



THE UNIVERSITY OF
SYDNEY

Copyright and use of this thesis
This thesis must be used in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

Reproduction of material protected by copyright may be an infringement of copyright and copyright owners may be entitled to take legal action against persons who infringe their copyright.

Section 51 (2) of the Copyright Act permits an authorized officer of a university library or archives to provide a copy (by communication or otherwise) of an unpublished thesis kept in the library or archives, to a person who satisfies the authorized officer that he or she requires the reproduction for the purposes of research or study.

The Copyright Act grants the creator of a work a number of moral rights, specifically the right of attribution, the right against false attribution and the right of integrity.

You may infringe the author's moral rights if you:

- fail to acknowledge the author of this thesis if you quote sections from the work
- attribute this thesis to another author
- subject this thesis to derogatory treatment which may prejudice the author's reputation

For further information contact the University's Copyright Service.
sydney.edu.au/copyright

Emergent Language Shift in Okinawa



THESIS

SUBMITTED TO

The University of Sydney

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

Mark Robert Anderson

Sydney, March 2009

Certification of Authorship/Originality

I, Mark Robert Anderson, certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree or as partial fulfilment of the requirements for a degree. I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis. This research was approved by the University of Sydney Human Ethics Committee (Approval Number 9493).

“When a language disappears, the most intimate aspects of culture can disappear as well: fundamental ways of organising experience into concepts, of relating ideas to each other, of interacting with other people. The more conscious genres of verbal art are usually lost as well: traditional ritual, oratory, myth, legend, and even humour. Speakers commonly remark that when they speak a different language, they say different things and even think different thoughts”.

Dalby 2003: 252

Table of Contents

<i>List of maps, tables and figures</i>	8
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	10
Chapter 1: Introduction	13
1.0 What this thesis is about.....	13
1.1 Overview of the investigation	15
1.1.1 Motivation for study	15
1.1.2 Theoretical model and terminology	16
1.1.3 Qualitative analysis	18
1.1.4 Scope of study and possibilities for future research	19
1.1.5 The concept of “emergence”	20
1.2 Language shift and death	22
1.2.1 What is language shift?.....	23
1.2.2 What is language death?	23
1.2.3 Bilingualism during gradual language shift.....	25
1.2.4 Domains and diglossia.....	26
1.2.5 The significance of intergenerational transmission	27
1.3 The Ryukyuan setting.....	28
1.3.1 Historical background	29
1.3.2 The current status of Ryukyuan languages	35
1.3.3 The relationship between Ryukyuan languages and Japanese	36
1.3.4 A separate language cluster or dialect of Japanese?.....	37
1.3.5 Language classification within the Ryukyu archipelago	40
1.3.6 <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	43
1.3.7 <i>Uchinaa-yamatuguchi</i> and <i>Shin-hōgen</i>	44
1.4 Chapter outline.....	46
1.5 Summary	47
Chapter 2: Literature review	48
2.0 Introduction.....	48
2.1 General observations about the literature.....	49
2.2 Perspectives on language contact phenomena	50
2.2.1 <i>Uchinaa-yamatuguchi</i>	51
2.2.2 The notions of “interdialect” and “interlanguage”.....	55
2.2.3 <i>Shin-hōgen</i>	60

2.2.4 Does the emergence of <i>Shin-hōgen</i> signify language shift reversal?.....	64
2.2.5 Ryukyu Creole.....	67
2.2.6 Code-switching.....	70
2.2.7 Mixed codes.....	79
2.2.8 Split (mixed) languages.....	80
2.3 Perspectives on language shift.....	83
2.3.1 Progressive erasure.....	84
2.3.2 The Gaelic-Arvanitika Model (GAM).....	85
2.3.3 The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS).....	86
2.3.4 The Marked Bilingualism Model (MBM).....	88
2.3.5 New perspectives from the emerging field of language dynamics.....	90
2.3.6 Categorisation of speakers into sociolinguistic subgroups or cohorts.....	92
2.4 Summary.....	95
Chapter 3: Research methods and ethics.....	97
3.0 Introduction.....	97
3.1 Research methods.....	97
3.1.1 The recordings and participants.....	97
3.1.2 Recording method.....	99
3.1.3 Gaining access to the community.....	103
3.1.4 Recording equipment.....	108
3.1.5 Selection and transcription of the recordings.....	108
3.2 Ethical considerations.....	110
3.3 Summary.....	112
Chapter 4: The synchronic dimension.....	113
4.0 Introduction.....	113
4.1 An overview of the subgroups.....	113
4.1.1 Categorisation of non-local participants.....	117
4.1.2 Are there any <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> monolinguals?.....	118
4.1.3 The proficiency continuum of productive bilinguals.....	118
4.2 Narrowing the concept of <i>Uchinaa-yamatuguchi</i>	119
4.3 Analytical methodology.....	127
4.3.1 Defining the constituents of the subgroups' linguistic repertoire.....	128
4.3.2 Determining the extent to which each constituent is used.....	131
4.3.3 Characterising the patterns of language mixing.....	132
4.3.4 How the analysis is presented in this chapter.....	134
4.4 Usage of Japanese by all informants.....	134

4.4.1 Non-standard accentuation	135
4.4.2 Non-standard usage of illocutionary particles	135
4.4.3 Non-standard usage of expressions of modality	140
4.4.4 Non-standard usage of expressions of aspect	144
4.4.5 Non-standard negative verb inflections	146
4.4.6 Non-standard usage of the deictic verbs <i>kuru</i> and <i>iku</i>	147
4.4.7 Non-standard phonetic realisations	148
4.4.8 Intergenerational differences in Japanese constituent	149
4.5 Non-speakers: <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	152
4.5.1 Proportion of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	152
4.5.2 Isolated <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> insertions	153
4.5.3 <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> formulaic expressions and interjections	155
4.5.4 Morphologically Mixed <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	156
4.5.5 Mimicked <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	157
4.5.6 The older generation's view of young people's Mimicked <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	162
4.6 Semi-speakers: <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	166
4.6.1 Proportion of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	168
4.6.2 Culture-specific <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> words and proverbs	169
4.6.3 Hesitation and stumbling in delivery of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> speech	170
4.6.4 Erroneous <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> and misunderstandings	171
4.6.5 <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> use for quotes in a narrative context	175
4.6.6 Semi-speakers' lack of spoken proficiency in <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	178
4.7 Rusty speakers: <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	181
4.7.1 Proportion of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	183
4.7.2 Morphologically Mixed <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	187
4.7.3 Erroneous <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	187
4.7.4 To what extent are rusty speakers lacking in proficiency in <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> ?	188
4.7.5 Words and phrases that commonly appear in <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	199
4.7.6 Split language, mixed code or code-switching?	206
4.7.7 The function of code-switching in quotes and parenthetical remarks	208
4.7.8 Rusty speaker code-switching patterns	211
4.8 Full speakers: <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	214
4.8.1 Proportion of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related language use	216
4.8.2 Split language, mixed code or code-switching?	217
4.8.3 Similarities between the <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> use of full speakers and rusty speakers	219
4.8.4 Differences between the <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> use of full speakers and rusty speakers	222
4.8.5 Full speaker code-switching patterns	223

4.9 Summary	226
Chapter 5: The diachronic dimension	233
5.0 Introduction.....	233
5.1 What the profile shows	234
5.2 The subgroups and participants.....	235
5.2.1 Defining the subgroups.....	235
5.2.2 The participants	237
5.2.3 Treatment of the speech community as homogenous	238
5.2.4 Treatment of the subgroups as internally uniform	239
5.2.5 The assumption that the participants are not anomalies	240
5.3 Parameters.....	240
5.3.1 Child-bearing age	241
5.3.2 Maximum life expectancy	243
5.3.3 Workforce age.....	244
5.4 A provisional profile outlined by the data	244
5.5 The three phases of language shift	246
5.5.1 The displacement phase of Okinawan language shift.....	249
5.5.2 Reasons for the displacement of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> from higher domains	250
5.5.3 The tip phase of Okinawan language shift.....	252
5.5.4 Possible reasons for the rapidity of the tip phase.....	259
5.5.5 The moribund phase of Okinawan language shift	268
5.6 Predicting the lifespan of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	282
5.7 Summary	284
Chapter 6: Conclusion and implications.....	287
6.0 Introduction.....	287
6.1 Summary of findings.....	287
6.1.1 Low-level insertions and high-level code-switching	288
6.1.2 The speech behaviour of the participants	290
6.2 Key contributions.....	294
6.3 Emergent language shift and the future of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> and other endangered languages.....	296
6.3.1 Language shift as an emergent phenomenon	297
6.3.2 Implications for RLS	298
Appendix I. Abbreviations and transcript symbols	306
Appendix II. Transliteration.....	307
Problems with orthography	307

The transliteration system used in this thesis	309
The glottal stop	311
The syllables <i>yi</i> , <i>yee</i> , <i>wu</i> and <i>woo</i>	311
Exclusion of the macron	314
Appendix III. The sounds of Uchinaaguchi	316
Phonemic inventory	316
Syllabaries	325
Appendix IV. Diversity in Ryukyuan vernaculars	330
Phonology	330
Vowels	330
Consonants	332
Accentuation patterns	333
Morphology	334
Vocabulary	335
References	336

List of maps, tables and figures

Maps

<i>Map 1: Ryukyu Archipelago</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Map 2: Ryukyuan language varieties</i>	<i>39</i>

Tables

<i>Table 1: Nagata's (1996) terminology</i>	<i>59</i>
<i>Table 2: Some examples of Shin-hōgen</i>	<i>61</i>
<i>Table 3: The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Table 4: The Marked Bilingualism Model (MBM)</i>	<i>89</i>
<i>Table 5: The participants</i>	<i>98</i>
<i>Table 6: Relationships between the participants</i>	<i>99</i>
<i>Table 7: The participants and their subgroups</i>	<i>114</i>
<i>Table 8: Code-switching vs. borrowing</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>Table 9: Uchinaaguchi-related language use by non-speakers</i>	<i>153</i>
<i>Table 10: Uchinaaguchi-related language use by semi-speakers</i>	<i>168</i>

<i>Table 11: Erroneous Uchinaaguchi use by semi-speakers</i>	181
<i>Table 12: Uchinaaguchi-related language use by rusty speakers</i>	184
<i>Table 13: Uchinaaguchi personal pronouns</i>	200
<i>Table 14: Uchinaaguchi-related language use by full speakers</i>	216
<i>Table 15: Proportion of Uchinaaguchi-related language use for all subgroups</i>	228
<i>Table 16: The participants' repertoire and acquisition</i>	238
<i>Table 17: Changes in mothers' age at childbirth (Japan)</i>	242
<i>Table 18: Changes in Total Fertility Rate (Japan)</i>	243
<i>Table 19: Phonemic inventory – vowels</i>	317
<i>Table 20: Phonemic inventory – consonants</i>	318
<i>Table 21: Syllables in modern Uchinaaguchi</i>	325
<i>Table 22: Sound correspondences with Japanese single moras</i>	327
<i>Table 23: Variation in the development of short vowels</i>	331
<i>Table 24: Variation in the development of vowel sequences</i>	331
<i>Table 25: Variation in morphological development</i>	334

Figures

<i>Figure 1: Ryukyuan language varieties</i>	42
<i>Figure 2: A preliminary profile based on the data from Chapter 4</i>	245
<i>Figure 3: Transition between full speaker and rusty speaker timespans</i>	250
<i>Figure 4: Loss of higher registers during the displacement phase</i>	267
<i>Figure 5: Loss of mother tongue transmission during the tip phase</i>	259
<i>Figure 6: Moribund phase - scenario 1</i>	271
<i>Figure 7: Moribund phase - scenario 2</i>	273
<i>Figure 8: Moribund phase - scenario 3</i>	281
<i>Figure 9: Projected lifespan of Uchinaaguchi</i>	283

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to all of the people who participated directly in my study and allowed me to become part of their lives during my stay in Okinawa. I acknowledge that this endeavour could not have been accomplished without their help and cooperation. Far from being detached from my study, many of the participants went out of their way to give me further assistance in transcribing recordings, expanding my social network, and learning about the Okinawan culture. Despite the brevity of my period of stay in Okinawa, some of the participants have become close friends with whom I maintain regular contact. I have been constantly amazed at the warm, welcoming attitude of the Okinawan people. Sometimes I have felt overwhelmed by their generosity, and it has seemed impossible to return their kindness. For this reason, I feel that it is the least I can do to raise awareness of issues pertaining to language shift in Okinawa through the publication of this thesis.

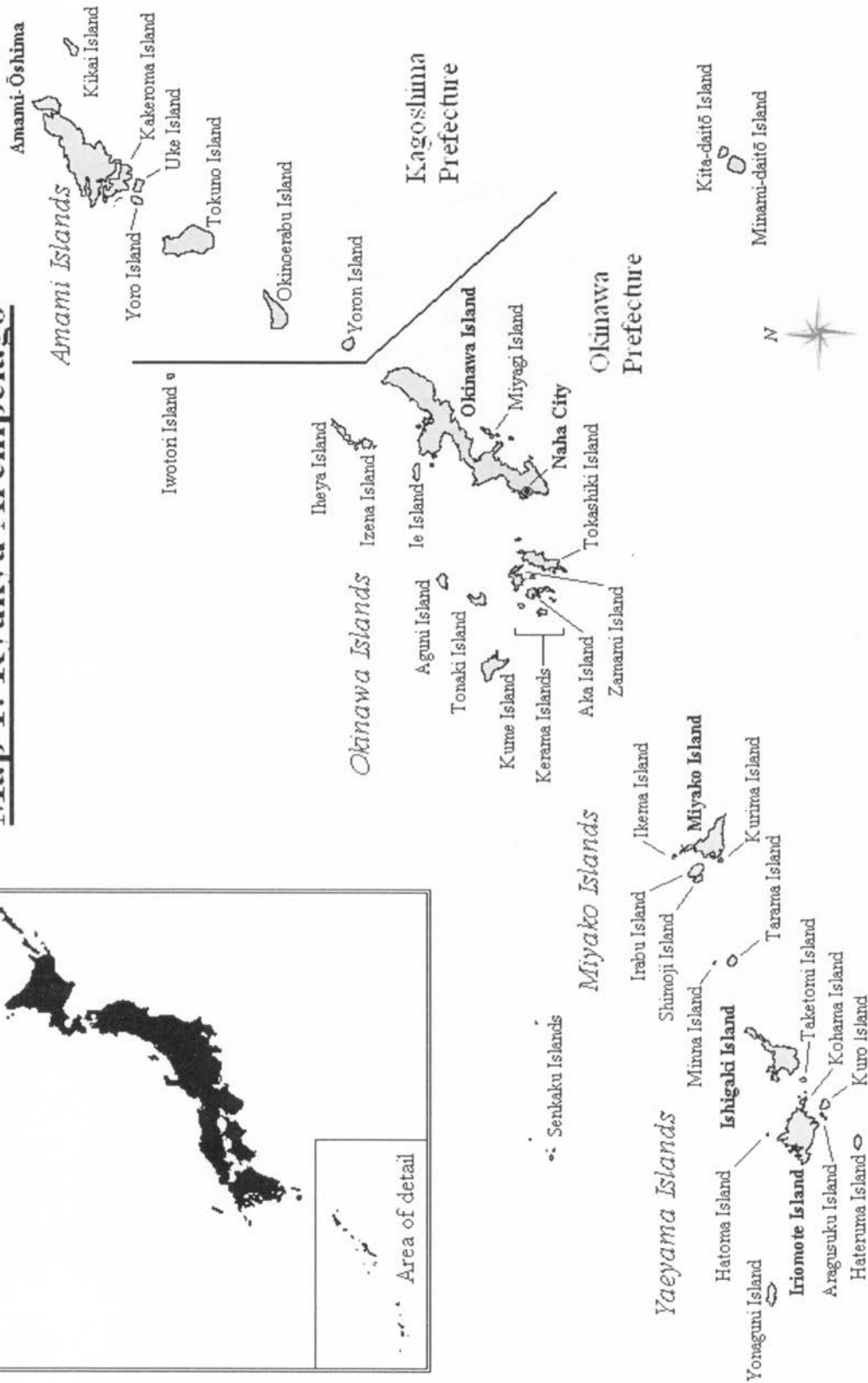
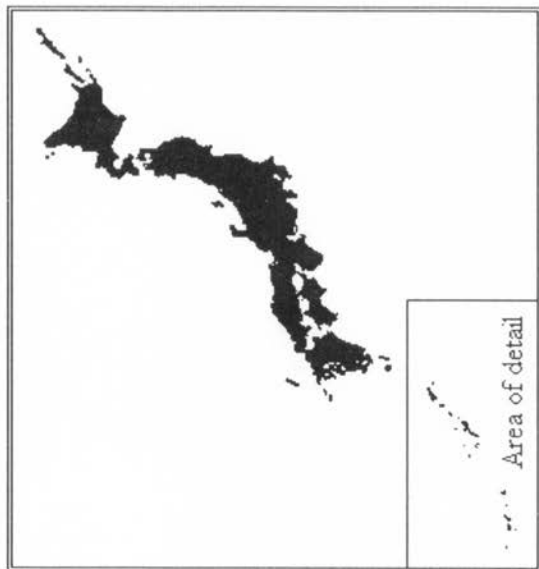
I wish to extend my heartfelt gratitude to those who have supervised my work at the University of Sydney. I say thank you to Dr. Nerida Jarkey, who kindly took the time to read through my work and make invaluable comments, as well as providing support on a personal level. I also wish to express my appreciation for the support provided by Professor Hugh Clarke, who was my supervisor during the time when I was collecting and transcribing field recordings, and my associate supervisor, Dr. Michael Walsh, who gave me useful recommendations for reading material. To Kazumi Ishii I say thank you for being a good friend as well as colleague, and for taking me out for lunch and coffee! Thanks also to Professor John Gibbons, who taught me, through his inspirational lectures, to see the world from a different perspective.

A number of people have contributed to this effort by selflessly offering materials or contacts that aided me in my research. These people are – Masayuki Ōnishi, for giving me access to some of his own research; Hōshin Nakamura for taking the time to show me round his campus and giving me a copy of his book; Dr. Patrick Heinrich from the University of Bochum, for providing me with advice and reading material; Dr. Nicholas Tranter from the University of Sheffield for taking the time to engage me in inspiring discussion by e-mail; Ryūtarō Ishū from the Okinawa Times for publicising my work and for organising permission to use material published on the newspaper's website; Yōko Maeshiro for lending me her personal scrapbook of relevant newspaper articles she had collected; and all members of the “Junsuikai” at the Shuri community centre. My thanks also go to my friends in Sydney and London who have contributed by offering their moral support and guidance over the years, in particular David Robinson, Raymond Gatt, Patricia Carew and Sam Mancuso, and to all of my *Uchinaanchu* friends, in particular Yoneko Matayoshi and Kazuyo Nakamoto for their help in transcribing recordings.

