

A Sense of Affinity and the Local Dialect: Fukui City Service-Industry Workers' Perceptions of Fukui Dialect Usage and Implications for Non-Native Japanese Speakers

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Abstract:

In November 2015, the authors published results of an investigation of non-native Japanese speakers' (NNJS) attitudes towards the Fukui dialect. These results suggested that NNJS may need local dialect knowledge in working situations. To follow-up this research, in September 2016, the authors conducted a set of research interviews to investigate the perception service-industry workers' in Fukui City had of their own usage of the local Fukui dialect, particularly with NNJS. Research data was collected using a semi-structured interview method for interviewing five local native Japanese speakers working in the local service industry. In the interviews, participants were asked specifically about their use of the local dialect with customers, coworkers, and acquaintances - both Japan and non-Japanese. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed using constant comparative analysis methods to develop core categories. Five core categories were developed as a result: (1) *sense of affinity*, (2) *assumption of dialectal misunderstanding*, (3) *praise of dialect*, (4) *acceptability of non-native Japanese speaker (NNJS) usage*, and (5) *advantageousness of NNJS usage*. These categories in interpretation, suggest a need at some level of local dialect instruction not only from the Japanese language education community, but the community at large to support NNJS integration into the local community.

Keywords: regional Japanese language education, perceptual dialectology, dialect consciousness, community development, Fukui dialect

1.0 Introduction and Background

Fukui City, located in the northern part of Fukui Prefecture in the Hokuriku area of Japan, is host to nearly 4,000 foreign residents (Fukui Prefectural Government 2015). The vast majority of these residents are non-native Japanese speakers (NNJS). This area has its own dialect – often referred to as the Fukui dialect – with various linguistic characteristics that differ compared to the standard language of Japanese taught in Japanese textbooks, including intonation, grammatical structure, and even vocabulary (Sato 2003; Nagata 2007). It is with this background and their own personal experiences in Japanese language education that the authors first began pursuing the idea of Fukui dialect instruction to NNJS.

To determine the necessity, if any, of local dialect instruction in a Japanese language education context, the authors conducted a series of research interviews with 10 NNJS living in Fukui City to reveal their attitudes towards the Fukui dialect (Hennessy & Kuwabara 2015). This research was based in a perceptual dialectology approach, which is rooted in understanding what nonspecialists believe about a language or dialect, or the folk facts. This understanding is important because as Preston (1999) argues, when there is a lack of data on linguistic folk facts, people in applied fields "will want to know what nonspecialists believe if they plan to intervene successfully." He goes further to say "[t]his is perhaps most important in language teaching" and suggests, through this understanding, "a more intelligent approach to instruction, materials, teacher education... and a number of other applied matters that touch on language diversity may be taken once the folk as well as the scientific facts are known" (Preston 1999). Also, many studies had been done in the field of perceptual dialectology (also referred to as 'dialect consciousness' in the Japan-related literature in English) for the Japanese language among native speakers of Japanese over the years (Maze 1964; Inoue 1992; Preston 1999; Aizawa 2010), but not among NNJS, which added an originality to this research.

The results from this initial research (Hennessy & Kuwabara 2015) suggested that while all NNJS in Fukui do not necessarily hope to speak or even be able to understand the Fukui dialect, a number of NNJS do. Furthermore, those who do wish to know more about the Fukui dialect tended to work in Fukui and at work, experience episodes of miscommunication or no communication due to the dialect barrier. From an emerging themes analysis (Wolcott 1994) of these interviews, the authors concluded that being able to speak or understand the Fukui dialect may provide some *sense of inclusiveness* for NNJS living in Fukui, and that these results may be able to be applied to other areas of local dialect in Japan.

In this earlier research, the authors believed at the onset that, if there was a necessity for local dialect instruction, it would be based in dealings with friends and local community members — not necessarily work colleagues as suggested by the results. These surprising results, though, prompted the research project that is the basis of this paper. Instead of seeing perceptions of the Fukui dialect from a NNJS perspective, in this project, the authors want to understand the language perceptions of local workers who were born and raised in Fukui, work in various service-oriented industries, and have contacts with NNJS in these lines of work. While these participants were interviewed about their beliefs regarding the Fukui dialect in general, the content of this paper will focus on the portion of their interviews which probed into their beliefs and perceptions of their own usage of the Fukui dialect when dealing with NNJS coworkers or customers.

