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JAPANSKA

# **The Lexicon of Kochi Japanese**

A comparative analysis between Japanese natives and  
Japanese non-natives of Kochi

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## *Abstract*

The present thesis seeks to answer via categorization through lexicon if there is any permeation of the Kôchi dialect of Japanese into non-native regional languages in the area, particularly Kôchi City.

A survey concerning the lexical awareness of the Kôchi dialect was conducted at Kôchi University, which included members of the student body and faculty.

*Tosa-ben* vocabulary in the four subcategories, *nouns*, *verbs*, *adjectives* and *adverbs*, receive relatively poor recognition among respondents of regional affiliation other than that of Kôchi prefecture. The category *expressions* however receive a markedly higher degree of recognition attributed to the category's contextual information and unique character within the same group.

The lexical awareness of the Kôchi dialect is limited among young generations not native to the Kôchi region.

Keywords: Japanese, Kochi, Tosa, dialect, lexicon, lexical awareness, sociolinguistics, comparative analysis, phonology, yotsugana, morphology, grammar

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

I have always been fascinated by dialects, whether it is dialects of British English, American English, Japanese or my mother tongue Swedish. Language and culture are very closely connected and very much influenced by one another reciprocally. Therefore a language with a diversity of dialects gives hint of an equally diverse culture.

How people perceive dialects, where they originate from and why some dialects acquire traits that make them unique are all very intriguing questions.

I was fortunate enough to study at Kochi University for one year from October of 2008 to August of 2009. I was exposed to the local dialect, *Tosa-ben* (土佐弁) on a daily basis. I thought it was a very pleasantly sounding and charming dialect so much different from the Standard Japanese we are taught at university. I tried to engross myself and absorb as much as I could of *Tosa-ben*. I subsequently challenged myself to make it my main theme for the present thesis.

## 1.2 Previous Works

Study of the dialects have a long tradition within Japanese linguistics. Japanese consists of two large dialect groups, namely the mainland dialect group and Ryûkyû-dialect group.

Japanese dialects have been studied from various angles, perhaps the most widely studied area is the distribution of pitch accent. Other phonetic features such as consonants are also well studied. Some dialects have a distinction between fricative and affricate (called 'yotsugana') and this is found in Shikoku and Kyushu.

Another interesting area is the lexicon and expressions. Though many old linguistic features have disappeared from other Japanese dialects, as well as Standard Japanese, the Kochi dialect is famous for maintaining these elderly traits. This spurred Polivanov to coin the expression *Sanskrit Japanese* (in the famous linguist Maruyama's 1976 translation), when talking about the Kochi dialect because of its archaism.

The major *phonetic characteristics* of the Kochi dialect can be found in compiled studies of Japanese dialects. Presumably the most thorough description of the phonetic features of this dialect can be found in Doi's *Tosa no hoogen* (1982).

Specifically there have been many studies on the Kochi dialect in the field of *phonetics* for example: concerning *accent* a descriptive study by Nakai (2002), research of *vowel devoicing rate* by Sugito (1988), instrumental analysis of the so-called *yotsugana\** by Kuno et al. (1995), and some F0 (*fundamental formant*) analyses of the accent manifestations by professor and supervisor Nagano-Madsen to just name a few.

### **1.3 Aim**

Although a collection of Kochi dialect lexicon exists, we are not quite sure exactly which of them are still commonly used. Neither do we know if the use of Kochi dialect and the recognition of the dialect by Japanese non-native speakers. There seems to be no such a study for the Kochi dialect.

By means of *dialectological fieldwork*, the aim of this study is to examine and capture the degree of recognition of the Kôchi dialect among Japanese people not native to the Kochi region by means of a comparative analysis regarding lexicon.

Are Japanese non-native speakers of the Kochi dialect influenced by this dialect?

Also how well aware are the native speakers of the Kôchi dialect of their own vocabulary as anticipated by the literature?

## 2. Overview of Japanese Dialects

One might think that a language with a wide variety of dialects would be heavily influenced by neighboring languages however since Japan is an island it does not suffer direct influence from closely neighboring countries.

Despite this fact the Japanese language is extremely rich in dialectal variation. Japan's mountainous geography makes it possible for dialects to thrive in secluded regions. A fascinating fact is that some of the regional dialects are almost incomprehensible to one another.

A reason why there is confusion among speakers of different regions is because, not only may the pronunciation be different, but also the expression (lexicon and grammar) from Standard Japanese. Adding to this, the morphology of verbs and adjectives may also heavily differ.

### 2.1 Standard Language / Common Language

The official version of the Japanese language is referred to as Standard Language or *hyôjungo*. This version of the language is for instance used on television, in particular the Japanese Broadcasting Corporation NHK and in textbooks. The Common Language or *kyôtsûgo*, which is almost identical to Standard Language, is roughly based on the language used in the districts of Yamanote in the Tokyo region (Labrune 2012).

Common Language is distinct from dialectal Japanese. This standardization of language Common Language/Standard language is a means for people of different regional origin to communicate with each other. Though it is supposed to be uniform throughout the entire country, the Common Language fails to be so and is very much varied. Shibatani (1999:199) explains about the discrepancies in Common Language:

“In any given regional community, a “dialect” and a “Regional Common Language” are used. A “Regional Common Language” is the speech, which the local people perceive as the “National Common Language”. In other words, it is the speech that the local people think is used in Tokyo. A “Regional Common Language” is one, which imitates the speech



of Tokyo and tries to sound the same but does not succeed. Since a dialect underlies it, it can be thought of as a mixture of dialect and Tokyo Japanese.”

As a consequence this means that there is also a Regional Common Language in the model Tokyo Japanese as well, although it is very close to the National Common Language. The actual difference between Common Language and Standard Language is a bit blurry, and it seems as though researchers have yet to make a unanimous classification.

## 2.2 Mainland Dialects

The Japanese Alps, which range from the northern city of Toyama to the southern city of Aichi, create a natural divider between the eastern and the western parts of mainland Japan. Similarly Mainland Japanese is divided into Eastern and Western Japanese. Furthermore the Western Japanese is traditionally divided into the main West and Kyushu.

But since Kyushu shares many similar traits with the main West, they are often grouped together. A grouping also exists in eastern Japanese.

On a few islands south of Tôkyô the Hachijô dialect is spoken. This dialect is distinct from Mainland Eastern Japanese, which results in a division in eastern Japanese as well.

### 2.2.1 East

Though further away in a *geographical* sense, the Hokkaido dialect is closer to the Common Language than the Tôhoku dialect for instance. And even though Tôhoku is closer to Tôkyô geographically, the dialect couldn't be further away in a linguistic sense.

In fact the dialect or *zûzû-ben* as it is colloquially known, is so different that it is often subtitled when televised. A major feature in this dialect of Northern Honshû is that there is no distinction between the vowels /i/ and /u/.

Where, for instance in several dialects of Kyûshû and Shikoku, a four-way distinction\* is made between /du/, /zu/, /di/ and /zi/, phonetically [d□zɯ] [zɯ] [d□zi] and [zi] respectively, in *zûzû-ben* there is no discrimination between these four *kana* and they are realised with central vowels and pre-nasalization of the voiced obstruents. This is written phonetically as [ⁿd□zɨ] and [ⁿd□zɥ]. Furthermore this neutralization affects the

corresponding voiceless consonants /su/ and /si/, phonetically [s̥i] and [s̥ʰi], while /tu/ and /ti/ are realized as [t̥i] and [t̥ʰi] respectively (Labrune 2012).

This dismisses any assumption that the further away from Tokyo, the further the dialects would stray from the Common Language, which, as mentioned earlier, is based on the language in the Tôkyô area (Berglind 2010:9).

An interesting *phonological* feature in Eastern Japanese, is the general coalescence of vowel sequences; /ai/, /oi/, and /ui/ into /eɪ/, /eɪ/, and /iɪ/ respectively, Tôkyô Japanese however pronounce without coalescence.

Another *grammatical* trait used extensively in Eastern Japanese is the suffix *-bee*, denoting presumption e.g. *iku-bee* "I guess I'll go". This is however not consistent in every area. In Tôkyô, and by default, Common Language as well, presumption is denoted by *-(y)oo* or *-da-roo*; forms used in Kyôto speech (Western Japanese) Shibatani (1999:109).

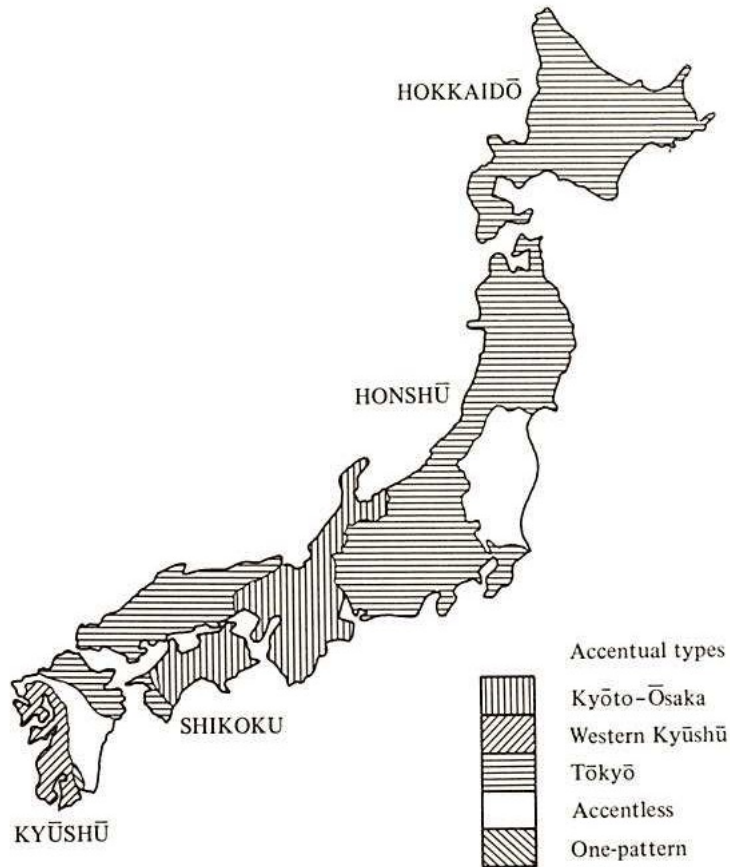
### 2.2.2 West

One characteristic *grammatical* feature in Western Japanese is the copula short-form. The common short-form copula in Western Japanese is /ya/ or /ja/, different from the Eastern Japanese short-form copula /da/.