My fieldtrip to Okinawa was partly funded by the Foundation for Endangered Languages. I am very grateful for this financial assistance, as it facilitated the data collection process tremendously.

Finally, I would like to say thank you to my family; I am extremely lucky to have such supportive parents, whose financial generosity and encouragement I have enjoyed from start to finish of this project. A special thank you goes to my brother Paul, who took a genuine interest in my work, and engaged me in stimulating discussion till the early hours whenever our home visits coincided.

Map 1: Ryūkyū Archipelago



Chapter 1: Introduction

1.0 What this thesis is about

This thesis is an investigation into how a dying language is used by its last speakers. The language in question is *Uchinaaguchi* – the original vernacular of a speech community in the city of Naha (which now incorporates the historical capital Shuri), located on Okinawa Island in the Japanese Ryukyu archipelago¹ (see Map 1). In Naha/Shuri, there has been a gradual shift away from *Uchinaaguchi* towards Standard Japanese over the last century or so. *Uchinaaguchi* is no longer being transmitted to younger generations, and older, fluent speakers of the language therefore coexist in the speech community with young people who are monolingual in their own variety of Japanese.

I analyse language shift in Okinawa from both a synchronic and diachronic perspective (hereafter known as “synchronic analysis” and “diachronic analysis”). In the synchronic analysis (discussed in Chapter 4), I attempt to characterise the speech behaviour of various age-related subgroups in the community based on data from audio recordings of natural conversation. I explain how these subgroups differ in terms of their linguistic repertoires and behaviour patterns, paying particular attention to the ways in which they mix *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese on a daily basis. In the diachronic analysis (discussed in Chapter 5), I show how the different subgroups of speakers have emerged over time by illustrating the hypothetical “language lives” of the speakers of each subgroup on a timeline, which represents the process of language shift in Okinawa. I attempt to explain why the speakers in each subgroup have come to use language in a particular way, and

¹ In the vernaculars, this is rendered as *Ruuchuu* or *Duuchuu*. Until the late nineteenth century, the pronunciation in English was based on the Chinese reading of the characters, and variously spelled Luchu, Liukiu, Lew-kew, Loo-choo, Lewchew, etc. (In modern Mandarin pinyin it is spelled Liúqiú).

how their speech behaviour affects that of speakers in other subgroups.

On the basis of my analyses, I conclude that language shift can be viewed as an emergent phenomenon (see Chapter 6.3.1), i.e. that the various behaviours of many individuals on the microlevel (the speakers' language choices²) combine to manifest themselves as a complex system on the macrolevel (societal language shift), under the influence of external factors. Crucially, the categorisation of speakers (the individual agents) into subgroups aids in modelling this complex emergent system. I argue that the concept of emergence may be useful in planning strategies for language revitalisation, since the behaviours of individuals in the speech community can also result in the emergent phenomenon of language shift reversal.

This thesis differs from many other studies of language shift in that its perspective is predominantly speaker-oriented rather than language-oriented. In other words, I emphasise the speakers' role in driving language shift through their language choices, rather than focusing exclusively on the “end result” in terms of the status and structure of the language itself. I therefore treat the language shift process in Fishman's (1965) terms of “who speaks what language to whom and when?” rather than “what happens to the language?”. Woolard (1989: 359) explains the benefits of a speaker-oriented approach thus:

“When we deal with linguistic data as aggregate data, detached from the speakers and instances of

² I use “choice” in the sense of unconscious choice here, since it is a matter for debate whether a speaker's language use constitutes real choice. That debate is beyond the scope of this thesis, and hereafter I use the word “choice”, as used by other linguists such as Fishman (1972), merely as a convenient term meaning the “speech behaviour of individual bilinguals”.

speaking, we often anthropomorphise languages as the principal actors of the sociolinguistic drama. This leads to forceful and often powerfully suggestive generalisations cast in agentivising metaphors: 'languages that are flexible and can adapt may survive longer', or 'the more powerful language drives out the weaker'. If we rephrase findings in terms of what *people* are doing – how they are speaking and what they are accomplishing or trying to accomplish when they are speaking that way (...) – we may find ourselves open to new insights about why such linguistic phenomena occur” (Woolard 1989: 359).

My aim in focusing on a speaker-oriented perspective is not to dismiss the benefits of a language-oriented perspective, but rather to suggest that a combination of both can only deepen our understanding of the Okinawan language shift process.

Central to the discussion is the so-called “intergenerational transmission link” (see Section 1.2.5 for further discussion). This is relevant to a speaker-oriented view of language shift because any speaker's linguistic repertoire and proficiency depend to a large extent on the language(s) he or she acquires during childhood. In other words, the participants in my study use language in the particular way that they do partly because of what was originally transmitted to them as children.

1.1 Overview of the investigation

1.1.1 Motivation for study

The synchronic analysis presented in this study came about as a response to a gap in the literature on language shift in Okinawa. Some scholars (e.g. Matsumori 1995; Osumi 2001) have documented isolated *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases used by certain

subgroups of speakers, but have not discussed exactly how – and to what extent – these are juxtaposed with Japanese in the context of everyday conversation. It is also noticeable that, in previous literature, the terminology relating to language contact phenomena (such as the term “interdialect”, for example) is used in a range of quite different ways. One key objective of the synchronic analysis is therefore to disentangle this terminology and show the detail of how different generations of Okinawans are speaking to each other on a daily basis.

My motivation for including the diachronic analysis is a wish to relate my findings about speech behaviour to the historical course of language shift in a way that focuses on the speakers' perspective. Diachronic analyses of language shift in most of the existing literature track the stages of language decay, but do not attempt to represent the language users themselves on a timeline. Representing subgroups of speakers on a timeline grounds this study in the reality that a language exists through being spoken by its speakers, not as a separate entity that “lives” or “dies” on its own.

Finally, my argument for the adoption of an emergentist perspective stemmed from my perception that there is no general theoretical framework in the existing literature that explicitly ties together the themes of language revitalisation and the speech behaviour of individuals.

1.1.2 Theoretical model and terminology

Most of the small body of Ryukyuanist literature on Okinawan language shift does not attempt to relate findings to the wider literature on language shift and death, and consequently lacks a clear theoretical basis. Matsumori (1995) and Osumi (2001), for

example, do hint at the idea that Okinawan language shift could be analysed by assigning speakers to age-related subgroups based on their speech behaviour, but do not relate this notion to studies on language shift elsewhere. In this thesis, I attempt to relate the Okinawan situation to other case studies from across the world, and draw on the theoretical perspectives offered in the wider literature on language shift.

Two theoretical models in the literature have greatly influenced my view of the phases of language shift and the way in which participants in my study have been allotted to subgroups. One of these is a statement of the phases of bilingualism during gradual language shift, first proposed by Batibo (1992, 2005) and later modified by Ihemere (2007) (for discussion of this model, see Section 2.3.4). This is an appropriate framework for grouping speakers, since it maps closely onto Matsumori's (1995) and Osumi's (2001) findings, but contains more detail about what kind of speech behaviour can be expected from the speakers of each subgroup.

Another model I have used as a framework of reference for this study is Sasse's (1992a) Gaelic-Arvanitika Model (GAM), which in turn was based on two important and groundbreaking case studies from the early 1980s – Dorian's (1981) work on East Sutherland Gaelic, and Tsitsipis' (1981) work on Arvanitika (the Albanian periphery dialect of Greece). Sasse adopts much of the terminology relating to the naming of speaker subgroups originally coined by early works on language obsolescence from the 1980s (such as Dorian's "semi-speaker"). I follow the example of many scholars who have continued to use these terms to the present day.

The profile of Okinawan language shift I present in Chapter 5 is an adaptation of the two

models mentioned above, in that the phases of language shift and the subgroups of speakers it represents are similar. The main difference is that its perspective on language shift is more speaker-oriented than language-oriented.

In my analysis of language contact phenomena in Chapter 4, I exercise caution in asserting my own subjective view of the speaker's psychological motivations for code-switching, and instead focus on the roles of code-switching (in reported speech, reiteration, parenthetical remarks, etc.). In this respect I err on the side of the sequential approach taken by Auer (1984; 1998) in preference to the Markedness Model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993). Nevertheless, I do take on board Myers-Scotton's notion that speakers bring with them to every conversation an awareness of what is marked and unmarked code for that particular situation. Like many linguists involved in analysing the code-switching behaviour of balanced bilinguals in the context of obsolescing languages, I found Myers-Scotton's concept of "code-switching itself as the unmarked choice" a useful framework of reference.

1.1.3 Qualitative analysis

The analysis of the data herein is intentionally qualitative rather than quantitative. Some research of a macro-societal nature has recently been accomplished by Patrick Heinrich (see Heinrich 2007, for example), and this work has been oriented towards large-scale statistical analysis by way of interviews and questionnaires involving a large sample of informants. This has been successful in revealing general patterns of language use and attitudes, and how they correlate with factors such as age, gender and level of education. Motonaga (1994: 256) also used questionnaires to investigate the contexts in which school students use their vernacular, e.g. when telling jokes, when having an argument,

when making fun of someone, and so on. This study also reveals general trends seen from the subjective viewpoint of the speakers themselves. What my own study adds is a more objective micro-interactional perspective on the detail of language use, which can only be captured by analysing accurate transcripts of audio recordings of natural conversation.

The emphasis on qualitative detail does have its drawbacks. Because of the time limits on my fieldwork in Okinawa, and the difficulty experienced in transcribing recordings as a non-native speaker of both the dominant and minority languages in question, I was unable to gather data from a large sample of informants. In spite of this, the body of data I collected is revealing in different ways. With access to good quality transcriptions of long stretches of conversation from one or two typical representatives of each subgroup, I have been able to document the characteristics of their individual language use to a level of detail that is impossible to realise via large-scale, statistical analyses.

1.1.4 Scope of study and possibilities for future research

The results of the synchronic analysis are valuable mainly to linguists interested in sociolinguistic aspects of language contact phenomena in the context of language shift. The results of the diachronic analysis and concluding comments about the emergentist perspective are likely to be of interest to a broader audience of those involved in the fields of language shift theory, language dynamics, historical linguistics and language planning and revitalisation. Both analyses fill a gap in the literature on language shift in the Ryukyu Islands. See Chapter 2 for a full literature review.

The organisation of speakers into subgroups for both the synchronic and diachronic analyses provides a clear framework for further investigation of speech behaviour,

possibly using methods such as statistical analysis on data from a larger sample of informants. In addition, I show how an emergentist perspective coupled with this method of organising data could be applicable to other language shift cases around the world.

1.1.5 The concept of “emergence”

The idea of Emergent Language Shift came about as a logical progression from my fieldwork in Okinawa. As I scrutinised the data I had collected, and considered my general observations in the field, it became clear that there was much to be learnt from a micro-interactional approach to the study of language shift. I began to notice similarities between the language shift process and other complex systems with emergent properties. In this subsection, I explain the concept of emergence and its relevance to language shift.

Emergence is a process by which the cumulative effect of many microscopic interactions manifests itself as a complex macroscopic phenomenon, such as a flock of birds, or a shoal of fish. The term “emergence” was coined by pioneering psychologist G. H. Lewes (1875). The concept is often used as an approach to the study of certain phenomena in physics, for example when the behaviour of gases is analysed on the microlevel of individual molecules. This perspective has shed light on phenomena such as storm systems, which can be viewed – and to a certain extent predicted – on the macrolevel, but can be understood more deeply by studying the behaviour of water molecules as they interact with each other under the influence of various external factors such as temperature and pressure, which cannot themselves predict the behaviour of the storm.

The field of molecular dynamics has become generalised to a number of fields over the years. The same perspective has recently been used in economics to explain large-scale economic fluctuations by accounting for the behaviour and psychology of individual

traders (these are modelled as “agents”) in response to external factors (Farmer 2008; Buchanan 2008).

In biology, the spread of viruses may be viewed from a macrolevel or microlevel perspective. A disease may be thought of as an entity, which may spread throughout a community or between communities. The pattern of an epidemic may be traced by collecting data on a large scale, and general observations may be made about what kind of societies are most at risk, for example. On the other hand, one can gain a fuller understanding of the disease by viewing the epidemic as an emergent phenomenon, and learning about how the virus works on a molecular level, such as its composition, how it is transmitted to the body, and how it attacks cells. With this understanding gained from an additional perspective, it may then be possible to medicate or immunise individuals, potentially containing – or even eradicating – the virus on a societal level.

The concept of emergence is not a new one to linguistics, particularly in relation to language change (see for example Keller 1994). The literature on emergence in language change has tended to focus on feature diffusion, but it is also relevant in the developing field of language dynamics mentioned in Chapter 2.3.5. The term has rarely been applied specifically to language shift.

The theory of emergence is relevant to language shift for two main reasons. Firstly, the study of language shift may be approached from both the top down and bottom up. Each approach is necessary to understand the process, and if one perspective is taken without consideration of the other, the phenomenon can seem baffling and sometimes counter-intuitive. Secondly, the language shift process illustrates the unpredictability of emergent behaviour. The number of interactions between components of a system increases combinatorially with the number of components, thus potentially allowing for many new

subtle types of behaviour to emerge. This aspect of emergence in language shift may be why speakers of a language themselves often do not realise their language is in danger until it is too late.

In Chapter 6.3.2, I conclude that the concept of emergence is potentially useful for people involved in RLS (Reversing Language Shift) efforts. Fishman's (1991) recommendations for would-be RLSers and the findings of RLS case studies are generally expressed in macroscopic terms. It is perhaps for this reason that no scholar has yet written a “manual” for RLS, which would provide RLSers with clear instructions as to how to set about saving a language by prioritising and directing resources effectively. To date, the RLSer has had to rely on isolated reports of the effectiveness of certain RLS activities in the field, for example the Maori language crèches in New Zealand.

My involvement with individuals in the Naha/Shuri communities enabled me to see them as agents who each interact in a way that brings about a high-level, emergent phenomenon of language shift. I was able to see that this societal phenomenon was then feeding on its own momentum, as its effect altered the perceived status of the language, which in turn prompted individual agents to alter their behaviour. This is a complex process, which is not fully explored in the literature, and my emergentist perspective has developed in response to this lacuna in the existing research on language shift.

1.2 Language shift and death

This section explains some general concepts and terminology relating to language shift, language death and bilingualism.

1.2.1 What is language shift?

The term “language shift” is used to refer to the process of change that takes place when a language of a prestige culture gradually displaces that of a weaker culture over time. That is to say, more and more speakers of the weaker language, for whatever reason, abandon their language and adopt the prestige language instead. This creates a situation of unstable bilingualism in the speech community. Unless drastic measures are taken to reverse the process of language shift, sooner or later the abandoned language dies. This process of abandonment of one language and adoption of another has prompted linguists to use the terms “abandoned language” and “target language”. I follow the example of Sasse (1992a, 1992b) in using this already established terminology.

1.2.2 What is language death?

A language is usually said to die when the last speaker of that language dies³. This metaphor only goes so far in explaining what actually happens to a language when it disappears. Many scholars discuss languages as though they are independent entities divorced from their speakers, and one often reads statements in the literature such as “language X died and was replaced by language Y”. Others take the analogy further and give the impression that languages themselves compete and oust each other in a Darwinian scenario of “survival of the fittest” (for example Schulze & Stauffer 2007). Of course, this is only one way of viewing language shift, and this perspective is not necessarily a useful one for all studies of language. In some cases it helps to remember that it is not the languages themselves that do anything, but the language choices made by their speakers that result in change. This perspective lays emphasis on the speakers, and takes the view that “the speakers of language X cease to use their language and use

³ It could also be argued that a language dies when it ceases to be used in regular conversation (Sasse 1992a: 18).

language Y instead”. Despite the tendency of some scholars to over-abstract the concept, the metaphor of “death” is a convenient one, and will be used here in preference to “disappearance” or “loss” since those terms do not convey the same sense of finality⁴.

Different types of language death have been identified. Aitchison (1991), extends the “death” metaphor, and distinguishes between “language suicide” and “language murder”. Other scholars explain different types of death in terms of the relative rapidity of change due to the social circumstances surrounding the disappearance of the language. Cambell and Muntzel (1989: 182-6), for example, describe four possible scenarios: sudden death, radical death, gradual death and bottom-to-top death. Sudden death occurs when a language ceases to be spoken because a whole speech community has been wiped out by genocide, famine, natural disaster etc. (as in the case of Tasmanian). Radical death also describes the end result of a very rapid type of language shift process which occurs under circumstances such as extreme political oppression, for example when speakers risk being killed if they are caught using their language. In this situation, speakers quickly abandon their language and use the dominant language exclusively. Gradual death is a term for what happens to a language when the language shift process is much less rapid. In this case, speakers of an abandoned language use their language in fewer and fewer situations, leaving the language somewhat impoverished, particularly in lexical terms. More and more speakers choose not to pass their language on to the younger generations, until eventually there are no speakers left and the language dies. Bottom-to-top death

⁴ I appreciate Heinrich’s (pers. comm.) comment on the issue of “finality”, i.e. that the language ecologist school has “convincingly dismissed this view of finality, since languages no longer used still represent a resource on which speakers of other languages can draw”. I presume he means oral/written literature and/or substrate traces here. First, I would argue that cultural continuity through literature is different to – and indeed secondary to – cultural continuity through everyday spoken language. Secondly, the use of a few items of substrate vocabulary from such a language hardly constitutes continuity of language-in-culture, but is rather a case of taking language out of its original context and embedding it in another. Taking the “death” metaphor even further, it is possible to continue to use the ideas or even the internal organs of a dead person, and thus one can say that the dead person continues to be a “resource” for the living, but one cannot claim that that person is not dead.

describes a situation where a language becomes restricted to ceremonial usage (as in the case of some South American languages).

Note that the four types of language death identified by Campbell and Muntzel (1989) are not separated by clear boundaries. The Ryukyuan case, for example, could be considered to fulfil some of the criteria for more than one type. Over one quarter of all speakers of Ryukyuan languages were killed during the Pacific War (Heinrich 2005a: 5), no doubt leaving the remaining speakers of some varieties with a significantly depleted network of potential interlocutors. Also, over the last few decades there has been a fair degree of political pressure to shift languages. Nevertheless, of the four types of language death, the one that is probably most applicable in the Ryukyuan case is “gradual death”. In fact, most of the documented cases of language shift involve languages that are embarking on a gradual course towards extinction (Jones & Singh 2005). One of the findings of this thesis is that, in Okinawa, unlike in some other places in the world where bilingualism stabilises for more than one generation (e.g. French-speaking Canada), each generation uses language in a very different way to the last, with the cumulative effect that each stage of societal language shift has occurred with the emergence of each new generation of speakers born into the community.

