speakers. The reason why the drastic change did not occur in the particular speakers has been discussed in relation to the sociolinguistic settings in the post-war period.

**Keywords**

Cookbook method, Karafuto dialect, koine-formation, Japanese, dialect contact.

**1. Introduction**

In a last few decades, sociolinguists, especially variationist sociolinguists, have paid a large amount of attention to render linguistic descriptions of the new

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is one of the research activities both on the Grand-in Aid for Young Scientists (B) On the relationship of the language change between Karafuto (Sakhalin) dialect and Hokkaido dialect. (2008-2010) (Project no. 20720128) At the same time this paper is a revised version of my paper at METHODS XIII (Thirteenth International conference of Methods in Dialectology). I would be grateful for the comments at the METHODS conference. Needless to say, I am indebt to my informants who kindly co-operated to my fieldwork in July 2008. All the errors in this paper are, of course, my own.

contact-induced language varieties where high dialect contact situation lasted for several decades or for more than a century. Trudgill (1986) posits this type of study in sociolinguistics as ‘dialect transplantation study.’ English language varieties in various contexts are well-studied in the framework of Trudgill (1986). A number of English-language-based sociolinguists have devoted themselves into their documentation of new English language varieties.

In the same way, attempts have been made in other languages. Amongst the previous studies in this particular paradigm, more studies tend to be done in the Hindi koines, mainly through works by Siegel (1985, 1987), Gambhir (1981). Their works made a large amount of contributions to dissolve the mysteries of a koine-formation.

Japanese language, on the other hand, has not been studied as much as other languages from this perspective. However, there are a number of Japanese-speaking communities where various dialects have been ‘transplanted’. Japanese language has been used in such places as Taiwan, Hawaii, Saipan, Palau, United States, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, and so forth. In those places, it is highly likely that a new language variety of Japanese emerges as a result of dialect transplantation.

This paper focuses on one Japanese-speaking community in the former-Japanese territory, Sakhalin Island. Southern part of this island belonged to the Japanese territory between 1905 and 1945. At that time, a number of Japanese dialects were ‘transplanted’ into this island. As a result, high dialect contact situation was emerged, and a new language variety, called *Karafuto* dialect was formulated. This paper, therefore, considers the direction of linguistic change of the *Karafuto* dialect through raising two native speakers of the *Karafuto* dialect. Also, this paper considers the advantages of the ‘cookbook method’ to explain linguistic changes in highly complicated communities.

This paper consists of 8 sections. With a brief illustration of Sakhalin Island and Sakhalin Japanese in section 2, section 3 explains general information of *Karafuto* and Hokkaido dialects. Section 4 will define and illustrate ‘cookbook method’ to make a linguistic description of Sakhalin Japanese. At the same time, the framework of the analysis of this paper will be described. Survey design is illustrated in Section 5. Section 6 analyses the survey results, and section 7 discusses the direction of the

linguistic change in Karafuto Japanese, and assesses the recipe methods. Section 8 summarises this paper.

## 2. Sakhalin Island and Sakhalin Japanese

Located in north to Hokkaido, a northern island of Japan, and east to Primorye, Sakhalin Island is a major island of the Sakhalin State in the Russian Federation (see figure 1 for its location). A Capital of this island is Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. According to the population census in 1989, about 710,000 inhabitants are said to live in this island.



Group	Number	%
Russian	579,887	81.65%
Ukrainian	46,216	6.51%
Korean	35,191	1.61%
Belorussian	11,423	1.51%
Tatarian	10,699	0.79%
Mordvinian	5,641	0.79%
Chuvashin	2,452	0.35%
Nivkh	2,008	0.28%

Table 1. Ethnic composition of Sakhalin

(1989 census)

Figure 1. Sakhalin Island

Table 1 shows that Russian is, first and foremost, the largest ethnic group. Ukrainian, Korean, Belorussian, Tatarian are also the major groups. Other groups are classified as ‘minorities’ whose percentage of the population does not reach up even to 1%. With a close look at this minority (Asahi 2006), however, it is possible to find such ethnic groups as Ainu, Uilta, Nivkh, and Japanese, all of who have stayed in this island much longer than Russian and Ukrainian.

Historically speaking, this island has been multi-ethnic as well as multi-cultural

island. Japanese is one of the languages which have given its impact onto the language and culture in Sakhalin Island.