Although vowel devoicing is a lot more prevalent in Eastern Japanese, a characteristic *phonetical* feature in Western Japanese is the vowel devoicing in the negative short-forms. For instance an example of abbreviation in Eastern Japanese: The negative ending *-nai* becomes in Western Japanese either *-nu* or just *-n*. Sometimes replacement occurs instead of abbreviation; for instance, *-nai* is replaced by *-hen*.

Many Western Japanese traits can be traced in Eastern Japanese honorific speech. These are remnants from when the honorific and humble language was developed in the imperial courts of Kyôto. For instance in polite Eastern Japanese *oru* is commonly used instead of *iru* ("to be") Shibatani (1999:199).

The prominent accent type is that of Kyôto-Ôsaka in Western Japanese.



Map 7 Accent in the Japanese dialects

Figure 1 *Accent in the Japanese dialects* Adapted from Shibatani (2004)

### 2.3 Ryūkyūan Dialects

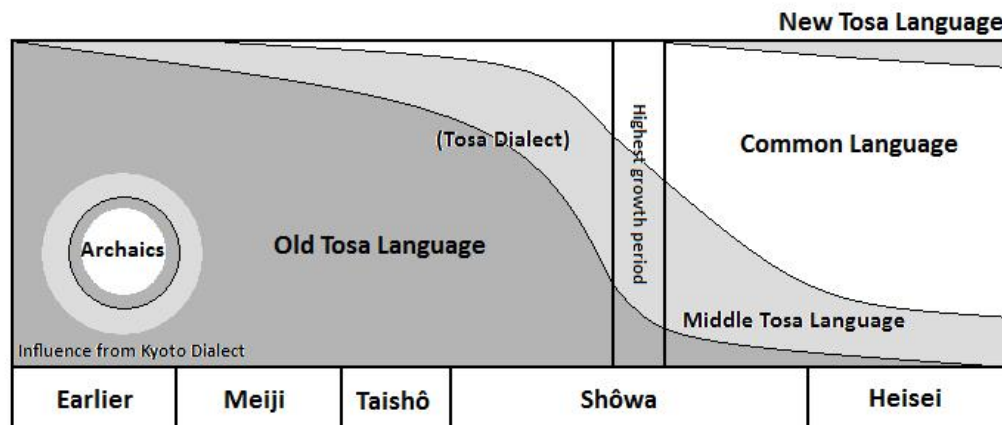
Up until the Meiji Restoration in 1867 the Ryūkyū Islands were an autonomous kingdom, and for a long time there has been controversy if the Ryūkyūan dialects are in fact dialects or languages in their own right. Most Ryūkyūan dialects are not only unintelligible amongst one another but they are particularly hard to decipher by any one speaker of Standard Japanese Shibatani (1999:191). This is mostly due to the geographical isolation of each dialect. There are elements, grammatical, phonetical and certainly lexical, maintained in Ryūkyūan Japanese that was expunged from Standard Japanese more than a hundred years ago.

### 2.4 The Tosa Dialect

Shikoku is the smallest of the four major islands that make up Japan and is located south of *Honshû* and east of *Kyûshû*. The name Shikoku means *four provinces* and refers to the four provinces that make up the island. Historically divided into four provinces, these are: *Iyo*, *Tosa*, *Sanuki* and *Awa*. However the contemporary names are: *Ehime*, *Kôchi*, *Kagawa* and *Tokushima* respectively.

The interesting characteristic about *Tosa-ben* is that it is a particularly foreign dialect, even among the various dialects of Japanese. It is one of the dialects that have seen little change through the passage of time. It still retains phonological features from *ancient times* for instance the usage of *yotsugana* (四つ仮名). Even in the grammar and lexicon of *Tosa-ben* there is an abundance of expressions and words not used in Japanese since the Meiji Restoration.

Below follows a brief account of the evolution of the *Tosa Language*. *Tosa*



**The Evolution of the Tosa Language**

Adapted from Kubo (2007)

*Language* is in this context equivalent to *Tosa-ben*.

As the generation born of the Meiji Era diminishes, the *Old Tosa Language* declines with it rapidly.

Along with the development of mass media, the *Common Language* drives *Middle Tosa Language* into decline. Middle Tosa Language sees a rapid decline when Japan's economic growth period is at its highest. But since parts of the lexicon remain in the everyday vocabulary the rate of decline is weakened.

Used amongst one another as a sort of secret jargon, young people's usage of Tosa Language helps develop the *New Tosa Language*. Furthermore by misinterpretation of the Middle Tosa Language makes for creation of novel ways of expression and usage (Kubo 2004).

Briefly mentioned earlier, the Kôchi Japanese still retains old dialect traits and archaisms. Much like Ryûkyûan Japanese this is thanks to independent development promoted by geographical isolation. The steep Shikoku Mountain Range in the north has long complicated transport and communications with neighboring prefectures while the southern border is open to the Pacific Ocean (Nagano-Madsen 2004 *Phonetic Characteristics of the Kochi dialect of Japanese*). The Kôchi dialect share the accentual patterns of the *Kyôto-Ôsaka* group.

Just like in the Ôsaka dialect there is discrimination between high-pitch mora (H) and low-pitched mora (L). However the Kôchi dialect has several more accentual features that are considered to be remnants of even older eras. (Nagano-Madsen 2009 *Intonation and downstep in the Kôchi dialect of Japanese*)

In the following sections some of the character features of Kôchi Japanese will be presented.

### 2.4.1. Grammatical characteristics

An interesting and characteristic *grammatical* feature in Kochi Japanese is the *aspect*. In linguistics, *aspect* is a grammatical category that expresses how either a state, event or action denoted by a verb, relates to the flow of time.

Here follows a few examples of what *It is raining so take an umbrella with you* (雨が降っているから傘をさして行きなさいよ) might sound like in different parts of the Kinki region of Japan:

四日市	雨 降ッtonデ 傘 サシテ イキナ。
Yokkaichi	<i>Ame futto-nde kasa sashite ikina</i>
草津	雨 降ッタルサカイ 傘 サシテ イキヤ。

Kusatsu	<i>Ame futtaru-sakai kasa sashite ikiya</i>
京都	雨が降ットルサカイニ 傘 サシト イキヤア。
Kyoto	<i>Ame ga futtoru-sakaini kasa sashito ikiyaa</i>
五条	雨エ降ットルサカイ 傘 サイテ イキヨ。
Gojô	<i>Amee futtoru-sakai kasa saite ikiyo</i>
和歌山	雨 降ッテルサカイ 傘 サイテ イキナアヨ。
Wakayama	<i>Ame futteru-sakai kasa saite ikinaayo</i>
大阪	雨 降ッテルヨッテニ 傘 サシテ イキイヤ。
Ôsaka	<i>Ame futteru yotteni kasa sashite ikiiya</i>
神戸	雨 降りヨルサカイ 傘 サシテ イキヨ。
Kobe	<i>Ame furiyoru-sakai kasa sashite ikiyo</i>

高知	雨ガ降りユーキ 傘 サシテ イキヤ。
Kochi	<i>Ame ga furiyuu-ki kasa sashite ikiya</i>
幡多	雨ガ降りヨルケン 傘 サシチ イタヤ。
Hata	<i>Ame ga furiyoru-ken kasa sashichi itaya</i>

(Example sentences adapted from *Kotoba no furusato mitsuketa* by Shibata Takeshi, 2005)

In the Kobe dialect, the grammatical perfect tense is *furiyoru* 降りよる and the imperfect tense is *futtoru* 降つとる. Similarly in the Wakayama dialect, the perfect tense is *futteru* 降ってる and the imperfect tense *fuchaaru* 降っちゃある. In the Gojô dialect it is *futtoru* 降つとる and *futtaru* 降ったる.

The Kôchi dialect also has this way of separating between the perfect and imperfect tense. But even more so the Tosa dialect has a very distinct and specific way of explaining the different grammatical tenses.

Tosa Japanese	雨が降り <u>ゆう</u> き傘さして行きよ	現在・進行形
English	It is raining so take an umbrella with you	Present progressive tense
Tosa Japanese	雨が降 <u>ちゅう</u> き用心して行きよ	現在・完了形
English	It "is rained" so be prepared when you go. (i.e expect rain)	Present perfect tense

(The *ki* after the respective verbs translates in to *kara* in *hyôjungo*.)