1.2.3 Bilingualism during gradual language shift

The process of shift from one language to another necessarily involves some degree of societal bilingualism. The term “bilingualism” can refer to the linguistic repertoire of individuals or of whole societies. When used in reference to bilingual people, the term can have many different nuances. An “elite bilingual”, for instance, is someone who has learnt a second (usually major) language in addition to his/her mother tongue, perhaps in order to increase opportunities for employment. A “receptive bilingual” is someone who

can understand a conversation in his/her second language, but has very limited productive proficiency in the spoken language. In this thesis, the term “bilingual” is used, in its nominal sense, to refer to somebody who has some degree of productive or receptive proficiency in two languages. In its adjectival sense, the term is used here as a descriptive attribute of a bilingual person or a community made up (in full or in large part) of bilingual people.

There is some debate in the literature as to whether there can be such a thing as stable bilingualism in a society – that is, a society in which two or more languages can coexist indefinitely. Societal bilingualism appears to exist in many different forms, depending on how the language use of a community has developed over time. In many communities, language varieties are considered to differ in terms of their prestige, particularly when the languages of indigenous minorities are involved, for example in the case of Australian indigenous languages versus English. On the other hand, instances of language contact involving two major world languages are less clear-cut. The case of English and French in Canada is one such example (Bourhis 2001).

1.2.4 Domains and diglossia

Bilinguals often speak different languages depending on the social situation and interlocutor. Fishman (1964, 1965, 1968) calls these settings “domains”, e.g. home, media, workplace. Societal bilingualism that reserves different language varieties for different domains is called “diglossia”⁵. The concept of diglossia was introduced in Ferguson (1959) and expanded in Fishman (1967, 1972). In a situation where one language is threatened by another, more powerful language, the two languages may be

⁵ Here, I use the terms in a way that emphasises the relationship between diglossia and domain analysis, as suggested in Fasold (1984).

able to coexist without endangerment if their domains of use are kept separate through careful language planning. When such planning is absent or impossible to implement, however, language shift inevitably occurs, and the target language progressively encroaches on each domain in which the abandoned language had previously been used. Language use in more formal domains such as government and the media is the first to change, followed by the workplace, and eventually the “home-family-neighbourhood” as defined by Fishman (1991). When a community reaches the final stages of language shift, it is said to be in a state of “bilingualism without diglossia” (Fishman 1967), i.e. there are no domains left for the native language to occupy.

1.2.5 The significance of intergenerational transmission

Any particular language is acquired as a mother tongue via intergenerational transmission, whereby children imitate the speech of the adults who raise them during their early years. This intergenerational link is vital to the survival of a language, so the domain of home-family-neighbourhood is a key factor in language shift. Parents who are bilingual in a minority language and a prestige language may choose to speak only the prestige language to their children. This can happen, for example, if parents see it as beneficial to their children for economic reasons, or if they are forced to disown their language. Without exposure to the minority language at home or in the community, the prestige language becomes their children's mother tongue.

An alternative scenario is where children do not acquire productive skills in the minority language even though their parents speak it to them at home. This may occur if the language is not sufficiently reinforced outside the home domain. In this case, children may acquire receptive skills in the language, as well as perhaps some productive skills, but will not be able to speak it well enough to pass it on to their children.

As a result of either of these scenarios, the link with the language of the children's ancestors is broken. After this link has been broken, the language survives for a while in a so-called “moribund” state (Crystal 2000: 20; Krauss 1992: 4), but when the last speakers die, they take their language with them. For further discussion of the intergenerational transmission link and moribundity, see Chapter 5.

Now that the general concepts and terminology relating to language shift and death have been introduced, let us now turn to the particular case of language shift in the Ryukyu Islands.

1.3 The Ryukyuan setting

The Ryukyu Archipelago is situated roughly southwest of the Japanese mainland, and forms a long chain of islands extending almost to Taiwan. The main island groups are Amami and Okinawa to the northeast, constituting the Amami-Okinawa group (Inner Ryukyus), and Miyako and Yaeyama (including Yonaguni Island) to the southwest, constituting the Sakishima group (Outer Ryukyus). The Ryukyus once constituted a separate kingdom, but are now part of Japan. The most urbanised area in Okinawa Prefecture is the southern part of Okinawa Island, and it is from the prefectural capital Naha (and the historical capital Shuri which has been part of Naha since 1954), situated in this urbanised zone, that the data for this thesis were collected. Map 1 shows the location of Naha city and the Ryukyuan islands and island groups.

This section focuses specifically on the Ryukyuan context. The themes discussed are mainly historically oriented in the first portion (Sections 1.3.1 to 1.3.2) and

geographically oriented in the second portion (Sections 1.3.3 to 1.3.7). The first, historical portion begins with a short history of the Ryukyu Islands, which sheds light on how the language shift process was set in motion. This is followed by a brief assessment of the present status of the Ryukyuan varieties.

The purpose of the second, geographical portion is to clarify which particular Ryukyuan variety is under consideration in this thesis, and to put that variety in its linguistic context. As the reader progresses through Sections 1.3.3 to 1.3.7, the discussion becomes more and more geographically precise. I begin the discussion with an overview of how the Ryukyuan languages relate to Japanese. Then I focus on the varieties within the boundaries of the Ryukyu archipelago. Finally, in last two sections, I provide some background information on the terminology relating to the particular varieties spoken in the area where data collection for this thesis took place. There is some debate about what terminology is appropriate in relation to language in the Ryukyus, and usage depends largely on the personal viewpoint of the scholar. This debate is discussed in Chapter 2.2, so I have chosen to include in Chapter 1 an explanation of some of the Ryukyu-specific terminology used throughout the thesis.

1.3.1 Historical background

Until the twelfth century, Okinawans lived in small, isolated communities, and this may be the reason why there is such diversity in the dialects (Osumi 2001: 71). During the twelfth century, regional groups began to jostle for power and economic influence, and by the mid-fourteenth century, clan chiefs had divided the islands into three regions. Each aimed to establish a tributary relationship with the Chinese Ming dynasty. The first dynasty of the Okinawan nation-state emerged in 1429. Shuri – the capital city on

Okinawa Island – became the centre of the Ryukyu Kingdom, and successive dynasties maintained trade relations with China and parts of Southeast Asia.

In 1609, the Shimazu clan of Satsuma from the Japanese island of Kyūshū sent an army into the Inner Ryukyu Islands, and colonised an area extending from Amami-Ōshima to Yoron Island (see Map 1). Although Ryukyans were subjected to severe restrictions and high taxes for the next 250 years, the nation-state of the Ryukyu Kingdom remained intact until the Meiji Period began in the late nineteenth century (Matsumori 1995: 21). It was not contact with mainland Japan itself that would spark the decline of the vernaculars, but the aggressive policies of the Meiji government in its drive for unification and modernism.

In 1871, the Meiji government began their drive towards formation of a Japanese nation-state by abolishing the clan system of the Edo Shogunate, and lifting travel restrictions (Carroll 2001: 8). In the following year, universal education systems were established as a means to spread Standard Japanese. The government then announced publicly that it was abolishing the Ryukyu Kingdom, in a unilateral act euphemistically called the *Ryūkyū Shobun* (Ryukyu Disposition) (Rabson 1996). In 1879, the last Ryukyuan king, Sho Tai, was forcibly exiled to Tokyo, and Okinawa was made a prefecture of Japan (Rabson 1996). The Yaeyama, Miyako and Okinawa island groups became Okinawa Prefecture, whilst the Amami group came under the jurisdiction of Kagoshima Prefecture in Kyūshū (see Map 1).

What followed was a period which linguists Hokama (1970) and Shinzato (1991) describe as “top-down assimilation”. As the name implies, officials were drafted in from

mainland Japan, much to the resentment of the Ryukyuan people. This period lasted until 1895. At this time, most Ryukyuan speakers spoke only their local vernacular and perhaps also a regional standard and/or the Shuri dialect⁶. Consequently, the government considered rapid language standardisation to be a priority, and a vital part of its drive to build a unified, modern nation-state under direct rule from Tokyo⁷. Under this policy, the Shuri dialect was ousted as the official, regional prestige language, and the language variety spoken in Tokyo⁸ was promulgated as the *futsūgo* (common language), and after 1935 as *hyōjungo* (standard language).

There were a number of factors, other than political ones, contributing to the rapid decline of the vernaculars and the popularisation of Standard Japanese in the following decades. Mass media and communication with people from the mainland brought the Japanese language into the everyday lives of Okinawans (Osumi 2001: 71). Rapid industrialisation and economic growth in the cities caused an outflow of population from rural areas to the major cities of Okinawa and mainland Japan in search of work. In order to increase the chance of gaining employment, it was necessary to become fluent in Standard Japanese. The speech behaviour of Okinawans changed to the extent that vernacular-speaking communities became predominantly bilingual ones within a relatively short period of time (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the time frame of language shift in the Okinawan case).

⁶ It is widely assumed that the Shuri dialect functioned as a lingua franca in the pre-Meiji Ryukyu Kingdom. According to Heinrich (pers. comm.), however, since the Ryukyu Kingdom was a feudal society at that time, there was no need for a lingua franca for the whole archipelago and only a small administrative elite comprising officials used the Shuri dialect in islands other than Okinawa Island.

⁷ Japanese language spread campaigns have been depicted and analysed by other scholars, e.g. Heinrich (2004, 2005a), Itani (2006) and Kondō (2006). A debate about the (in)appropriateness of these measures may be found in Clarke (1997).

⁸ The Tokyo variety spoken by the upper middle class had functioned as a lingua franca in mainland Japan since the capital moved from Kyoto to Edo (present-day Tokyo) in the seventeenth century (Carroll 2001: 7).

Far from being opposed to standardisation, the Okinawan government took a positive attitude towards the policies imposed by Tokyo, and was the first of all the regional governments to adopt the official slogan of *futsūgo* (common language), which it linked to modernisation and economic betterment. The regional dialects were actively stigmatised, leading to what Shibata (1958) termed a *hōgen konpurekkusu* (dialect complex). These psychological factors and the link between language use and self-esteem on the part of speakers have been particularly important in the decline of the Ryukyuan vernaculars, given that conformity to the in-group is highly valued in Japanese society (Carroll 2001: 8) (the issue of in-group conformity is dealt with in Chapter 5.5.4).

1895 saw China defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War. This marked the beginning of a period of “bottom-up assimilation”, which lasted until 1937. During this period, ordinary Okinawans (i.e. those not involved in administration or education) embraced the culture and lifestyle of mainland Japan in preference to those of China. This openness to mainland culture included language use, and Basil Hall Chamberlain's influential (1895) *Grammar and Dictionary of the Luchuan Language*, showing a genealogical relationship between the Japanese and Ryukyuan languages, was embraced as evidence of shared ethnicity (Rabson 1996). People from rural villages were particularly likely to emphasise the importance of speaking Standard Japanese because of a perceived need to participate in a wider society without being subject to prejudice and ridicule (Carroll 2001: 10). Most of all, Okinawans did not want to be identified as “foreign”, and resented being compared to the people in Japan's colonies, such as Taiwan and Korea. As the *Ryukyu Shimpo* (one of the two daily newspapers that still exist today) insisted in April 1903: “To line up Okinawans with Taiwanese barbarians [*seiban*] and Hokkaido Ainu is to view Okinawans, who are truly Japanese, as one of these. No matter how insensitive

Okinawans may be, we can never put up with this kind of humiliation” (Rabson 1996).

The combined effects of both top-down and bottom-up assimilation have proven catastrophic for the Ryukyuan vernaculars. The negative image of the vernaculars was promoted over the last century to the extent that the Okinawan people generally favoured the shift towards linguistic standardisation, and equated it with modernisation and optimism for the future. The vernaculars came to be viewed as backward and old-fashioned. This general view is illustrated by the so-called *hōgen ronsō* (dialect dispute) of 1940. In that year, members of the *Nihon Mingei Kyōkai* (Japan Ethno-Cultural Association) had expressed concern over the decline of the vernaculars and associated culture. This issue was taken up by the press, and a number of articles written by local people expressed support for the promotion of Standard Japanese (Okinawa-ken kyōiku iinkai 1976: 822).

One factor contributing to the decline of vernacular use in people’s homes was the increased rate of exogamy. Whereas previously Okinawans tended to marry someone from their own or neighbouring villages, it became common for people to marry someone from another island, or the Japanese mainland. This meant that the language used at home tended to be Japanese, albeit a local variant thereof, for which the locals coined the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (Okinawan Japanese) (see Section 1.3.7 and discussion in Chapters 2.2.1 and 4.2.). Consequently, children had little exposure to the vernaculars, and were therefore unable to acquire them at the crucial early stages of language development.

At school, children were expected to speak Japanese both in the classrooms and in the

playground, and were punished if they used their local dialect. Offenders had to wear a wooden penalty plate called a *hōgen fuda* (dialect tag) round their neck until they found another child using their local dialect, whereupon the dialect tag could be passed on. The child wearing the tag at the end of the day suffered a punishment such as reduction of grades (Shinzato 1963). The wearing of the tag was humiliating in itself, and it ensured that the negative image of vernaculars implanted itself into the minds of children from an early age. This punishment was similar to those employed in other countries, such as the Breton wooden shoe. It was one of the most important factors in the creation of a negative image of Ryukyuan vernaculars in the first half of the twentieth century. The *hōgen fuda* was eventually abolished, but its use is thought to have continued until after the end of World War II (Matsumori 1995: 32). Osumi (2001: 72) reports that “this negative image of the vernacular languages was further exacerbated during World War II, when it was rumoured that people who used Okinawan languages could be shot by Japanese soldiers, who might take them for spies speaking an unintelligible language”.

After the war, Okinawa was occupied by the United States, and a new period of island history began. The US occupation lasted until the islands reverted to Japan in 1972. Rabson (1996) states that, in order to prolong the occupation, “military intelligence and propaganda agencies, such as the Army's Counter-Intelligence Corps and Public Relations Section, embarked on a vigorous campaign to convince Okinawans that they were not Japanese” but that the effect was different to the Meiji government’s campaign in that “no 'bottom-up consolidation' response was forthcoming among Okinawans to this misguided undertaking, which expended millions of American taxpayer dollars” (Rabson 1996). However, the majority of Okinawans “insisted that they were Japanese, easily seeing through the 'Ryukyu-isation' campaign as a propaganda ploy to prolong the American military occupation” (Rabson 1996). Thus many Okinawans at that time tended

to express a Japanese identity through the medium of the Japanese language rather than using their vernaculars (Matsumori 1995: 33).

Towards the end of the twentieth century, attitudes towards local language varieties began to change, and language diversity came to be viewed more positively. This was due in part to the emergence of the Japanese cultural concept of *furusato* (hometown) in the early 1980s. Portrayed through literature and the media, this new concept allowed one to express “Japaneseness” through both a local and national identity (Carroll 2001: 17). This change in attitude was the catalyst for a so-called “dialect revival” and the resulting popularity of events such as the hometown song festival and speech contests (Carroll 2001: 19).

Since around the turn of the millennium, there appears to have been an overall increase in the Ryukyuan people’s self-esteem, and Osumi claims that “this reevaluation of Okinawan culture has been a factor in the development of new forms of expression by Okinawan youth” (Osumi 2001: 69). See Section 1.3.7 and discussions of these expressions in Chapters 2.2.3 and 4.5.4.

1.3.2 The current status of Ryukyuan languages

The Meiji government’s assimilation policy and the American postwar military occupation have created a power imbalance, which has completely undermined the ability of the Ryukyuan people to attain self-determination and self-regulation. Consequently, since the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth, the Ryukyuan languages have been gradually disappearing and are being replaced by Japanese. Today they are mostly moribund languages. Young people in the islands are brought up as monolinguals

in Japanese, and although they use some vernacular words and set phrases, they are not proficient enough to hold a conversation in any vernacular variety. Heinrich (2005a: 6) states that “in most cases, people born after 1950 no longer speak Ryukyuan languages, particularly those living on Okinawa, the main island”. Many Okinawans aged over fifty can – and do – code-switch freely and frequently in everyday informal conversation with members of their own generation (see Chapter 4.7 for further discussion of this code-switching behaviour). Younger Okinawans in their teens and twenties, on the other hand, are likely only to use a few words of *Uchinaaguchi*. This very different use of language amongst separate subgroups is characterised in detail in Chapter 4.

Japanese has now taken over the role of the vernaculars in all domains, including that of the home-family-neighbourhood. Having lost the intergenerational transmission link, the Ryukyuan languages are now at stage seven of Fishman's (1991) eight-stage model, which he calls the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). Some of the dialects of outlying islands may already have progressed to stage eight, by which time the language is spoken by a small number of elderly people. For an explanation of this model, see Chapter 2.3.3.

1.3.3 The relationship between Ryukyuan languages and Japanese

It is commonly agreed that Ryukyuan language cluster and Japanese constitute two genetically related linguistic branches deriving from the same proto-language. This hypothesis is based on sound correspondences between Archaic Ryukyuan and Proto-Japanese, which were lost by the time the first major literary works such as the *Kojiki* and *Man-yōshū* appeared in mainland Japan⁹. Most scholars now agree that the Ryukyuan

⁹ The details of these sound changes are beyond the scope of this thesis. For an explanation, see Matsumori (1995: 23-25).

varieties and Japanese diverged sometime before the eighth century. The exact date is still unknown, but Hattori (1968) suggested it to be about 1,450 years ago.

1.3.4 A separate language cluster or dialect of Japanese?

The Ryukyuan varieties have long been categorised as dialects of Japanese, particularly by Japanese linguists who follow the conventions of Japanese national (identity) linguistics (*kokugogaku*), which is strongly influenced by the nationalistic ideology of the Meiji era. This view of the Ryukyuan varieties as “dialects” maintains the idea of a monolingual Japanese nation. Kloss (1967) refers to this politically motivated process as “dialectisation”. Few sources go so far as to state clearly that the Ryukyuan varieties constitute a separate language cluster from mainland Japanese. Even Shibatani (1990) only mentions Ryukyuan varieties briefly in his publication *The Languages of Japan*, and includes his discussion in a chapter on “dialects”. At one stage, he does remark that, from a historical perspective, “the Ryukyuan dialects can be considered as constituting an independent language”, but it is somewhat surprising that his judgement is not more forthright considering the title of his book.

Many non-academics also refer to the vernaculars as “dialects”, or *hōgen* (the Standard Japanese word for ‘dialect’). *Hōgen* in this sense usually means ‘dialect of Japanese’ as opposed to ‘dialect of Ryukyuan’. This issue will be revisited in Chapter 2.2.2.