Japanese language, whose first appearance is said to be in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, became in active use in 19<sup>th</sup> century when a number of Japanese fishermen went out to the Okhotsk Sea on their fishery boats. They had a temporary house, called *banya*, along with the coastline, and stayed for their fishing period. Asahi (2006) described the sociolinguistic situation at that time, and pointed out that a large amount of interactions were observed between Japanese fishermen and Uilta, Nivkh, and Ainu, and a highly-simplified Japanese was thought to be emerged.

Japanese language when Japan took an ownership over this island between 1905 and 1945 was used at public places and at schools. A number of immigrants mainly from the northern part of Japan came to this island. Japanese language was taught to non-native speakers such as Korean, Ainu, Uilta and Nivkh. The acquisition of Japanese proceeded to its great extent. Even today, many of them maintain their fluency of spoken Japanese.

### **3. Karafuto dialect and Hokkaido dialect**

Unfortunately enough, Japanese language in Sakhalin has not been studied in detail. In fact, no single study has been conducted to render either any sociolinguistic or linguistic descriptions of the Japanese language since the end of the World War II. Eventually, a large amount of time and labour were required for me to understand the sociolinguistic situation.

On the other hand, one study was made on the Japanese language during the Japanese domination time. Teruo Hirayama, a Japanese dialectologist, conducted his fieldwork in several localities of Sakhalin. Hirayama (1957) collects all of his findings of his survey data on the accentuation patterns. Calling a language variety of Japanese in Sakhalin as *Karafuto hogen* (henceforth called as Karafuto dialect), he noted a large degree of similarities between Karafuto dialect and Hokkaido dialect. He claimed that

this similarity is found not only in the accentuation patterns, but in other levels such as phonology, morphology, and lexicon. Hokkaido dialect in Japanese dialectology is said to be a regional koine. Therefore, Karafuto dialect is, so to speak, ‘a koine of a koine.’

In order to explain the relationships between two regional koines, it is necessary to consider the dialectal backgrounds of the immigrants both to Sakhalin and Hokkaido. Figure 2 and Figure 3 show top-ten prefectures of Japan where immigrants in Sakhalin and Hokkaido were from.

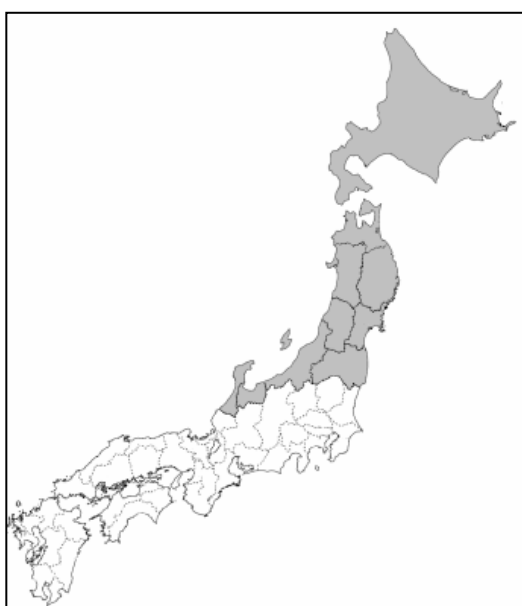


Figure 2. Dialectal backgrounds (Sakhalin)



Figure 3. Dialectal background (Hokkaido)

Figure 2 and Figure 3 show the similar distributions of the region (shown in grey area). In other words, the similar sociolinguistic situation occurred in the establishment of the local communities. It is not hard to imagine that Karafuto dialect shares a number of features with Hokkaido dialect.

When it comes to the Hokkaido dialect in Japanese dialectology, two major dialects exist; *Nairiku hogen* (Inland dialect) and *Kaigan hogen* (Coastal dialect). Hirayama (1957) refers to Sapporo dialect, one of the *Nairiku* dialects when he made a comparative account with Karafuto dialect.

In this regard, intriguing sociolinguistic questions arise; to what extent was and is

the Karafuto dialect and Hokkaido dialect similar or different? If both dialects behave differently, what kind of linguistic change emerged in the course of each history?

#### 4. ‘Cookbook method’ as a sociolinguistic analytic framework

‘Cookbook’ is usually used in cooking. It collects the information on cooking or a list of ingredients for various kinds of the dishes. Apart from that, it is also used outside cooking; it gathers all tried-and-tested recipes or instructions for specific goals. This term is, to the best of my knowledge, more frequently used in laboratories situations where a number of experiments with various settings are conducted.