In this paper, the authors will first outline their research methodology, which, beyond perceptual dialectology themes, also utilized semi-structured interview data collection methods and grounded theory constant comparative analysis research methods for developing core categories based on the research data. Then, they will present the core categories construed from the data along with representative details. Finally, the authors will explain their interpretations regarding the significance of these core categories, followed by discussion of the implication and future directions.

2.0 Research Methodology

2.1 Data Collection Method – Semi-Structured Interview

In this research project, the authors utilized semi-structured interviews as a data collection method to obtain data from participants. As the focus of this research is on native speakers' views of their own dialect and its usage in their everyday lives, interviewing in the phenomenological tradition allowed the researcher to understand the "lived experience" of the interviewee (Seidman 2013). Also, interviews, more than questionnaires or other similar written types of research collection methods, allowed the authors the ability to follow-up on any salient points that occurred during the interview process. This follow-up process is essential as not having the ability to follow-up on participants' statements may result in an "undermining of the [data collection] process" (Seidman 2013).

For the purpose of interviewing, the authors constructed an interview protocol with 12 questions – seven demographic in nature and five qualitative in nature. These last five questions were created to be as open-ended as possible to allow the participants freedom to answer openly, but still pointed enough to obtain viable data for the research goals (Seidman 2013).

During the interviews, as much as possible the authors addressed the different issues surrounding rapport in the interview process. Spradley (1979) claims that "developing rapport" with the participant and "eliciting information" from the interviewee are complementary processes. However, Seidman (2013) warns against the assumption that "the more rapport the interviewer can establish with the participant, the better," as too much rapport may lead the participant to relate personal experiences on the interviewer's terms, not their own. The authors attempted to keep balance between these competing views by conducting interviews in neutral places, such as restaurants or coffee shops. Also, they began interviews with topical subjects for relieving apprehension, but once the interview protocol was engaged they attempted to limit all personal input towards the participants' responses and experiences in order to encourage exploration, cooperation, and participation (Spradley 1979).

Five interviews were conducted in Japanese with five participants (see [Section 3.0 The Participants](#)). Interviews ranged from approximately 20 to 30 minutes in length. Interviews were recorded in public locations and all interviews were recorded with an IC recorder. Afterwards, completed interviews were transcribed to allow for utilization of the constant comparative analysis research method described in the next section.

2.2 Data Analysis Method – Constant Comparative Analysis

The authors, in analyzing the interview transcripts, utilized the constant comparative analysis research method developed in grounded theory approach in order to develop and support any *core categories* within the data (Holton et al. 2017). In this research method, the authors developed and associated conceptual labels which displayed ideas of the topical features of the overarching research onto sections of the interview transcripts – in particular for this research, features involving perceptual dialectology and the Fukui dialect (Roulston 2014). This conceptual labelling process began with the development of initial codes within the interview transcripts in the *open coding* stage of constant comparative analysis. Essentially, the researchers first read each transcript thoroughly and gave a descriptive label to incidents based on the utterances of participants. These labels were further refined as they were tested against the labels discovered in other participants' utterances, leading to a saturation of concepts. This process, described as the *selective coding* process, was repeated with the data a number of times using these initial codes to further filter out more overarching codes that are meant to lead to an overall theory (Glaser et al. 1967; Houlton et al. 2017). Through this process, the authors were able build the *core categories* that connected the perspectives of the participants, while at the same time dropping any potential *core categories* that are not universal. For this paper, the researchers will describe the core categories discovered in this process.

It should be noted that the authors stopped short of creating *theoretical codes* as theoretical coding calls for the integration of conceptual label developed through *open coding* and *selective coding* into a working theory, and limited the analysis to the step of *selective coding* as described in grounded theory approach due to the small number of participants involved with this iteration of the research (Thornberg et al. 2014; Houlton et al. 2017). However, even with the utilization of only *selective coding*, we can understand some of the basic concepts as "thematic descriptions," which will allow the authors to work towards any theoretical codes developed in the future and at least be sufficient for the object of this research (Corbin et al. 2008).