The *-yuu* and *-chuu* suffixes represent the different tenses, present progressive tense and present perfect tense respectively. While the *-yuu* suffix directly corresponds to the *-teiru* suffix in *hyôjungo*, the *-chuu* suffix is a bit trickier.

Of course there are ways to express the present perfect tense of the above mentioned example, for example 降りつつあった or 降り終わっている but rarely used in everyday, colloquial discourse. This minute clarification of grammatical tense, so called *aspect*, is readily found in many languages around the world but is an inherently unique and persistent feature in the Tosa dialect.

Of course there is also the past tense of these respective *-yuu* and *-chuu* suffixes. These are *-yotta* and *-chotta*:

Tosa Japanese	今朝起きた時は、雨が降り <u>よ</u> った	過去・進行体
English	When I woke up this morning it was raining	Past progressive tense
Tosa Japanese	今朝起きた時は、雨が降 <u>ち</u> よった	過去・完了体
English	When I woke up this morning it had been raining.	Past perfect tense

## 2.4.2. Morphological characteristics

A frequently reoccurring particle in Kochi Japanese is /ga/ which roughly corresponds to the /no/ of Standard Japanese even though /ga/ appears in many disparate situations as well. It is a very versatile particle, one of the most important particles of Kochi Japanese according to Kubo (2004:192). Below examples are presented where corresponding particles are marked in bold.

Standard Japanese	Kochi Japanese	English Translation
それは私 <b>の</b> です	それは私 <b>が</b> です	
Sore wa watashi <b>no</b> desu	Sore wa watashi <b>ga</b> desu	That one is mine.
それは私 <b>が</b> 作った <b>の</b> です	それは私 <b>が</b> 作った <b>が</b> です	
Sore wa watashi ga tsukutta <b>no</b> desu	Sore wa watashi ga tsukutta <b>ga</b> desu	That's the one that I made
その、太い <b>の</b> を下さい	その、太い <b>が</b> を下さい	
Sono, futoi <b>no</b> wo kudasai	Sono, futoi <b>ga</b> wo kudasai	Can I have the fat one,

		please?
金平糖を千円 <b>ぶん</b> 下さい	金平糖を千円 <b>が</b> 下さい	
Konpeitou wo senen- <b>bun</b> kudasai	Konpeitou wo senen- <b>ga</b> kudasai	Could I have a thousand yen worth of <i>konpeitou</i> , please?
今度の同窓会、行くの？	今度の同窓会、行く <b>が</b> ？	
Kondo no dousoukai, iku <b>no</b> ?	Kondo no dousoukai, iku <b>ga</b> ?	Will you go to the next class reunion?
来週オペラを観に行くの	来週オペラを観に行く <b>が</b>	
Raishuu opera wo mi ni iku <b>no</b>	Raishuu opera wo mi ni iku <b>ga</b>	I'm going to the opera next week.

This /ga/ is the same /ga/ that is used in the Japanese national hymn *Kimi ga yo* (君が代) and *Ora ga mura sa* (オラが村サ), an expression used in the Tōhoku region-

With a sentence-final particle the speaker is able to express nuance. In Kochi Japanese there is an abundance of sentence-final particles.

Adding particles to particles gradually expands the expression, for instance, the expression *to buy* → *kau* → *kau ga ya* → *kau ga ya ki*. The emphasis on the expression of *to buy* gradually becomes stronger. In Standard Japanese the corresponding expression would be something like: *kau* → *kau no* → *kau no da* → *kau datteba*.

Kochi Japanese	買う	買う <b>が</b>	買う <b>がや</b>	買う <b>がやき</b>
	<i>kau</i>	<i>kau <b>ga</b></i>	<i>kau <b>ga ya</b></i>	<i>kau <b>ga ya ki</b></i>

Standard Japanese	買う	買う <b>の</b>	買う <b>のだ</b>	買う <b>だってば</b>
	<i>kau</i>	<i>kau <b>no</b></i>	<i>kau <b>no da</b></i>	<i>kau <b>datteba</b></i>

Kubo (2004:190)

### 2.4.3. Phonetic characteristics

Vowel coalescence occurs in Standard Japanese as well as in most dialects of Japanese. For example the vowel sequence /ei/ is pronounced [eɪ], but in the Kōchi dialect however the vowel sequence /ei/ is pronounced [ei] which is inherently unique to the Kōchi dialect



even in the Shikoku Island. This feature, according to Madsen “appears to be a persistent and strong phonetic characteristic of the Kochi dialect” (Nagano-Madsen 2004).

Another very interesting and characteristic *phonetical* feature in Kôchi Japanese is the usage of *yotsugana* (四つ仮名). *Yotsugana* is a historical remnant in Kôchi Japanese and on certain parts of Kyûshû<sup>1</sup> where a distinction is made between the syllables /du/, /zu/, /di/, /zi/<sup>2</sup>.

Up until around the sixteenth century this distinction was made in Standard Kyôto Japanese. However this fricative/affricative distinction was gradually neutralized in what in Japanese linguistics is called *yotsugana no kondoo* (四つ仮名の混同). This merger was also reflected in the writing (Labrune 2012:65) (Nagano-Madsen 2004:95).

If one would type on their computer or electric dictionary the word *fuji* the two words *wisteria* and *Mt. Fuji* would undoubtedly appear. Today they are in fact considered to be homonyms i.e. phonologically they look the same. Originally these two words were distinguished by different pronunciation of the initial consonant of the final syllable, [ɸɯd̪ɰ̥zi] and [ɸɯzi] respectively. The word *mizu* (water) is today pronounced [mizɯ] but was in the beginning pronounced [mid̪ɰ̥zɯ], and when consulting or browsing in a dictionary for archaisms, the old spelling and pronunciation can be found (Kubo 2004:243-244).

<i>kana</i>	Kunrei / (Hepburn) romanization	Phonetic realization	Phonological transcription
づ	<i>du / (zu)</i>	[zɯ] or [d̪ɰ̥zɯ]	/zu/
ず	<i>zu / (zu)</i>		
ぢ	<i>di / (ji)</i>	[ɰ̥i] or [d̪ɰ̥ɰ̥i]	/zi/
じ	<i>zi / (ji)</i>		

(Adapted from Labrune 2012)

Save for a few exceptions that retain the old way of vocalizing in modern everyday usage i.e. *chidimu* ‘to shrink’, *tsudumi* ‘traditional Japanese hand drum’, the tendency is for [d̪ɰ̥ɰ̥i] to become [ɰ̥i] and for [d̪ɰ̥zɯ] to become [zɯ] in Standard Japanese. Therefore words like *daidu* (大豆), *aduki* (小豆), *sunadi* (砂地), *oodishin* (大地震) for example, are pronounced *daizu*, *azuki*, *sunaji* and *oojishin* respectively.

However in Kôchi Japanese [ʒi] and [dʒi], [zɯ] and [dʒɯ] are clearly distinguished. Though this tendency is weakening, in the conversations of elderly natives of Kochi, examples are not few: *sakaduki* (盃), *daidu* (大豆), *aduki* (小豆), *duga* (図画) etc.

There is also a phonetical trait that only manifests itself in two prefectures in all of Japan; Kôchi and Oita prefecture. The book by Shibata Takeshi called “Kotoba no furusato mitsuketa” also addresses the topic of the phenomenon of the *ta-gyoumondai* (夕行問題) where the affricative sounds in words like *kuchi* (口) and *tsukuru* (作る) are pronounced as plosives in [kɯti] and (tɯkɯɾɯ) respectively. It is also not uncommon to overhear in everyday conversation, the popular seaside attraction in Kôchi Prefecture, *Katsurahama* (桂浜) pronounced as [katɯrahama] (Kubo 2004).

According to Labrune, there exists no non-affricate combinations such as \*[ti] or \*[tɯ] in modern Sino-Japanese or Yamato\* words. In the speech of certain people however the non-affricate realization [t] can be found before *i* or *u* in some relatively recent loanwords such as *tii baggu* [tiː'bagɯ] or *fashon tatuu* ['tatɯː]. Conversely it is by and large acknowledged that in Ancient Japanese /t/ was realized as a plosive before *all* vowels: [ta], [ti], [tu], [te] and [to]. The same goes for the voiced plosive /d/ as well.

This non-affricate realization is most likely also true for Middle Japanese up until the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. The voiced counterparts of [ti] and [tɯ], [di] and [dɯ] are more prevalent in recent loanwords although they are also considered to be non-existent in the Yamato and Sino-Japanese lexicon. For example in the foreign loanword *dinner* ['dinaː] or the phrase *do it yourself* [dɯ'ittojɯa'serɯɸɯ] (Labrune 2012).

### 3. Survey

For the present thesis a survey was conducted.

#### 3.1 Method

The chosen method for collecting data for this thesis was a survey of Japanese peoples (Kochi and non-Kochi natives) consciousness of the Kôchi dialect vocabulary, in the form of a questionnaire.

#### 3.2 Questionnaire

A questionnaire of a multiple choice nature was created for the present thesis.

In the introductory questions respondents were required to specify sex, age, regional affiliation as well as how long they had been living in the Kôchi area.

The lexicon of the Kôchi dialect was divided into five grammatical categories: nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and set expressions.

The choice of different vocabulary was dictated by the book *Tosaben no kiso chishiki*, where the most frequently used lexicon in *Tosa-ben* are presented in detail.