When sociolinguists decide to work with the multilingual societies, especially, when they struggle to find the directions of the language change, it is necessary to decide HOW to make explanations of the linguistic change.

Through research activities in Sakhalin Island, I have been faced with such highly complicated sociolinguistic situations. As illustrated in Figure 4, the varying degree of influence in each socio-cultural factor requires a large amount of attention when it comes to the establishments of Karafuto dialect.

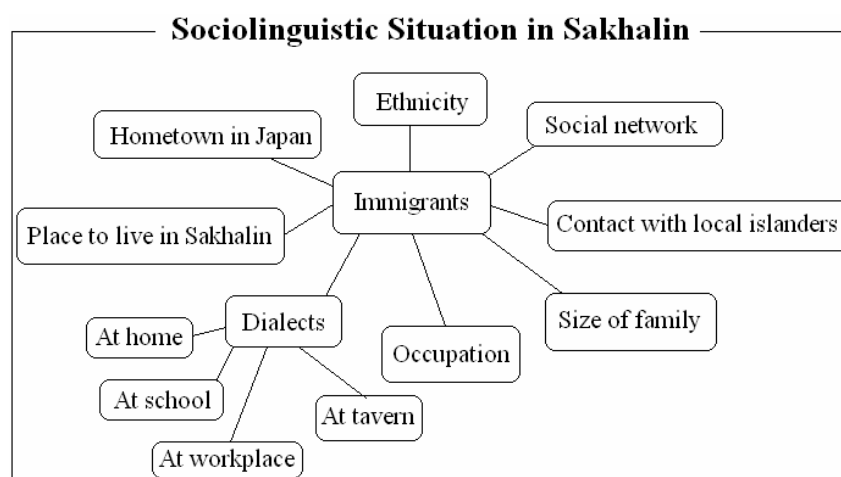


Figure 4. Highly diverse sociolinguistic situations in Sakhalin

It is often the case, for example, with a person whose father is from Hokkaido, whose mother is from Aomori, whose grandparents of the father are both from Yamagata, and whose grandparents of the mother are both from Iwate. It is not rare when a person is Japanese with Japanese parents who went back to Japan, but has Korean husband who speaks Japanese.

Under these circumstances, it requires a number of ‘trials and errors’ to tackle with the linguistic changes observed in Karafuto dialect. Sometimes, I **even** find it next to impossible to make any generalisations on the koineisation of this particular language variety. This has made me to start a cookbook in order to establish a systematic account

