Japanese and Korean Loanwords in a Far East Russian Variety: Human Mobility and Language Contact in Sakhalin

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This paper explores the language contact history of Sakhalin island, Russia by examining a wide range of historical and demographic data from official governmental and academic resources written in Russian, Japanese, and Korean. It then investigates the incorporation and localization of Japanese and Korean loanwords into the Sakhalin variety of the Russian language. 92 Japanese and 177 Korean loanwords collected from 256 Sakhaliners by a means of an internet-based questionnaire were analyzed by employing the "contact-induced borrowing scale" (Thomason 2001), the concept of "borrowability" (e.g., Poplack et al. 1988; van Hout and Muysken 1994), and the typology of semantic change (e.g., Daulton 2008) as theoretical frameworks. The results demonstrate some evidence of dialectal influences from both Japanese and Korean at the phonological level, the Russianization of Japanese and Korean loanwords at the morphological and semantic levels, and linguistic innovation in the form of loan-blends between Japanese and Korean and between Korean and Russian. The results also support the applicability and usefulness of the "contact-induced borrowing scale" to Japanese and Korean loanwords in Sakhalin Russian, which enables us to identify Japanese loanwords as falling into only the lowest category of borrowing types, i.e., "casual contact (category 1)", and Korean loanwords as falling into the category of "more intense contact (category 3)", as basic vocabulary, such as body parts, nursery, and sensory words, have been adopted only from Korean. Overall, this paper highlights the importance of investigating human mobility, which has played a crucial role in determining the language and dialect contact and its subsequent loanwords on Sakhalin.

Keywords: Sakhalin, Russian language, Korean loanwords, Japanese loanwords, language contact

1. Introduction
2. History of language contact in Sakhalin
3. Data and methodology
4. Analytical framework
5. Data analysis
6. Conclusions and further research

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1. Introduction

The southern part of Sakhalin island, also known in Japanese as "Karafuto," was a Japanese territory from 1905 to 1945. During that period, not only did numerous Japanese settlers arrive, but Korean workers also migrated or sometimes were forced to move to Karafuto, as Korea was annexed by Japan at that time. Japanese was then the dominant language in the society, which resulted in a high Japanese proficiency among Korean workers as well as Indigenous residents (e.g., Nivkhs, Uilta). After the end of World War II when South Sakhalin became the Soviet Union's territory, almost all of the more than 380,000 Japanese settlers were repatriated to Japan. However, more than 40,000 Korean workers were not allowed to return to Korea or Japan, since Korea was no longer annexed by Japan, and the diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Korea were not yet established at that time. Only after the break-up of the Soviet Union were Korean survivors allowed to visit and eventually repatriate to Korea, although many of them chose not to do so.

Currently in Sakhalin more than 5% of the population are ethnically Korean. Korean speech communities in Sakhalin consist of not only (a) those who migrated to Sakhalin and their descendants; but also (b) those who were mobilized as manual laborers by Japan; (c) those who were sent to Sakhalin from Central Asia (Korean people were displaced from the border between Korea and Russia to Central Asia by Stalin in 1937); (d) indentured laborers from North Korea; and (e) recent expats and their family who have moved from South Korea for business reasons.

The Japanese speech community, on the other hand, consists of (a) a small number of Japanese settlers who remained in Sakhalin after the war (and their descendants) and (b) elderly Indigenous and Korean people who received Japanese education during the Japanese regime, and hence are fluent in Japanese, though their number is decreasing every year.

In recent years, the language contact on Sakhalin island has received some academic attention in Japan and Korea. Previous studies on Sakhalin examined either the Japanese language (Asahi 2012) or contact between Japanese and Korean, such as code-switching (Kim 2008). However, as yet there have been no studies that focus explicitly on the Russian language, addressing the way in which Japanese and Korean words and phrases have been structurally and semantically adopted and adapted in the local Russian variety. This paper, therefore, investigates the incorporation and localization of Japanese and Korean loanwords into the Russian language in Sakhalin.

2. History of language contact in Sakhalin

This section provides a brief introduction of the history of Sakhalin island, mainly focusing on the language contact between different ethnic groups. It provides a basis for the present research questions as well as for explaining socio-historical and linguistic factors that influence the use of loanwords.

2.1. From Indigenous people to 1905

It has been suggested by historians (Stefan 1973; Vysokov 2008; Zenkoku Karafuto Renmei 1978) that the ancestors of the Indigenous people who live in Sakhalin up to this day come from two migration waves: a mongoloid ethnic group from the continent on the west of the island and another ethnic group from the Japanese islands, later followed by Ainu people. By the 17th century there were four ethnic groups with distinct languages in Sakhalin—Uilta, Nivh, Evenki, and Ainu—who communicated with each other in the Nivh language at first,[1] as the Nivh people represented the largest of the four groups, and who later shifted to using the Ainu language due to increasing contact with Japanese fishermen, some of whom were fluent in Ainu (Gruzdeva 1996). There is also evidence that some of the contact between the Japanese and Indigenous people was conducted in a simplified Hokkaidō variety of Japanese (Mamontova 2015). Around the same time Russians also started to take interest in the island (Vysokov 2008) and thus the Russian language also entered the Sakhalin language scene, and might have served as a base for forming a pidgin language as a communication tool between Russians and the Indigenous people (Wurm 1996).

The language situation changed significantly after Sakhalin island became a Russian territory in 1875 as a result of the Treaty of Saint Petersburg. From then up until the end of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, the island mainly served as an exile colony, thus witnessing an influx of Russian speakers. According to the 1897 Russian Census, there were more than 37 languages spoken by people in Sakhalin, including Ukrainian, Polish, Tatar, and even German (Trojnitskij 1904). Interestingly, listed among the islanders are 67 Koreans, most of whom, according to Kuzin (1998), came from the northern part of the Korean peninsula. These were probably the first Koreans on record to have entered Sakhalin. However, the Russian language was still dominant in the society. While the majority of Indigenous people still communicated in Ainu, the Russian language began to influence their native languages (Gruzdeva 1996).

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[1] Burykin (1996), for example, shows a variety of loanwords from the Nivh language to the Evenki language as the result of contact.

2.2. Japanese Sakhalin: *Karafuto* period, 1905–1945

After the end of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905 the southern part of Sakhalin island became Japanese territory, while the northern part remained Russian (and later became part of the Soviet Union's) territory.[2] Most of the Russians who had lived in South Sakhalin before the Japanese regime began were moved to the northern part or to continental Russia, and by 1906 only 123 Russian nationals remained in the southern part (Vysokov 2008).[3] Instead, Japan started resettling its own nationals into its new territory.

Table 1   Population of South Sakhalin by birthplace (by country or region) in 1930
(Based on Karafutochō 1934: 18–19)

Birthplace	N	%
Japan	213,829	72.4
Karafuto	72,746[4]	24.6
Korea	7,668	2.59
Taiwan	50	0.002
Kwantung	38	0.001
In the sea	8	0.000
South Pacific islands	2	0.000
Others[5]	855	0.29
Total population	295,196	100

Table 2   Population of South Sakhalin by birthplace (by prefecture in Japan) in 1930
(Based on Karafutochō 1934: 18–19)

Ranking	Prefecture	N	%	Ranking	Prefecture	N	%
1	Hokkaidō	80,979	27.4	14	Shizuoka	2,037	0.7
2	Aomori	23,374	7.9	15	Gifu	2,015	0.7
3	Akita	17,168	5.8	16	Ibaraki	1,849	0.6
4	Yamagata	9,642	3.3	17	Tokushima	1,756	0.6
5	Miyagi	8,745	3.0	18	Hiroshima	1,666	0.6
6	Niigata	8,194	2.8	19	Nagano	1,399	0.5
7	Fukushima	8,056	2.7	20	Tochigi	1,316	0.5
8	Iwate	7,592	2.6	21–47	15 others in Western dialect area[6]	12,863	4.4
9	Toyama	6,014	2.0				
10	Ishikawa	5,410	1.8		8 others in Kyūshū dialect area	4,136	1.4
11	Fukui	2,504	0.9				
12	Tōkyō	2,204	0.8		4 others in Eastern dialect area	2,746	0.9
13	Kōchi	2,134	0.7				
				Total Japan-born population of South Sakhalin		213,829	72.4
				Total population of South Sakhalin		295,196	100

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[2] This is true with the exception of 5 years: northern Sakhalin was occupied by Japan from 1920 to 1925 (Vysokov 2008).

[3] On what criteria these 123 Russian nationals were allowed to remain in Karafuto, as well as what sort of background they had, needs to be investigated in the future, as it is those people and the Indigenous people who have experienced both Japanese and Russian domination, and hence who are likely to incorporate Japanese and Korean loanwords into Russian.

[4] The number of those born in Karafuto includes not only Indigenous people but also Karafuto-born Japanese settlers.

[5] In Karafutochō (1934), no explanation is provided regarding what countries or regions are meant by "others."

[6] The Western dialect area includes Chūbu, Kansai, Chūgoku, and Shikoku. The Kyūshū dialect area includes Kyūshū and Okinawa. The Eastern dialect area includes Hokkaidō, Tōhoku, and Kantō.

Table 1 presents the population of Karafuto by birthplace in 1930. As can be seen from the table, over 200,000 Japanese settlers account for three quarters of the whole population. Furthermore, the number of those who were born in Karafuto (72,746) includes not only a small number of Indigenous people but also a large number of Karafuto-born Japanese children. Table 2 presents which *prefecture* of Japan the Japanese settlers came from, whereas Figure 1 illustrates which *region* of Japan they came from. It clearly shows that most of them were from Hokkaidō and the Tōhoku region[7] of Japan. Thus, it can be expected that the Japanese language used in South Sakhalin had some dialectal features of these regions (see below).
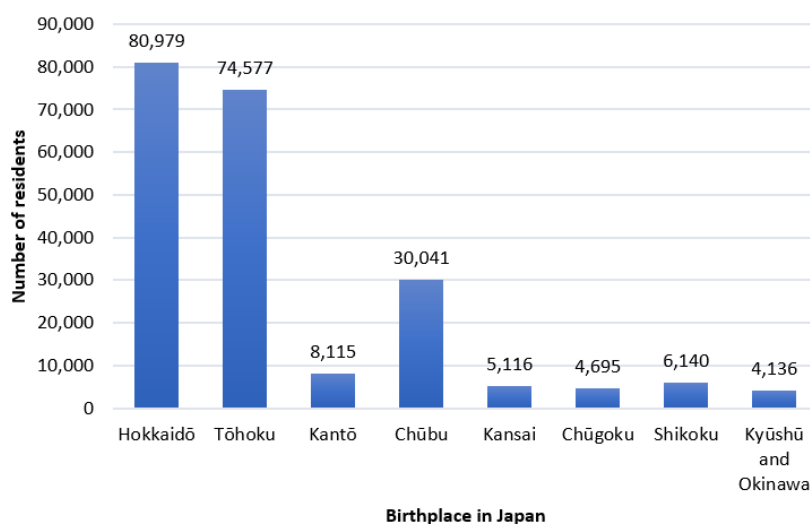

Fig. 1   Population of South Sakhalin by birthplace (by region in Japan) in 1930
(Based on Karafutochō 1934: 18–19)

Apart from the Japanese settlers, the population of Karafuto also had a large percentage of Koreans, with an especially dramatic increase seen from 1920 onward (see Table 3). Bok (1993) divides the Sakhalin Koreans of the Karafuto period into four categories: (1) Korean workers and farmers who migrated from the Korean peninsula (often via Japan) in search of a better life, (2) Koreans who migrated from northern Sakhalin during its brief period of Japanese occupation between 1920–1925, (3) Korean political refugees from Korea and Japan, (4) mobilized Korean workers (1939–1945).[8] Though the exact figures of Koreans who fall into each category are unknown, rough estimations suggest that those falling into

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[7] The Tōhoku region consists of 6 prefectures: Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, and Fukushima (see Table 2).
[8] The exact figures of mobilized workers are controversial among Japanese, Korean, and Russian historians. We will use the number that most Japanese historians agree on, which is around 16,000 (Nakayama 2015).

were attending Japanese schools, while there were also schools specifically for Indigenous children. At the same time, the Japanese language was generally used as a language at home, if one of the spouses was Japanese (Mamontova 2015). By the end of the war, many of the Korean adults had gained a high Japanese language ability. Partly because Korean children were attending the same Japanese schools as Japanese children, and partly because using the Korean language was forbidden (Kuzin 1998), some of these children were not able to natively speak Korean (Kim 2008). However, the Korean language was often spoken with family members at home, so that it was generally maintained until after the end of the war (Kuzin 1998; Kim 2008).