Respondents had multiple choice questions in the frequency range of either *frequently*, *often*, *sometimes*, *seldom* or *never* concerning recognition/audibility.

#### 3.3 Respondents

The targeted demographic was students and faculty at Kôchi University. These groups of respondents were composed of both men and women of varying ages and regional affiliation (see Appendix).

The aim was to see how Kôchi natives as well as Japanese not native to the Kochi region perceive the lexicon of the Tosa dialect.

#### 3.4 Procedure

The questionnaires were handed out in person to those students and faculty willing to participate in the survey.

### **3.5 Limitations**

Respondents from different prefectures out-number the Kôchi prefecture natives, which make for an uneven result. Ideally the number of respondents would be the same.

Age is also a contributing factor. Most of the respondents are young in both groups. It would be appropriate to have an equal amount of older respondents.

The location also place a role in the acquired results. To conduct a survey at Kôchi University was however a conscious decision.

Having *kanji* to aid in the deciphering of the lexemes would probably give more hints of their intrinsic meanings. Also it would probably eliminate any confusion concerning potential homonyms.

There is also ambiguity in the words concerning scope, *frequently* and *often* for example. Subjectively, how often is *often*, and how frequent is *frequently*? By the same token this could be applicable to *seldom* and *sometimes* as well.

## Results

The results are gathered from a survey conducted on men and women of different ages at Kochi University. Both students and faculty were included.

There were 7 male respondents and 9 female respondents who were native to Kôchi prefecture. There were 12 male respondents and 20 female respondents who were native to regions outside of Kôchi prefecture. In the following sections, the results are presented graphically in the order of noun, verb, adjective, adverb, other expressions, i.e. phrases and sentence final particles are presented. For each category, the results of the native Kochi speakers are presented first followed by non-native Kochi speakers.

### 4.1 Nouns

Only frequently used nouns were chosen for the survey from *Tosaben no kiso chishiki* (Kubo, 2007a) and *Tosaben jiten* (Kubo, 2007b).

#### 4.1.1 Nouns Kôchi Natives

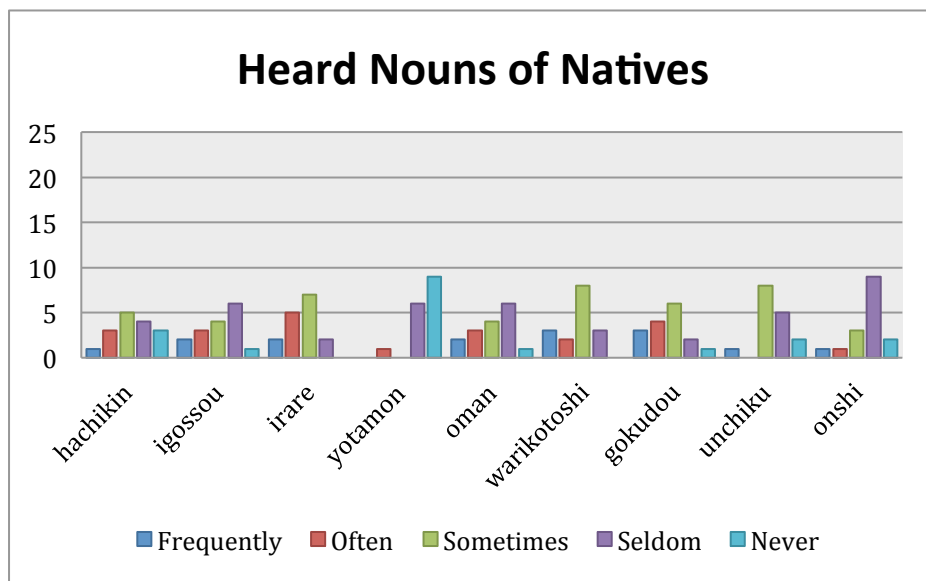


Figure 1

Well-perceived

The selected nouns are of two types. One is various types of personal traits or characteristics and the other is the 2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronoun *oman/onshi*, 'you'. As presented in Figure 1 we can see that the nouns: *hachikin* 'energetic woman', *igossou* 'a difficult person', *irare* 'bad tempered person' and *gokudou* 'lazy person' are the most well perceived nouns among natives.

### Not well-perceived

Similarly presented in Figure 1 we can see that: *Yotamon*, *Oman* and *Onshi* are the nouns that receive the least recognition among natives.

*Onshi* goes back to the Edo period, it derived from the samurai language *onushi* 'you'.

### 4.1.2 Nouns Kôchi Non-natives

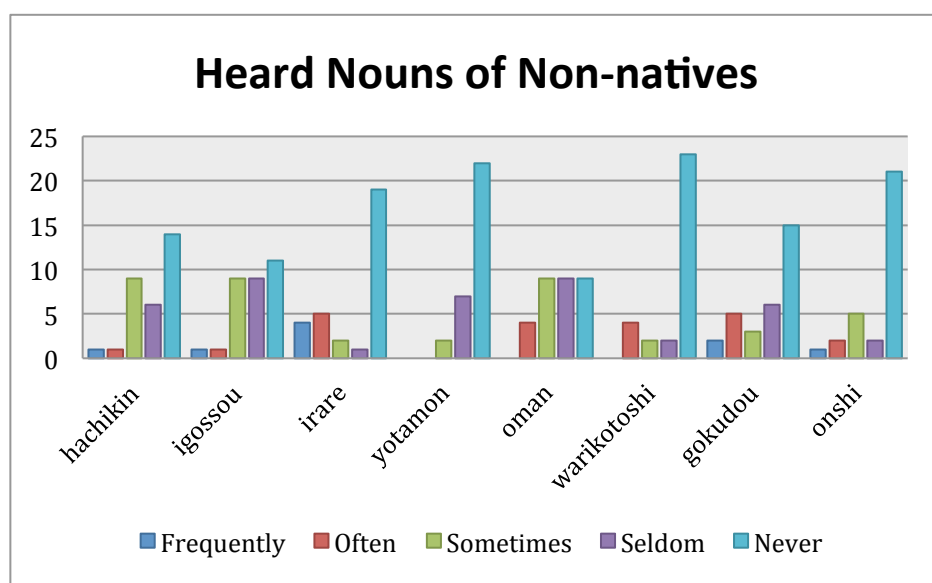


Figure 2

### Well-perceived

The nouns presented in Figure 2: *irare*, *gokudou* and *oman* are comparatively well-perceived among the non-natives. This pattern shares some similarities with the pattern shown by native Kochi speakers.

### Not well-perceived

Looking at Figure 2 we can easily see that *yotamon* is the least recognized noun among the non-native respondents, this was a result identical with the native Kochi speakers.

## 4.2 Verbs

### 4.2.1 Verbs Kôchi Natives

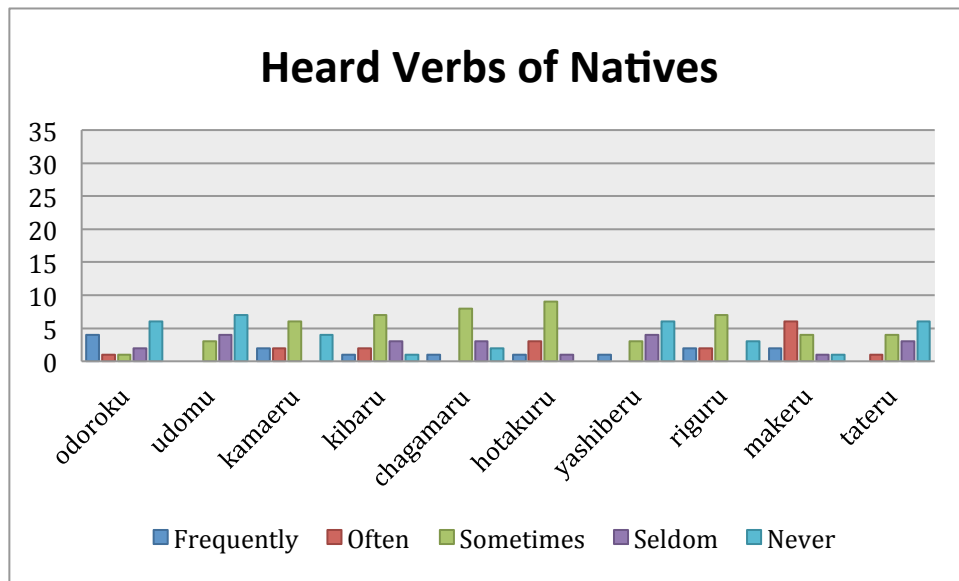


Figure 3

#### Well-perceived

Verbs appear to be less recognized than nouns, however the choice of verbs might have affected the results. Here in Figure 3 we can see that *makeru* 'to spill', *odoroku* 'to wake' and *kamaeru* 'to prepare' are well perceived among the natives.

#### Not well-perceived

In contrast *udomu* 'to groan', *yashiberu* 'to look down upon', *tateru* 'to close' are the verbs least well-perceived among natives.