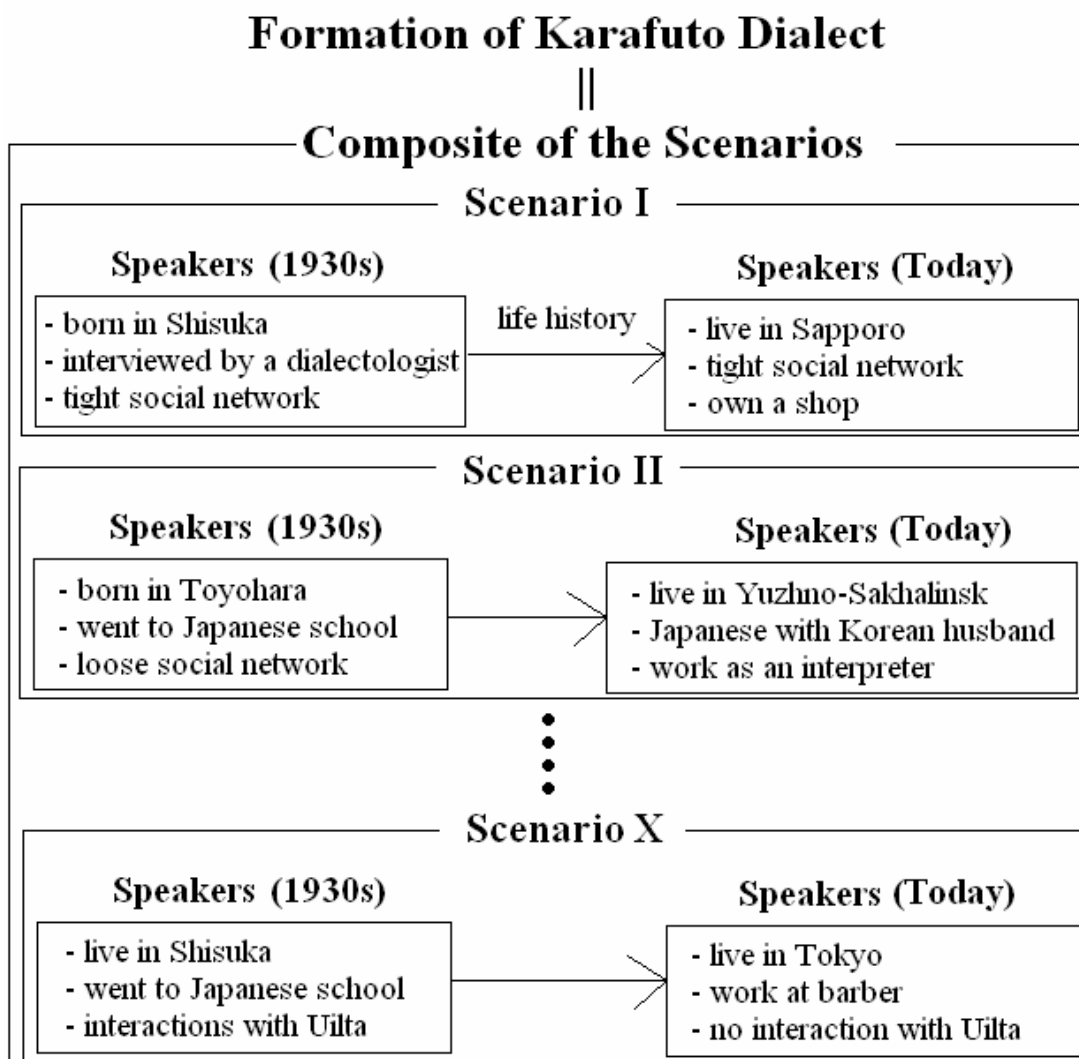


Figure 5. Scenarios in cookbook methods

for the koine-formation. In order to do so, scenarios of the language change, not only through the work by Hirayama (1957) but through my personal observations, would be strongly expected. As shown in Figure 5, constellation of the scenarios, in the long run, will provide a clue to understand the process of a koine-formation. This paper, as a first attempt, looks into two scenarios. The details of the scenarios are provided in Figure 6.

The scenario in this paper lies in the very person to whom Hirayama interviewed back in 1930s. In 1938, six Karafuto dialect speakers were interviewed by Hirayama in the place called, *Shisuka* (Poronaisk in today's Sakhalin). All the names of the informant be found in Hirayama (1957). This enabled me to explore the possibility to meet any of them. As a result, one speaker turned out to be alive, and I could make an interview to

Scenario I	Scenario II
Speaker A	Speaker B
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Born in Shisuka, 1925</li> <li>- Hirayama's informant</li> <li>- Interviewed in 1938</li> <li>- Representative of Karafuto Dialect in Hirayama's study</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Born in Shisuka, 1925</li> <li>- Classmate of Speaker A</li> <li>- Not interviewed</li> <li>- Representative of Karafuto Dialect</li> </ul>
Late 1940s	Late 1940s
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Return to Japan</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Return to Japan</li> </ul>
Since 1950s	Since 1950s
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Live in Sapporo</li> <li>- Frequent interactions with Speaker B</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Live in Sapporo</li> <li>- Frequent interactions with Speaker A</li> </ul>

Figure 6. Two scenarios in Karafuto dialect formation

him. This paper, therefore, works with this speaker as scenario I, so as to clarify the direction of linguistic change on the real-time basis. In order to examine the uniqueness of this speaker, this paper also looks into another speaker as scenario II. He was born, and grew up in *Shisuka*, and he was actually one of his classmates. Both lived in the same place both in the Japanese domination time and after the World War II.



## 5. Survey Design

The survey design of this paper can be summarised below.

### 5.1. Informants

The details of this speaker are given in Table 2.

Speaker	Speaker A	Speaker B
Sex	Male	Male
Birth year	1925	1925
Residence	0-20 Shisuka 21-83 Sapporo	0-20 Shisuka 21-83 Sapporo

Table 2. Informant's information

### 5.2. Survey method

This paper reports the results from the wordlist data. At the interview, informant was asked to read a wordlist for three times. The wordlist consist of one and two mora nouns, adjectives, and verbs. In this paper, 34 two mora nouns will be used for the analysis. A list of 34 survey words is shown in Table 3.