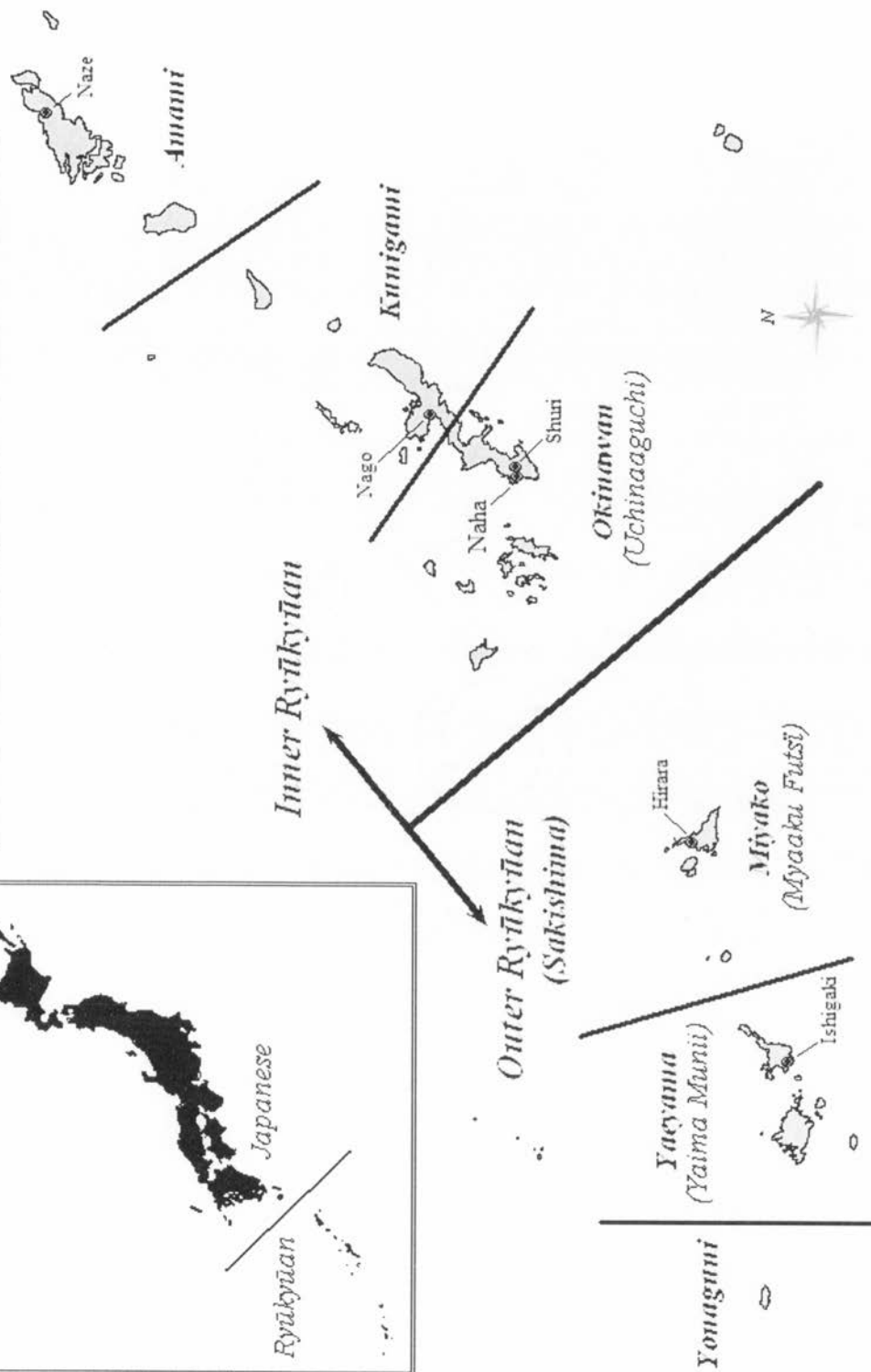
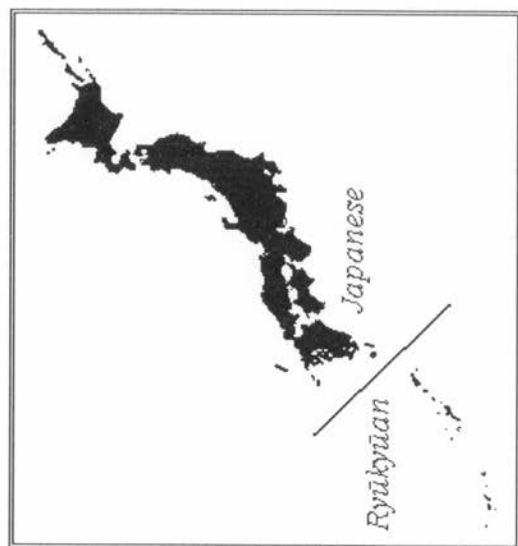
Other sources separate the Ryukyuan varieties from Japanese more clearly, and some even convey the extent of linguistic diversity within the Ryukyus by recognising a number of separate languages within the archipelago. A good example of this is Gordon's (2005) *Ethnologue*, which contains information on the world's lesser-known languages. According to Gordon, the “Japanese language family” is divided into no fewer than 15

languages (including Japanese Sign Language), eleven of which are Ryukyuan. More recently, in 2009, UNESCO recognised six languages of the Ryukyu Islands in the third edition of its language atlas (Moseley (Editor in Chief) 2009).

Whatever one decides to call the Ryukyuan varieties, the fact remains that they are all unintelligible to people from mainland Japan, and the difference between the Ryukyuan varieties and Standard Japanese is said to be rather like the difference between English and German (Hokama 1977). On this basis, the Ryukyuan varieties will be defined as separate from Japanese for the purpose of this thesis. Furthermore, the Ryukyuan varieties will not be considered as a single Ryukyuan language separated into dialects, but rather as a cluster of mutually unintelligible languages¹⁰.

¹⁰ Some other terms which have been applied to the Ryukyuan language cluster are the Standard Japanese term *Ryūkyūgo* 'Ryukyuan language(s)', the vernacular term *Shimakutuba* 'hometown/local community language(s)', and the Chinese-derived English term 'Luchuan'.

Map 2: Ryūkyūan Language Varieties



1.3.5 Language classification within the Ryukyu archipelago

The vernaculars spoken in the Ryukyu archipelago are extremely diverse¹¹. Indeed, the variation is so great that it is often compared to dialectal differences in mainland Japan, where there is a dialect continuum extending from northern Tōhoku in northeastern Japan to southern Kyūshū in the southwest. Although the Ryukyuan varieties are genetically closely related to each other, many are mutually unintelligible. This is largely due to the different formation processes they have undergone in geographical isolation from one another.

In a situation where dialects differ markedly between neighbouring islands, villages and apparently even streets, a broad classification would seem rather arbitrary and meaningless. At this point, however, it is necessary to classify the Ryukyuan varieties to some extent in order to contextualise the particular language variety under discussion in this thesis. There are two main bases for the classification of language varieties: language typology and mutual intelligibility. These are explained below.

The first basis for classification is the traditional method adopted particularly during the 1960s and 1970s by scholars such as Hirayama Teruo and Nakamoto Masachie. Their classification systems made detailed subdivisions on the basis of linguistic features such as phonology, morphology, syntax and accentuation. Since the outcome of such a classification system is largely dependent on what linguistic features are used as its basis, the Ryukyuan vernaculars have been categorised in many different ways over the decades. A full discussion of each scholar's interpretation of the linguistic situation is beyond the scope of this thesis. Some examples devised by prominent linguists are Hirayama et al.

¹¹ For a detailed discussion of the phonological and morphological differences between the Ryukyuan varieties, see Appendix IV.

(1966) and Uemura (Ed.) (1997).

The second basis for classification follows the conventions of comprehensive glossaries of world languages such as the aforementioned *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005). This method defines mutually unintelligible varieties as separate languages, and makes less detailed subdivisions between mutually intelligible dialects. Examples of proponents of this system are Matsumori (1995) and Heinrich (2005a, 2007). Heinrich (2005a) identifies five distinct Ryukyuan languages on the basis of mutual unintelligibility. These are, from north to south, the varieties spoken on Amami-Ōshima, Okinawa, Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni.

The problem with this second classification system is that not all scholars agree that interruptions in the chain of mutual intelligibility are so coarse-grained. According to Matsumori (1995: 25), for example, the varieties spoken on Kikai Island and Tokunoshima are unintelligible to vernacular speakers in Amami-Ōshima. Presumably, these would all be classed together by Heinrich's model, given the islands' proximity to each other (Heinrich does not explicitly define the boundaries between each of the languages he names).

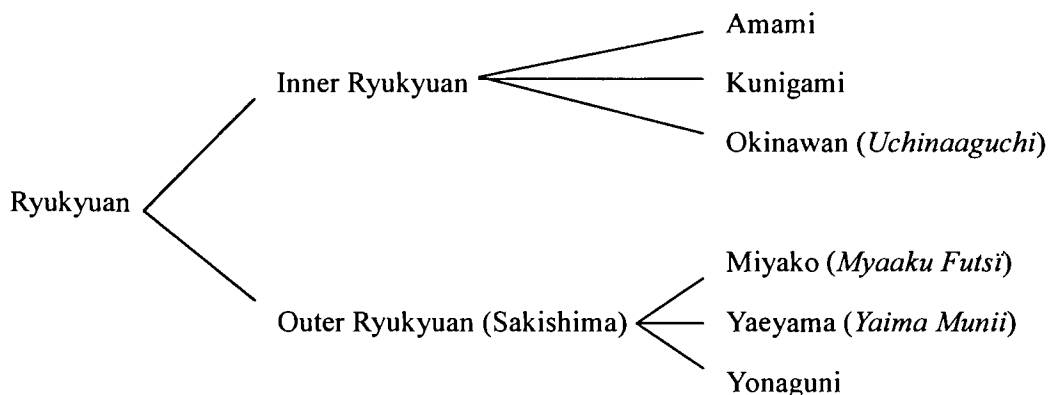
The classification system featured in this thesis is of the first type, since I wished to show how the particular variety under discussion (*Uchinaaguchi*) relates genetically to other varieties in the archipelago. This section is only intended to provide a broad overview of the main language varieties, not the detail of differences between the numerous dialects, so a simplified classification system was selected for citation. This system was modified from the one proposed by Uemura (Ed.) (1997), which classifies six varieties on the basis of major phonological and morphological differences. Uemura's classification does not

go into the detail of dialects, and the languages it classifies almost map onto Heinrich's system based on mutual intelligibility. My modifications to Uemura's system are as follows:

1. Some of the language names have been altered to reflect those used in other sources, such as “Kunigami” instead of “Dialect of Okinoerabu, Yoron and North Okinawa Islands”.
2. The boundaries showing the position of the Tarama-Minna dialect on the map have been altered to correspond with the recent research on this dialect by Lawrence (2003)¹².

Fig. 1 and its corresponding map (Map 2) show how the languages have been grouped.

Figure 1: Ryukyuan language varieties



¹² Here, the division between the Yaeyama and Miyako languages has been placed so that the Tarama-Minna dialect is incorporated into the Miyako group. The position of the Tarama-Minna dialect within the Sakishima group is disputed. The dialect spoken there has traditionally been assumed to be a member of the Miyako family. However, Karimata (1997) claims that it is a Yaeyama dialect, pointing out that “whilst the Tarama-Minna dialect has some aspects in common with the Miyako dialect, its fundamental characteristics appear to indicate that it belongs to the Yaeyama group”. This claim has since been refuted by Lawrence (2003), who concludes that “not only is the Tarama dialect a Miyako-type dialect, it is more closely related to the Miyako island dialects than are the Ikema and Irabu dialects, which are geographically very close to Miyako island”.

The main north-south divide separates the Inner Ryukyuan varieties to the north that exhibit heavy use of glottalised vowels, semivowels and nasals, from the dialects to the south that have retained the Proto-Japanese phoneme */b/, which corresponds to modern Standard Japanese /w/.

It must be noted that further major divisions made by other scholars have been omitted here for reasons of simplicity and clarity¹³.

1.3.6 *Uchinaaguchi*

This paper focuses on one particular case of language shift, in which the target language is Japanese, and the abandoned language is *Uchinaaguchi* – the Ryukyuan variety spoken in the southern part of the Okinawa Island group. In Standard Japanese, *Uchinaaguchi* translates to *Okinawago*. This Japanese name for the language is used by some formal sources, such as the *Okinawago jiten [The Dictionary of the Okinawan Language]* (Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963). In this thesis, this variety is termed *Uchinaaguchi*, rather than any of the alternative names used by other scholars, such as Central Okinawan (Gordon 2005) and South Okinawan (Hokama 1977). *Uchinaaguchi* means 'Okinawan

¹³ For instance, in Hirayama et al. (1966), the Yonaguni variety is classified in a category of its own, separate not only from the northern group, but also from the Miyako and Yaeyama varieties. This could be justified mainly on the basis of distinct phonological differences (see Appendix IV for details). Hirayama's classification was then quoted more recently by Hokama (1977), Shibatani (1990) and Matsumori (1995). Shibatani (1990: 194) explains the varying classification of the Yonaguni variety as follows: "The position of the Yonaguni dialect in relation to the other groups is not entirely clear. Phonologically, the Yonaguni dialect is distinct from the other two groups [Amami-Okinawa and Miyako-Yaeyama]. However, lexically, it is closer to the Yaeyama dialect". Subdivision of varieties within the Amami-Okinawa group also varies depending on the scholar. In early classifications (such as Hirayama et al. 1966), a line was drawn between Yoron Island and Kunigami. All dialects north of this line were classed as belonging to the Amami group, whilst dialects south of the line were grouped together as Okinawan dialects. In more recent classifications (e.g. Uemura et al. 1997; Gordon 2005), all dialects retaining the additional high central vowel /i/ tend to fall into the category of Amami dialects, thereby excluding Okinoerabu and Yoron Island.

language', and so could theoretically be used to refer to any of the vernaculars in Okinawa Prefecture. In practice, however, it is usually used to refer to the particular variety spoken in Naha and Shuri and the surrounding area. As noted, before the onset of language shift towards Standard Japanese, the Shuri dialect was the prestige variety in the archipelago. Map 2 shows where in the Ryukyu Islands *Uchinaaguchi* is spoken. For more information about *Uchinaaguchi*, refer to Appendix III.

It must be emphasised that the findings of the synchronic and diachronic analyses mentioned in Section 1.0 apply exclusively to *Uchinaaguchi*. There is evidence to suggest that the course of the language shift process has followed different patterns in other areas of the Ryukyu Islands. Heinrich (2007), for example, found that the Miyako variety is experiencing a slower rate of change than other varieties. In another study, Clarke (2006) mentions that, on Kohama Island, “some children on the island now acquire the local language, not as their mother tongue, but as a second language”. According to Clarke, this process is “not the result of formal education, but comes about gradually as individuals become more involved in the island's ritual life”. As we shall see, such a language learning method is characteristic of semi-speakers in Okinawa (this is discussed further in Chapter 5).

1.3.7 *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and *Shin-hōgen*

*Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*¹⁴ is usually translated into English as ‘Okinawan Japanese’ or ‘Okinawa-accented Japanese’. Both this term and *Uchinaaguchi* are frequently used in this thesis, and the reader must take care not to confuse the two, since they signify completely different concepts. Whilst *Uchinaaguchi* simply refers to the Okinawan

¹⁴ This is sometimes spelled *Uchinaa-yamatoguchi*.

vernacular, *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* refers to what is essentially a contact dialect – or contact dialects – of Japanese¹⁵.

The term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* may be used in a generic or specific sense. Heinrich (2005a: 6) uses the term in its generic sense, and states that it summarises “contact varieties of Standard Japanese and Ryukyuan varieties” that have emerged during the process of language shift. These varieties, he says, “show strong variation according to region and age of their speakers”. One example of this regional variability is the contact dialect that has developed in the Amami Islands, which is very different in character to the one that has developed on Okinawa Island, and it has even acquired a name of its own – *Ton-futsūgo* 'Potato common language'. For further discussion of the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and its usage in the literature, see Chapter 2.2.1. My suggestions for a more concrete definition of the term can be found in Chapter 4.2.

Other Ryukyu-specific jargon must be mentioned at this stage in the discussion. Osumi (2001), Motonaga (1979, 1994) and Nohara (1993, 1998), for example, have studied the younger generation's creative use of Okinawan terms, and the variety characterised by these innovative expressions has thus also acquired a term of its own in the Ryukyuanist literature – *Shin-hōgen* 'New Dialect' (see Sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4 for further discussion of this term and its usage in the literature).

I avoid the term *Shin-hōgen* because I consider it to be potentially misleading. The term usually refers to the small number of *Uchinaaguchi*-derived words used by young

¹⁵ A contact dialect, as opposed to a dialect that has developed when a community forms separate groups, whose language changes in different ways due to geographical isolation and lack of contact.

Japanese monolinguals in Okinawa, but it could be interpreted in a way that does not acknowledge the reality of Okinawan language shift. As noted in Section 1.3.4, many people in Okinawa and mainland Japan refer to *Uchinaaguchi* as *hōgen* (dialect), which suggests that, in their view, *Uchinaaguchi* and *Shin-hōgen* are both simply dialects of Japanese. Therefore, rather than recognising that Okinawa is losing its “dialect”, people might simply assume that they have a “new dialect”.

To date there have been few attempts to analyse Okinawan mixed codes¹⁶ and code-switching methodically. Heinrich (2005a: 6) explains that “the study into the current use of these contact varieties is still little developed, due to the fact that they are so widely spread and considered to be of little prestige”. In recognition of the fact that close attention to these language contact varieties could increase our understanding of the language shift process, this thesis aims to go some way towards filling the gap in the literature that Heinrich describes.

1.4 Chapter outline

Chapter 2 is a literature review divided into two main parts. The first part focuses on research relating to language contact varieties in the context of language shift. I compare this to other types of language contact situations such as so-called “split (or mixed) languages”. The second part is an exploration of the major theoretical perspectives on language shift. Both parts compare the Ryukyuanist literature and the wider literature relevant to this thesis.

Chapter 3 describes what methods were used in the collection and transcription of the

¹⁶ Here, I use the term “mixed code” in Swigart’s (1992) sense (see Chapter 2.2.7).

data used in this paper.

Chapter 4 is a synchronic characterisation and analysis of the speech behaviour of different subgroups of speakers in Naha, based on the data gathered in fieldwork described in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5 discusses Okinawan language shift from a diachronic perspective, based on the organisation of speakers into subgroups described in Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 contains concluding remarks, and a discussion of the implications of the findings of this thesis for those concerned with the study of language shift in Okinawa, as well as those who are involved in language revitalisation efforts in the islands.

1.5 Summary

This chapter has provided a broad outline of the scope, background and content of this thesis, the key points of which are summarised here. Firstly, I introduced the different themes covered in the main body of this thesis: Chapter 4 is a synchronic analysis of the speech behaviour of the participants in this study, whose conversations were recorded in the Naha/Shuri area of Okinawa Island, whilst Chapter 5 is a diachronic analysis exploring the historical course of language shift in Okinawa from the speakers' perspective. Secondly, I introduced some concepts and terminology relating to language shift and bilingualism in general. Lastly, I discussed specifically the Ryukyuan case of language shift by providing a brief outline of the historical background as well as introducing some terminology relating to the particular language varieties examined in this thesis. At this point we turn to the existing literature to explain the ongoing debate and conflicting viewpoints on issues covered in this thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the relevant literature pertaining to the main themes explored in this thesis. The first section contains some general comments on the literature. This is followed by two sections that review the literature in detail. The first of these (Section 2.2) is about perspectives on language contact phenomena, and the second (Section 2.3) is about theoretical perspectives on language shift. The division of this detailed review into two separate sections is intended to reflect the order of discussion in later chapters.