### 4.2.2 Verbs Kôchi Non-natives

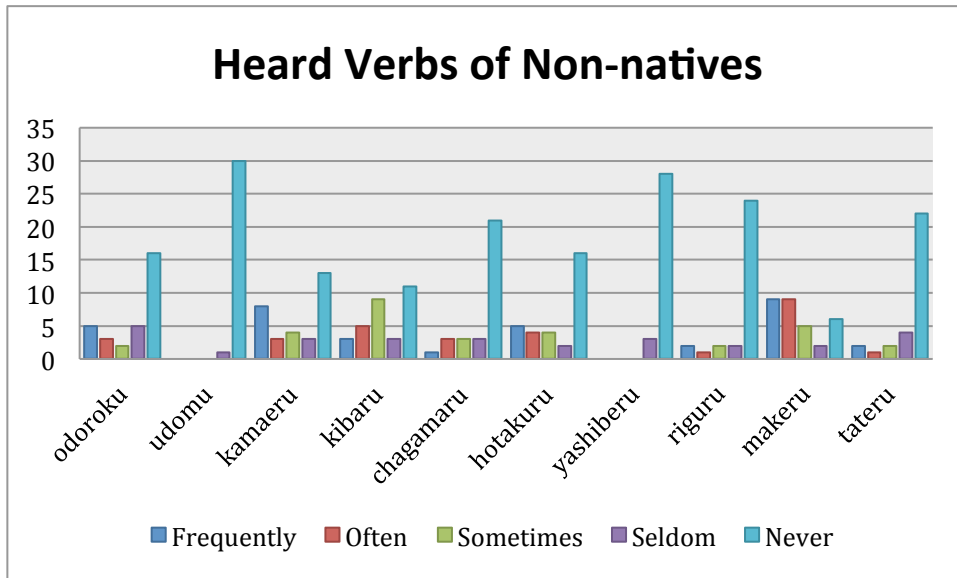


Figure 4

### Well-perceived

Figure 4 shows that *makeru*, *kamaeru*, *kibaruru* are comparatively well recognized among the non-natives.

### Not well-perceived

*Udomu*, *yashiberu*, *tateru* are the verbs least recognized among the non-natives and this result is identical with that from natives.

## 4.3 Adjectives

### 4.3.1 Adjectives Kôchi Natives



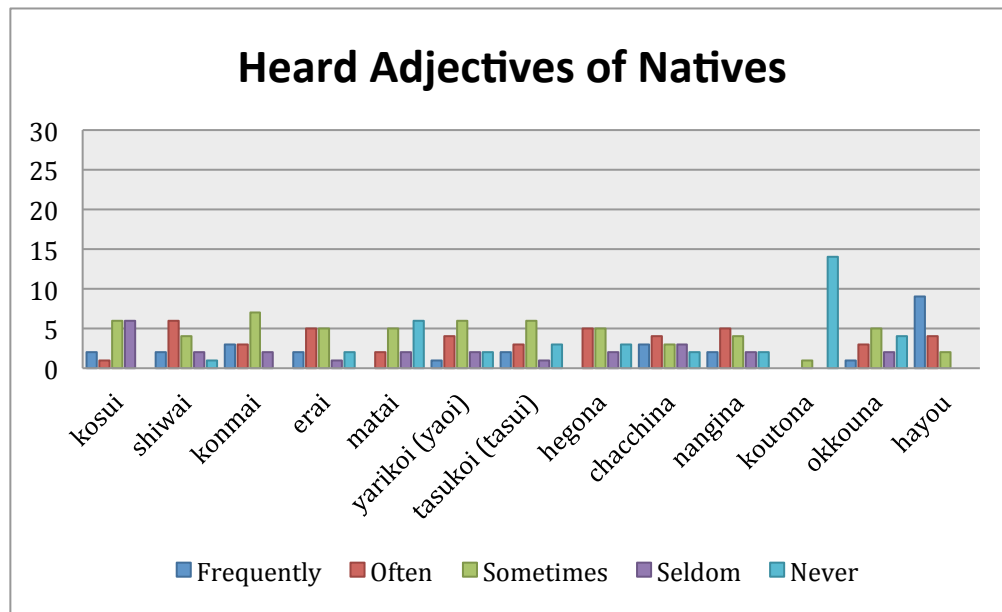


Figure 5

### Well-perceived

In Figure 5, *hayou* 'hurry' which is *hayaku* in Standard Japanese was frequently perceived. This form is also used in the Kansai/Osaka regions widely and not limited to the Kochi region. Other words include *konmai* 'little', *shiwai* 'stubborn' and *erai* 'heavy' can be considered to be well-perceived.

### Not well-perceived

Similarly in Figure 5, *koutona* 'plain' and *matai* 'cowardly' receive comparatively little recognition.

### 4.3.2 Adjectives Kôchi Non-natives

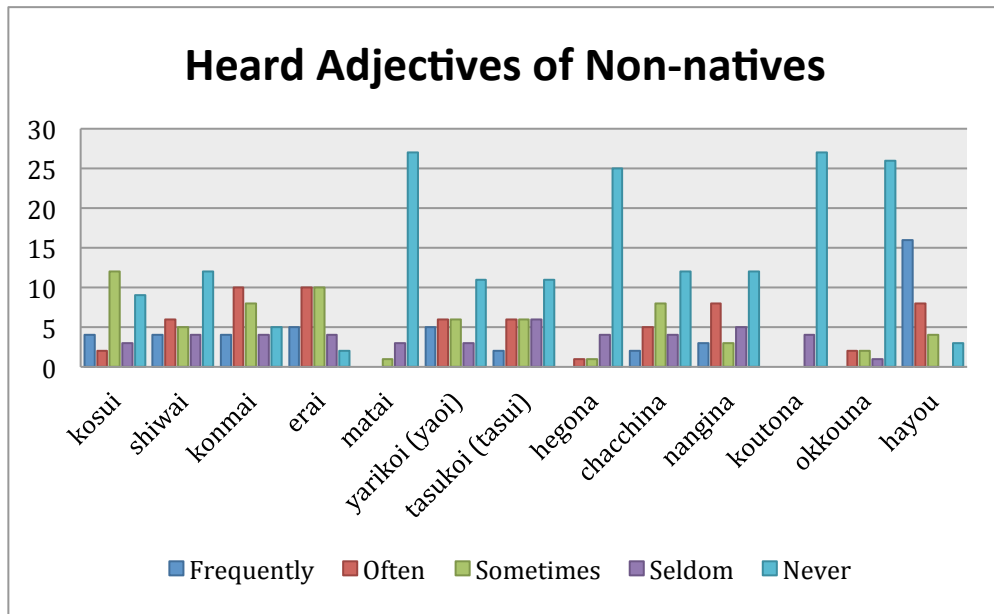


Figure 6

### Well-perceived

In Figure 6, even for non-natives, the adjective *hayou*, receives a high rate of recognition, presumably for the same reason mentioned above. Two other adjectives where the positive results out-weigh the negative results are *erai* and *konmai*.

### Not well-perceived

*Koutona* receives very little recognition among non-natives as well as natives.

*Matai*, *hegona* 'bad quality' and *okkouna* 'feel lazy' are three other adjectives that receive a poor amount of recognition among non-natives.

## 4.4 Adverbs

### 4.4.1 Adverbs Kôchi Natives

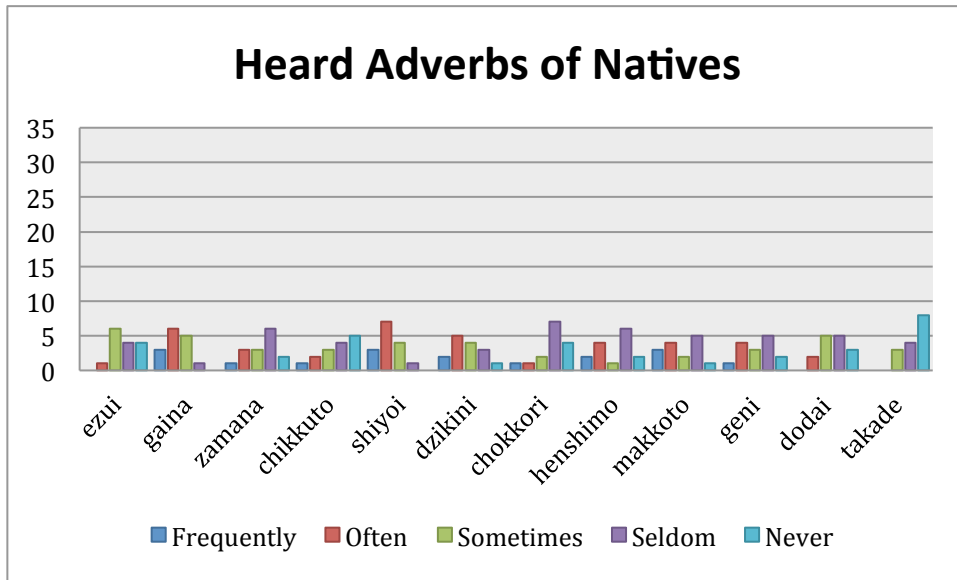


Figure 7

#### Well-perceived

In Figure 7 the adverbs *makkoto* 'indeed', *gaina* 'rough', and *shiyoi* 'easy' are relatively well perceived among Kôchi natives.

#### Not well-perceived

*Takade* 'considerably', *chokkori* 'briefly' and *zamana* 'very big' on the other hand, are less well recognized among Kôchi natives.