Group 1		Group2		Group3	
hashi	edge	hashi	bridge	kami	paper
hana	nose	uta	song	hana	flower
ushi	cow	ishi	stone	ashi	foot
mizu	water	mune	breast	inu	dog
ame	candy	natsu	summer	ie	house
eda	branch	oto	sound	mago	grandchild
		kita	north	kusa	grass
		kawa	river		
Group4/5 (i,u)		Group4/5 (a,e,o)		/	
umi	sea	kata	shoulder		
matsu	pine	ine	rice		
aki	autumn	ito	thread		
ani	brother	ita	board		
saru	monkey	asa	morning		
		nabe	pot		
		mado	window		
		aka	red		

Table 3. A list of 34 survey words

### 5.3. Survey Period

The data used in this paper was collected in July 2008.

## 6. Data Analyses

This section analyses the accentuation pattern of the two mora nouns. Before making any linguistic analyses, Hirayama's result will be shown so as to illustrate the accentuation pattern of the two mora nouns in 1930s. Based on this, the accentuation pattern observed in Speaker A in 2008 will be analyzed. Speaker B's data will be raised to examine to what extent the result differs from each other.

### 6.1. Accentuation pattern of Karafuto dialect in 1930s

This section renders a brief look at the accentuation pattern of Karafuto dialect in 1930s based on Hirayama (1957). Hirayama (1957) summarised the accentuation patterns of the two mora nouns. As Japanese language is a tone-language, each mora is realised with either high or low tone. The combination of high and low tone composes the accentuation pattern. Tokyo Japanese, for example, have three accentuation patterns in two-mora words. Examples are given in (1)(2)(3). H and L, in the examples, mean High and Low tones respectively.

- |     |          |        |       |        |
|-----|----------|--------|-------|--------|
| (1) | kao (LH) | kao ga | (LHH) | 'face' |
| (2) | uta (LH) | uta ga | (LHL) | 'song' |
| (3) | umi (HL) | umi ga | (HLL) | 'sea'  |

Let us now take a look at the results Hirayama obtained through his fieldwork. His findings can be summarised in Table 4.

	Group 1	Group 2	Group3	Group 4•5(a,e,o)	Group 4•5(i,u)
	hashi (edge) hana (nose)	hashi(bridge) uta (song)	kami (hair) hana (flower)	kata(shoulder) asa (morning)	umi (sea) aki (autumn)
Karafuto (Poronaïsk)	LH/LHH	LH/LHH	LH/LHL	LH/LHL	HL/HLL
Hokkaido (Sapporo)	LH/LHH	LH/LHH	LH/LHL	LH/LHL	HL/HLL
Tokyo	LH/LHH	LH/LHL	LH/LHL	HL/HLL	HL/HLL

Table 4. Accentuation pattern of two mora nouns in 1930

What characterizes Karafuto dialect is that there are three classifications of the two mora-nouns; LH/LHH for Group1 and Group2, LH/LHL for Group 3, Group4/5 with wide vowels in the second mora, HL/HLL for Group 4/5 with narrow vowels in the second mora. This pattern is identical with the Hokkaido dialect.

What is different from Tokyo Japanese is twofold. One is that accentuation pattern is different in Group2; whilst Karafuto dialect has LH/LHH, and Tokyo Japanese is LH/LHL. The other is that accentuation pattern in Group4 and Group 5 is identical in Tokyo Japanese whereas Karafuto dialect had distinctions between these two groups on the basis of the nature of the vowel in the second mora.

### *6.2. Accentuation pattern of Karafuto dialect in 2008*

This section analyzes the accentuation pattern of speaker A. What kind of changes has occurred in this speaker for the last seventy years? Speaker A has had most of his time in Sapporo for most of his life. It follows that he would be heavily influenced by the local Sapporo dialect. This situation would be the most similar to the situation of Sakhalin if Sakhalin Island were not taken by Russia at the end of the World War II and if Karafuto dialect had been in active use in Sakhalin Island.

In order to show the accentuation pattern of the 34 two mora nouns of Speaker A, this section shows (1) Group 1 and Group 2, (2) Group 3 and Group 4/5 with wide vowels, (3) Group 4/5 with narrow vowels. Each word in each word group will be illustrated with the accentuation pattern both in 1930s and in 2008.