In Section 2.2, I discuss sources that deal specifically with the issue of language contact phenomena (code-switching, interlanguages etc.) in Okinawa, and contrast these sources with the wider body of literature from non-Ryukyuanist scholars. This organisation of my argument is intended to highlight the fact that the Ryukyuanist literature has not generally drawn on the wider literature as a resource for theoretical models and systematic terminology. The Ryukyuanist literature has tended to refer mainly to works by Japanese scholars, but not to the ground-breaking studies of language contact phenomena and language shift from the 1980s and 1990s such as Dorian (1981), Thomason & Kaufman (1988), Fishman (1991), and Myers-Scotton (1993). I argue that this inward-looking perspective has resulted in the use of unanalytical terminology and hence a limited theoretical base on which to ground any analysis of the language shift process in Okinawa. The synchronic analysis outlined in Chapter 4 of this thesis aims to fill these gaps in the literature on language contact phenomena in Okinawa.

In Section 2.3, I provide an overview of some theoretical models of language shift, both from Ryukyuanist and non-Ryukyuanist literature. I argue that these models have tended to represent the language shift process from a language-oriented perspective. I show that my diachronic analysis outlined in Chapter 5 and my emergentist perspective of language shift outlined in Chapter 6 differ in that they view the language shift process from a predominantly speaker-oriented perspective.

2.1 General observations about the literature

My overall impression of the relevant literature is that it is divided into two main areas of research that remain largely separate in focus, one being language contact phenomena (code-switching etc.) and the other being language shift and death. It is difficult to find studies that attempt to draw comparisons and reconcile theories from these two disciplines, although there are some exceptions, e.g. Myers-Scotton (1992, 1998), Romaine (1989), Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977), and Trudgill (1978).

Scholars who are interested in code-switching, for example, rarely refer to the fact that there might be a certain stage in the language shift process in which bilinguals have a tendency to code-switch between the target language and the abandoned language. This may be due to the simple fact that little is known about the role of code-switching in language shift. Franceschini (1998) also comments that this relationship has been under-researched. When listing “concrete suggestions for future research”, Franceschini points out that:

“There is, for instance, the diachronic dimension of CS [code-switching], its relation to language changes in individuals (a phase in language attrition?) and in groups and societies (a step in the process of language loss, a force in linguistic change?), which has not yet been sufficiently studied” (Franceschini 1998: 66).

Similarly, the literature on language shift and death rarely discusses the types of language contact phenomena that occur at different stages in the language shift process, such as code-switching. What literature there is on the subject is primarily concerned with the urgency of the situation of world minority languages, with many case studies of endangered languages which include discussions of causative factors and suggestions for ameliorative measures aimed at reversing the language shift process (see for example Williamson (1991), Fishman (1991, 2001), Grenoble & Whaley (eds.) (1998).

2.2 Perspectives on language contact phenomena

The literature on Ryukyuan vernaculars comprises mainly descriptive references such as dictionaries or word lists of the dialects of various areas within the Ryukyu Archipelago. Some of these sources also contain quite detailed explanations of the grammatical structure of one or more language varieties (e.g. Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963). In general, these kinds of sources outnumber those that deal specifically with language contact phenomena such as code-switching, borrowing and interference.

In the following sections, I discuss some of the sources that do deal with the aforementioned phenomena (e.g. Matsumori 1995, Nagata 1996, Osumi 2001 and Karimata (2006, 2008) amongst others). I point out that these sources have not provided a clear, thorough analysis of language contact phenomena in Okinawa to date, due in part to their

limited theoretical approach and their tendency to use terminology inappropriate for thorough analysis. The main objective of this section is therefore to highlight these problems before addressing them in later chapters. I discuss the Ryukyuanist scholars' use of terms such as “interdialect”, “mixed language”, “creole” and “code-switching” etc. with reference to definitions from the wider literature on language contact phenomena.

2.2.1 *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*

Over the past twenty years or so, the subject of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* has attracted much attention from scholars of Japanese sociolinguistics (e.g. Yabiku 1987; Takaesu 1994; Matsumori 1995; Ono 1995; Nagata 1996; Osumi 2001; Karimata 2006, 2008; and Soejima 2009). In this section, I explain how the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* has been over-generalised in the literature to the extent that its applicability to a comparative analysis of language contact phenomena in Okinawa has effectively been limited.

According to Matsumori (1995: 35), *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* is a locally coined term which refers to a distinctively characteristic form of Standard Japanese spoken in the Ryukyus. She states that, in this variety, hypercorrection and interference from Ryukyuan vernaculars are “prominent in levels of phonology, semantics and grammar”. She notes that this type of interference is “typically observed in the speech of the older generations” and describes these older speakers as “Ryukyuan vernacular speakers who have not acquired [the grammatical constraints of] SJ [Standard Japanese]” (Matsumori, 1995: 37). She cites some examples of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, such as *kimi ga wa dekinai* 'you cannot do it' (2sg NOM TOP be.able-NEG), pointing out that, in this example, the juxtaposition of the nominative case marker *ga* and topic marker *wa* is non-standard Japanese. Matsumori claims that “some of the above-mentioned types of interference

observed in the older generation are also adopted in the casual SJ speech of the younger generations”, citing Motonaga (1979), but does not state explicitly which types have been transmitted down the generations and which have not.

Other scholars’ usage of the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* differs from the one suggested by Matsumori. Uemura (1997), for example, uses the term to refer to the Japanese spoken on Okinawa Island and the surrounding area. His definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* excludes the varieties of Japanese spoken in other island groups, some of which have acquired names such as *Ton-futsūgo* (Amami group).

Nagata (1996) also discusses this geographical variation, noting that the Japanese spoken in the Ryukyu Islands is not one single variety, but that it is possible to tell which region within the islands a person comes from by the particular way in which their Japanese has undergone interference from their local vernacular. As evidence of this, Nagata describes a handful of Japanese dialects from different areas in the Ryukyus, and provides a detailed account of their differences in phonology, grammar, accent and vocabulary. Nagata also stresses that there are differences between the varieties of Japanese spoken by different generations – those spoken by elderly and middle-aged people being more affected by vernacular interference, and those spoken by younger generations tending more towards Standard Japanese due to the influence of the media, increased mobility and communication with people outside of the islands.

Some observers explicitly incorporate vernacular words into their concept of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. The definition given by an Okinawa Times journalist is “a variety with Okinawan accentuation and a smattering of *Uchinaaguchi* words, primarily used by

young people” (Okinawa Times, 28/03/2001 – my translation).

Similarly, Osumi (2001) explicitly includes *Uchinaaguchi* words in her examples of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. In this way, her discussion of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* differs from Matsumori’s. In her table of lexical differences between Standard Japanese and *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (Osumi (2001: 84), based on data from Uemura (1989)), *Uchinaaguchi* words such as *tui* 'bird', *nuu* 'what' and *chuu* 'today' are cited as examples of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*¹⁷. Osumi’s explicit incorporation of an unspecified proportion of *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary into the definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* is somewhat problematic for the analysis of the Okinawan language shift process in general. If one attempts to label a mixed code in this way without first suggesting how it could be considered to differ from code-switching as the unmarked choice, it becomes impossible for the analyst to ascertain how these phenomena interrelate among different subgroups of speakers during the process of language shift.

In Chapter 4.2, I begin by teasing apart *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and code-switching as a discourse mode by grouping together the phenomena of insertional code-switching and borrowing and classifying them as features of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. I then analyse all language mixtures in terms of the relative proportions of source languages and relate the

¹⁷ I have not found that these particular *Uchinaaguchi* words have become established in *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. I do not dispute that it is possible, and I appreciate the comment from one of my examiners who pointed out that these words were collected via questionnaires from university students as expressions used by young Okinawans on a daily basis. However, whilst such questionnaires do provide a broad overview of the kinds of words a scholar should listen out for, their weakness is that they are a record of a speaker’s subjective view of his/her own language use and may therefore reflect certain language attitudes or aspirations imperceptible to the fieldworker. These students may have cited *Uchinaaguchi* words they had heard their parents and grandparents using, i.e. *Uchinaaguchi* words that have become touchstones of Okinawan culture. This is not evidence that they are actually using them on a daily basis. My recordings provide evidence that young people do not in practice use words like *nuu* 'what'; they use the Japanese *nani* instead. Perhaps the only exception to this is situations where they are impersonating an older *Uchinaaguchi* speaker (examples of this also appear in my data – see Excerpts 51 and 52, Chapters 4.6.5 and 4.6.6),

resulting data back to *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and code-switching. The data in this thesis provide us with enough information to be able to discern that, when *Uchinaaguchi* words appear in significant proportions, they usually do so in the context of unconventionalised code-switching as the unmarked choice rather than a conventionalised mixed code.

Apart from the explicit inclusion of *Uchinaaguchi* (borrowings) in her examples of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, Osumi's concept of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* appears to agree more or less with Matsumori's, if "Okinawa" is taken to mean "Okinawa Prefecture". Osumi defines *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* variously as "the variety of Japanese used in Okinawa" (Osumi 2001: 69), and as "the Okinawanised version of Standard Japanese" (Osumi 2001: 78). She adds that this variety has been influenced by Okinawan languages and goes on to provide a brief description of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, giving examples of interference and hypercorrection such as the Okinawan pronunciation of the Japanese word *udewa* 'bracelet' as *odewa* – an instance of hypercorrection which stems from the fact that, in *Uchinaaguchi*, /u/ corresponds to both the Standard Japanese phonemes /u/ and /o/ (Osumi 2001: 83).

Osumi is somewhat unclear as to how different age groups of Okinawans use *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. Her definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* appears to include *Shin-hōgen*. She explains that, because of conflict between their attachment to the heritage language and their inability to speak it, "young Okinawans have created their own version of *Uchinaa-yamatoguchi*¹⁸, one that older people say 'isn't Okinawan', but which nonetheless reflects the young people's desire to assert their identity as Okinawans" (Osumi 2001: 88). When

¹⁸ Some scholars use the spelling *Uchinaa-yamatoguchi*, as in this quote from Osumi (2001). Elsewhere in this thesis I consistently use the original spelling *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* based on its realisation in the vernacular.

Osumi cites example sentences of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, however, she does not clarify explicitly whether they are characteristic of older or younger speakers. In her example sentence *yaa ga wa ie kara deta* (SJ: *anata wa ie o deta* 'you left your house') (Osumi 2001: 86), the personal pronoun *yaa*¹⁹ (2SG INF) is *Uchinaaguchi* and the rest of the sentence is Japanese, albeit with non-standard juxtaposition of the nominative particle *ga* and topic marker *wa*. Osumi provides no information as to what age of speaker one might expect to use this particular *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronoun. It is also unclear from Osumi's explanation whether sentences such as the one mentioned above demonstrate the existence of a conventionalised *Uchinaaguchi* substratum (where all pronouns are always *Uchinaaguchi*, for argument's sake), or whether they contain insertions (code-switches or borrowings) which co-occur with their Japanese counterparts as part of a mixed code.

We have seen that scholars disagree on what constitutes *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, the geographical extent of its use, and the ways in which it is used by different generations. It is for these reasons that, in my analysis in Chapter 4, I analyse all language mixtures in terms of relative proportions of their constituent source languages and differentiate between Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes. This clear separation of linguistic constituents has allowed me to be more precise in my description of all language mixtures, and also contrast more effectively the ways in which they are used by different generations.

2.2.2 The notions of “interdialect” and “interlanguage”

In the last section, I discussed how Matsumori (1995) indicates that features of

¹⁹ Osumi does not transcribe the glottalisation of word-initial vowels and semivowels. In this thesis, the *Uchinaaguchi* pronoun meaning 'you' is transcribed as *yaa* in order to contrast with the word *yaa* 'house'.

hypercorrection and interference have been passed down from older speakers to the young generation. Matsumori suggests that *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* has conventionalised to form new “interdialects”. She defines an interdialect as a “newly merged dialect between a standard language and vernaculars during accommodation” and cites Trudgill (1986) as her source for the term. Trudgill (1988) further clarifies his definition of “interdialect” as follows:

“The term ‘interdialect’ is intended to refer to situations where contact between two or more dialects leads to the development of forms that occurred in none of the original dialects. (...) Obvious examples of interdialect forms are provided by pronunciations which arise in dialect-contact situations that are phonetically intermediate between forms that occur in the two dialects in contact (...) Interdialect, however, is by no means confined to the development of vowel sounds that are phonetically intermediate. (...) The label ‘intermediate’ can also be applied to interdialect word forms”. (Trudgill 1988: 547)

If *Uchinaaguchi* is perceived as a dialect of Japanese, then the term “interdialect” seems appropriate as a general term for describing instances of hypercorrection and interference such as the *odewa/udewa* example mentioned in Section 2.2.1, since the word *odewa* occurs in neither *Uchinaaguchi* nor Standard Japanese. Matsumori explains how she applies the term to the Ryukyuan situation as follows: “it is possible to assume that [the interdialects] can be an institutionalised variety of Ryukyuan SJ [Standard Japanese]” on the basis that, “although these intermediate varieties still show considerable variability depending on the area, there is a certain degree of similarity as well in the varieties of SJ [Standard Japanese] speech throughout the Ryukyus” (Matsumori, 1995: 38).

Matsumori goes on to discuss the function of the interdialects, and points out that they may fulfil a function of providing a uniquely Ryukyuan variant of Japanese suitable for “informal speech in casual interactions” (Matsumori, 1995: 38). She states that this variety is necessary “as long as SJ is used among their own speech community members more often than with outsiders”.

Matsumori uses the term “interdialect” interchangeably with “interlanguage”²⁰, as in the following quotes: “interdialects in various Ryukyuan speaking areas which are developed against the background of different vernaculars may develop different characteristics”, and “investigating how each vernacular in the Ryukyus is modified and adjusted to the patterns of SJ and how each local variety of SJ develops its distinctive characteristics may provide a solution to such questions as the extent and kinds of substratum influence in a newly developed interlanguage” (Matsumori, 1995: 39). This notion of “interlanguage” has similar connotations for those who use that term in the context of second/foreign language acquisition, in which the “interlanguage” is a variety of the target language that incorporates some degree of interference from the speaker’s first language (see for example Risager 2006).

One problem specifically relating to the term “interdialect” is that the term itself implies that the Okinawan vernacular *Uchinaaguchi* is a dialect of Japanese, as has been traditionally claimed in *kokugogaku* circles (see Chapter 1.3.4 for more discussion on the “language versus dialect” issue). The term signifies that one dialect (the vernacular *Uchinaaguchi*) is shifting to another dialect (Standard Japanese) via an interdialect (*Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*). This is not an accurate representation of what is actually

²⁰ The term “interlanguage” was coined by Selinker (1972).

occurring during the language shift process. It does not take account of the fact that *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and Standard Japanese are both varieties of Japanese, whilst *Uchinaaguchi* is one of the Ryukyuan languages, which all differ markedly from any variety of Japanese. Let us consider the following analogy, using German and English as examples of related but mutual unintelligible languages in accordance with Hokama's (1977) comment (see Chapter 1.3.4). Imagine for a moment that German is undergoing language shift to English, i.e. German speakers are abandoning their language and speaking English instead. These new English speakers speak English with a strong German accent and occasionally use German or German-derived words in their English sentences. In this situation, we would be unlikely to conclude that German is a dialect of English, and that the new English speakers' German-accented variety of English is a "hybrid" interdialect; this would be an unrealistic description of the relationship between the language varieties involved, and would not help us understand the situation. It is, however, just such a politically motivated claim that the *kokugogaku* scholars are making with respect to the Okinawan situation.

Nagata (1996) is one scholar who takes this perspective to an extreme. He refers to both the Ryukyuan vernaculars and the various local variants of Japanese as *hōgen* 'dialects'. The vernaculars are collectively termed *kyū-hōgen* 'old dialects' and local variants of Japanese are termed *shin-hōgen* 'new dialects'²¹. Nagata's *kyū-hōgen* corresponds to what are treated in this thesis as Ryukyuan varieties, and his *shin-hōgen* corresponds to Japanese varieties. Nagata thus does not refer to "Ryukyuan" and "Japanese" as separate languages, and in fact states explicitly that "the Ryukyuan vernaculars are dialects of

²¹ The term *Shin-hōgen* (New Dialect) is used in Japanese sociolinguistics to refer to new varieties of Japanese which have emerged across the nation – not only in the Ryukyus. It is defined by the following three characteristics (Inoue 1986a: 4): 1) having different forms from Standard Japanese; 2) being more frequently used by young people than by older people; and 3) being more frequently used in informal, everyday conversation than in formal situations.

Japanese, but differ greatly from the standard due to their early date of separation from the central dialect branch” (Nagata, 1996: 14). This reference to the vernaculars as dialects of Japanese is rather dated, being more in agreement with older sources from the 1960s and 1970s (for example Hirayama et al. 1966) than with modern sources such as Gordon (2005), Heinrich (2007) and Moseley (Ed.) (2009), which have recognised these varieties as a language family in its own right. Nagata's terminology is summarised in the following table.

Table 1: Nagata's (1996) terminology

Source	Variety		
Nagata	<i>kyū-hōgen</i> 'old dialects'	<i>shin-hōgen</i> 'new dialects'	<i>zenkoku-kyōtsūgo</i> 'national common language'
Other	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i> Ryukyuan language(s) Ryukyuan vernaculars <i>hōgen</i> 'dialect'	<i>Uchinaa-yamatuguchi</i> hybrid language mixed language interdialect <i>neo-daiarekuto</i> 'neodialect' <i>kaishin-hōgen</i> 'innovative dialect' <i>chihō-kyōtsūgo</i> 'regional common language' <i>chūkan-gengo</i> 'interlanguage'	Standard Japanese <i>hyōjungo</i> 'standard language'

The distinction between language and dialect is important if this Ryukyuan case of language shift is to be analysed in the context of research into other endangered languages. It is much more difficult to see how the Ryukyuan case falls in line with modern language shift theory when the terms for language varieties do not describe very precisely their nature and interrelationships.