#### 4.4.2 Adverbs Kôchi Non-natives

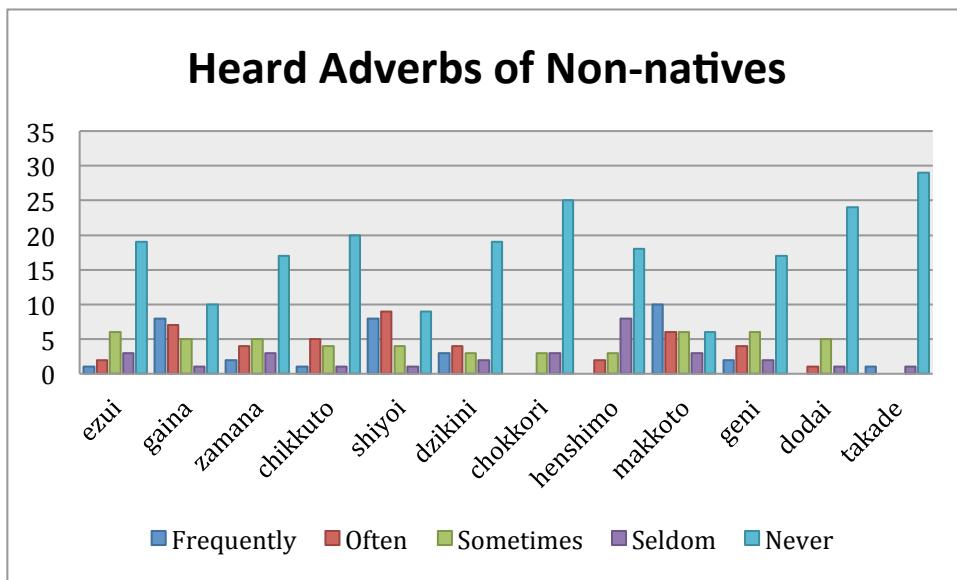


Figure 8

### Well-perceived

Similar to the native group, the most well perceived adverbs among non-natives are *makkoto*, *gaina* and *shiyoi*, as presented in Figure 8.

### Not well-perceived

There is similar results in recognition for both groups in the not well-perceived category also. *Chokkori* and *takade* receive little recognition. The adverb *henshimo* also receives poor results in the non-native group.

## 4.5 Expressions

Set expressions were chosen for the survey from *Tosaben no kisou chishiki* and *Tosaben jiten*, both by Kubo (2007). Only frequently used set expressions in the Kôchi lexicon were chosen. The *expressions* category includes inflected verbs and adjectives, particles and conjunctions.

### 4.5.1 Expressions Kôchi Natives

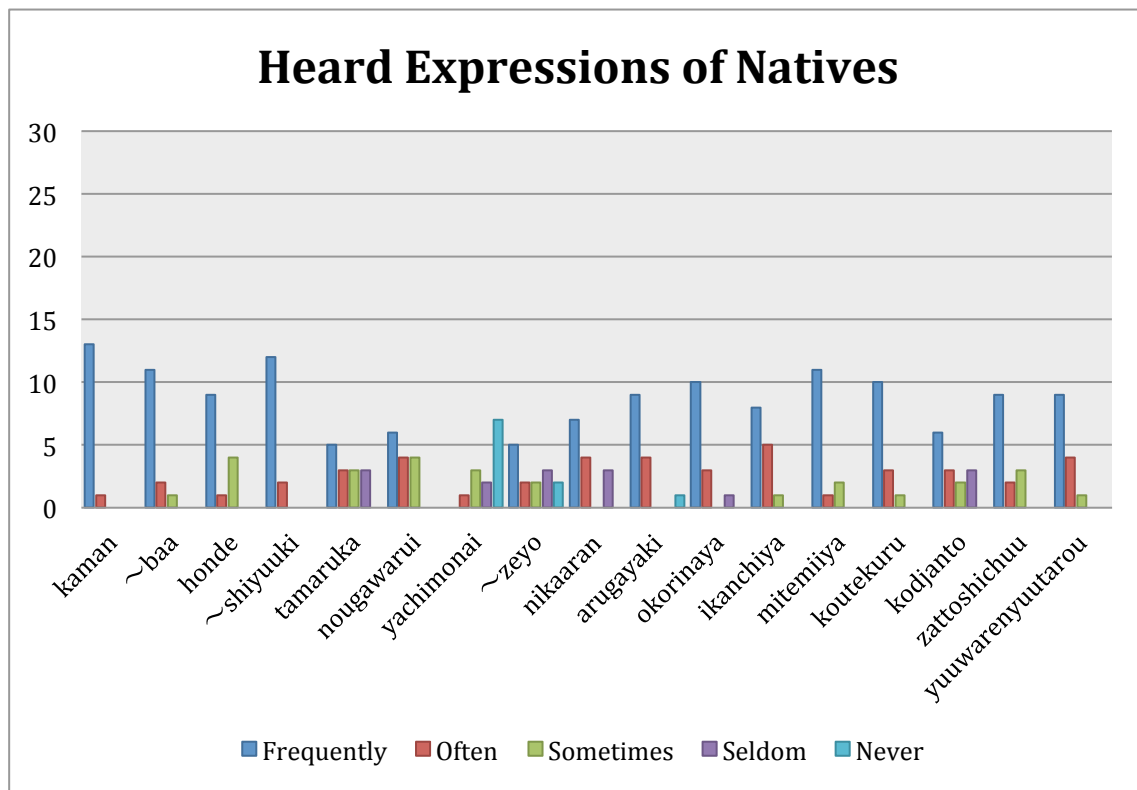


Figure 9

### Well-perceived

As shown in Figure 9, many expressions receive overall positive results, for instance: *kaman* ‘it is ok’, *kamawanai* in standard Japanese and *koutekuru* ‘will buy’ *kattekuru* in Standard Japanese, are also used in the Kansai area and not limited to Kochi whereas other widely recognized expressions are strictly used in Kochi:

-*baa* ‘only’, -*shiyuuki* ‘doing it’, *mitemiyaya* ‘look at this!’, *okorinaya* ‘don’t be angry’, *koutekuru* ‘will buy’ et cetera.

### Not well-perceived

In contrast the few expressions that could be considered not well perceived in this context are *yachimonai* ‘no room for it’ and the sentence final particle -*zeyo*. It should be remarked that –*zeyo* is probably the most typical expression associated with the image of the Kochi dialect.

It is also associated with the historically great figure Ryoma Sakamoto who lived at the end of the Edo period. He often appears in films and TV dramas and he uses –*zeyo* regularly in the fictional world. It seems this sentence final particle is not recognized that much in the real world.

*Never* only appears among Kôchi natives in three expressions, *yachimonai*, -*zeyo* and *arugayaki*.

### 4.5.2 Expressions Kôchi Non-natives

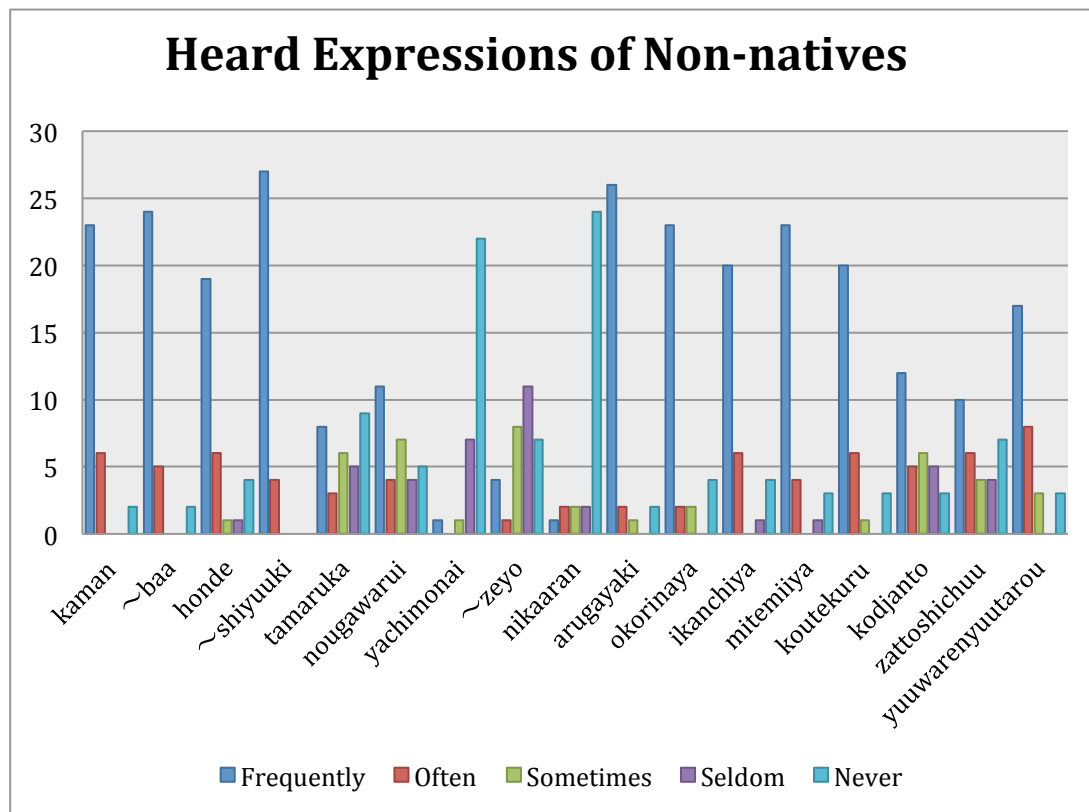


Figure 10

### **Well-perceived**

Figure 10 presents the results for heard expressions of Kôchi non-natives. Expressions like –shiyuuki, -*baa*, *kaman*, *arugayaki* et cetera, receive a comparatively high recognition rate. *Shiyuuki*, is the only expression among the non-native speakers that does not receive answers in the *never* category.