In contrast, the northern part of Sakhalin had a significantly smaller population compared to the southern part (21,000 in 1928; 106,000 in 1941), consisting of predominantly Russians by ethnicity (Rybakovsky 1990; Vysokov 2008). In the meantime, Stalin's order "About the Deportation of the Korean Population from the Border Regions of the Far Eastern Krai" was implemented in 1937, which displaced an entire Korean population[13] of more than 171,000 people from the Russian Far East to present-day Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Among these people were 1,155 Koreans from northern Sakhalin (Bok 1993: 97). As discussed below, 2,000 out of these 171,000 deported Koreans ended up settling in Sakhalin after WWII.

2.3. Russian Sakhalin: Through the Soviet Union to modern-day Sakhalin

In 1945 the southern part of Sakhalin was officially returned to Soviet Union, and most of the Japanese population, 357,000 people, were repatriated to Japan by 1949, while people from all corners of the Soviet Union started to migrate to Sakhalin (Vysokov 2008; Rybakovsky 1990; Stefan 1973). Due to the significant increase in the Russian-speaking population, the Russian language soon became the dominant language in the society (Mamontova 2015). Among Indigenous people, the majority of the Ainu people and some of the Uilta and Nivhs people were moved to Japan as well (Vysokov 2008). The Korean population, however, was not allowed to return to Korea or go to Japan; these people and their descendants constitute most of the Korean population in Sakhalin today. In the next sections we will sum up the development of the Korean, Japanese, and Indigenous languages in Sakhalin after World War II, up to the present day.

2.3.1. The Korean language

As explained above, there is no official data from the Japanese government that shows the places of origin of the Koreans who, willingly or forcedly, moved to Sakhalin during the Karafuto period. Some historical accounts suggest that Koreans at that time mostly

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[13] Most of these deported Russian Koreans, known as *корё сарам* (koryo saram, 고려사람, 'Korean people')*,* were North Korean farmers and their descendants, who had been relocating to the Russian Far East starting at the end of the 19th century due to harsh living conditions in their home country (Lankov 2010).

came from the southern parts of the Korean peninsula (Bok 1993; Park 1990). Collecting testimonies from Sakhalin Koreans, indicating where their ancestors came from, will be one of the tasks of our future fieldwork.

After WWII, there were two new waves of Korean migrants in addition to those who already lived in Sakhalin: (1) Koreans from Central Asia (see above) who were brought as teachers for Sakhalin Korean schools (approximately 2,000 were categorized into this group as of 1946; Lankov 2010), and (2) North Korean workers who filled in the labor shortages on the island (6,891 were categorized into this group as of 1957; Bok 1993). Korean schools were established by the Soviet government for Korean children who did not speak Russian or who wanted to study in their mother tongue. There were 41 Korean schools in Sakhalin in 1958 (Bok 1993). There was also a Korean newspaper, Korean radio station, and numerous Korean libraries, which helped maintain the use of the Korean language. Although Russian was the society's dominant language, Korean was also maintained in the home, as endogamy was common among Korean immigrants (Kuzin 1998). It is worth noting that the Korean language used in the home was predominantly from South Korean varieties, since their ancestors originally came from the southern part of the Korean peninsula, whereas the language of instruction in Korean schools was from the northern variety, since the teachers were descendants of North Koreans. Thus, there might be evidence of dialect contact between the different varieties of the Korean language.

However, due to the introduction of a policy promoting the Russian language by the Soviet Union, all Korean schools were closed in 1964 (Bok 1993; Lankov 2010). Language shift towards Russian was inevitable. By 1989, only 35.7% of Koreans referred to Korean as their native language (Bok 1993), whereas in 2010 this number dropped to 8.9% (Russia Census 2010).[14]

2.3.2. The Japanese language

Most of the Japanese settlers were repatriated by the 1950s and the dominant language in the society switched to Russian. However, the Japanese language in Sakhalin was, to some extent, maintained by the Korean and Indigenous people who grew up during the Karafuto period.

There were also a number of Japanese people who had no choice but to remain in Sakhalin after the war. The majority were Japanese women who had already married Koreans, and their children; hence they were not allowed to repatriate to Japan at that time. After the Soviet-Japan Joint Declaration of 1965 was made, 766 Japanese women and 1,541 of their Korean spouses and children returned to Japan between 1957 and 1959 (Hyun and Paichadze 2016: 231). However, some of them still remained in Sakhalin: according to the

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[14] As of 2010, the Korean population was 24,993 people, which constitutes 5% of Sakhalin's population (Russia Census 2010).

Soviet Union Census of 1959, there were 679 people of Japanese ethnicity in Sakhalin (Demoscope Weekly, n.d.). According to the Japan Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (1996,[15] as cited in Tominari and Paichadze 2019: 7), however, an additional 100 Japanese people returned to Japan between 1963 and 1994. Thus, there is no longer a large number of Japanese people and their descendants still remaining on Sakhalin.

According to Kim (2008), nowadays it is not uncommon for Indigenous people or second-generation Koreans to be able to speak Japanese. It is important to note, however, that this is applicable to a very limited number of people. According to the 2010 Russia Census, there were only 1,566 people who claimed that they could speak Japanese (which was 0.3% of the total population, 497,973, at the time) (Russia Census 2010) and only 219 people who claimed to be ethnically Japanese. It is unclear whether these people were descendants of Karafuto Japanese or more recent expats and their family members, who moved from Japan for business reasons. Even if some were the former, it is not clear to what extent they maintained the Karafuto variety of the Japanese language, since the Japanese people who remained in Sakhalin after the war tended to integrate into the culture and language of a much larger ethnic group on the island: Korean (Tominari and Paichadze 2019: 7). We also have to take into account the influence of modern Japanese culture, such as anime and J-pop, as well as the new economic relationship formed after the fall of the Soviet Union between Sakhalin and Japan, which might have facilitated the spread of a contemporary Japanese variety.

2.3.3. Indigenous languages

The Indigenous people who stayed in Sakhalin gradually shifted to using the Russian language, as it was the most prestigious in the Soviet Union and indispensable in Soviet society (Mamontova 2015). Indigenous languages in Sakhalin are now considered endangered. As of 2010, the Indigenous population of Sakhalin included: 2,290 Nivh, 259 Uilta, 209 Evenki, and 148 Nanai[16] residents (Russia Census 2010). Among them only 5.1% (N=118), 3.5% (N=9), 8.1% (N=17), and 7.4% (N=11), respectively, speak their ethnic language (Mamontova 2015: 212).

2.4. Research questions

Based on the history of language contact in Sakhalin and taking into account the current language situation on the island, this paper addresses the following research questions:

1. To what extent does the Korean language influence the local Russian variety in the form of loanwords? Do Korean-origin loanwords retain some dialectal features? If

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[15] However, the Japan Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare was established in 2001, thus Tominari and Paichadze (2019) perhaps meant Japan Ministry of Labour *or* Ministry of Health and Welfare, that existed in 1996.
[16] The Russian Census (2010) records no Ainu residents in Sakhalin as of 2010.

so, which regional dialects do they reflect? Given that there were several waves of Korean immigration into Sakhalin, do they reflect the dialects spoken in the areas where they originally came from (i.e., dialects spoken in South Korea) or the dialects taught by teachers in the Korean schools (i.e., dialects spoken in North Korea)?

2. To what extent does the Japanese language influence the local Russian variety in the form of loanwords? Do Japanese-origin loanwords retain some dialectal features? If so, which regional dialects do they reflect? Furthermore, given the popularity of modern Japanese pop-culture, have modern Japanese words and phrases been newly adopted as loanwords into the local Sakhalin variety of Russian?

3. To what extent and in what way have Korean and Japanese loanwords been adapted and nativized into Russian at the levels of morphology and semantics?

3. Data and methodology

This section describes the kinds of data collected and how the data were collected for this research, and explains the reasons for these choices. The section begins with a brief review of different approaches taken in the literature on loanwords, discussing the pros and cons of a language questionnaire. It then explains the designing of questions in our survey, clarifying what each question attempts to address. The third sub-section will describe our data collection methods as well as the data obtained.

3.1. A language questionnaire

The main data analyzed by previous research on loanwords can be divided into three categories: (1) media data, such as from newspapers (Hashimoto 2007) and television (Ishii 2007); (2) databases, such as corpora (Calude et al. 2017) and dictionaries (together with interviews and observations by Matsumoto 2016 and Matsumoto and Britain 2019); (3) small-scale data collected by researchers, such as interviews (together with observations by Kuyama 2000) and a language questionnaire (together with observations by Nomura 2003).

Analysis based on media and various databases can be useful when dealing with loanwords widely used in a language as a whole. However, the focus of our research is on the local Sakhalin variety of the Russian language, rather than Russian in general, as the history of language contact described above affected specifically the southern part of Sakhalin island. We could not, however, find any dictionary of the Sakhalin dialect of Russian on which to base our analysis. According to the local information obtained, most of the loanwords are thought to be used in oral and informal situations. This means that the use of media as primary sources of data, such as newspapers and television, would not be appropriate for a study of the Japanese and Korean loanwords on Sakhalin. We concluded,

therefore, that as a pilot explanatory study before conducting field research, the most appropriate method would be to use an online questionnaire, as it would help generate a list of loanwords and enable us to observe the general tendencies in the use of loanwords as well as to establish connections with potential research participants for our future fieldwork.

One main advantage of conducting a questionnaire is that it allows us to collect data from a large number of the respondents for a relatively short period of time. The advantage of administering it "online," on the other hand, is that it does not require us to travel to geographically remote locations, i.e., Sakhalin.