2.2.3 *Shin-hōgen*

Shin-hōgen 'New Dialect' is another term that scholars use in a range of different ways in this context. As noted in Section 2.2.2, Nagata (1996) uses the term to mean *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, or other localised Ryukyuan varieties of Japanese. However, other scholars (e.g. Nohara 1993, 1998) have used the term to refer specifically to the type of Japanese spoken by young Okinawans of school age or slightly older. By their definition, *Shin-hōgen* is characterised by the creative use of vernacular-derived expressions (see Chapter 4.5.4 for some examples), other locally coined slang words and even some English words used by Japanese monolinguals for the purpose of expressing an Okinawan identity²². Nagata acknowledges that his different usage of the term could cause confusion, but justifies his decision by pointing out that coinage of a new term could cause even more confusion (Nagata 1996: 13). Nohara's definition is the one that appears to have gained currency in popular usage (for a transcript of a non-academic using this term to refer to young people's language, see Chapter 1.3.7).

Nohara (1998) divides *Shin-hōgen* into three types:

Type 1: *Uchinaaguchi* plus Japanese

Type 2: Japanese plus *Uchinaaguchi*

Type 3: Other

Nohara provides some examples of these three types of *Shin-hōgen* as shown in Table 2.

²² Note that Karimata (2006, 2008) tentatively classifies *Shin-hogen* as a "creole". This is discussed in Section 2.2.5.

Although Nohara's defines *Shin-hōgen* as a young people's variety, he cites as examples of *Shin-hōgen* some words which are actually also used extensively by older speakers, such as the word *niinii* 'older brother', which is used by rusty speaker J in Excerpt 76 (Chapter 4.7.5). Where kinship terms are separated by a forward slash (/), the word traditionally used by the upper classes appears on the left and the word used by the lower classes appears on the right.

Table 2: Some examples of *Shin-hōgen*

	<i>Shin-hōgen</i>	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Standard Japanese	English
Type 1	<i>hingiru</i>	<i>fingiyun</i>	<i>nigeru</i>	'escape'
	<i>ukiru</i>	' <i>ukiyun</i>	<i>okiru</i>	'rise'
	<i>wajiru</i>	<i>wajiyun</i>	<i>okoru</i>	'become angry'
	<i>shikamu</i>	from <i>shikaa</i> 'coward'	<i>odoroku</i>	'be startled'
Type 2	<i>karusan</i>	<i>gassan</i>	<i>karui</i>	'light'
	<i>omosan</i>	' <i>nbusan</i>	<i>omoi</i>	'heavy'
	<i>mijikasan</i>	' <i>inchaasan</i>	<i>mijikai</i>	'short'
Type 3	<i>yaa</i>	' <i>yaa</i>	<i>kimi</i>	'you (inf.)'
	<i>yattaa</i>	' <i>ittaa</i>	<i>kimitchi</i>	'you (plural inf.)'
	<i>arai, haba, shini, shani</i>	' <i>ippee</i>	<i>totemo</i>	'very'
	<i>ojii</i>	<i>tanmee</i> / ' <i>usumee</i>	<i>ojiichan</i>	'grandfather'
	<i>obaa</i>	' <i>nnee</i> / <i>haamee</i>	<i>obaachan</i>	'grandmother'
	<i>otoo</i>	<i>taarii</i> / <i>suu</i>	<i>otoochan</i>	'father'
	<i>okaa</i>	' <i>ayaa</i> / ' <i>anmaa</i>	<i>okaachan</i>	'mother'
	<i>niinii</i>	<i>yacchii</i> / ' <i>afii</i>	<i>oniichan</i>	'older brother'
	<i>neenee</i>	' <i>nmii</i> / ' <i>angwaa</i>	<i>oneechan</i>	'older sister'

Note that, in the case of lexical items in the category named “other”, there is no

indication as to what the source language was. My own categorisation of non-*Uchinaaguchi* lexemes, detailed in Chapter 4.3.1, differs to Nohara's and features divisions between "Japanese", "Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*", "Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi*" and "Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*" lexemes. For example, under my classification system, *hingiru* 'escape' and *karusan* 'light' would both be classed as Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*, *yaa* as Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and *niinii* 'older brother' as Japanese (a localised Japanese-derived kinship term).

Table 2 shows how existing *Uchinaaguchi* words are used in creative ways as a means to express a distinct identity in opposition to mainstream society. In this way, *Shin-hōgen* resembles the kind of mixed, urban sociolects that have recently been debated in the literature (e.g. Doran 2004, discussed below). These new varieties form when specific social groups deliberately create a new dialect or sociolect of a dominant language. The resulting urban lect is definitely a variety of the dominant language, albeit with some elements of other languages combined as sub/superstrata.

An example of one of these newly created dialects/sociolects is Verlan – a special "street language" spoken amongst multicultural immigrant communities in certain areas outside Paris. These communities comprise immigrants from many different parts of the world including Africa and Southeast Asia. Verlan therefore includes many borrowings from other languages such as Arabic, Wolof and English, amongst others. In Doran's (2004) study of Verlan, this "street language" is described as a new sociolect of French. In her overview of Doran's study, Pavelenko (2004: 23) points out that Verlan is best understood as an alternative code allowing users to "delineate a peer universe in which their complex, multilingual, multicultural, working-class identities can be performed and recognised in a way they are not within the larger society". This particular kind of urban sociolect closely

resembles *Shin-hōgen*. Just as the immigrants incorporate vocabulary from Arabic and Wolof into their respective matrix languages, Okinawan young people continue to borrow words and expressions from *Uchinaaguchi* and English and use them in a Japanese-speaking context in order to express their hybrid identities.

The emergence of innovative young people's varieties in the final stages of language shift is well documented in the wider literature, and is by no means unique to the Okinawan case. Sasse (1992a: 18) comments that a dead language may “leave a substratum influence (especially lexically) in the dialect of T [the target language] which the former speech community of A [the abandoned language] continues to speak”. Batibo (2005: 91) describes the fifth and final phase of his model of language shift (see full version in Section 2.3.4), remarking that “some of the linguistic characteristics of L₁ [the abandoned language] often remain as residual features in L₂ [the target language]. Such phenomena, known as *substratum features*, may involve prosodic, phonetic, phonological, semantic or lexical elements”.

Nohara (1998) entertains the possibility that *Shin-hōgen* may flourish as an enduring variety. In an article in the Okinawa Times (06/06/2001), he is quoted as saying “young people are now using these expressions enthusiastically as their own language, so it is not something that can be stopped. If these expressions can be generally accepted, maybe they can develop and grow in the future (...) if you know these words, then you should just use them”. Nohara points out to the Okinawa Times journalist that languages are living entities, and that it is inevitable that they should change. Like many people in Okinawa, however, the journalist is reluctant to take a pessimistic view of the future of *Uchinaaguchi*, and remarks: “if the language of young people is accepted and established as the new Okinawan language, it would be a sad thing... I therefore take Nohara’s

statement to mean that the traditional dialects are not something that will be pushed out by young people's language" (my translations).

2.2.4 Does the emergence of *Shin-hōgen* signify language shift reversal?

The general consensus in the literature is that the incorporation of *Uchinaaguchi*-derived words and expressions into young people's slang (*Shin-hōgen*) operates separately from the process of language shift. Nohara (1998) points out that the language shift process in Okinawa is not necessarily being reversed. He states the following:

"Normally for speakers of the traditional dialects, the interdialect *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* appears during the process of Japanese acquisition, and the next stage is perfect Japanese, but instead a youth language has emerged. However, this perhaps does not signify a reversal of the process of shift from *Uchinaaguchi* to Standard Japanese" (Nohara 1998, my translation).

Heinrich (2007)²³ states explicitly that the emergence of *Shin-hōgen* almost certainly does not signify a reversal of language shift, given that the vernaculars are not being transmitted as a mother tongue to the younger generation. He suggests (as this thesis does) that it is code choice that has been important in the process of language shift. Rather than implying that vernacular use had decreased and then somehow increased again due to certain recent trends, Heinrich differentiates between "code choice of *Uchinaaguchi*" and "code choice of Standard Japanese". He then treats each separately in his processing of his data, and points out that "usage of Japanese" is tending to shift towards "usage of mixed language" in Amami, Okinawa and Yaeyama, whilst "usage of *Uchinaaguchi*"

²³ Heinrich's (2007) study presented the results of research on code choices in five main Ryukyuan language areas of Amami, Okinawa, Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni, correlating code choice with age, educational background and gender.

tends to shift towards “usage of mixed varieties”. Heinrich maintains that this reflects a “general trend”, given that “shift away from Standard Japanese to hybrid language varieties has been witnessed and described all across Japan”, citing his sources as Inoue (1986b) and Sanada (2000). However, this does not appear to be supported by my data. I did not find that the younger informants were using significantly more *Uchinaaguchi* or *Uchinaaguchi*-derived expressions in their Japanese than older informants (see Table 9 in Chapter 4.5.1 and Table 10 in Chapter 4.6.1 for a comparison of the extent of *Uchinaaguchi*-derived language use of non-speakers and semi-speakers).

Heinrich's analysis explains how language shift can seem to be two directional, but does not describe in any detail the nature of the end result – the “mixed language”. In fact, Heinrich is unable to do this because of his methodology. His questionnaires did not ask the respondents to define their conception of “mixed variety”, so by Heinrich's own admission, “mixed language is a category not well defined (...) and we must be aware that informants must have different views on what mixed language is. This is crucial with regard to the boundaries between SJ and the local languages” (Heinrich, 2007: 7).

In Heinrich's (2007) study, different subgroups in the speech community were asked about their language use via a questionnaire, in which the questions differentiated between 1) local Ryukyuan languages (*shimakutuba*), 2) Standard Japanese (*hyōjungo*), and 3) mixed or hybrid forms of local language and Standard Japanese (*sono kotoba o mazeru*). The problem here is that in some cases, Okinawans (especially of the older generation) are often not aware that the Japanese they are speaking is non-standard (Osumi 2001: 84). According to Heinrich's data, Standard Japanese is spoken most frequently in Yaeyama (Heinrich, 2007: 5). However, this result may have come about because people in Yaeyama cannot or do not differentiate between their particular mixed

variety and Standard Japanese. Alternatively, there may be such stigma attached to local or mixed varieties that the informants tick the box marked “*hyōjungo*” because that is the variety they would like others to think that they use. One can imagine, for example, that a middle-aged or elderly person who experienced stigmatisation of their local variety via the *hōgen fuda* (dialect tag) at school (see Section 1.3.1 for details), would prefer others to think that the Japanese he/she speaks in any situation is highly proficient and close to the standard variety. On the other hand, younger Okinawans, who have grown up in an era when local dialect variation across the nation is seen as acceptable (or even fashionable), would be more likely to view their own variety of Japanese as some sort of “hybrid variety of Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi*”. In the absence of thorough, qualitative analysis, however, it is debatable whether the speakers' own subjective assessment is enough to justify treating all “mixed varieties” as a single category and then making assumptions as to the direction of language shift on that basis.

Since Heinrich's methodology does not allow for clear definition of mixed varieties, it is impossible to tell whether the mixture resulting from the “*Uchinaaguchi* to mixed varieties” shift is the same as the mixture resulting from the “SJ to mixed varieties” shift. By recording and analysing real-life, natural conversation spoken by Okinawans of different ages, it has been possible in this thesis to distinguish between these different types of language mixture. This thesis posits that Okinawans mix languages in a variety of ways, and each may fulfil different functions for speakers of different generations. Upon hearing audio recordings of real-life conversations using these varieties, one can only conclude that it is impossible to understand fully the situation regarding various Ryukyuan language contact phenomena unless Heinrich's quantitative overview is considered alongside qualitative analyses such as the one in this thesis.

2.2.5 Ryukyu Creole

Nagata (1996: 7-8) points out that the study of the Ryukyuan varieties of Japanese bears a resemblance to the study of pidgins and creoles. More recently, Karimata (2006, 2008) has suggested that *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and variants in other areas (e.g. *Ton-futsūgo* in Amami) could be summarised under the general name Ryukyu Creole. This creole, he claims, developed from Pidgin Japanese, which emerged during the early years of the Meiji occupation (Karimata 2008: 59). This is an interesting comparison and it is worth considering to what extent *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* could be considered as a creole. Let us take this further by considering the definitions of “creole” provided in the wider literature on genetic linguistics and language contact phenomena.

The terms “pidgin” and “creole” have traditionally been associated with languages born during the days of slavery on plantations in the European colonies. Pidgins and creoles are formed in a process that differs from what Dixon (1997) describes as the “normal course of linguistic evolution”²⁴. Linguistically speaking, pidgins are simpler than “fully fledged” languages in terms of their grammar and lexicon, simply because the range of topics about which speakers need to communicate is limited. This does not mean that a pidgin has no structure. Aitchison (1991: 196) reports that “a pidgin is not merely a broken form of the base language, but a language system with rules of its own. It is simpler than a fully fledged language in that it contains fewer elements, and is more transparent. It suffers from the corresponding disadvantages of ambiguity and inability to express a wide range of concepts easily”. Pidgins are also defined by the reason for their formation: pidgins arise because groups of people who speak different languages find it necessary to communicate, rather than because they deliberately create a new language in order to express their unique hybrid collective identity. According to Martí et al. (2005:

²⁴ See Dixon (1997) for a full discussion on what constitutes the “normal course of linguistic evolution”.

19), pidgins are “sustained not by native speakers transmitting them from parent to children but by the continuation of the conditions that brought them into being”.

The traditional definition of a creole is a pidgin that has expanded to become a fully fledged language and has gained its first generation of native speakers. This process of expansion is called “creolisation”. A pidgin may therefore simply disappear without developing into a creole, as has happened in Vietnam, where English and French pidgins were once spoken. The parent of a creole language (often a European language such as English, French or Portuguese) is often known as the “lexifier language” since that is the language from which most of the vocabulary is derived. After a pidgin has creolised, the resulting creole will either continue to survive and develop, or it will gradually shift back towards the lexifier language in a process called “de-creolisation”. Which path the creole follows will be determined by the prevailing social circumstances. Often creoles are “perceived to be inferior versions” of their lexifier language, e.g. Seychellois or Haitian Creole vis-à-vis French (Martí et al. 2005: 20), and this makes creoles particularly susceptible to language shift. Under these circumstances, a process of de-creolisation is likely to occur, following the stages of what is commonly termed the “post-creole continuum”.

The traditional definition of pidgins and creoles has not gone unchallenged. For some scholars, the concept of “creole” is much broader than its traditional definition as a fully-fledged language that has developed from a pidgin. Mufwene (2001: 8-9), for example, has argued that it is the different contact environments that separate pidgins and creoles, pidgins having emerged as a basic communicative tool in trade situations, and creoles having emerged in settlement colonies where colonisers and slaves have been transplanted to a new location and created a new society.

Other scholars use the term “creole” in even broader contexts. Dixon (1997), for example, uses the word “creole” to denote a generic sense of “children’s mixed language”. He comments that, as languages are being lost across the globe, there has been a general resurgence of pride in ethnic identity from about the late 1960s. One example cited by Dixon is the language revitalisation efforts in New Zealand, where there are now Maori-medium kindergartens, primary schools and high schools (Dixon 1997: 110-111). Dixon comments on the program’s limited success in revitalising “pure” Maori, and notes that “many Maori children are talking in a developing creole that mixes Maori with English”. It is unclear from Dixon’s comment precisely how he defines this particular “creole”, since he does not mention whether he considers it to constitute a true, conventionalised mixture of Maori and English, or whether the children simply code-switch or borrow between the two languages.

According to Dixon’s (1997) definition, then, Karimata’s (2008) comments about Ryukyū Creole are valid. In view of the differing definitions in the literature, however, I have avoided using the term “creole” to describe the language mixtures discussed in this thesis.

Indeed, comparisons have been drawn between pidgins, creoles and dying languages in the wider literature. Trudgill (1978) referred to language death as a kind of “creolisation in reverse”. Romaine (1989: 371) also draws comparisons between pidgins, creoles and dying languages, pointing out that “a proficiency continuum may develop between two languages in contact, which resembles in some respects a creole continuum. Individuals can be located at various points along it depending on their level of dominance and/or proficiency in one or other of the languages”. Romaine also makes the following

interesting suggestion: “In the case of dying and pidgin languages it may be that children have greater scope to act as norm-makers due to the fact that a great deal of variability exists among the adult community” (Romaine 1989: 372-3).

2.2.6 Code-switching

There is very little information about code-switching in the Ryukyuanist literature, perhaps because of the difficulty in distinguishing “code-switching as the unmarked choice” from *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. Matsumori (1995) mentions code-switching briefly in her discussion of language use in Okinawa, but she does not go into the question of how it relates to what she refers to as “interdialect(s)”. First, she writes that “the older generations have two codes at their disposal, and seem to be able to control their amount of code-switching” (Matsumori, 1995: 35). This statement is in agreement with the findings of my synchronic analysis of speech behaviour, summarised in Chapter 4.9. She follows this comment up with a rather vague statement: “In the interactions between the Ryukyuan, especially between the old generations and younger ones under the age of 40, there is much code-mixing²⁵ (i.e. switching from a vernacular to SJ in the same context) as well as code-switching”. Matsumori makes no attempt to describe exactly how this code-mixing/code-switching works, or what effect its use might have on the transmission of language to younger generations.

Nagata (1996) also does not dwell on the subject of code-switching. He does not discuss the constant code-switching that is a feature of informal conversation between older

²⁵ Matsumori uses the term “code-mixing” differently from some other scholars for whom the term is synonymous with intra-sentential code-switching (see for example Jones & Singh 2005: 48). Matsumori’s concepts of “code-mixing” and “code-switching” appear to be equivalent to Gumperz’s (1982) “conversational code-switching” and Blom & Gumperz’s (1972) “situational code-switching” respectively.

bilinguals in Okinawa. Instead, he focuses on general changes in code choice according to social circumstances, for example, an elderly person might use one variety for addressing their spouse, but another for addressing their grandchildren. The definition of the term code-switching is explained, but the issue is not discussed thereafter, and Nagata notes that, in the questionnaires he distributed in Okinawa during his research, the more general term *mazaru* 'to mix' was used in order to avoid the difficult issue of distinguishing between code-switching and substrative borrowings. He then states that “the issue of code-switching is itself an important new field of research... and it is hoped that this will be followed up by future researchers” (Nagata, 1996: 159).

More recently, there have been attempts to analyse code-switched *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese by breaking passages down into their linguistic constituents in a similar fashion to the examples in this thesis. Fija, Brenzinger & Heinrich (2009) quote an excerpt from a radio programme originally transcribed by Sugita (2009 [2007]), adding that “the use of language mixed in such a way is *Uchinaayamatoguchi*, with this particular utterance involving particularly extensive *Uchinaaguchi*”. In doing so, they use the term “*Uchinaayamatoguchi*” to refer generally to the code-switched discourse mode observed in the passage as a whole, as well as specifically to highlighted examples of non-standard Japanese interlanguage within the text.