### **Not well-perceived**

Similar to the Kôchi natives, *yachimonai* and –*zeyo* are the least well-perceived expressions among the non-natives. Even here, -*zeyo* received low recognition rate. However, it might have been affected by the way it was presented in the questionnaire, i.e. in an isolation form as –*zeyo*. *Nikaaran* ‘*probably*’, shows the highest number of *never* among the non-natives. *Yachimonai* ‘*ridiculous*’ shows overwhelmingly poor results in recognition among non-natives as well.

## 5. Analysis and Discussion

### 5.1. Nouns

The noun *oman*, おまん, receives more attention than *onshi*, おんし, even though the two nouns carry roughly the same meaning ‘you’, *onshi* should not be used with superiors according to Kubo (2007a).

The reason why *onshi* is seldom heard by native Kôchi speakers could suggest a limited usage by younger people, seeing as how most of the respondents were in their early to late 20’s. The Kochi dialect contains some lexicon from the mid-Edo period and *onshi* is one of them. It came from a samurai lexicon *onushi* お主. It is interesting to note that in samurai films, too, this word is not used with superiors.

Nouns such as *hachikin*, はちきん ‘strong woman’ and *igossou*, いごっそう ‘stubborn man’ are words that are closely associated with Kôchi and Tosa culture. Therefore these words have some recognition outside of the Kôchi region.

The results show that Kôchi non-natives do have knowledge of the words and their meaning.

The nouns *warikotoshi*, わりことし ‘mischief’, and *irare*, いられ ‘short-tempered person’ as well as, *gokudou*, ごくどう ‘lazy person’, seem to be words well known among natives but much less known by non-natives.

Surprisingly though, the results for the noun, *yotamon*, よたもん 酔た者 ‘drunk’ reveal that the majority of both natives and non-natives, show surprisingly low recognition of the word. Only one person in each group of natives and non-natives showed recognition of the word, acquired answers being “often” and “sometimes” respectively. Kochi being a prefecture known for its high consumption of alcohol and drinking culture one would assume that the word would receive more recognition.

### 5.2. Verbs

The *not well perceived* category show the same outcome for both non-natives and natives alike, the verbs in question being, *udomu* 'to groan', *yashiberu* 'to look down upon' and *tateru* 'to close'.

*Udomu*, is the least recognized between both parts. *Udomu* carries the meaning to *suffer* or to *groan* (see Appendix).

Kubo (2007) gives the example:

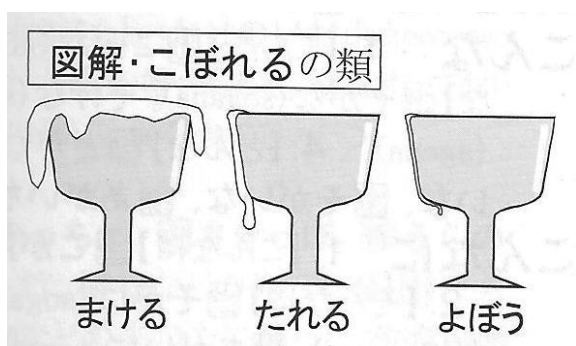
地元のアナウンサー「キャッチャー古田、股間にファールチップを受けて、たか  
でうどんでいます。

*Local announcer: The catcher Yoshida took a foul tip to the groin and is **groaning in a lot of pain**.*

Among non-natives and natives as well, the verb *makeru* is the most recognized. A close second is *kamaeru*.

*Makeru* carries the meaning of spilling or to overflow. There are several different aspects to the action of spilling in the Kôchi lexicon. There is *makeru*, *tareru* and *yobou*.

The figure below adapted from Kubo (2007), illustrates the three different types of *spilling* and how they manifest themselves.



*Odoroku*, which carries the meaning to *wake up*, is also comparatively well recognized. Kubo (2007) gives the following comparison between Standard Japanese and the Kôchi dialect:



**Kôchi Dialect**

よんべは、地震におどろいておどろいた。

**Standard Japanese**

昨夜は、地震にびっくりして目が覚めた。

**English**

*Last night I was startled by the earthquake and woke up.*

**5.3. Adjectives**

The answers acquired suggest a healthy usage of *hayou*. Only a handful had never heard it used and not a single person gave the answer “seldom”.

*Hayou*, is a phonological variation of *hayai*, and as such an adjective form used extensively in the Kansai dialect. Perhaps this adds to its high recognition score.

**Kôchi Dialect**

ごくどうせんと、はよーせーや

**Standard Japanese**

怠けないで、早くやってください

**English**

*Don't lazy about, hurry up and do it already.*

(Kubo 2007)

A similar example is for instance: *erai*. Though *erai* is an adjective that is also used extensively in the Kansai dialect, *erai* in the Kôchi lexicon carries many disparate meanings (See Appendix).

**Kôchi Dialect**

今日は、えらい雨ぢゃのー

**Standard Japanese**

今日は、ひどい雨だなー

**English**

*It surely is heavy rain today.*

(Kubo 2007)

One could suggest that it is not a wild leap of the imagination for a non-native speaker of Kochi Japanese that *konmai*, closely resembles *komakai*, and therefore carry roughly the same meaning. However, rather than *komakai*, *konmai* denotes *chiisai* (Kubo p. 39).

#### **Kôchi Dialect**

タマー、そんなこんまい字よー読めること

#### **Standard Japanese**

なんと、そんな小さい字よく読めるね

#### **English**

*It's amazing how you can read those small characters.*

(Kubo 2007)

*Koutona* has a pretty interesting outcome. The word receives overwhelmingly little recognition among both natives and non-natives. Only a handful of people had even heard of the word.

### **5.4. Adverbs**

The adverbs *gaina* and *shiyoi*, receive the most recognition among natives. No answers in the “never” category suggest a healthy usage. Example sentences taken from Kubo (2007a,b).

#### **Kôchi Dialect**

やぜんのしげや、がいなこたなかったのー

#### **Standard Japanese**

昨夜の時化は、大したことはなかったなー

#### **English**

*Last night's storm (at sea) wasn't such a big deal.*

#### **Kôchi Dialect**

しよいこたや

**Standard Japanese**

簡単な事だ

**English**

*It's an easy task.*

**Kôchi Dialect\***

げにまっこと、ほんまかよ

**Standard Japanese**

本当かよ

**English**

*Are you serious?*

The adverbs *geni* and *makkoto* are often used in combination to make for extra emphasis. *Takade* is the least recognized adverb for both parts.

**Kôchi Dialect**

夜前の時化はたか<sup>か</sup>で吹いたのー

**Standard Japanese**

昨夜の台風はずいぶん吹き荒れたなー

**English**

*Last night's storm was really blowing strong.*

(Kubo 2007)

## 5.5. Expressions

Compared with the other grammatical categories *expressions* receive overwhelmingly positive results among the Japanese non-natives of Kôchi. It seems that set expressions used in the survey are more frequently used and/or recognized than if compared with the results for adverbs or verbs for instance.

Below follows example sentences of two of the most well recognized expressions in the Kôchi lexicon, the present continuous form of *to do*, *-shiyuu* and the frequently used permissive expression *kaman*.

Perhaps the most famous expression to represent the Kochi dialect is the sentence final 'zeyo', that is equivalent to the 'yo' in Standard Japanese. 'zeyo' is undoubtedly the hallmark lexicon of Kôchi Japanese but not many people use today in reality.

#### **Kôchi Dialect**

応援しゆうき、頑張りやー

#### **Standard Japanese**

応援しているから、頑張ってねー

#### **English**

*I'm cheering for you so give it your best!*

#### **Kôchi Dialect**

「入ってかまんろうか？」

「かまん、かまん」

#### **Standard Japanese**

「入っても良いだろうか？」

「どうぞ、どうぞ」

#### **English**

*- May I come in?*

*- Please, please come in.*

Below follows example sentences of two of the least well-recognized expressions in the Kôchi lexicon: *yachimonai* and *nikaaran*.

#### **Kôchi Dialect**

「花見はオマンの車で行こうか」

「やちもないこと言わんでー」

#### **Standard Japanese**

「花見は君の車で行こうか」

「理不尽なこと言わないでよ」

**English**

- *Let's use your car for going to the hanami.*

- *Give me a break! (lit. Don't say unreasonable things!)*

**Kôchi Dialect**

校長先生はかーらんにかーらん

**Standard Japanese**

校長先生は代わらないようだ

**English**

*It looks like the headmaster won't be replaced.*

## 6. Summary

The aim of the present thesis was to examine and capture if the Kôchi dialect has any impact on the Japanese non-native speakers of *Tosa-ben* living in the area and if it has, how it is influencing these non-native speakers.

Among the Japanese non-natives of Kôchi Prefecture there were no lexemes that were completely unknown. Though some lexemes were less recognized than others, given the right amount of participants, a small percentage would have heard of the vocabulary.

In the various grammatical categories which are concerned with *autosemantic words*<sup>1</sup> for example: *nouns*, *verbs*, *adjectives* and *adverbs* the outcome was comparatively negative i.e. the various lexemes were not well recognized i. e. not often heard of.

Contrastingly the *set expression* category which was concerned mainly with *synsemantic words*<sup>2</sup>, received overall positive results. Set expressions seem to be more readily available both in recognition and audibility.

The respondents are more likely to familiarize with expressions that are closer to natural speech, or expressions that are statistically more likely to appear in everyday discourse than faced with for instance a dictionary form/terminal form of a verb. In the

grammatical categories of content words the results were poor, possibly because of a lack of context.