Questionnaires are, needless to say, not without their drawbacks (see Matsumoto 2001 for a detailed discussion). The most serious problem lies in the inaccuracy of responses; respondents do not, or are not able to, always accurately report on their own language behavior. Gumperz (1982: 62), Milroy (1987: 187), Gibbons (1987: 13), and Labov (1996) all report that, at a practical level, respondents simply may not be aware of the totality of, or certain aspects of, their language behavior which interest linguists.

The second problem concerns the fact that questions dealing with language are often not factual questions, but rather may be questions about subjective experiences that involve the respondents' beliefs, feelings, and opinions. Therefore, questionnaire answers tend to represent subjective self-judgments of *what they think that they do,* including *what they think they should do* and *what they wish that they did*, rather than objective self-reports of *what they actually do* (Matsumoto 2001: 91‑92).

Online questionnaires also have some disadvantages. For instance, we cannot fully control who is going to respond, so the data obtained through the internet may not be well-balanced in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, and so forth. In particular, the elderly and the poor may not have access to the internet, and hence it could be expected that only a smaller number of these people would participate in our online questionnaire.

To sum up, although we are very much aware of their limitations, questionnaires appeared to be the best option for our purpose, given that there were no existing data on which to base our research. Using the methodology of a questionnaire, in effect, enabled us to collect a large number of Japanese and Korean loanwords from Sakhalin which have never been reported before. We hope this will serve as a useful base for our future research.

3.2. Questionnaire design

This section provides the list of questions that constituted our internet questionnaire together with our reasoning for choosing these questions. The questionnaire was originally written in Russian as it was aimed at Russian native speakers (see Appendices A and B for the original Russian questionnaire and its English translation, respectively). The questions and the reasoning behind each of the questions are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4   Survey questions and their reasoning

Question number	Question (answer options, if any)	Reasoning
1	Your sex (male; female; other)	To grasp the basic social background of the participants. Also, to examine whether there is a significant difference in the use of loanwords between different sexes and generations. If age/generational differences are observed, it may be possible to conduct an apparent-time approach to examine linguistic changes in progress.
2	Your age (open-ended question)	
3	Occupation (school student; university student; working; retired; other)	
4	Which part of Sakhalin are you from?	To examine if there are any geographical differences in the loanwords' use. Based on historical evidence, it is possible that people who live in the areas with a high concentration of Indigenous and Korean residents, who grew up during the Japanese "Karafuto" period and/or received education in Japanese, might more frequently use Japanese loanwords.
5	Is/was your occupation related to the Japanese language or Japan in general? For example, at a school that provides Japanese language classes (yes; no; other)	Occupational relation to Japan/Japanese language and Korea/Korean language might be a factor influencing the respondent's loanword use.
6	Is/was your occupation related to the Korean language or Korea in general? For example, at a school that provides Korean language classes (yes; no; other)	
7	Is/was your occupation related to the fishing industry? (yes; no; other)	Literature on the history of Sakhalin has shown that traditionally the fishing industry on Sakhalin was a place for language contact between Japanese, Russian, Korean, and Indigenous people, thus this can be considered another factor influencing the use of loanwords.
8	Have you studied the Japanese or Korean language? If yes, for how long? (open-ended question)	A respondent's history of learning the Japanese or Korean language is a factor that might influence the use of the loanwords.
9	Do you have Japanese or Korean ancestors in your family? (yes; no; maybe)	One of the factors that we consider the most influential upon the use of Japanese and Korean loanwords is ethnicity.
10	For those who answered YES or MAYBE to Q.9: Describe the ethnic and linguistic situation in your family in as much detail as possible. For example: father is Russian, mother is Korean, we speak both languages at home (open-ended question)	
11	Since when has your family lived in Sakhalin? (before the Russo-Japanese war (before 1904); when it was Japanese territory (1905–1945); after the war (after 1945))	This information will help us to situate the respondents and their families along a historical timeline and to predict the factors that influence their use of loanwords.
12	If you or your family have lived in other areas of Sakhalin, list them (open-ended question)	To examine if there is any geographical difference in the use of loanwords.
13	Provide as many Korean loanwords and expressions that you use in your everyday life as you can. In what sense do you use them (in Russian)? For example: "kuksa" meaning 'noodles', "chimcha" meaning 'Korean dish', "hanguk" meaning 'fashionable'. (open-ended question)	This is the core question for collecting the actual loanwords. By obtaining the senses in which the loanwords are used, we can examine if there is semantic change.

14	Provide examples of phrases in which you use Korean loanwords. For example: "We often eat kuksu[17]", "We don't have chimchi at home". (open-ended question)	To examine how loanwords are adapted into the Russian language. For example, loanwords that have entered Russian recently and are still considered foreign would not be either accompanied by Russian noun endings or change depending on the inflection/conjugation. Likewise, loanwords that have been established as a part of Russian would have Russian endings in different case inflections.
15	In what situations do you use Korean loanwords? For example: "kuksa"——in everyday life, "hanguk"——at school with classmates who understand Korean (open-ended question)	To observe the social settings and situations where loanwords are used, and to identify some of the social factors involved in the loanword use.
16	If Korean loanwords have an alternative in Russian, why do you use Korean loanwords? (open-ended question)	To examine what motivates the respondents to use loanwords.
17	Provide as many Japanese loanwords and expressions that you use in your everyday life as you can. In what sense do you use them (in Russian)? For example: "sempai"——senior student, "kawaii/kawainyj"——cute (open-ended question)	Same as Q.13
18	Provide examples of phrases in which you use Japanese loanwords. For example: "I don't have any sempayev", "I bought several kawainyh stickers" (open-ended question)	Same as Q.14
19	In what situations do you use Japanese loanwords? For example: "sempai"——at school, "kawaii/kawajnyj"——at school with classmates who understand Japanese language (open-ended question)	Same as Q.15
20	If Japanese loanwords have an alternative in Russian, why do you use Japanese loanwords? (open-ended question)	Same as Q.16
21–27	Choose the most appropriate option for each word: 21. "akiadzi/akiyadzi" (type of fish). 22. "kamikiri" (type of fish)	These questions will reveal if any of those fish-related loanwords that might have entered Indigenous languages as a result of language contact between different ethnicities in the fishing industry survive in the local variety of Russian.[18]

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[17] As explained below (see Section 4), Russian elements are represented in italics in this article.

[18] Related to Q.7, Asahi (2012: 90) claims that 20 Japanese words related to the fishing industry (mostly the names of local fish) have entered the Indigenous languages in Sakhalin, quoting three previous studies on the culture and language of the Uilta and Nivh people, namely Hattori (1952), Yamamoto (1968) and Tangiku (2001). Our meticulous examination of the three sources *written in Japanese* reveals that that *none* of them describe these words as Japanese loanwords used in the Indigenous languages. The focus of Hattori (1952), Tangiku (2001), and Yamamoto (1968) in the studies previously referred to was on the *Indigenous names* of local fish; so, the Japanese names of given fish were simply provided as "those of equivalent fish in Japanese". In addition to his notes on the Indigenous names of fish, however, Yamamoto (1968) explains that six Japanese fish names (only 3 out of 6 are included in the list by Asashi 2012) are dialectal forms used generally in Sakhalin. As the director of the Karafuto Museum, Yamamoto resided in Sakhalin and conducted fieldwork during the Karafuto regime. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that he familiarised himself with a Japanese variety spoken in Sakhalin through his social life during his residency on the island. This implies that he would have been familiar enough to know that these Japanese fish names were coined and used generally in a Japanese variety of Sakhalin, rather than in the Indigenous languages. While it is possible that Japanese language vocabulary items for local fish were coined in Sakhalin during the period of the Japanese Karafuto regime (see 2.2) or, given the intensive contact between Sakhalin's Indigenes, Ainu and Japanese through fishing, even before 1905 (see 2.1), it does *not* automatically follow that such words replaced, or coexisted alongside the indigenous names,

	23. "hanare" (related to fishing) 24. "horiba" (related to fishing) 25. "goso-goso-garei/gosyo-garei" (type of fish) 26. "bajya/ban'ja" (related to fishing) 27. "yakeboshi/yakebushi" (type of fish) (have never heard; heard, but don't know what it means; know what it means, but don't use; use)	
28	If you have any ideas that were not covered in this survey, write them here (open-ended question).	To eliminate the possibility of losing any aspects of loanwords or factors influencing the loanwords' use that were not considered by the authors.
29	If you agree to cooperate in further research on this subject, write your name and e-mail here.	To establish connections with potential research participants for our future fieldwork.

3.3. Data collection

Initially, the authors had only one connection in Sakhalin: a friend of the first author who was born and raised in Sakhalin and who is ethnically Russian. Before we distributed our online questionnaire, we asked her and her friend of Korean descent to fill out our trial questionnaire and give us feedback. Accordingly, some of the questions were refined in order to reflect the local context, while some example responses were added in order to encourage the respondents to answer the questions.

We then conducted our online survey from September 23 to October 23, 2018. Our questionnaire was created in Google Forms and sent out to several different websites, which Sakhaliners are thought to use. The main service used was http://vk.com,[19] particularly the communities of Sakhaliners on that website. Another service was http://sakh.com/—a forum that is actively used in Sakhalin. After one month, we obtained 261 responses. However, five responses were identified as invalid due to two reasons: the same person answering twice (2 cases) and the questionnaire being filled in with clearly wrongful information, most probably as a joke (3 cases). Therefore, these responses were excluded from our analysis. Thus, 256 valid responses are analyzed in this paper.

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and continue to be used in the island's Indigenous languages. Unfortunately, however, it is not clearly stated whether Asahi (2012) collected his own data and empirically confirmed the use of these Japanese names of local fish as loanwords in Indigenous languages: *neither* the data *nor* methodology on loanwords are mentioned in his book. However, even if these Japanese fish names were adopted as loanwords in the Indigenous languages, whether they have been transferred to Russian has yet to be investigated. Therefore, we decided to examine these six words in order to verify whether or not Japanese words related to the fishing industry entered the Russian language as the result of historical contact between Sakhalin's Indigenes, Ainu and Japanese through fishing during the Karafuto regime or even before 1905. We have added one more word, *bajya/ban'ya* listed in Asahi (2012: 90) but not found in any of these three mentioned studies, because the archaic Japanese word *ban'ya* 'fishing house' is often mentioned in historical accounts of Sakhalin. Thus, these seven words are examined in our survey questions 21–27.

[19] This is a Russian social media site, similar to Facebook.

4. Analytical framework

This paper employs the following analytical frameworks. First, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and Thomason (2001) introduce the concept of a "**contact-induced borrowing scale**," which provides a framework for identifying the degree of borrowing depending on the intensity of the language contact. They divide the intensity of language contact into four stages: (1) casual contact—only non-basic vocabulary borrowed (most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives, and adverbs); (2) slightly more intense contact—still non-basic vocabulary borrowed (content/function words); slightly structural borrowing (new phonemes realized by new phones, but in loanwords only); (3) more intense contact—basic vocabulary also borrowed; moderate structural borrowing (addition of new phonemes even in native vocabulary; syntax; morphology); and (4) intense contact—continuing heavy lexical borrowing in all sections of the lexicon; heavy structural borrowing (Thomason 2001: 70–71).