3.0 The Participants

For this pilot study, the authors were able to locate five participants. These participants were interviewed using the semi-structured interview approach outlined in [Section 2.1](#). Participants were chosen on the following criteria: (1) raised until at least 18 years of age in Fukui City and (2) worked in a profession in which they have some contact with non-Japanese people. The reason for the condition of being raised in Fukui City until 18 years of age is to ensure the element of "nonmobility" of the participants needed in dialect studies of this nature as described by Chambers and Trudgill (2009). They further state "informants should be nonmobile simply to guarantee that their speech is characteristic of the region in which they live." Though some of the participants were mobile in adulthood, all spent the first 18 years of their lives in Fukui City. This is important as studies in the United States and Canada suggest that the large portion of age-graded changes in speech patterns occur roughly until adulthood, or 18 years of age (Labov 1964; Chambers & Trudgill 2009). Biographical data for participants is listed in Figure 1 below:

Table 1: Basic Biographical Data of Participants

Participant	Gender	Age	Profession	Birthplace	Total Years in Fukui City
A	Female	38	Retail	Fukui City	32
B	Male	31	Restaurant	Fukui City	29
C	Female	31	Retail	Fukui City	30
D	Male	29	Restaurant	Fukui City	27
E	Female	54	Private Instructor	Fukui City	50

4.0 Defined Core Categories

In this section, the authors will outline five apparent core categories surrounding Fukui dialect represented in each participant's data, and discovered through the constant comparative analysis research method described above. Also, the authors will provide representative examples from the interview data of these core categories. The five core categories discovered in this process are: (1) *sense of affinity*, (2) *assumption of dialectal misunderstanding*, (3) *praise of dialect*, (4) *acceptability of non-native Japanese speaker (NNJS) usage*, and (5) *advantageousness of NNJS usage*. Note: all Japanese text was translated by the authors. Also, text inside of 【 】 indicates inferred dialogue.

4.1 Core category 1: *sense of affinity*

The first core category the authors gleaned from the data is *sense of affinity*. All participants mentioned, and for some participants multiple times, the *sense of affinity* that is produced due to use of the Fukui dialect between interlocutors of a conversation. For example, when asked about non-native Japanese speakers' use of Fukui dialect, Participant A responded as below:

- (1) Participant A : 近い感じがする。親近感を持つから。

I feel close [to the person that uses Fukui dialect]. Because there is a sense of affinity.

Also on NNJSs' use of Fukui dialect, Participant B, Participant D and Participant exemplified this core category with the following comments:

- (2) Participant B : 熱心で【福井弁を】喋ってくれているということだから…気を許してもらっているというか。福井がセカンド・ホームみたいな感じに思ってくれている。

Because they are trying hard [to speak Fukui dialect], it's like they are letting their guard down. That they think of Fukui as their second home.

- (3) Participant D : やっぱ親しい。

You know, [those who use Fukui dialect] are close.

- (4) Participant E : 親しみを込めて使う時もあります。

There are times when I use [Fukui dialect] for being affectionate.

Participant A clearly states this *sense of affinity*, but Participant B alludes to it through the use of terms like "気を許す (letting one's guard down)" and "セカンド・ホーム (second home)."

4.2 Core Category 2: *assumption of dialectal misunderstanding*

Another core category developed in the analysis was that of *assumption of dialectal misunderstanding*. This core category, like *sense of affinity*, was seen universally in the data of each participant. All participants believe that Fukui dialect will not be understood by NNJS and so usage of Fukui dialect should be avoided with NNJS. Examples from interviews from participants when asked why they will not use it with non-native Japanese speakers are:

- (5) Participant A : 【外国人と福井弁を使うことが】 どう思うか。どう思うか。使わない。通じない。使わない。

What do I think [about using Fukui dialect with a foreigner]? What do I think? I don't use it. They wouldn't understand. I don't use it.

- (6) Participant D: わざと使わないようには、伝わらないというのを避けたいね。

Why I purposely don't use [Fukui dialect with foreigners] is because I want to avoid not conveying [what I want to say], you know?

- (7) Participant E: そのような【難しい】方言。だから、初めて聞いた人は分からないと思う。

It is that kind of [difficult] dialect. So, I think people who hear it for the first time won't understand it.

4.3 Core Category 3: *praise of dialect*

Also present universally in the interviews of all participants, *praise of dialect* was determined through the positive feelings that participants had towards the Fukui dialect. Such positive feelings are exemplified in the statements below:

- (8) Participant A: 私は好きだけど。

I like [Fukui dialect].