## (1) Group 1 and Group 2

Firstly, accentuation patterns of the survey words in Group 1 and Group 2 behaved in 1930s, i.e. LH/LHH. Table 5 shows that most of the survey words in Group 1 and

	Group1				Group2				
	ushi	ame	eda	hashi	hashi	mune	natsu	oto	kita
	(cow)	(candy)	(branch)	(edge)	(bridge)	(breast)	(summer)	(sound)	(north)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHH								
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHH								
Tokyo	LH/LHH				LH/LHL				

Table 5. Accentuation pattern of Speaker A (Group 1 and Group 2)

	Group2		
	uta	ishi	kawa
	(song)	(stone)	(river)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHH		
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHL		
Tokyo	LH/LHL		

Table 6. Tokyo-type pattern (Group2)

	Group 1	
	mizu	hana
	(water)	(nose)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHH	
Karafuto 2008	LH/LLH	LH/LHL
Hokkaido Kaigan	LH/LLH	
Tokyo	LH/LHL	

Table 7. Other patterns (Group 1)

Group 2 in 2008 data follow the same pattern. What is more, the pattern LH/LHH in Group 2 becomes an evidence to show the difference that speaker A's accentuation pattern cannot be identical with Tokyo Japanese. Table 4 saw Sapporo accentuation pattern. In this regard, Speaker A has maintained the same pattern as before.

On the other hand, some survey words such as ones in Table 6 and Table 7 behaved differently. Table 6 are survey words in Group 2 whose accentuation patterns are the same with Tokyo Japanese. Survey words in Table 7, on the other hand, behaved in another way. A survey word, *mizu* 'water,' has LH/LLH, which is identical with *Kaigan hogen* of Hokkaido dialect whilst *hana*, 'nose,' has LH/LHL, which is the same pattern

in Group 2. This pattern, however, cannot be found in Tokyo Japanese.

(2) Group 3, Group 4 and 5 with wide vowels

Secondly, the accentuation patterns in Group 3, Group 4 and 5 with wide vowels were LH/LHL in 1930s. According to Table 8 and Table 9, the accentuation patterns in the survey words have LH/LHL except for *kami*, ‘hair’ whose pattern is LH/LHH. What is clear is that Speaker A did not change the accentuation pattern in these groups, either.

At the same time, his use of accentuation patterns is not identical with Tokyo Japanese in the sense that accentuation pattern in Group 4 and Group 5 with wide vowel is LH/LHL.

	Group 3					
	kami	ashi	hana	inu	kusa	mago
	(hair)	(foot)	(flower)	(dog)	(grass)	(grandchild)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHL					
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHH	LH/LHL				
Tokyo	LH/LHH					

Table 8. Accentuation pattern of Speaker A (Group 3)

	Group 4/5 (W)						
	ine	kata	ito	ita	asa	mado	aka
	(rice)	(shoulder)	(thread)	(board)	(morning)	(window)	(red)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHL						
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHL						
Tokyo	HL/HLL						

Table 9. Accentuation pattern of Speaker A (Group 4/5 with wide vowels)

(3) Group 4 and 5 with narrow vowels

How about the accentuation pattern in Group 4 and 5 with narrow vowels in the second mora? Table 10 is a summary of the accentuation pattern. It is clear that the accentuation pattern in these word groups is HL/HLL. This pattern was observed both in

1930s and 2008 data. Accentuation pattern of Speaker A have not changed in these survey words.

	Group 4/5 (N)				
	umi	matu	aki	ani	saru
	(sea)	(pane)	(autumn)	(brother)	(monkey)
Karafuto 1930s	HL/HLL				
Karafuto 2008	HL/HLL				
Tokyo	HL/HLL				

Table 10. Accentuation pattern of Speaker A (Group 4/5 with narrow vowels)

With a comparison with Table 9 and Table 10, accentuation patterns in these word groups can be distinguished in accordance with the nature of the vowel in the second mora; LH/LHL for wide vowels and HL/HLL for narrow vowels. This difference was also maintained in this speaker; this is also the distinction observed in Hokkaido dialect.

Speaker A has spent most of his time both in Sakhalin and Hokkaido where this distinction does exist in the local dialectal system. In this sense, he did not have any opportunities to acquire a new accentual system.

### 6.3. Examining the accentuation pattern of the other Karafuto dialect speaker

This section analyses the accentuation patterns of the other Karafuto dialect speaker B in Scenario II. As mentioned earlier, Speaker B was born in the same year, and grew up and went to the same school as Speaker A. They have kept their relationship after the end of the World War II. It is assumed that the accentuation pattern of both speakers tends to be similar as they have spent a similar sociolinguistic situation. The rest of this section looks into three categories of the survey word groups.