In terms of the ease of borrowing, the scale moves from lexical items through phonology to syntax, with morphology the most difficult to borrow (Thomason 2001: 96–97) (cf. Romaine 1995). Important to our analysis is that: (a) among lexical items, nouns are most easily borrowed; this is also known as "**borrowability**" (van Hout and Muysken 1994), which claims that in the process of borrowing from one language to another, the part of speech that is the most easily borrowed is nouns, followed by verbs and adjectives. And (b) the distinction between categories 2 and 3 for lexical borrowing concerns whether basic vocabulary is borrowed (category 3) or not (category 2). Here "basic vocabulary" refers to "the kinds of words that tend to be present in all languages" (Thomason 2001: 70) such as body parts, numbers, words that express feelings and senses, and baby talk.

In their studies of Japanese loanwords in other former Japanese territories in the Pacific, Matsumoto (2016) and Matsumoto and Britain (2019) categorize Japanese loanwords in Palauan into the third category of Thomason's (2001) contact-induced borrowing scale, given that some basic vocabulary (e.g., body parts, nursery words, and words that express feelings and senses) have been borrowed. In their studies of Korean loanwords used by Korean immigrants and their descendants in Japan, on the other hand, Kim (2001) and Kim (2005) point out that loanwords related to Korean food and culture (e.g., funerals, address terms for family and relatives, etc.) have been used in Japanese conversation. This paper applies both the concepts of "contact-induced borrowing scale" and "borrowability" to loanwords in Sakhalin Russian in order to examine what types of loanwords occur (for example, food-related borrowings or whether core basic vocabulary has been borrowed or not) as well as what parts of speech are borrowed (for instance, whether only nouns or also other parts of speech have been borrowed).

Second, Daulton (2008) provides four directions of semantic shift that can happen during the process of borrowing: a word can (1) expand its meaning, (2) narrow it down, (3) acquire a negative meaning, or (4) acquire a positive meaning. These directions are called (1) **semantic broadening (extension)**, (2) **semantic narrowing (restriction/ specialization)**, (3) **semantic pejoration (downgrading)**, and (4) **semantic amelioration (upgrading)**, respectively. This paper investigates whether and in what way the semantic meanings of Japanese and Korean loanwords have been changed in the local context.

Third, the phenomenon of **hybridization**, also known as **loan-blending**, is when a word borrowed from another language is mixed together with a word from the target language and is used as a compound (Daulton 2008). This paper considers whether loan-blends are observed, and if so, what language combinations they have come from (i.e., between Japanese and Korean, between Japanese and Russian, between Korean and Russian, or among these three languages). Note that in cases where Russian noun endings, which change depending on the case inflection, have been combined with Korean or Japanese loanwords, this paper shows them in italics (see also footnote 17).

5. Data analysis

In this section we will first describe the background of the respondents in order for us to analyze the data on loanwords in relation to the users' background. This is an important step since although we often analyze language as if it were "an entity independent of its speakers and writers," it is actually "speakers and writers" who "change the way they use the language," rather than the "language itself chang[ing]" (Holmes and Wilson 2017: 214). Thus, it is crucial to identify *who* uses Korean and Japanese loanwords. We will then both qualitatively and quantitatively examine the use of Korean and Japanese loanwords in the Sakhalin variety of Russian, incorporating information on users' backgrounds.

5.1. Analysis of the respondents' backgrounds

Before analyzing the data on loanwords themselves, it is important to examine the backgrounds of the respondents: namely, information about their age, place of residence, occupation, ethnicity, connection to Japan and Korean (i.e., experience of learning these languages, the use of them at work), and the recentness of their residency in Sakhalin (i.e., whether they experienced the Japanese Karafuto regime or moved to Sakhalin after the war). We will analyze the backgrounds of the 256 Sakhaliners who filled out our questionnaire.

5.1.1. Age, place of residence, and occupation

Figure 2 illustrates the age distribution of the respondents. It ranges from 16 to 80 years old, with more than half of the respondents in the 20- to 39-year-old age groups. This was expected, as these age groups tend to be heavy internet users. The small number of the

elderly (those older than 70) means that our data may not include those who have firsthand experience with the Japanese administration of the southern part of Sakhalin. Additionally, about 70% (N=180) of the respondents were female and almost 30% (N=75) male. There was no significant difference in the use of loanwords between the female and male population or between people of different age groups.
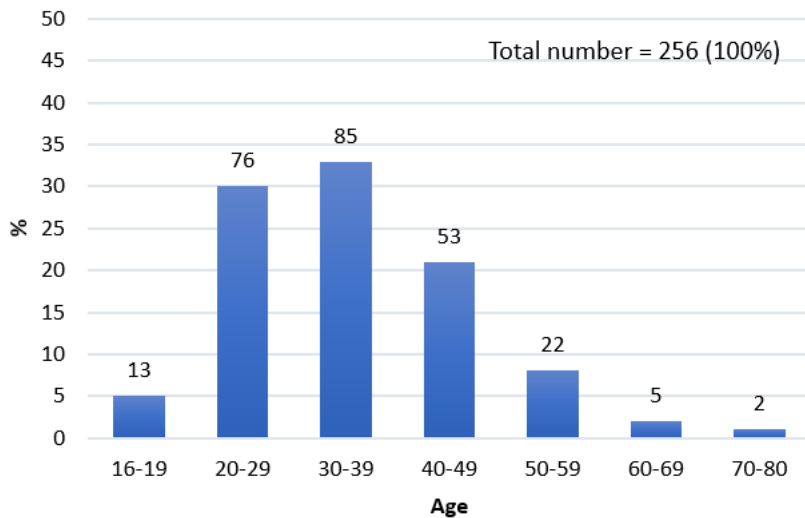
Fig. 2   Number and proportion of respondents by age
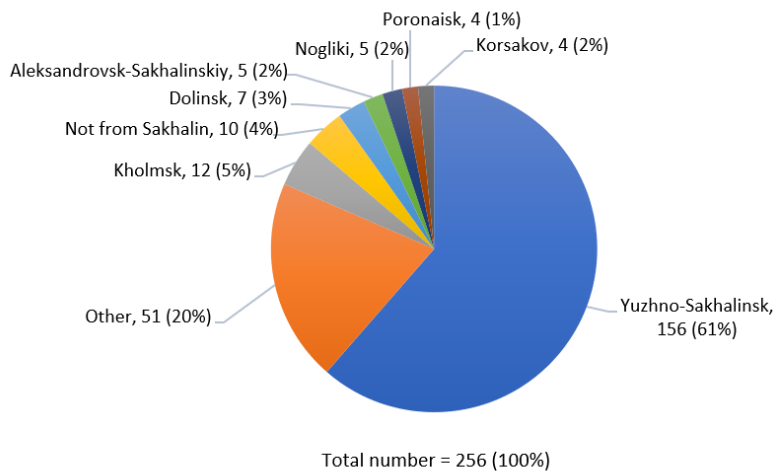
Fig. 3   Number and proportion of respondents by place of residence

Fig. 4   Map of Sakhalin[20]

Figure 3 presents the distribution of the respondents' places of residence. More than 60% (N=156) of the respondents are from the regional capital—Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, and the majority are from the southern part of the island (see also Figure 4). Furthermore, 82.3% (N=215) of the respondents are working, while less than 7% (N=18) are university or school students.

One of the hypotheses we had before conducting the survey was that people who come from places with a high concentration of the Indigenous population will use more Japanese loanwords, given that the Indigenous people stayed in Sakhalin during Karafuto period. However, this hypothesis did not show to be true in our data, most probably due to its scarcity: although a village Nogliki is said to have large population of Indigenous people (Mamontova 2015), there were only five respondents from that village and no difference was found between the use of Japanese loanwords among these respondents compared to others.

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[20] Created by the authors based on https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sakhalin_map.svg (Accessed: 2019-08-26)

5.1.2. Ethnicity, connection to Japan and Korea, migration to Sakhalin

Figure 5 illustrates that nearly 40% (N=98) of the respondents have studied either Japanese or Korean, which is quite high compared to other regions of Russia. Furthermore, 16% (N=41) of respondents reported having a connection to Japan or the Japanese language in their occupation (at school or at work), and 17% (N=43) to Korea or the Korean language. This can be explained by the geographical, historical, and cultural closeness of Sakhalin to both countries.

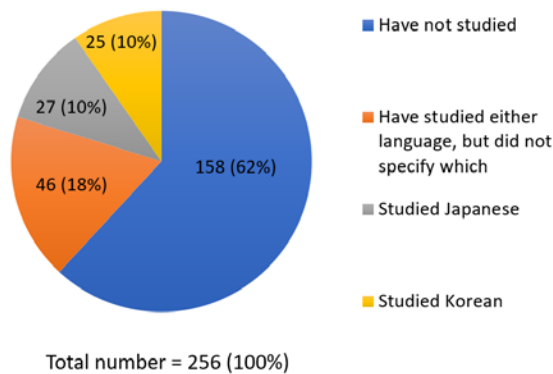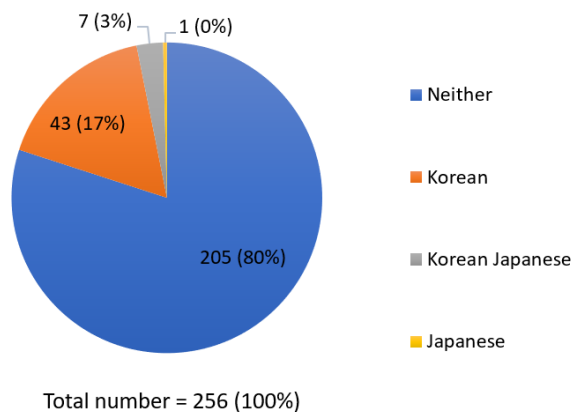Fig. 5   Number and proportion of respondents by experience with studying Japanese and/or Korean

Fig. 6   Number and proportion of respondents by ethnicity

As can be seen from Figure 6, 17% (N=43) of our respondents are ethnically Korean, while 3% (N=7) are mixed Korean and Japanese. This number is higher than the percentage of Koreans living in Sakhalin according to the 2010 Russian Census, 5% (N=24,993),

which can be attributed to the Korean population having a greater interest in filling out this questionnaire due to its subject matter.

In terms of the time of migration to Sakhalin, 77% (N=197) of respondents claimed to have moved to Sakhalin after the war. This means that most of the respondents have no firsthand experience with the Japanese regime on the island. Among those who answered "during the Karafuto period" or "before 1905," most of these respondents are of Korean ethnicity. This shows that such sociohistorical factors as ethnicity and period of migration go hand in hand.