- (9) Participant B: 福井弁可愛いと思う。

I think Fukui dialect is cute.

- (10) Participant C: 他の地域の喋り方よりも、やさしいニュアンスで聞こえる。

Compared to other areas' ways of speaking, [Fukui dialect] has a gentle nuance to it.

It should be noted that, in particularly the cases of Participant A and Participant E, there seems to be elements of embarrassment associated with speaking the Fukui dialect:

- (11) Participant A: ちょっと他と比べて、ださいかもしれない。

Compared to others, [Fukui dialect] is a little uncool.

- (12) Participant D: 都会に行って、福井弁ってこんなに汚いんだと思って、恥ずかしかったです。

When I went to the city [when I was young], I thought, Fukui dialect is this grungy? It was embarrassing.

In contrast, Participant C views Fukui dialect favorably compared to other dialects:

- (13) Participant C : 関西弁は、上から、ものを言うような言い方をするけど、福井弁は、対等に喋るから、優しく感じる。

In Kansai dialect, they talk by saying things from above, but in Fukui dialect, they talk as equals so you feel a gentleness.

So though all participants showed praise of dialect, this praise not so universal once put in contrast with other dialects.

4.4 Core Category 4: *acceptability of NNJS usage*

In *acceptability of NNJS usage*, the participants all universally agree that NNJS should be able to speak in a Fukui dialect form of Japanese in a social context, if they wish. Some examples are highlighted below:

- (14) Participant B : 使ってくれているんだらうなっていうの嬉しい。

[A foreigner] is using [Fukui dialect]? I would be happy.

- (15) Participant D : すごい興味をもってくれるのであれば、福井弁使って、それで福井を好きになってもらえる。

If they really have an interest, they can speak Fukui dialect and then get to like Fukui more.

This contrasts somewhat with what was a potential emerging core category described as *necessity of NNJS usage*, which supposes that knowing the Fukui dialect is a necessity for effective living in Fukui City. Only Participant E suggests this possibility, which is evidenced in (16) of the next section.

4.5 Core Category 5: *advantageousness of NNJS usage*

Advantageousness of NNSJ usage and *acceptability of NNJS usage*, are close in scope, but important enough in difference to separate as core categories. In *advantageousness of NNSJ usage*, all participants suggested that having some knowledge of Fukui dialect, while not necessary, is useful for effective living or working in Fukui as a NNJS. Two examples of this are given. First in example (16), in which Participant E talks about an ease in obtaining life necessities through use of the local dialect, and second in example (17), in which Participant C talks about ease of communication through the use of the Fukui dialect in the workplace.

- (16) Participant E : 日本語を習っている人でも、スーパーに行ったり病院に行ったりしても、福井弁がいっぱい、やっぱり分かっていないといけない。対応できないと思います。孤立してしまうといけないので。

Even people learning Japanese, if they even go to the supermarket or the hospital, there is a lot of Fukui dialect, and you have to understand it. You won't be able to respond, I think. And you can't shut yourself in.

- (17) Participant C : 外国人にとっても、福井弁が分かるとコミュニケーションが取りやすくなるから。お客様とコミュニケーションが取れるようになるんやったら、福井弁をちょっと覚えてもいいかもしれない。

For foreigners, understanding Fukui dialect will make it easier to communicate. So if you want to make it so you can communicate with customers, it might be good to learn a little bit of Fukui dialect.

In the next section, the authors will attempt to interpret what these core categories mean for Japanese language education

5.0 Overall Interpretation of the Core Categories

The overarching sense one gets from the categories of *sense of affinity*, *praise of dialect*, *acceptability of NNJS usage*, and *advantageousness of NNJS usage* is that there are benefits for NNJS to learning at least some aspects of the Fukui dialect according to locals from the area who work in service-oriented industries. *Praise of dialect* shows that the Fukui dialect is something that Fukui locals like. *Acceptability of NNJS usage* shows that NNJS will not be discouraged or looked down on for trying to speak the local dialect. In fact, *advantageousness of NNJS usage* suggests that there maybe lifestyle and even career benefits in being able to understand or use Fukui dialect for any NNJS who may live and work in Fukui.