Where there was clear overlap in lexemes that received poor recognition for both groups (Kôchi natives and Kôchi non-natives), these lexemes are by inference less frequently used.

Even though lexemes were considered essential in the Kôchi vocabulary according to Kubo (2004a,b), which were the main books of consult in making of the survey, there was certainly discrepancy in familiarity. What the survey proves is that awareness of Kôchi Japanese lexicon does not permeate all demographics but is in fact limited. Younger generations (under the age of 30) use a different vernacular than that of the older generations and seeing as how the survey was conducted at Kôchi University, where the majority of the student body is from prefectures outside of Kôchi prefecture, the language of choice would most likely be Standard Japanese primarily to avoid any misunderstandings due to regional coloration.

The major discovery of this comparative dialectological fieldwork is that lexical awareness of Kôchi Japanese is limited with the younger generations and to a certain extent the older generations as well, where there is considerable overlap in results regardless of regional affiliation. Contrary to what is suggested by media in general and the literature (Kubo 2004a,b) in particular, Kôchi Japanese lexicon is not as readily recognized within certain populations in reality.

Since the present thesis was based on few speakers at an isolated institution, it would be appropriate to confirm and extend the research of the present study in the future.

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## Appendix

### *Age and regional affiliation of the male respondents*

<b>Prefecture</b>	<b>City / Town</b>	<b>Age</b>
Chiba	Kisarazu	20's
Ehime	Matsuyama	20's
Ehime	Matsuyama	N/A
Ehime	Niigata	20's
Ehime	Saijō	20's
Hyōgo	Toyo'oka	20's
Ishikawa	Kanazawa	20's
Kagawa	Takamatsu	20's
Kanagawa	Yokohama	20's
Okayama	Kurashiki	30's
Tokushima	Tokushima	40's
Tokushima	Yoshinogawa	20's

### *Age and regional affiliation of the female respondents*

<b>Prefecture</b>	<b>City / Town</b>	<b>Age</b>
Ehime	Minamiuwa	10's
Ehime	Shikoku	20's
Fukuoka	Kitakyūshū	30's
Hiroshima	Fukuyama	20's
Kagawa	Takamatsu	20's
Kagoshima	Shibushi	20's
Kumamoto	Kumamoto	40's
Kyōto	Fukuchiyama	20's
Oita	Hide	30's
Okayama	Akaiwa	20's
Okayama	Arami	10's
Okayama	Kurashiki	20's
Okayama	Okayama	20's
Okayama	Okayama	20's
Shimane	Kanoashigun	20's
Shimane	Yasugi	10's
Tokushima	Hano	20's
Tokushima	Tokushima	20's
Tottori	Kurayoshi	20's

### *Wordlist*

<b>Nouns</b>	<b>Standard Japanese</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Comment</b>
Hachikin	Otenba	Tomboy	
Igossou	Gankomono	Bonehead,	



		Stubborn	
Irare	Sekkachi	Short-tempered	
Yotamon	Yopparai	Drunkard	
Oman	Anata, Kimi	You	
Onshi	Omae	You	Not used with superiors
Warikotoshi	Itazura, Wanpaku	Mischief	
Gokudou	Namake	Lazy, Idle, Neglectful	

Verbs	Standard Japanese	English	Comment
Odoroku	Me wo Samasu	To wake	
Udomu	Kurushimu, Unaru	To suffer, groan	
Kamaeru	Junbi suru	To prepare	
Kibaru	Ganbaru	To work hard	
Chagamaru	Koshou suru	To break down	Many meanings
Hotakuru	Nagesuteru	To throw away	
Yashiberu	Mikudasu	To look down upon	
Riguru	Nen wo Ireru	To be conscientious	
Makeru	Koboreru	To spill	
Tateru	Tojiru	To close, shut	

Adjectives	Standard Japanese	English	Comment
Kosui	Zurugashikoi, Zurui	Sly, Cunning	
Shiwai	Shibutoi	Tough, Stubborn, Tenacious	
Erai	Erai, Tsuyoi, Sugoi, Zuibun, Hidoi, Ooi	Great, Strong	
Matai	Yowai	Weak	
Yarikoi	Yawarakai	Soft	
Tasukoi	Hariaiganai, Tegotaeganai	Unresponsive,	
Hegona	Iji Ga Warui	Mean, Spiteful	
Chacchina	Chiisai	Small	
Nangina	Tsurai	Trying, Hard	
Koutona	Jimina	Plain, Simple	
Okkouna	Oogesa, Gyougyoushii	Exaggerated, Bombastic	
Hayou	Hayai	Early	

Adverbs	Standard Japanese	English	Comment
Ezui	Mazui, Mugoi	Tragic, Unpleasant	
Gaina	Teara-na	Rough, Harsh	

Zamana	Hijouni Ooki-na	Very big	
Chikkuto	Chotto	A little, a bit	
Shiyoi	Kantan, Youi	Easy, Simple	
Dzikini	Sugu-ni	Immediately, At once	
Chokkori	Chotto No Aida	In a minute	
Henshimo	Isoide	Hurriedly	
Makkoto	Makotoni, Hontou ni	Sincerely, Truthfully	
Geni	Jitsu-ni, Jitsu-wa	Truly, Really	
Dodai	Mattaku, Marude	Completely	
Takade	Kanari	Considerably	

<b>Expressions</b>	<b>Standard Japanese</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>Comment</b>
Kaman	Kamawanai	Pay no mind	
-baa	Kurai	About, Approximately	Particle
Honde	Sorede	And then, Therefore	
Shiyuuki	Shiteirukara	Because ... is doing	(Gerund.)
Tamaruka	Totetsumonai, Tamaranai	Stupendous, Unbearable	
Nougawarui	Tsugou Ga Warui, Choushi Ga Warui	Inconvenient, Bad shape	
Yachimonai	Kudaranai, Tondemonai	Silly, Absurd, Ridiculous	
-zeyo	“dayo”	Emphasizing particle	Particle
Nikaaran	Rashii, Dearou, Niteiru	Apparently, Probably, Resemble	
Arugayaki	Aru kara	Because there is...	
Okorinaya	Okoranaide	Don't get angry!	
Ikanchiya	Dame dayo	No way!	
Mitemiia	Mitekudasai	Please look!	
Koutekuru	Kattekuru	Going to buy ... (smt)	
Kodjanto	Totemo	Very, Exceedingly	
Zattoshichuu	Musekinin, Soaku	Irresponsible, Crude, Coarse	
Yuuwaren yuutarou	Ittewaikenai to itta deshou	Didn't I tell you not to say anything!	

アンケート調査

私の名前はビョーン・ローラントです。スウェーデンのイエーテボリ大学の人文学部の日本語学科です。卒業論文のため、土佐方言について資料を集めています。よろしくお願いします！

1. あなたの性別をお答えください

- 男  女

2. あなたの年齢をお答えください

- 10代  20代  30代  40代  
 50代  60代  70代  80才以上

3. 高知出身ですか

- はい  いいえ

4. あなたのお住まいの地域はどちらですか

\_\_\_\_\_県\_\_\_\_\_市

5. 日常使用されている土佐方言

	名詞				
	よく聞く	やや聞く	普通に聞く	あまり聞かない	全然聞かない
ハチキン	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
いごっそー	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
いられ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
よたもん	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
よたんぼ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
わりことし	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ごくどう	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
うんちく	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	形容詞				
	よく聞く	やや聞く	普通に聞く	あまり聞かない	全然聞かない
こすい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
しわい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
こんまい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
どだい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
えらい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
またい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
やりこい (やおい)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

たすこい (たすい )	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
へごな	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ちゃちな	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
なんぎな	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
こうとな	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
おっこー な	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
たかで	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
げに	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
はよう	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	副詞				
	よく聞く	やや聞く	普通に聞く	あまり聞かない	全然聞かない
えずい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
がいな	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ざまな	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
じこじこ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
しよい	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ぢきに	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ちょっこり	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
へんしも	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
まっこと	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
げに	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

	動詞				
	よく聞く	やや聞く	普通に聞く	あまり聞かない	全然聞かない
おどろく	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
うどむ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
かまえる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
きばる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ちやがまる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ほたくる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
やしべる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
りぐる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
まける	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
たてる	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. 聞く表現の頻度をお答えください

	聞く表現				
	よく聞く	やや聞く	普通に聞く	あまり聞かない	全然聞かない
かまん	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
～ばあ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ほんで	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
～しゆう き	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
たまるか	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
のーが悪い	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
やちもな い	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
めった	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
～にかーら ん	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
しゃっしもう た	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
怒りなや	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
行かんち や	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
見てみー や	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
こうてく る	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
こじゃん と	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ざっとしちゆ う	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ゆうわれんゆー たろう	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

高知出身じゃない方は次の問題を答えなくてもいいです

7. 表現の使用度をお答えください

	使用度				
	よく聞く	やや聞く	普通に聞く	あまり聞かない	全然聞かない
かまん	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
～ばあ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ほんで	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

～しゅう き	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
たまるか	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
のーが悪い	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
やちもな い	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
めった	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
～にかーら ん	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
しゃっしもう た	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
怒りなや	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
行かんち や	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
見てみー や	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
こうてく る	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
こじゃん と	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ざっとしちゅ う	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ゆうわれんゆー たろう	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

ご協力ありがとうございました～！