5.2. Analysis of loanwords

Through the online questionnaire, which received 256 valid responses, 177 Korean-originated and 92 Japanese-originated words were identified.[21] Interestingly, only 5 of the 256 respondents claimed not to use any Korean words, while more than half of the respondents (N=140) answered "I do not use Japanese loanwords." These findings suggest that Korean loanwords have been more widely accepted by Sakhaliners than Japanese loanwords. This makes sense given the history of almost all former Japanese settlers having been expatriated to Japan while in contrast most of the Korean immigrants have remained on the island. Furthermore, it is natural that the demographics of the respondents from whom data were collected influenced the results. As pointed out above, the distributions of the respondents' age, ethnicity, and place of residence all indicate that our respondents may not include the Indigenous residents who have experienced the Japanese Karafuto period. Therefore, again, it is reasonable to expect a smaller number of Japanese loanwords as well as a large number of non-users of Japanese loanwords. Thus, although previous sociolinguistic research on Sakhalin was rather restricted to Japanese language contact (e.g., Asahi 2012), this suggests that it is fruitful for researchers to expand their scope to include the Korean language contact in Sakhalin if one wishes to fully understand Sakhalin's history of language contact and its linguistic outcomes.

5.2.1. Analysis of Korean loanwords

When we considered all social factors investigated in this study, *ethnicity* and *the period of migration to Sakhalin* turned out to be the most powerful factors influencing the use of Korean loanwords. To be more precise, Figure 7 shows that (a) Sakhaliners with Korean

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[21] Korean and Japanese loanwords that had different spellings but the same meaning were considered variants of the same word (e.g., *мёгук* (myogkuk), *миеккуг* (miyokkug)*,* and *миенгук* (miyenguk), all meaning 'a Korean soup with seaweed'). However, the same word was counted twice if 1) the difference in spelling was seen as having dialectal influence (e.g., *хальмони* (hal'm**o**ni), *хальмуни* (hal'm**u**ni) meaning 'grandmother') or if 2) two different meanings were given by two different people, as they could be analyzed as belonging to different semantic categories or domains of use (e.g., *хангук* (hanguk) meaning 'a fashionable person' and meaning 'a Korean person').

ancestors whose families came to Sakhalin during the Karafuto period[22] tend to use a larger number of Korean loanwords than people of other ethnicities, while Figure 8 illustrates that (b) this group also uses a much wider variety of Korean loanwords in terms of the range of semantic domain (within one domain and between different domains), compared to Sakhaliners with non-Korean ancestors.
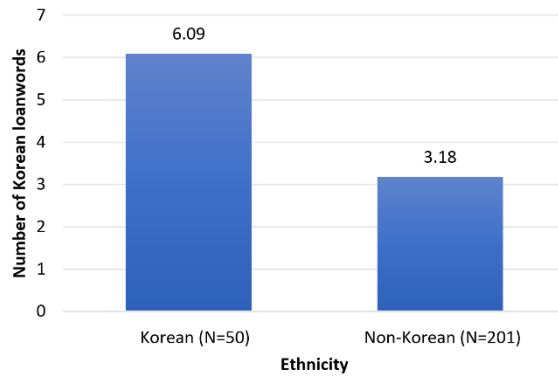
Fig. 7   Number of Korean loanwords provided by respondents according to ethnicity
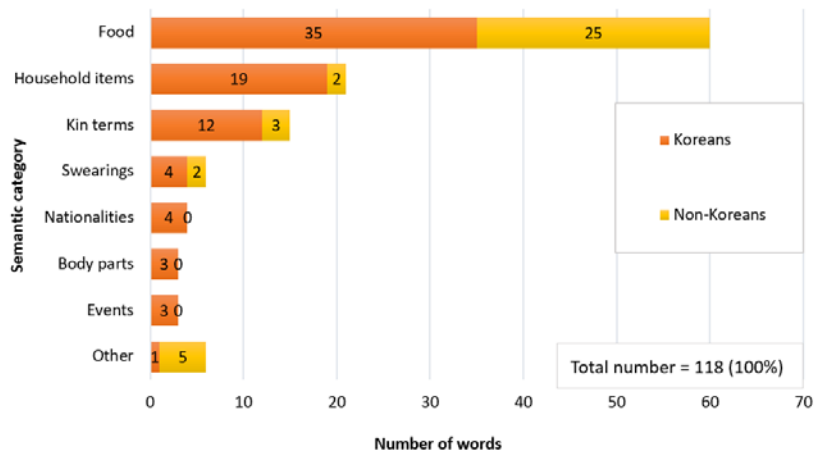
Fig. 8 Distribution of Korean nominal loanwords[23] provided by Korean and non-Korean Sakhaliners, by semantic category[24]

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[22] Among our respondents there were no recent expats from South Korea due to two reasons: (1) the questionnaire was in Russian so there is a high possibility that recent Korean expats would not have been able to respond, and (2) all Sakhaliners with Korean ancestors claimed that their families came to Sakhalin during the Karafuto period in Q.11.
[23] We chose to analyze the semantic categories of nouns only, due to other parts of speech being difficult to put into the same semantic categories.
[24] The words in the category "other" were попо (popo, 'kiss'), урималбасон (urimalbason, 'Korean TV program'), сомбэ (sombe, 'senior'), хангул (hangul, 'Korean alphabet'), and тон (ton, 'money') which did not fit into any other category.

First, there is a clear difference in the semantic domains where the Korean loanwords are used among Korean versus non-Korean Sakhaliners: non-Korean Sakhaliners mainly use words that refer to Korean dishes and cuisine, while Korean Sakhaliners use words referring to Korean cuisine, as well as household items and names of relatives. Interestingly, this tendency accords with the findings of previous studies that Korean cuisine and address terms for relatives are borrowed into the Japanese conversation of Korean immigrants and their descendants in Japan (Kim 2001, and Kim 2005).

Moreover, the vast majority of non-Korean Sakhaliners (94%, N=194) claimed to use Korean loanwords in their everyday life, while only a small number of them (5%, N=7) reported using them only at home with family or with people who understand Korean. In contrast, a large number of Korean Sakhaliners (56%, N=28) claimed to use Korean loanwords mainly at home or with people who understand Korean, while approximately the other half (44%, N=22) use them in everyday life.

Figures 9 and 10 illustrate that there is also a difference in what parts of speech the Korean loanwords derive from between ethnic groups: non-Korean Sakhaliners mostly gave examples of nouns (N=38), with only 3 interjections, 1 adverb, 1 adjective, and no verbs. Korean Sakhaliners, on the other hand, gave more examples of adjectives (N=7), adverbs (N=2), verbs (N=5), and interjections (N=12) than non-Korean Sakhaliners, although they also use nouns the most (N=81). This suggests that within Sakhalin, there may be different degrees of the "borrowability" (van Hout and Muysken 1994) of Korean loanwords depending upon the speakers' ethnicity.

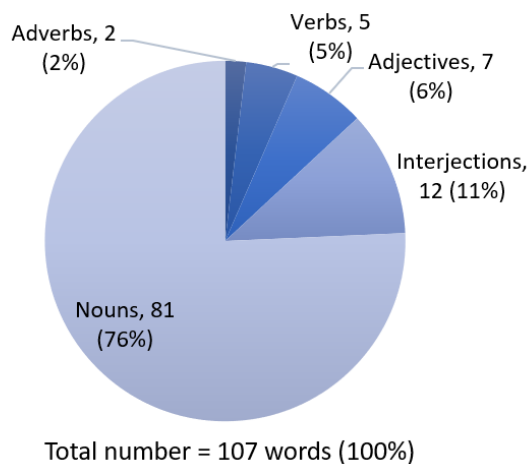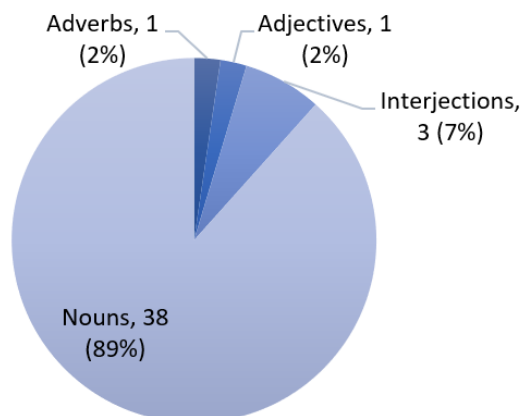Fig. 9   Distribution of Korean loanwords[25] provided by Korean Sakhaliners, by part of speech

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[25] Here and in Figure 10, all of the variants of the same word (variations in meaning or spelling) were counted as one word (as they belong to the same part of speech and are used in the same way in a sentence); hence the different total compared with the total number of Korean loanwords, 177 (see Section 5.2.).

Total number = 43 words (100%)

Fig.10 Distribution of Korean loanwords provided by non-Korean Sakhaliners, by part of speech

Below are some examples of words used by Korean and non-Korean Sakhaliners:

Example 1: Korean loanwords from Korean Sakhaliners

куксу[26] (kuks**u**)	*бабсот* (babsot)	*немси* (nemsi)	*абуди* (abudi)
국수 (kuks**u**)[27]	밥솥 (bapsot)	냄시 (naemsi)	아부지 (abuji)
'noodle'	'rice cooker'	'smell' (n.)	'father'

мощиссо (moshisso)	*айгу* (aigu)	*теба-* (teba)	*оппа* (oppa)
멋있어 (meosisseo)	아이구 (a-i-goo)	대박(daebak)	오빠 (oppa)
'cool'[28]	'oh'	'Awesome!'	'older brother'[29]

Example 2: Korean loanwords from non-Korean Sakhaliners

кукса (kuks**a**)	*чимча* (chimch**a**)
국수 (kuks**u**)	짐치 (jimch**i**)
'noodles'	'kimchi'

Another significant finding was *the presence of dialectal features* in some Korean loanwords in Sakhalin. For example, different respondents provided two variants of the word 'grandfather', namely (a) *хараб**о**ди* (harab**o**di) and (b) *хараб**у**ди* (harab**u**di). In

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[26] From here on, we present loanword examples in the following manner: *loanword in Russian* (reading in the Roman alphabet), original Korean word (reading in the Roman alphabet), 'English translation of the meaning of the original Korean word.'
[27] For the transliteration of Korean words we used the Revised Romanization of Korean (see https://web.archive.org/web/20070916025652/http://www.korea.net/korea/kor_loca.asp?code=A020303). (Accessed: 2019-08-26)
[28] The word 멋있어 refers to 'cool' as in 'cool person,' not 'cool air.'
[29] 오빠 (oppa) is often used to refer to K-pop idols or to a male who is older than a young female.

Standard Korean, it is hal-ab**eo**ji (할아**버**지), while in southern dialects of South Korea (used, for example, in Gyeongsang, Gyoonggi, Chungcheong, and Jeolla provinces) it is hal-ab**u**ji (할아부지) according to the National Institute of the Korean Language (n.d.).