Let us consider the wider literature on code-switching in anticipation of the analysis of code-switching behaviour in Chapter 4. The term “code-switching” is by no means a newly coined term. In fact, according to Benson (2001), the first publication to use the term in the field of linguistics was an article by Vogt (1954), which was a review of Weinreich’s *Languages in Contact* (1953). The research of John J. Gumperz has been perhaps the most influential in the study of code-switching. His publications from the

1950s to the 1980s are almost always cited in recent works, and his terminology and theory are still used as a basis for development by linguists such as Carol Myers-Scotton. Gumperz recognised that social positioning is an important factor in code-switching, in particular with respect to the relationship between speakers, and also the setting and topic of conversation.

The first important and influential source for code-switching research was Blom and Gumperz's (1972) *Social Meaning in Linguistic Structures: Code Switching in Northern Norway*. This work sought to categorise different types of code-switching, as has much of the sociolinguistically oriented literature to date²⁶. Blom and Gumperz's (1972) publication spawned the terms "situational switching" and "metaphorical switching" – terms which were subsequently adopted by other scholars in various fields, with the result that their meanings became somewhat changed from their original definitions. Meanwhile, realising that "metaphorical switching" was difficult to distinguish from "situational switching" due to its ambiguous definition, Gumperz had already altered his terminology, and by 1982, he had coined the term "conversational code-switching", which he further subdivided into six categories: quotation marking, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personalisation versus objectivisation (this last category relates to illocutionary force and evidentiality, etc.). Gumperz was the first to draw a distinction between diglossia (where complementary social functions are distributed between two different languages or language varieties) and conversational code-switching, which he defines as follows:

"Conversational code switching can be defined as the juxtaposition within the same speech

²⁶ Other main foci of the literature on code-switching are the grammatical constraints on language alternation and code-switching during second or foreign language acquisition.

exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems. Most frequently the alternation takes the form of two subsequent sentences, as when a speaker uses a second language either to reiterate his message or to reply to someone else's statement" (Gumperz 1982: 59).

Gumperz then points out that code-switching is not restricted to switches at sentence boundaries, but may also take place within a single sentence (Gumperz 1982: 60). Gumperz's definition of code-switching has been restated by many other influential scholars including Auer (1984) and Myers-Scotton (1993). These scholars have tended to equate "code" with "language", however, and this has also been the tendency of scholars researching code-switching in classroom language learning situations, such as Romaine (1989)²⁷.

There is very little discussion in the literature about a possible relationship between code-switching and language shift. Myers-Scotton (1992: 51) comments on the subject as follows (CS = code-switching, ML = matrix language):

"There is no reason to insist that an overall pattern of CS as the unmarked choice, followed by a shift in the ML in such CS, must result in language shift nor must it be a prerequisite to language shift. Yet, CS, with a shift in ML, is an obvious mechanism which not only promotes language shift, but also explains the process. Other discussions of language shift have been silent on the process".

I address this issue in Chapter 5, and find that, in the Okinawan case, the code-switching

²⁷ See Nilep (2006), for a discussion of scholars who equate "code" with "language".

behaviour observed in the speech of older generations appears to have been more a consequence than a cause of language shift, since older speakers tend to code-switch with members of their own age group in private situations rather than when speaking to young people, in which case Japanese is the preferred language of choice²⁸. In Chapters 5.5.3 and 5.5.5, I discuss the way in which the emergence of new subgroups of speakers in society prompts the speakers in existing subgroups to alter their speech behaviour to accommodate the new arrivals.

Code-switching can be difficult to distinguish from other language contact phenomena such as borrowing, and many scholars maintain that efforts to differentiate them are “doomed” (for example Eastman 1992: 1). Myers-Scotton (1992: 35) nevertheless attempts to differentiate them thus (CS = code-switched, B = borrowed and ML = matrix language):

“CS is differentiated from B in two major ways. First, ML speakers may be monolingual and still use B forms, but those who use CS forms must show some degree of bilingualism. Second, B forms have acquired status as part of the grammar of the ML and therefore their relative frequency for encoding the concepts they stand for in a large data corpus is more similar to that for native forms than it is to CS forms”.

Some language contact phenomena are easier to disentangle, however, and Franceschini (1998) compares and contrasts code-switching and interlanguages as follows (CS = code-

²⁸ This is not to say that code-switching has had no part in causing language shift. If older speakers code-switch with each other in the presence of children rather than speaking *Uchinaaguchi*, those children can never attain full receptive proficiency in the vernacular. Their poor acquisition reduces the children’s linguistic pool from which they can draw, and feeds into the emergent system that promotes language shift.

switching):

“Of course, CS cannot be taken as a historical language in the sense of being passed on from generation to generation. In this respect, CS resembles interlanguages: both are produced anew in each sociocultural situation and are not stable each time. But in contrast to interlanguages, CS develops group norms and functions, and it expresses group identity. Furthermore, an L₂ cannot be as easily distinguished in CS speech as in interlanguage use” (Franceschini 1998: 62).

Franceschini (*ibid.*: 52) further acknowledges that the various forms of differently motivated bilingual behaviour are “not clearly understood”²⁹. Owing to this dispute over the definitions of the terminology, the literature on code-switching can be rather confusing and sometimes contradictory. Indeed, as if this conflicting terminology was not enough to confuse matters, the situation is further complicated by controversy over various scholars’ attempts at forming an overarching theory of code-switching. As yet there has been no consensus as to how one should attempt to analyse data containing passages of code-switching. These differing perspectives are outlined below.

The study of code-switching in sociocultural linguistics can be divided into several different strands which sometimes overlap. A very thorough literature review is provided by Nilep (2006), who gives details of the contrasting approaches and interests of different scholars. The issues involved are quite complex and a full explanation is beyond the scope of this thesis. I will, however, attempt to provide a brief overview of the most important theories and suggestions put forward by scholars over the last decade or so, in the hope that it will shed some light on the functions of code-switching and thereby

²⁹ Franceschini provides a list of publications that have debated the definitions of some of these phenomena at length (Franceschini 1998: 67).

contextualise the Okinawan data vis-à-vis the separate phenomena of so-called interdialects etc.

The various perspectives on code-switching may be viewed as a continuum: at one end of the scale is the social psychological approach led by Carol Myers-Scotton, and at the other end, the Conversational Analytic (CA) approach led by Peter Auer. Others fall somewhere in between these two contrasting perspectives, and many studies attempt to reconcile the two by drawing on aspects of both in an effort to achieve a balanced perspective. To date, it is only the social psychological approach which has an associated theoretical model – the “markedness model” introduced by Carol Myers-Scotton, a refined version of which is proposed in Myers-Scotton (1993). This model attempts to define what motivates speakers’ code choices when code-switching in terms of the benefits and costs for various speech behaviours. Code choices are indexical of particular “Rights and Obligations sets” (RO sets) between participants in a given interaction type. Speakers are said to make “unmarked” or “marked” choices which are considered to be the expected or unexpected code choices for particular social circumstances.

Critics³⁰ of the markedness model claim that, since it relies very heavily on conversation-external knowledge, the markedness model explains code-switching on the basis of the analyst’s assumptions about the speakers’ understanding of the speech situation and the norms of society at large. Accordingly, critics consider Myers-Scotton’s approach to be a top-down, analyst-oriented one, which does not reflect how conversation participants themselves interpret language choices. Critics have also pointed out that the markedness model is difficult to implement for analysts who are not themselves immersed in the

³⁰ For example Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994).

particular society in which their data are collected, and who do not have the in-depth knowledge required to make judgements about local societal norms. The same criticism has been levelled by Peter Auer (1984) at Gumperz's concept of situational switching. Moreover, empirical studies have failed to support the markedness model. Auer (1995: 118) points out that "many speech activities are not tied to one particular language, and even among those which have a tendency to be realised more often in one language than in another, the correlation is never strong enough to predict language choice in more than a probabilistic way". Despite these criticisms, claims Nilep, "the markedness model is probably the most influential and most fully developed model of CS [code-switching] motivations" (Nilep 2006: 37).

The CA approach differs from the social psychological approach in that it is less theory-driven, and more oriented towards the close sequential analysis of conversational interaction. The work of Peter Auer has been very influential in this field. Auer argues that it is possible to account for code-switching behaviour without appeal to the "conversation-external knowledge about language use" (Auer 1998: 10) required by the markedness model. The CA approach has yielded many insights into the workings of code-switching exemplified by the following:

- 1) No significant correlation between the content of the topic of conversation itself and language form has been found (Auer's analyses of Italian migrant children in Germany, 1984).
- 2) There is a strong tendency for speakers to maintain the language of the previous conversational turn, and to code-switch for initiating turns (Auer 1984, 1995)
- 3) CS may also serve to accomplish repair (Sebba and Wootton 1998), soften

refusals (Li Wei 2005), attract the attention of a listener by virtue of its “otherness” (Li Wei 1998), act as a cue for restarting a conversation (Li Wei 1998), and contextualise certain speech acts such as story-telling, topic change, setting off quotations, etc. (Alfonzetti 1998).

- 4) “Whenever intrasentential code-switching occurs, intersentential switching is a matter of course, but not all code-switching situations/communities which allow intersentential switching also allow intrasentential switching” (Auer 1998: 3).

The CA approach has been criticised for the opposite reasons to criticism of the markedness model. Critics point out that the CA approach “ignores cultural information” and therefore “risks missing important elements of the function and meaning” (Nilep 2006: 45). Some scholars acknowledge that the sequential analysis of interaction alone is insufficient to account for code-switching, and that it is also necessary to consider identity as an important factor. For instance, according to Sebba and Wootton (1998: 281), “evidence from London Jamaican data suggests that in addition to local, sequential explanations of CS, it is also necessary to look at the interaction as a whole, as well as the wider context in which it is located. (...) Such interpretations must take into account the shifting and negotiating nature of social identities with talk as well as the values attached to the different codes by their speakers”.

According to Nilep (2006: 54), the optimal approach to understanding code-switching would “include ethnographic observation with close analysis of discourse, providing an empirical warrant for any theory of discourse interaction”. It is this balanced method of analysis which has been a primary aim of my investigation into code-switching behaviour in Okinawa. Matsumori (1995) concedes that “not much is known about the patterns of

their [Ryukyuan] code-switching and code-mixing behaviours”, and that “a cohesive study is needed as to what kind of constraints (whether universal or language specific) are relevant in the switch from one language to another, and what kind of situational, contextual, and personal factors influence the choice of codes” (Matsumori, 1995: 35). It is hoped that this thesis contributes towards filling this lacuna in the literature.

2.2.7 Mixed codes

Another language contact phenomenon that is mentioned in the literature is “mixed codes”. According to Auer (1998), a mixed code may be code-switching that has undergone a process of “grammaticalisation”. Auer explains the differences between mixed codes and code-switching as follows:

“Mixed codes contain numerous and frequent cases of alternation between two languages when seen from a linguist’s point of view, but these singular occurrences of alternation do not carry meaning *qua* language choice for the bilingual participants (although they will usually be able to recognise them). That such a mixed code is used at all may of course be a noticeable event for the speakers, just as the absence of mixing may be noticeable; yet the individual cases of alternation receive neither discourse- nor participant-related interpretations” (Auer 1998: 16).

Auer further explains that as features become grammaticalised into the new mixed code, there emerges a “new structural division of linguistic labour between the elements originally taken from language A and those from language B” (Auer 1998: 20). In other words, variation decreases in the course of grammaticalisation, and features begin to appear in complementary distribution with regard to their semantic domain and function. This process may result in a variety in which, for example, discourse in language A is

segmented by discourse markers in language B. Examples of this type of mixed code are discussed in Oesch Serra (1998) and Maschler (1998).

It is unclear whether or not the aforementioned Verlan sociolect described by Doran (2004) (mentioned here in Section 2.2.3) would count as a mixed code according to Auer's criteria. Indeed, Auer mentions the difficulty in distinguishing between code-switching and mixed codes thus: "(Functional) code-switching and usage of a mixed code often co-occur in a given conversation so that it is analytically difficult to disentangle the two phenomena" (Auer 1998: 16).

As we shall see, the code-switching observed in my Okinawan data is not conventionalised (see Chapter 4.7.6). In this respect, it is similar to "Urban Wolof", as described in Swigart (1992). Swigart notes that Urban Wolof is "available only to relatively balanced bilinguals", and that items from both Wolof and French coexist and "may occur alongside one another in the course of a single utterance" (Swigart 1992: 89). He argues that this can be viewed as constituting not two codes but one mixed code with an expanded lexicon including words from both languages that express subtle shades of meaning. Swigart (1992: 92) also points out that the notion that this type of code-switching constitutes an autonomous variety is not a new one, and cites other case studies that make the same suggestion, such as Ure (1972: 226) and more recently Gibbons (1987: 41).

2.2.8 Split (mixed) languages

As noted in Section 2.2.4, Heinrich (2007) uses the term "mixed language" to denote any kind of hybrid variety that incorporates elements from both the vernaculars and Japanese.

Unfortunately, his usage of this term has the potential to cause confusion, since the term “mixed language” is usually used in the literature to refer to a very specific and extreme type of language contact phenomenon. For many scholars (for example Matras 2007, Jones & Singh 2005), a “mixed language” is one that incorporates the grammatical structure of one language and the lexicon of another – certainly not a feature of any language use in the Ryukyu Islands. Bakker (2007) further differentiates between what he calls “intertwined languages”, “converted languages” and “lexically mixed languages”. These he describes as “L-G (lexicon-grammar) mixed languages”, “F-S (form-semantics) mixed languages” and “V-N (verb-noun) mixed languages” respectively. Myers-Scotton (2007) suggests an alternative term - “split language”, and I use this hereafter in order to distinguish these special varieties from Heinrich's generic usage of the term.

There is some controversy as to how split languages should be defined as a concept. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) suggested that they should be defined very narrowly as languages that have evolved from two “parents”. Linguists have traditionally assumed that in the “normal” course of linguistic evolution, languages evolve from only one parent. Dixon (1997: 11) explains this as follows: “when two groups of people – each speaking a distinct language – merge to form one community, with a single language, this will be a genetic descendant of just one of the original languages, not both of them equally (it is, however, likely to have a sizeable substratum or superstratum from the second language)”.

There is also debate as to how split languages are formed, more specifically whether they can arise as a conventionalisation of intra-sentential code-switching. Several scholars, including Mous (2007) and Myers-Scotton (1998) suggest that code-switching may lead to the emergence of a split language, whilst others, for example Bakker (1997), are convinced that this is not the case.

Such controversy arising from the differing perspectives given above will now be explained in further detail using specific examples.

Perhaps the best-known example of a split language is Ma'á, spoken in Tanzania, East Africa. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) assume that Ma'á was originally a Cushitic language (a language family which is related to the Arabic languages of North Africa) since a substantial part of the vocabulary is Cushitic. They suggest that a group of Ma'á speakers must have come into contact with Bantu (Niger-Congo family) speakers after migrating south. From this they deduce that Ma'á became syntactically more like a Bantu language, but that much of the original Ma'á vocabulary was retained because of the speakers' pride in their traditional culture and heritage. Mous (1994), on the other hand, suggests that the original language would have been Bantu, and that Ma'á is a special in-group register of the Bantu language Mbugu. This register, he claims, would have been deliberately created via extensive lexical borrowing from a Cushitic language as an assertion of the in-group's tribal identity.

Another example of a split language cited by Thomason and Kaufman is Mednyj (Copper Island) Aleut, from the Bering Strait. In the case of Mednyj Aleut, the noun morphology comes from Aleut, the verb morphology comes from Russian and the lexicon comes from from both source languages. According to Golovko (1994), this language was deliberately "invented" by the children of Russian seal hunter/fur trader men and Aleut women. These children, called "creoles", were a special social group who created Copper Island Aleut by combining elements of Aleut and Russian to reflect their own ethnic identity.

Bakker (1997) cites another example of a split language – Michif, which is spoken in central and western Canada. Michif is similar to Copper Island Aleut in that it has emerged as a result of contact between traders from a dominant culture and local indigenous tribes – in this case French Canadian fur hunters and Cree and Ojibwe Indians. Again, this split language comprises a near-equal measure of elements of the languages of both French and Cree – the nouns and adjectives apparently being from French and the verbs from Cree, whilst the grammar is from both constituent languages.

One of the aims of Chapter 4 of this thesis is to counter the ambiguity created by Heinrich and Osumi's reference to “mixed language” and “hybrid language”. By analysing language use closely, I am able to show the precise nature of the linguistic mixtures encountered in Naha/Shuri. Since none of these conforms to the definition of a split language, I argue that terminology such as “mixed language” should be avoided in the context of a discussion about language shift in Okinawa.

2.3 Perspectives on language shift

In Section 2.2, I reviewed literature concerning various types of language contact phenomena and their relevance to language shift and death. In this section, I provide an overview of some major theoretical perspectives on language shift and bilingualism, and note the extent to which these have been drawn upon in the Ryukyuanist literature. In describing these theoretical models, I intend to highlight the fact that the perspective taken by the models is one that is more language-oriented than speaker-oriented. This contrasts the predominantly speaker-oriented perspective evident in my analyses (both synchronic and diachronic).

2.3.1 Progressive erasure

Tsitsipis (1998, 2003) proposes an approach to analysing language shift which he names “progressive erasure”. This approach highlights the way in which the structural consequences of ideologically driven language shift are continually reinterpreted as evidence of the ideology's validity. This theoretical framework identifies four stages of language shift characterised by the processes of fragmentation, marginalisation, sublimation and subordination. These are described briefly below:

- 1) Fragmentation – the functions of the language are restricted. Heinrich (2005b: 3-4) reports that fragmentation of the Ryukyuan languages was brought about by administrative reforms, the emergence of news reporting and modern literature, and the start of compulsory school education. Japanese was used in these domains in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and thus was acknowledged as the language of modernity and the language of the written word.
- 2) Marginalisation – the weakened status brought about as a result of fragmentation is reproduced. According to Heinrich (2005b: 4-5), the marginalisation of Ryukyuan languages was evident in the process of borrowing from Japanese to supplement the much smaller lexical range of local languages. Ryukyuan honorific registers were replaced by honorific Japanese, and negative attitudes towards the vernaculars emerged.
- 3) Sublimation – the language becomes marked, i.e. it ceases to be the expected, neutral norm. Heinrich (2005b: 5-6) links the onset of this stage to the interruption of intergenerational transmission of Ryukyuan languages around 1950. After this time, the vernaculars were used by young people only in restricted contexts such

as joke-telling, arguments etc. (Motonaga 1994: 256). Older speakers born before 1950 could use Ryukyuan languages only in casual conversations with other bilinguals.

- 4) Subordination – the point of no return, where the speech community can no longer question the influence of the dominant culture. Heinrich (2005b: 6) remarks that, unless efforts are made to reverse language shift in the Ryukyus, the local languages will be subordinated when there are no speakers left who were born before 1950.

With the exception of Heinrich (2005b), other Ryukyuanist scholars have not applied any such theoretical model from the existing literature. The progressive erasure approach is one that is particularly abstract and language-oriented in its perspective, and the model does not provide a convenient basis for describing how language shift relates to the ways in which different, coexisting subgroups of speakers use language – or mix language – in everyday conversation. On the other hand, it is a good framework upon which to base a discussion of the relationships between the language shift process, historical events and language ideology.