#### (1) Group 1 and Group 2

Firstly, the accentuation patterns of the Group 1 and Group 2 are raised for the analyses. Table 11 and Table 12 are results.

	Group1				
	ushi (cow)	ame (candy)	eda (branch)	mizu (water)	hana (nose)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHH				
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHH				
Tokyo	LH/LHH				

Table 11. Accentuation pattern of Speaker B (Group 1)

	Group2							
	hashi (bridge)	mune (breast)	natsu (summer)	oto (sound)	kita (north)	uta (song)	ishi (stone)	kawa (river)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHH							
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHH							
Tokyo	LH/LHL							

Table 12. Accentuation pattern of Speaker B (Group 2)

	Group 1 and Group2	
	hasi (edge)	hasi (bridge)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHH	
Karafuto 2008	HL/HLL	
Tokyo	LH/LHL	

Table 13. Accentuation pattern of *hasi*

According to Table 11 and Table 12, almost all of the survey words in Group 1 and Group 2 have LH/LHH pattern. LH/LHH both in Group 1 and Group 2 can be found both in Karafuto dialect and Sapporo dialect whilst Tokyo Japanese, as mentioned earlier, has LH/LHL in Group 2. In this sense, Speaker B keeps the Karafuto dialect accentuation pattern, and, as a result, follows the same pattern as Sapporo dialect.

On the other hand, as shown in Table 13, speaker B demonstrated HL/HLL in *hasi*, which means ‘edge’ and ‘bridge.’ This feature should be classified as a lexical feature.

## (2) Group 3, Group 4 and 5 with wide vowels

Secondly, the accentuation patterns for Group 3, Group 4/5 with wide vowels are analyzed here. As shown in Table 14 and Table 15, the accentuation pattern of these groups is, in most cases, LH/LHL. This pattern can be found in Karafuto dialect as well as Tokyo Japanese. In other words, Speaker B maintained the same accentuation pattern of Karafuto dialect.

	Group3				
	ashi	hana	inu	kusa	mago
	(foot)	(flower)	(dog)	(grass)	(grandchild)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHL				
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHL				
Tokyo	LH/LHL				

Table 14. Accentuation pattern of Speaker B (Group 3)

	Group 4/5 (W)					
	kata	ito	ita	asa	mado	aka
	shoulder	(thread)	(board)	(morning)	(window)	(red)
Karafuto 1930s	LH/LHL					
Karafuto 2008	LH/LHL					
Tokyo	HL/HLL					

Table 15. Accentuation pattern of Speaker B (Group 4/5 with wide vowels)

	Group 3 and Group 4/5(W)	
	mago	ine
	(grandchild)	(rice)
Karafuto 1930s	LHL	
Karafuto 2008	HL/HLL	
Tokyo	LH/LHL	

Table 16 Accentuation pattern of Speaker B ('mago' and 'ine')

However, two survey words in Table 16 behaved differently from Table 13 and



Table 14. *Mago*, ‘grandchild,’ and *ine*, ‘rice,’ have HL/HLL. What is more, the accentuation pattern of the *ine* is identical with Tokyo Japanese. On the other hand, the accentuation pattern of the other word, *mago* has HL/HLL pattern, which does not belong to either dialect. This should be construed as another lexical feature.

(3) Group 4 and 5 with narrow vowels

The accentuation pattern of this group is shown in Table 17. This table shows that the accentuation pattern in HL/HLL is observed in the all survey words. HL/HLL pattern in the Speaker B is most stable in these groups. This pattern is, again, the same pattern with Karafuto dialect and Tokyo Japanese.

	Group 4/5 (N)				
	umi (sea)	matu (pane)	aki (autumn)	ani (brother)	saru (monkey)
Karafuto 1930s	HL/HLL				
Karafuto 2008	HL/HLL				
Tokyo	HL/HLL				

Table 17. Accentuation pattern of Speaker B (Group 4/5 with narrow vowels)

## 7. Discussion

This section considers the directions of the linguistic changes in the accentuation patterns of two Karafuto dialect speakers. As an attempt to employ ‘cookbook’ methods, this paper considered the two scenarios. This section looks into the results of each scenario in order to examine the linguistic change in Karafuto dialect.