There were also four variants (two pairs) of the word meaning 'kimchi': (a) *чимча* (**ch**imch**a**)*/чимчи* (**ch**imch**i**)—one of either of these variants was mentioned by 126 respondents, and (b) *кимча* (**k**imch**a**)*/кимчи* (**k**imch**i**)—one of either of these variants was mentioned by 80 respondents. In Korean, the standard variant of this word is 김치 (**k**imch**i**), with 짐치 (**j**imch**i**) being a dialectal variant spoken in Gangwon, Gyeongsang, Gyoonggi, Jeolla, Chungcheong, and North Hamggyong provinces on the Korean peninsula (the southern and northeastern parts of South Korea and the northeast parts of North Korea). *Чимча* (**ch**imch**a**) and *кимча* (**k**imch**a**) are thought to be the "Russianized variants", as they have a female noun ending *-a*.[30]

The Korean loanword that means 'noodles' and that is widely used in Sakhalin (71%, N=183) of respondents gave it as an example of a Korean loanword) also had two variants: one is the Russianized word *кукса* (kuks**a**), given by 175 respondents, and the second is *куксу* (kuks**u**), given by 8 respondents. The original Korean word is 국수 (kuks**u**), which is similar to the latter variant.

The preliminary results from our analysis of the four variants of "kimchi" and two variants of "kuksu" by age, gender, and ethnicity show that there is a significant difference[31] in the use of the "non-Russianized" variants (*кимчи* (**k**imch**i**)*, чимчи* (**ch**imch**i**), and *куксу* (kuks**u**)) and the "Russianized" variants (*кимча* (**k**imch**a**)*, чимча* (**ch**imch**a**)*,* and *кукса* (kuks**a**)) between different ethnic groups. Korean Sakhaliners preferred to use the former type, while non-Korean Sakhaliners prefer the latter (see Figure 11).

These potential variants of the names of these two food items have great value for further research of Sakhalin's language situation. Though the answers to our online questionnaire are written in Russian, we can observe that there is variation in the orthography of Korean loanwords. However, it is not certain how these words are actually pronounced by Sakhaliner speakers with different ethnic backgrounds. Our future fieldwork will (a) investigate the place of origin of ethnically Korean residents who arrived in Sakhalin at different points in time during the course of Sakhalin's language contact history, which, it is hoped, will make this unfortunate gap in the historical data smaller; and (b) collect actual speech data from both Korean and non-Korean residents on Sakhalin to analyze Korean dialect contact and its linguistic outcomes.

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[30] Kimchi in Russian can be translated as 'pickled cabbage', with cabbage being a female noun. In the Russian language it is not uncommon to transfer the female gender endings to loanwords.
[31] We conducted a t-test in R, P=0,036.
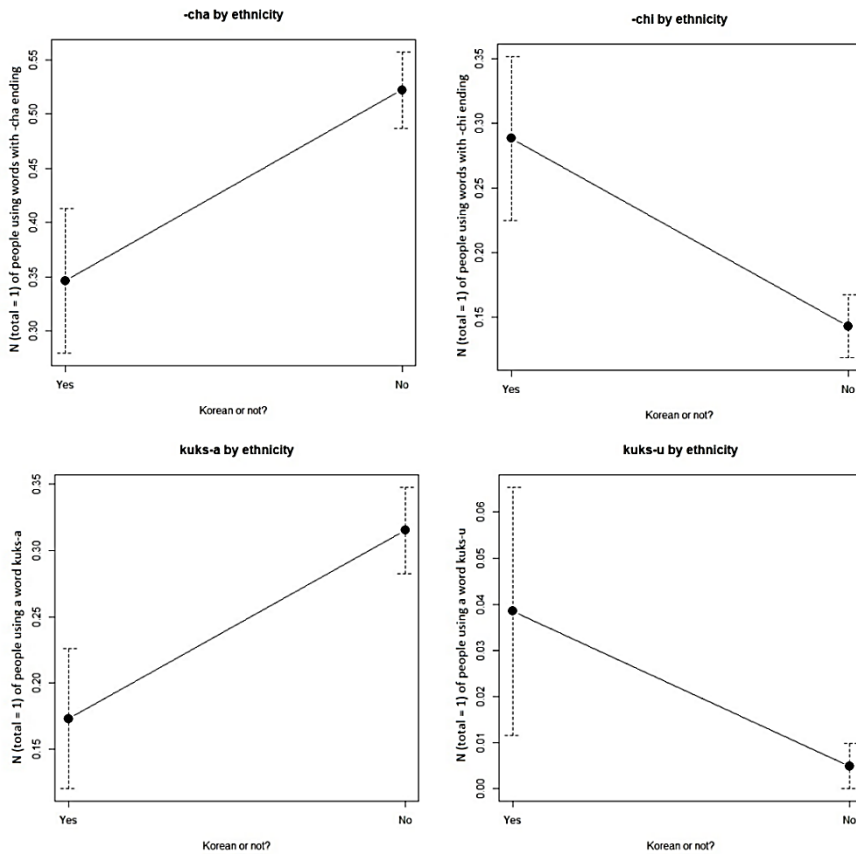
Fig. 11 Difference in use of "Russianized" variants and "non-Russianized" variants by ethnicity

5.2.2. Analysis of Japanese loanwords

When we considered all social factors investigated in this study, in the case of Japanese loanwords, a slight difference was found between the respondents who have studied Japanese and those who have not: those who have studied Japanese responded with 2.6 words on average (N=25), whereas people who have not gave 1.1 words on average (N=163).

As Figure 12 illustrates, what was clearly noticeable was that most of the Japanese loanwords were connected to traditional Japanese culture (e.g., *кимоно*, kimono, 着物, 'kimono'), Japanese manga and anime (e.g., *отаку,* otaku, オタク, 'nerd'), or Japanese cuisine (e.g., *кацудон,* katsudon, カツ丼, 'rice bowl with pork cutlet').
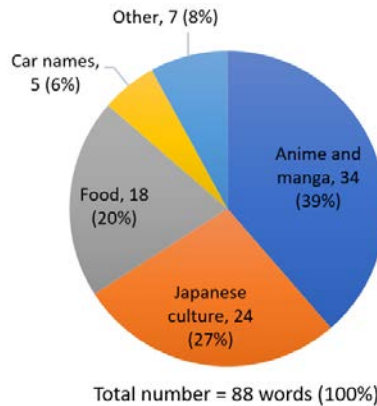
Fig. 12   Distribution of Japanese loanwords[32] by semantic category[33]

Moreover, as Figure 13 shows, among the respondents who provided examples of Japanese loanwords, the majority claimed to be using them "In everyday life" or "Among friends who like anime or understand Japanese." Thus, it is very likely that Japanese modern culture, rather than Japanese from the Karafuto period, has influenced the Russian language in Sakhalin. This standpoint seems to be supported by the following linguistic evidence: there were almost no instances of "Russianization" of the Japanese loanword endings,[34] which may mean that most of the loanwords are relatively new, still considered "foreign", and have not been adapted to the Russian language's word structure.

Nevertheless, we have found two Japanese words that might have entered Sakhalin during the Karafuto period: *джабудон*[35] (dzhabudon, 座布団 (zabuton), 'a pillow for sitting') and *нагащи* (nagash**i**, 流し (nagash**i**), 'sink'). Interestingly, however, both words were given as "Korean loanwords" only by respondents with Korean ethnicity, although both of them in fact originate from Japanese. Thus, it can be speculated that these Japanese words had first entered the Korean language during the Karafuto period and then were transferred to the variety of Russian spoken by Korean Sakhaliners.

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[32] Here all different variants of the same word (variations in spelling or dialectal variants) were counted as one word, hence the difference in the number of words in Figure 12, compared to the total number of Japanese loanwords, 92 (see Section 5.2).

[33] Words in the "Other" category were: *вакаранаи* (wakaranai, わからない, 'don't know'), *ватащи* (watashi, 私, 'I, me'), *кохи о номимащё* (kohi o nomimasho, コーヒーを飲みましょう, 'let's drink coffee'), *нагащи* (nagashi, 流し, 'sink'), *тую кото дес* (tuyu koto des, ということです, 'there's that'), *хай дэс* (hai des, はいです, 'yes, it is so'), and *щукудай* (shukudai, 宿題, 'homework').

[34] Two words were exceptions: *кавайный* (kavainyi)——the Japanese adjective *kawaii* + Russian adjective ending *-yj*; and *тойота* (toyota)——that was used in a sentence in a form of case inflection.

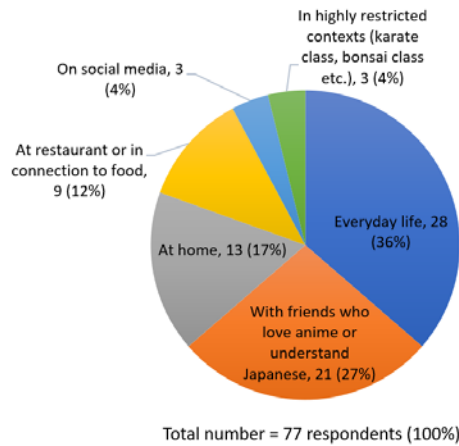[35] Another variant given was *дибдон* (dibdon).

Fig.13   Distribution of situations of use of Japanese loanwords, by respondents

The word *dzhabudon* is a regional variant of the word *dzabuton* (standard Japanese, 座布団), that is often used in Hokkaidō and the Tōhoku region. As explained in Section 2, in the history of Sakhalin, the majority of the Japanese people who migrated to Sakhalin during the Karafuto period were from those regions, and Japanese loanwords with dialectal features from Tōhoku and Hokkaidō might have entered the Korean language and subsequently the local Russian variety. Another explanation might be hidden in the structure of the Korean language itself: the phenomena of vocalizing the /p, t, k/ sounds in word-internal positions might have transferred to Japanese borrowings.

Another characteristic of the Japanese loanwords used on Sakhalin is that in contrast to the Korean loanwords, which have variation in both orthography (see above) and semantic meaning (see below for more details), the Japanese loanwords show almost no variation in orthography or semantic meaning.

Finally, the results of the use of Japanese loanwords related to the fishing industry suggests that these Japanese words were not transferred to the local Russian. Among seven words examined in our survey, on average, more than 90% of the respondents (N=223~244) answered "Have never heard" in questions 21–27. Despite the fact that 23.3% of the respondents answered that they are currently engaged in fishing-related businesses, *none* of them claimed to have heard them or to know their meaning. Thus, although approximately 10% of the respondents (N=12~33) who are *not* engaged in fishing-related industries claimed to have heard them or to know the meaning of the words *akiaji* and *yakebushi*, it may be the case that they simply inferred the meaning from the part of the words, such as *aki* 'autumn', *aji* 'taste' and *bushi* 'samurai' through their experience of learning Japanese as a foreign language or their exposure to Japanese anime. Thus, although the possibility that those words might still be used by *Indigenous* residents remains to be verified (see

footnote 18), what we can say is that based on our data, they did not enter Russian, the mainstream language on Sakhalin.