These three core categories, though, may all tap into the category *sense of affinity*, which is perhaps the most important core category. With *sense of affinity*, there is suggestion that by having some base Fukui dialect, it will allow a NNJS inclusion into the local community that they may not otherwise receive. This is especially meaningful considering the issues surrounding community-building and community integration facing Japan with foreign residents today.

However, the still undiscussed and final core category, *assumption of dialectal misunderstanding*, is in some ways a barrier to achieving this sense of affinity because, when faced with a local NNJS

resident, Japanese Fukui residents seem to tend towards not using the Fukui dialect. This creates somewhat of a paradox for the NNJS in that they may like to integrate more into the local Japanese community, but the local Japanese community is not willing to engage with the NNJS in an affinity-building fashion.

Beyond these main core categories, certain themes that were not universal among all participants, but were prevalent nonetheless also surfaced in the constant comparative analysis. One such emerging category was described by three of the participants and labelled *decline in dialect*. In this category, it is suggested that characteristics of the Fukui dialect are disappearing with successive younger generations, who prefer more and more to speak the standard language over the local dialect. One participant even suggested that the standard dialect is like a "first language" and the Fukui dialect a "second language." Further research needs to be conducted to understand the extent of this phenomenon, but if true then it could have deep implications as action prompted by this research may be overshadowed by the fact that the Fukui dialect is endangered and may cease to exist in the future. This so-called "dialect levelling" is not an unusual phenomenon in the world. Research has also been conducted in dialect levelling in England, which shares some interesting characteristics with Japan in geography and historical variation in dialects (Kerswill and Williams 2002). The Fukui dialect and other regional dialects of Japan could be experiencing similar levelling.

6.0 Discussion

In this research paper, the authors were able to identify five core categories that give insight into how members of the local working community in Fukui feel about NNJS use of the local dialect. Couple Hennessy and Kuwabara's (2015) research showing non-native Japanese speakers lack of a *sense of inclusiveness* with the concept of *sense of affinity* highlighted in this paper, and this suggests that from a Japanese language education perspective, there needs to be local Japanese dialect instruction at some level. There are many forms this may take: the language classroom, workshops integrating local members of the Japanese community with NNJS, or online resources. Which is the best form is a different research problem that must be addressed.

However, to fully engage with the concept of *sense of affinity*, action from the Japanese language education community alone is not sufficient. Action from the local Japanese community in fulfilling this *sense of affinity* through use of the local dialect with non-native Japanese speakers may prove to be beneficial to the community as a whole by encouraging NNJS integration into the local community. And, naturally, NNJS themselves have to take a proactive approach in their own language education if they wish to not only communicate with local residents, but build a *sense of*

affinity with them to allow for further integration into the local community.

This research was limited in scale, only reflecting interviews with five people, and so further research needs to be conducted to understand if these core categories hold across a larger sample of the community. With a larger-scale research effort, actual grounded theory approach theoretical codes leading to a working theory on the necessity of local Japanese dialect acquisition among non-native Japanese speakers may be developed. Even on this smaller scale, though, the core categories presented hint at actions that can be done now to integrate NNJS further into the local Fukui community, which would benefit the community as a whole.

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親近感と方言：サービス業従事者の福井方言使用意識と日本語非母語話者に対する影響

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筆者は2015年11月に日本語非母語話者を対象に福井方言に対する態度について調査を行った結果、就労場面においては非母語話者も方言の知識が必要であることを示唆した。この結果を受けて、筆者は2016年9月に福井市のサービス業に従事する日本語母語話者5名に対して、自身の方言使用、特に非母語話者に対する使用意識について半構造インタビューによる調査を行った。調査では、日本語母語話者、非母語話者の両方の顧客、同僚、知人と話す際の方言使用について質問した。収集されたデータから、継続的比較分析 (constant comparative analysis) によって5つのコアカテゴリーを生成した。(1) 親近感 (2) 方言による誤解の恐れ (3) 方言に対する好意的感情 (4) 非母語話者の方言使用の受け入れ (5) 非母語話者の方言使用の利点。これらのカテゴリーは、言語教育に携わるコミュニティからだけでなく、非母語話者の地域コミュニティへの融合を支える広いコミュニティから、ある一定のレベルの方言教育が必要であることを示唆するものである。

キーワード：地域日本語教育、方言意識、まちづくり、福井方言