### 7.1. Results of the Scenario I and Scenario II

Generally speaking, the results showed a large degree of similarities between two speakers. In order to explain the similarity, the overall results of the survey results are

illustrated in Table 18.

	1930	2008	
		Speaker A	Speaker B
Group 1	LH/LHH	LH/LHH	LH/LHH
Group 2			
Group 3	LH/LHL	LH/LHL	LH/LHL
Group 4/5 (W)			
Group 4/5(N)	HL/HLL	HL/HLL	HL/HLL

Table 18. Overall results of the accentuation patterns

Table 18 clearly shows that the systematic linguistic change in the accentuation patterns did not occur in two scenarios. In this regard, Karafuto dialect has been more or less same for the last seventy years. Speaker A acquired his accentuation pattern in Sakhalin, and maintained this pattern up to today.

The similar pattern is also found in Speaker B. Although there are a couple of exceptions, the speaker B showed a large degree of similarities with the accentuation patterns in 1938. In this regard, the result of the speaker B supported the result of the speaker A.

To summarise, with a close attention to the two speakers who have spent the similar sociolinguistic situation since their childhood, it turned out that the accentuation patterns of the Karafuto dialect have been maintained until today.

## 7.2. Factors controlling the accentuation patterns

It is necessary to consider the reason why both scenarios showed a large degree of the similarities in the accentuation patterns. To start with, let us take a look at the accentuation pattern of the Sapporo dialect. As both speakers live in Sapporo for more than sixty years, their accentuation patterns are likely to be influenced by the Sapporo dialect.

Table 19 is an accentuation pattern of the two mora nouns in traditional Sapporo dialect. Table 19 shows that the accentuation patterns of Sapporo dialect are identical with Karafuto dialect in 1930. As Sapporo dialect is influenced by Tokyo Japanese, most young generation speakers demonstrate their accentuation patterns, which is much more similar or even identical with Tokyo Japanese.

	Sapporo
Group 1	LH/LHH
Group 2	
Group 3	LH/LHL
Group 4/5 (W)	
Group 4/5(N)	HL/HLL

Table 19. Accentuation pattern in traditional Sapporo dialect

	Sapporo
Group 1	LH/LHH
Group 2	LH/LHL
Group 3	
Group 4/5 (W)	HL/HLL
Group 4/5(N)	

Table 20. Accentuation pattern in today's Sapporo dialect

Table 20 is an accentuation pattern of one Sapporo dialect speaker, aged 21, living in Sapporo (Asahi 2008). Like this speaker in Table 20, the accentuation pattern of Sapporo dialect went through a large degree of the linguistic change in favour of Tokyo Japanese.

On the other hand, two speakers showed their accentuation patterns closer to the traditional accentuation pattern of the Sapporo dialect. What is more, they are not affected by Tokyo Japanese, either.

It is necessary here to consider the reason of why it is so. Both speakers happen to

be in the similar sociolinguistic situation in Sapporo where the accentuation pattern had been identical with Karafuto dialect. They were not affected by Tokyo Japanese either. Under these circumstances, it is possible to assume that the accentuation pattern of Karafuto dialect would be similar in the Sakhalin Island IF the ownership of the island belonged to Japan after the World War II. Needless to say, a certain degree of Tokyo Japansisation is also likely to occur in Sakhalin Island.

## **8. Conclusions**

This paper examined the koine-formation process of one of the Japanese regional koines in the former Japanese colonies, Sakhalin. This paper stressed the importance of the ‘cookbook method’ to consider the dynamism of the linguistic change in immigrant communities. As one of the first attempts in cookbook methods, this paper focused on the two Karafuto dialect speakers, and made linguistic analyses on the accentuation patterns of the two mora nouns.

The result showed that accentuation patterns of the Karafuto dialect have been maintained in two speakers. After 70 years’ time after the first interview in 1938, the speaker did not show a systematic linguistic change in his accentuation patterns. Factors which determined this accentuation pattern in today’s Karafuto dialect were considered. Similarities with Sapporo dialect and similar sociolinguistic situation in Sapporo after the World War II resulted in the maintenance of the accentuation pattern.

There are a number of research topics to be pursued. The analysis of the accentuation pattern in other survey words should become one of the first research tasks to do. At the same time, linguistic analyses of other features in morpho-syntactic, lexical and phonological levels needs further analyses. There topics are my future research tasks.

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