5.2.3. Contact-induced borrowing scale and borrowability

After examining the historical background of Sakhalin island as well as the data on loanwords that we obtained through the online questionnaire, we can observe that Korean and Japanese loanwords are likely to fall into different categories of lexical borrowing types; that is, the "more intense contact (category 3)," and the "casual contact (category 1)," respectively. In the case of Korean, our data show that a range of basic vocabulary, such as body parts, nursery words, and words that express feelings and senses were borrowed from Korean into the Russian on Sakhalin. For instance, body part words include *мори* (mori, 머리 (meori) 'head'), *нун* (nun, 눈 (noon) 'eye'), and *ольгуль* (ol'gul, 얼굴 (eolgul) 'face'), while nursery words include *дори-дори* (doridori, 도리도리 (doridori) 'peek-a-boo'), which is an expression used for play with babies and small children or to refer to 'a head movement of babies and small children'; and *по-по* (popo, 뽀뽀 (ppoppo)) which refers to '(light) kiss to cheek' often used by and for babies and small children. Words that express senses, on the other hand, include *немси* (nemsi, 냄시 (naemsi) 'smelly') and *тыго* (tygo, 뜨거 (tteu-geo) 'hot'), whereas words that express feelings include *квенчанаё* (kvenchanayo, 괜찮아요 (gwaenchanayo) 'OK?') and *айгу (айгуя)* (아이구(야) (a-i-goo(ya)), which serves as a multi-functional exclamation used in a wide variety of situations, such as when one is very tired, surprised, sad, or happy.

According to Thomason (2001: 70–71), category 3 of lexical borrowing types typically involves three main social factors, namely "more bilinguals, attitudes and other social factors favoring borrowing." If we view the Sakhalin context through this lens, it is true that the past availability of Korean schools was a crucial social factor that would have not only supported the maintenance of Korean as a heritage language among Korean Sakhaliners, but would have also led to a positive image of Korean language in Sakhalin, giving Korean Sakhaliners a certain level of confidence. Thus, it is reasonable that the intensive contact between Russian and Korean urged speakers of the Sakhalin variety of Russian to adopt basic vocabulary from Korean.

In the case of Japanese, our data show that only non-basic vocabulary (mostly words related to Japanese food and culture) was borrowed from Japanese. It is worth noting that rather than Japanese from the Karafuto period, modern Japanese words have been adopted through anime and manga. It is most likely that during the Karafuto period, there was *more intense contact* between Japanese and *Korean* and between Japanese and *Indigenous languages*, which may have brought about some structural changes in *these languages*. However, this paper only focuses on the use of loanwords in *Russian*, which was introduced to southern Sakhalin after the war. Therefore, it makes perfect sense that the language

contact between Japanese and Russian fell only into the lowest category of borrowing types. Thus, overall, these results suggest that the contact-induced borrowing scale is useful in accounting for the different intensities of language contact between Russian and Japanese, and between Russian and Korean.

In terms of borrowability, our data on both Korean and Japanese loanwords turned out to support that principle only partially. Like previous studies which support the validity of the principle (Poplack at al. 1988; van Hout and Muysken 1994), the most common part of speech was nouns (N=60, or 65% in the case of Japanese loanwords; N=130, or 75% in the case of Korean loanwords). However, in our study the second most common part of speech was interjections (N=16, 17%; and N=20, 12%, respectively) and the third was adjectives (N=7, 8%; and N=13, 8%, respectively), whereas previous studies have found verbs and adjectives (sometimes in reverse order, as in van Hout and Muysken 1994: 41) or verbs and interjections (Poplack et al. 1988: 63) to be the second and third most common parts of speech respectively. In our data, verbs were one of the parts of speech that was the least borrowed, which requires further research.

5.2.4. Semantic change

This section will illustrate some of the different phenomena of semantic change that occur in the process of borrowing, as described by Daulton (2008). Our data provide examples of the following four types of semantic change: (a) semantic broadening; (b) semantic narrowing; (c) semantic downgrading; and (d) semantic upgrading.

> Example 3: Semantic narrowing, restriction, or specialization
>   *хангук* (hanguk, male), *хангучка* (hanguchka, female)
>   한국 (hanguk)
>   'South Korea' → 'Korean person' → 'fashionable person'

The original Korean word 한국 (hanguk) means 'South Korea', and 2 respondents wrote it with this meaning. However, there were 7 more respondents who wrote it referring to a 'Korean person', and 1 more person who reports using this word with the meaning of 'fashionable person' among classmates who know Korean, presumably from the stereotypical image of young Korean people that has spread through K-pop culture. Hence, we can see two stages of semantic narrowing of the same word.

<u>Example 4: Semantic broadening or extension</u>
оттоɛu (ottogi)
오뚜기 (ottugi)
'The brand name of a mayonnaise producer' → 'mayonnaise in general'

Here we can see a typical example of semantic broadening: what originally in Korean referred to a particular mayonnaise brand (오뚜기, ottugi) came to mean mayonnaise in general (mentioned by 2 respondents). This is similar to the broadening of the brand name "band aid" which has come to refer to 'plasters' or 'sticky patches' in general.

<u>Example 5: Semantic downgrading or pejoration</u>
кедян (kedyan)
게장 (ge-jang)
'Korean dish with **crab** meat' → 'Korean dish with **dog** meat'

This example shows how a word can not only change its meaning, e.g., from one type of meat to another, but can also come to be used in a derogatory sense. The original Korean word 게장 (kedyan) refers to 'a dish with **crab** meat'; no respondent wrote it with this meaning. All 8 respondents who wrote this word wrote it with the meaning of '**dog** meat' or 'Korean dish with **dog** meat' with comments about how they condemn such dishes. This semantic downgrading might have roots in confusing two Korean words that have the same pronunciation: 개 (ge) meaning 'dog' and 게 (ge) meaning 'crab'.

<u>Example 6: Semantic upgrading or amelioration</u>
onna (oppa)
오빠 (oppa)
'Older brother or to refer to a male slightly older than a young female'
→ 'Korean idol'

This example was given by 2 respondents: one gave it with the original Korean meaning of 오빠 (oppa)—'older brother'—and another gave it with the 'upgraded' meaning, 'Korean idol.' This semantic upgrading might have its roots in the fact that Korean idols are sometimes called 오빠 (oppa) in Korean media or dramas.

5.2.5. Hybridization
Our data contain only four loanwords that can be classified as loan-blends. There are two different combinations of languages: (a) loan-blends between Japanese and Korean words,

and (b) loan-blends between Korean and Russian words. The following are these four loan-blends identified in our data:

Example 7: Loan-blends between Japanese and Korean words
   1) *анкоток/анкаток* (ankotok/ankatok)
     あんこ ＋ 떡 (anko + tteok)
     'Anko bread'

This example is a blend of the Japanese word あんこ (*anko*, 'Japanese bean paste') and the Korean word 떡 (*tteok*, 'rice cake known in Japanese as mochi'). This word was mentioned by 2 respondents of Korean ethnicity and thus could be a loan-blend formed during the Karafuto period.

   2) *иккадёт* (ikkadyot)
     いか ＋ 젓 (ika + jeot)
     'Pickled squid'

This example is a blend of the Japanese word いか (*ika*, 'squid') and the Korean word 젓 (*jeot*, 'something pickled'). This word was given by only one respondent, who was also of Korean ethnicity. The respondent mentioned the Japanese-Korean structure of this word, and is thus aware that it is an interlingual blend. This word as well could have been formed during the Karafuto period among Koreans born and raised under Japanese rule or within bilingual Japanese-Korean families.

Example 8: Loan-blends between Korean and Russian words
   1) *чимчигрызы* (chimchigryzy)
     짐치 ＋ *грызы* (jimchi + gryzy)
     'Koreans' (derogatory, literally 'People who chew on kimchi')

This is a blend of the Korean dialectal word 짐치 (*jimchi*, 'kimchi or pickled cabbage') and a stem of the Russian verb *грызть* (*gryzt'*, 'to chew on'). It was mentioned by only one respondent who claimed to use this derogatory term towards Korean people. It is unclear how much this word spread across the Russian community in Sakhalin, but the racist nature of it is evident and it clearly indicates possible tensions between Russians and Koreans in Sakhalin.

2) *чимчижар* (chimchizhar)
   짐치 + *жар* (jimchi + zhar)
   'A dish, fried kimchi'

The last example is a blend of the Korean dialectal word 짐치 (*jimchi*, 'kimchi or pickled cabbage') and the stem of the Russian verb *жарить* (*zharit'*, 'to fry'). This loanword was mentioned by 2 respondents and shows the integration between the two cultures, Korean and Russian, manifesting itself in fusion cuisine.

6. Conclusions and further research

This paper has attempted to provide as clear a picture of the language contact history in Sakhalin as possible by exploring a wide range of historical and demographic data from official governmental and academic resources written in Russian, Japanese, and Korean. Given that the trajectory of Sakhalin's history has involved intensive contact with speakers from these countries for over a century, we believe that such an approach was indispensable.

Through our examination of language contact in the history of Sakhalin, this paper has demonstrated that human mobility played a crucial role in determining language and dialect contact and the subsequent loanwords as its linguistic consequences. We have highlighted the following important demographic facts, which are likely to have had significant implications for the survival and usage of loanwords in present-day Sakhalin society: first, during the Japanese administration, apart from a small number of Indigenous residents who have always lived in Sakhalin, only just over a hundred Russian nationals were allowed to remain in the then Japanese territory of the southern part of Sakhalin, whereas the mainstream Russian ethnic majority in contemporary Sakhalin arrived after 1945; second, almost all of the former Japanese settlers have been expatriated to Japan, while the current Korean Sakhaliners consist of different groups, each of which arrived in Sakhalin from different parts of the Korean Peninsula, before, during, or after the Karafuto regime. These demographic facts all suggest that it is the present-day elderly Indigenous and Korean Sakhaliners with first-hand experience of the Japanese regime who were most likely to have had intensive contact with both the Japanese and Korean languages and dialects brought by Japanese and Korean immigrants during the Japanese administration, consequently adopting them as loanwords in their *first languages* at that time, such as Nivh, Evenki, and Korean.

Our analysis of loanwords collected through an online questionnaire has shed light on the important role played by the descendants of the Korean immigrants who settled on Sakhalin during the Japanese administration in the adoption, maintenance, and spread of numerous Korean loanwords and a smaller number of Japanese loanwords in the local

variety of Russian, which has become the first language of the majority of Korean Sakhaliners today. Our analysis has also highlighted the process of localization of these loanwords into Russian, which has involved a range of semantic change and loan-blending. Moreover, the analysis has identified Russian newcomers to be the potential linguistic leaders of the Russianization of loanwords, while identifying Korean Sakhaliners to be the potential linguistic innovators of the loan-blending between Korean and Japanese. Furthermore, these lexical borrowings were found to share common linguistic features with those of other Korean immigrant communities in Japan as well as other former Japanese colonial territories in the Pacific.

Overall, the results have demonstrated the dominance of Korean loanwords over Japanese loanwords in the Sakhalin variety of Russian, although we did find some evidence of "Karafuto" Japanese entering the speech repertoire of Korean Sakhaliners. We have shown that specific influences from modern Japanese culture, such as from anime and manga, appear to be stronger than that of "Karafuto" Japanese; and this makes sense given that Russian newcomers arrived after the vast majority of speakers of "Karafuto" Japanese had left Sakhalin.

By examining Korean and Japanese loanwords in the local variety of Russian through the lens of the "contact-induced borrowing scale" (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988) and the concept of "borrowability" (van Hout and Muysken 1994), this paper has demonstrated that Korean and Japanese loanwords fall into different categories of borrowing types, indicating that different degrees of intensity of contact were involved between Russian and Korean and between Russian and Japanese. We have claimed that since Russian speakers from other parts of Russia settled in southern Sakhalin after almost all Japanese speakers left, it is reasonable that Japanese loanwords in Sakhalin Russian would only fall into the lowest category of borrowing types, "casual contact (category 1)." We have also shown that in contrast, Korean immigrants who have remained on Sakhalin have had more intensive contact with Russian newcomers, so that basic vocabulary, such as body parts, nursery words, and words that express feeling and senses, have been adopted from Korean; hence, it makes sense that Korean loanwords fall into the category of "more intense contact (category 3)". Thus, overall, the contact-induced borrowing scale was found to be useful for our understanding of Sakhalin Russian contact with both Korean and Japanese.

In terms of "borrowability", our data has partially supported this concept's applicability, with nouns being the most common part of speech. Our future work will investigate whether spontaneous speech data, rather than self-reported data, show that different proportions of parts of speech (particularly the proportion of verbs) are found among loanwords used in the Sakhalin variety of Russian.

To sum up, this paper has successfully drawn a general picture of the sociolinguistic situation on Sakhalin, providing the context for a more detailed study by locating the

underlying salient themes of loanwords in the local variety of Russian. For example, the variation in the word *kimchi*, which has four variants *kimchi, kimcha, chimchi*, and *chimcha*, has proven to be an interesting variable for the further research on dialect and language contact in complex Korean communities on Sakhalin. Thus, the list of Korean and Japanese loanwords together with their variations in orthography and semantic meaning obtained in this pilot study will meaningfully serve as an important base for further research.

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Appendix A: Original Russian questionnaire.

Слова из японского и корейского языка, получившие распространение на Сахалине.

Здравствуйте! Меня зовут Валерия Евсеенко, я студентка четвертого курса Токийского университета.

Тема моей дипломной работы связана с лингвистической ситуацией на Сахалине, в частности, я провожу исследование о словах, пришедших из японского и корейского языка и получивших распространение на Сахалине.

Прошу вас принять участие и ответить на вопросы этой анкеты, которая не должна занять более 10 минут. Я бы также была признательна, если бы вы распространили эту анкету среди своих родственников, друзей и знакомых, проживающих (или проживавших) на Сахалине.

Если у вас возникнут какие-либо вопросы, пишите мне на электронную почту ***@gmail.com

Спасибо за ваше время!

* обязательный вопрос

1. Ваш пол *

• Мужской   • Женский   • Другое

2. Ваш возраст *

3. Род деятельности *

• Школьник   • Студент   • Работаю   • На пенсии   • Другое: _____

4. Из какого населенного пункта на Сахалине вы родом? *

5. Имеет/имел ли ваш род деятельности отношение к японскому языку или Японии в целом? Например, школа с возможностью изучения японского языка *

• Да   • Нет   • Другое: _____

6. Имеет/имел ли ваш род деятельности отношение к корейскому языку или Корее в целом? Например, школа с возможностью изучения корейского языка *

• Да   • Нет   • Другое: _____

7. Имеет/имел ли ваш род деятельности отношение к рыболовству? *

• Да   • Нет   • Другое: _____

8. Изучаете/изучали ли вы японский или корейский языки? Если да, то как долго? *

9. Есть ли в вашей семье корейские или японские корни? *

• Да   • Нет   • Возможно, не уверен(-а)

10. Для тех, кто ответил "да" или "возможно" на предыдущий вопрос: опишите этническую и языковую ситуацию в вашей семье, насколько это возможно. Например: папа – русский, мама – кореянка, дома разговариваем на обоих языках

11. С какого времени ваша семья проживает на Сахалине? *

• Мои предки стали жить на Сахалине до Японско-Русской войны (до 1904 г)

•Мои предки стали жить на Сахалине, когда он был японской территорией (1905–1945 гг)

• Мои предки стали жить на Сахалине после войны (после 1945 года)

• Другое: _____

12. Если вы или ваша семья жили в других населенных пунктах на Сахалине, перечислите их

13. Перечислите как можно больше слов и выражений из корейского языка, которые вы используете в повседневной жизни. В каком значении (на русском языке) вы их используете? Например: "кукса" в значении 'лапша', "чимча" – 'корейское блюдо', "хангук" в значении 'модный' *

14. Напишите примеры фраз, в которых вы используете слова корейского происхождения. Например: "Мы часто едим куксу", "У нас дома нет чимчи". *

15. В каких ситуациях вы используете заимствованные корейские слова? Например: "кукса" – в повседневной жизни, "хангук" – в школе, с одноклассниками, которые понимают корейский язык *

16. Если у заимствованных корейских слов есть русский аналог, почему вы используете именно корейские слова?

17. Перечислите как можно больше слов и выражений из японского языка, которые вы используете в повседневной жизни. В каком значении (на русском языке) вы их используете? Например – "сэмпай" – 'старшеклассник', "каваии/кавайный" в значении 'милый' *

18. Напишите примеры фраз, в которых вы используете слова японского происхождения. Например: "У меня нет сэмпаев", "Я купила несколько кавайных наклеек" *

19. В каких ситуациях вы используете заимствованные японские слова? Например: "сэмпай" – в школе, "каваии/кавайный" ‑ в школе, только с одноклассниками, которые понимают японский язык *

20. Если у заимствованных японских слов есть русский аналог, почему вы используете именно японские слова?

21. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "акиадзи/акиядзи" (вид рыбы) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую в речи только "акиадзи"
   • Использую в речи только "акиядзи"   • Использую в речи оба слова   • Другое: _____

22. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "камикири" (вид рыбы) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую в речи

23. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "ханарэ" (имеет отношение к рыболовству) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую в речи

24. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "хориба" (имеет отношение к рыболовству) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую в речи

25. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "госо-госо-гарэи/госё-гарэи" (вид рыбы) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую только "госо-госо-гарэи"
   • Использую только "госё-гарэи"   • Использую в речи оба слова   • Другое: _____

26. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "байя/банъя"   (имеет отношение к рыболовству) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую в речи только "байя"
   • Использую в речи только "банъя"   • Использую в речи оба слова   • Другое: _____

27. Выберите наиболее подходящий вариант. Слово "якэбоси/якэбуси" (вид рыбы) *
   • Никогда не слышал(-а)   • Слышал(-а), но не знаю, что оно означает
   • Знаю, что оно означает, но не использую в речи   • Использую в речи только "якэбоси"
   • Использую в речи только "якэбуси"   • Использую в речи оба слова   • Другое: _____

28. Если у вас есть идеи, которые не были охвачены вопросами выше, напишите их здесь

29. Если вы согласны принять участие в дальнейших исследованиях по этой теме, напишите свое ФИО и электронную почту

Appendix B: English translation of the questionnaire.

Japanese and Korean loanwords that are used in Sakhalin.

Hello! My name is Valeriya Evseenko, and I am a 4th year student at the University of Tokyo.

The subject of my graduation thesis is connected to the linguistic situation in Sakhalin. In particular, I am researching borrowings from the Japanese and Korean languages that are used in Sakhalin.

I am asking you to take part in my research and answer questions from this survey, which should not take more than 10 minutes. I would also greatly appreciate it if you shared this survey among your relatives, friends, and acquaintances, who live (or used to live) in Sakhalin.

If you have any questions, do not hesitate to contact me through ***@gmail.com.

Thank you for your time!

* mandatory question

1. Your gender *
   • Male   • Female   • Other
2. Your age *
3. Occupation *
   • School student   • University student   • Working   • Retired   • Other: _____
4. Which part of Sakhalin are you from? *
5. Is/was your occupation related to the Japanese language or Japan in general? For example, a school that provides Japanese language classes *
   • Yes   • No   • Other: _____
6. Is/was your occupation connected to the Korean language or Korea in general? For example, a school that provides Korean language classes *
   • Yes   • No   • Other: _____
7. Is/was your occupation related to the fishing industry? *
   • Yes   • No   • Other: _____
8. Have you studied the Japanese or Korean languages? If yes, for how long? *
9. Do you have Japanese or Korean ancestors in your family? *
   • Yes   • No   • Maybe
10. For those who answered "Yes" or "Maybe" to Q.9: Describe the ethnic and linguistic situation in your family in as much detail as possible. For example: father is Russian, mother is Korean, we speak both languages at home.
11. Since when has your family lived in Sakhalin? *
    • My ancestors started living in Sakhalin before the Russo-Japanese war (before 1904)
    • My ancestors started living in Sakhalin when it was Japanese territory (1905–1945)
    • My ancestors started living in Sakhalin after the war (after 1945)
    • Other: _____
12. If you or your family have lived in other areas of Sakhalin, list them

13. Provide as many Korean loanwords and expressions that you use in your everyday life as you can. With what meanings (in Russian) do you use them? For example: "kuksa" meaning 'noodles', "chimcha"——'Korean dish', "hanguk" meaning 'fashionable' *

14. Provide examples of phrases in which you use Korean loanwords. For example: "We often eat kuks*u*", "We don't have chimch*i* at home" *

15. In what situations do you use Korean loanwords? For example: "kuksa"——in everyday life, "hanguk"——at school with classmates who understand Korean

16. If a Korean loanword has an alternative in Russian, why do you use the Korean loanword?

17. Provide as many Japanese loanwords and expressions that you use in your everyday life as you can. With what meanings (in Russian) do you use them? For example: "sempai"——'senior student', "kawaii/kawainyj"——'cute' *

18. Provide examples of phrases in which you use Japanese words. For example: "I don't have any sempa*yev*", "I bought a few kawain*yh* stickers" *

19. In what situations do you use Japanese loanwords? For example: "sempai"——at school, "kawaii/kawajnyj"——at school with classmates who understand Japanese

20. If a Japanese loanword has an alternative in Russian, why do you use the Japanese loanword?

21. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "akiadzi/akiyadzi" (type of fish) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means

   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use only "akiadzi"

   • Use only "akiyadzi"   • Use both words   • Other: _____

22. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "kamikiri" (type of fish) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use

23. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "hanare" (connected to fishing) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use

24. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "horiba" (connected to fishing) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use

25. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "goso-goso-garei/gosyo-garei" (type of fish) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means

   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use only "goso-goso-garei"

   • Use only "gosyo-garei"   • Use both words   • Other: _____

26. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "bajya/ban'ya" (connected to fishing) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means

   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use only "bajya"

   • Use only "ban'ya"   • Use both words   • Other: _____

27. Choose the most appropriate option. Word "yakebosi/yakebusi" (type of fish) *

   • Never heard   • Heard, but don't know what it means

   • Know what it means, but don't use   • Use only "yakebosi"

   • Use only "yakebusi"   • Use both words   • Other: _____

28. If you have any ideas about issues that were not covered by this survey, please write them here.

29. If you agree to cooperate in further research on this subject, please write your full name and e-mail address.