2.3.2 The Gaelic-Arvanitika Model (GAM)

A well-known model of language shift is the Gaelic-Arvanitika model (GAM). The GAM was introduced in Sasse (1992a), and is based on the three types of phenomena listed below:

1. External setting – extra-linguistic factors e.g. political, historical or economic
2. Speech behaviour – code choice, domains of use, language attitudes etc.
3. Structural consequences – resulting changes in the language e.g. syntax, phonology

According to the model, these sets of phenomena constitute a chain of events linked by a cause-effect relationship. The phenomena of the external setting create pressure upon a speech community to abandon its language in favour of another, stronger language. This, in turn, triggers certain speech behaviours, and the eventual result is structural alterations to the language.

The GAM distinguishes three stages of language shift: “primary language shift”, “language decay”, and “language death and language replacement”. In the first stage, a “substantial portion of a bilingual speech community shows a simultaneous or nearly simultaneous shift in their primary (P) language from the A [abandoned] language to the T [target] language” (Sasse 1992a: 13). The result of this is an interruption in language transmission. Primary language shift is followed by a stage of “language decay”, that is, serious linguistic disintegration which is typical of the speech of semi-speakers. The final stage is language death, which is defined by Sasse (1992a: 18) as “the cessation of regular communication in the language”. This model influenced the discussion of Okinawan language shift in Chapter 5.5.

2.3.3 The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Possibly the best known of these theoretical models of language shift is Fishman’s

Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). Fishman first described the GIDS in his influential publication *Reversing Language Shift* (1991). Since then it has been used by many fieldworkers as a guide for “diagnosing” what stage a minority language has reached in the process of language shift, as well as a framework for approaching the task of language revitalisation or revival by working towards specific targets (see case studies in Fishman (Ed.) 2001). The GIDS comprises a continuum of eight stages, where stage one represents a relatively healthy language and stage eight represents one on the verge of death. The point at which the intergenerational transmission link is broken is between stages six and seven (shown here by a double line). Note that e.g. “Xish” denotes the minority language, and “Ymen” denotes members of the dominant culture.

Table 3: The Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

Stage	Description
8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks
7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active members of the population but they are beyond child-bearing age
6	The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
4	Xish in lower education ... that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws
3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen
2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either
1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence)

Source: Fishman (1991: 88-107)

Incidentally, because there is no longer intergenerational transmission of the vernaculars in the Ryukyus, the various varieties are at stage seven or eight on the GIDS, depending on the dialect.

The GIDS allows the analyst to build up a picture of what is happening to the language in terms of its restriction of usage in certain domains, but it does not reveal much about how speakers actually use their linguistic repertoire in everyday conversation, for example by code-switching and borrowing.

2.3.4 The Marked Bilingualism Model (MBM)

The Marked Bilingualism Model (MBM) was introduced by Batibo (1992, 2005) and formed on the basis of his language surveys in Tanzania and Botswana. Through his model, Batibo describes the language shift process in a different way from Fishman. He mentions not only the specific contracting domains of use, but also describes the process in terms of the emergence of different types of bilingual speaker, as the abandoned language (L₁) gradually recedes and is displaced by the target language (L₂). What follows is an abridged version of Batibo's five-phase model as set out in his publication *Language Decline and Death in Africa: Causes, Consequences and Challenges* (2005).

Table 4: The Marked Bilingualism Model (MBM)

Phase	Description
1	Relative monolingualism: the bulk of speakers remain monolingual and use their language in all or most domains. The majority of speakers are rural, conservative and not much exposed to education, urban life, migration or inter-ethnic activity.
2	Bilingualism with L₁ predominance: a dominant or more prestigious language L ₂ encroaches on L ₁ (...) A diglossic situation arises in which L ₂ is used in the higher (H) public functions or for wider communication, such as inter-ethnic interaction, trade and local administration, while L ₁ remains the language used in most village communication, intra-ethnic interaction and family life. It assumes the lower status (L). At this stage, L ₁ is the more frequently used language as it is the medium used in most domains (...) Instances of code-switching, interference and borrowing from L ₂ are minimal at this stage.
3	Bilingualism with L₂ predominance: when L ₂ becomes the primary language ... Due to the great prestige and more extensive use elsewhere of L ₂ , it is increasingly used in the other domains of L ₁ until it assumes most of the domains that previously belonged to L ₁ . At this stage, L ₂ becomes the most frequently used language and the form with which the speakers are more at ease. L ₂ is now used even in village activities and some family interactions, while L ₁ is restricted mostly to family and cultural activities ... At this stage, we expect to see extensive code-switching and borrowing from L ₂ when members of the community speak L ₁ .
4	Restricted use of/competence in L₁: when the functions of L ₁ are so reduced that people use L ₁ forms only in specific situations, such as initiation ceremonies, rituals or folkloric performances. Such communities have lost their ability to use L ₁ in its original form and, by implication, their stylistic competence in the language (...) Only a few old men, and especially women, might still be familiar with the linguistic forms as originally used. Members of the community, however, might nevertheless assume that the language remains vibrant as part of their ethnic identity.
5	L₁ as a substratum: the stage at which L ₁ can be described as dead as it is no longer used in the community. However, the community may have kept its ethnonym and some of its traditions. Some of the linguistic characteristics of L ₁ often remain as residual features in L ₂ . Such phenomena, known as <i>substratum features</i> , may involve prosodic, phonetic, phonological, semantic or lexical elements (...). In some cases, L ₁ may disappear without leaving any linguistic traces.

Source: Batibo (Batibo 2005: 90-91)

Batibo (1992: 82) describes the MBM as representing “phases of language shift”, whereas Ihemere (2007: 323) presents the same model as a “typology of bilingualism”.

According to my data, language shift in Okinawa has reached phase four of Batibo's model, but will shift to phase five within the next fifty years or so, since a generation of young people are now monolingual in Japanese with substrative features of *Uchinaaguchi* (see Chapter 4.5 for details). Note that speakers exhibiting the types of bilingualism described in phases two and three also presently exist in the Okinawan speech community, due to the rapidity of the language shift process, particularly in the Naha/Shuri area. My synchronic and diachronic analyses of language shift in Okinawa are therefore based loosely on the MBM, but I make it clear that the “phases” are initiated by the emergence of different subgroups of speakers that coexist in the community.

2.3.5 New perspectives from the emerging field of language dynamics

The phenomenon of language shift has recently attracted the interest of scholars – many of them physicists – who are trained in the application of computer simulations for testing models and hypotheses. In his overview of the emerging field of language dynamics, Wichmann (2008) notes that this interest appears to have been triggered by the publication of papers on the dynamics of language extinction by Sutherland (2003) and Abrams and Strogatz (2003), which appeared in the journals *Science* and *Nature* respectively. Until the publication of these papers, those involved in the field of language dynamics had mainly been interested in the transmission and evolution of structural properties of language. According to Wichmann (2008) the main themes explored to date have been the stability of typological features (e.g. Croft 1996), comparison between the rate of change of different languages (e.g. Nettle 1999b); the diffusion of features across languages (e.g. Holman et al. 2007); and computational simulations of the effects of population and physical barriers on language competition (e.g. Schulze and Stauffer 2007).

Whilst there is much for a linguist to learn from the physicists' agent-based, computational approach, the physicists' view of language can appear overly simplistic. Abrams and Strogatz (2003), for example, take the language-oriented perspective of language shift to such an extreme that it appears that they have completely lost sight of the fact that a language is spoken by people. In their article entitled *Modelling the dynamics of language death*, Abrams and Strogatz develop a simple model of language competition, which they claim explains historical data on the decline of Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, Quechua and other endangered languages. They provide a mathematical formula that models language decline in terms of what fraction of the population speaks one of two “competing” languages X and Y at any one time, as well as the perceived status of these languages. The resulting quadratic equation is:

$$dx/dt = yP_{yx}(x,s) - xP_{xy}(x,s)$$

Whilst this equation might look impressive to a linguist not well versed in mathematics, its weakness is apparent in Abrams and Strogatz's stated assumptions, which linguists are likely to find somewhat unrealistic. Abrams and Strogatz state that their model “idealises language as fixed, and as competing with each other for speakers”. They add that, for reasons of simplicity, they also “assume a highly connected population, with no spatial or social structure, in which all speakers are monolingual”. It is this final assumption that is perhaps the most problematic, since all communities undergoing language shift are necessarily bilingual. Abrams and Strogatz inform us that:

“Contrary to the model's stark prediction, bilingual societies do, in fact, exist. But the histories of

countries where two languages coexist today generally involve split populations that lived without significant interaction, effectively in separate, monolingual societies. Only recently have these communities begun to mix, allowing language competition to begin” (Abrams & Strogatz 2003).

To say that this misses the mark is something of an understatement. I will not elaborate further on the weaknesses of this top-down approach. It should suffice to point out that this field has a long way to go before it can provide theoretical models that reflect real-life situations. The important point to stress here is that these computational methods have the potential to be extremely useful in the modelling of complex systems such as language shift, provided that they account for all the factors that influence the process and are based on good quality empirical data that has been amassed as a result of thorough quantitative and qualitative analyses. The supply of this kind of data is the task of the linguist. In Chapter 6.2, I suggest that the language shift process has the potential to be represented by computer simulation if the phenomenon is viewed as an emergent one.

2.3.6 Categorisation of speakers into sociolinguistic subgroups or cohorts

In this thesis, I divide speakers into four separate subgroups based on their speech behaviour. This is by no means an innovative approach, and there are several such categorisation systems in the literature, and a wide array of terminology relating to the names of subgroups. The tendency is to define subgroups according to the speakers' competence in the abandoned language. The names of the subgroups do not provide information about competence in the target language, method of acquisition, and general speech habits (such as code-switching).

Dorian (1989) describes the difficulty associated with categorising speakers who belong to a continuum of proficiency. She points out that, whichever subgroup names are used, they are:

“...inadequate to distinguish among those who can understand a language but not speak it; dredge up a few fossilised expressions and/or some lexical items; say the little they can say in socially appropriate but linguistically flawed fashion; say little in flawed linguistic fashion but socially inappropriately as well; speak readily at some length but with many and obvious deviations from the conservative norm; speak easily in a strikingly modified 'young people's' version of an ancestral tongue; be conservative in lexicon but not in phonology or morphology; be conservative in phonology but not in morphology or lexicon; speak in a fashion different from their age-mates an ancestral tongue in which they were once fully fluent but which they have latterly had almost no occasion to use; and so on through the limitless possibilities of combination and recombination of capacities” (Dorian 1989: 2).

One example of such a categorisation system is proposed by Campbell and Muntzel (1989). Their system divides speakers into four subgroups as follows:

S = “strong” or “(nearly) fully competent” speakers

I = “imperfect” speakers, i.e. reasonably fluent so-called “semi-speakers”

W = “weak semi-speakers” with more restricted speaking competence

R = “rememberers” who know only a few words or isolated phrases

The term “semi-speaker” was introduced in Dorian (1977). Sasse (1992a: 15) succinctly defines the term as representing “that speaker generation which results from the

interruption of language transmission”. Sasse notes that “semi-speakers are therefore characterised by an imperfect knowledge of A [the abandoned language]”, and that “their speech often shows a pidgin-like simplification of syntax and a strong insecurity in the mapping of forms and functions”. Tsitsipis (1981) instead uses the term “terminal speakers” to refer to these imperfect speakers, but Sasse (*ibid.*) suggests that Dorian's term is “preferable, because terminal, i.e. last generation speakers must not necessarily be imperfect speakers”.

Another term that has been popularised in the literature is “rusty speaker”, which was coined by Menn (1989: 345), and used again by Sasse (1992a, 1992b). A very clear definition of this term is provided by Jones and Singh (2005: 86), who characterise rusty speakers as “people who despite having a reasonable knowledge of the grammatical system of a language usually have certain gaps in this area and in their vocabulary. These are the individuals who were born before transmission of the language had been significantly interrupted but who have not attained fluency due to a lack of regular communication in the language”.

Although this very useful terminology has been developed and used in discussions of language shift for decades, Ryukyuanist scholars have not generally applied these terms to the Ryukyuan situation. One exception is Heinrich (2005a), who uses the term “semi-speakers” in a brief description of sociolinguistic subgroups in the Ryukyu Islands. Heinrich describes the situation thus: “In addition to the older generation, usually proficient in a Ryukyuan language variety, the middle generation often has passive skills and some of them can even be regarded as semi-speakers. The young generation is overwhelmingly monolingual Japanese”.

One objective of this thesis is to apply the existing terminology to the Ryukyuan situation in a more detailed and informative way than has previously been done. In my analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, I base my four-group categorisation system on the one given in Sasse (1992b: 61-62), since he defines the terms not only according to speaker competence but also method of acquisition – that is, whether the speakers had the language transmitted to them by their parents, or whether they learnt it from listening to older speakers in the community in the absence of transmission at home. Sasse points out that Campbell and Muntzel's aforementioned (1989) categorisation system “captures only the degree of competence without specifying where the differences lie” (Sasse 1992b: 62). Sasse uses the terms “full speaker”, “rusty speaker” and “semi-speaker”. To this, I add the term - “non-speaker”. I define a non-speaker as somebody who is monolingual in the target language, but whose speech contains a trace substratum of the abandoned language, which mostly takes the form of single-lexeme insertions.

2.4 Summary

This review has incorporated discussion of material from a wide range of disciplines including endangered languages, historical linguistics, and psycholinguistics. My findings show that, in the general body of literature on endangered languages, code-switching and (historical) language change, the discussion of matters of language contact phenomena is much more focused and detailed in its terminology than that advanced by Ryukyuanist scholars to date. I have shown how literature from Ryukyuanist scholars has used terminology relating to language mixtures in ways that have led to a rather vague picture of how language use has changed in Okinawa during the language shift process. In describing language mixtures, non-Ryukyuanist scholars have tended to determine

much more clearly whether they are dealing with an instance of code-switching, interlanguage, a mixed urban sociolect of the dominant language, or a split language.

In this chapter, I have also provided an overview of some theoretical models of language shift from the literature. I have pointed out that Ryukyuanist scholars have tended not to draw on these as a resource for the analysis of Ryukyuan language shift. I have also discussed how these models view the language shift process mainly from the perspective of the language itself rather than that of language users. The study of language shift has generally been oriented towards the macro- rather than the micro-level in that has been concerned with language change on a societal level rather than how it is initiated by individuals. This thesis takes a different perspective that places more emphasis on the language *users*, such that, for example, “language users of category A code-switch between languages X and Y in certain situations”, or “language users of category B do not speak language X because it was not transmitted to them by language users of category A”.

Chapter 3: Research methods and ethics

3.0 Introduction

This chapter comprises two main sections. In the first, I explain how recordings were collected and then analysed for the investigation into the speech behaviour of individuals. I include a discussion of problems encountered with regard to methodology, and how these problems were resolved. In the second section, I deal with ethical issues pertaining to the collection and treatment of data. This research was approved by the University of Sydney Human Ethics Committee (Approval Number 9493).

3.1 Research methods

In late 2003 I went to Naha, Okinawa, with the intention of making my own recordings of different generations of Okinawans conversing in everyday situations. From the beginning of my three-month stay, I made efforts to immerse myself as deeply as possible into the community, in order to find out what kind of language people were actually using in their daily lives, whether that be Japanese, *Uchinaaguchi*, or some kind of mixture of the two.

3.1.1 The recordings and participants

The data used for the detailed analysis of speech behaviour comprised seven recorded conversations, each of about twenty to forty minutes. The recordings involved a total of fifteen participants, who are listed in the table below in order of age, from youngest to oldest. Each participant has been assigned a letter of the alphabet for unique identification (the column headed “Participant ID”).

Table 5: The participants

Participant ID	Gender (M/F)	Year of Birth	Age (years at 2003)
A	F	1987	16
B	F	1986	17
C	F	1968	35
D	F	1963	40
E	M	1954	49
F	M	1952	51
G	M	1952	51
H	F	1949	54
J	M	1948	55
K	M	1942	61
L	F	1941	62
M	F	1935	68
N	F	1932	71
P	M	1930	73
Q	F	1928	75

The table below shows the participants in each conversation and their relationships to each other. The conversations are numbered (C1, C2...) for easy reference. “P” stands for “Participant”, “M” for “male” and “F” for “female. The term “acquaintance” signifies a level of friendship that is intimate enough to use informal language (plain style inflections), but one that is not based on daily contact and frequent conversations.

Table 6: Relationships between the participants

Recording	P1			P2			P3			Relationship
	ID	Sex	Age	ID	Sex	Age	ID	Sex	Age	
C1	A	F	16	B	F	17				school friends
C2	C	F	35	N	F	71	P	M	73	daughter, mother and father
C3	D	F	40	J	M	55				student and teacher; friends
C4	D	F	40	Q	F	75				acquaintances
C5	E	M	49	F	M	51	H	F	54	students and teacher; friends
C6	J	M	55	K	M	61				server and customer; acquaintances
C7	L	F	62	M	F	68	G	M	51	work colleagues; acquaintances

3.1.2 Recording method

This study intrinsically required recordings of conversations that were as natural and informal as possible. Recordings of interviews or other such formal situations would reveal much less about the participants' everyday speech behaviour, because what speakers say about their behaviour does not necessarily reflect how they behave in practice. Moreover, in formal situations such as interviews, Okinawans typically revert to the prestige variety, Standard Japanese. Secret recording would seem to be ideal, since that method would be likely to capture the most natural-sounding conversation. However, this method presents ethical problems. According to Adler & Adler (1994), some researchers have used deceptive methods. There is ongoing debate as to whether covert recordings are an ethically acceptable research method, but the general view in

sociolinguistics is that they should be banned by law because they involve deception, and are an invasion of privacy. For my research, alternative methods that would produce similar results were therefore considered. Eventually it was decided that the researcher would cede control of the recording process to the participants. This procedure will hereafter be known as the “cession of control” method.

It could be argued that an overt recording method (and transparency as to the identity of the researcher and purpose of the recordings), risks speakers becoming self-conscious of their language use and topic of conversation. Aside from the ethical issues relating to covert recording, this would be a fair criticism of my methodology. On the other hand, I found that, in practice, the speakers' awareness of the recording device only resulted in slightly stilted conversation for the first few seconds of recording, after which participants relaxed and forgot that the recorder was there. Sometimes the speakers' self-awareness turned out to be advantageous, because the local languages themselves often became a topic of conversation, whereas they probably would not have been under normal circumstances. Moreover, the informative content of these informal conversations about language provided insights into the lay population's views on language shift and usage of the associated terminology (see Excerpt 1 in Chapter 4.2, for example), as well as revealing speakers' attitudes to certain ways of speaking (see Excerpt 45 in Chapter 4.5.6). In Chapter 4, I comment on some of the content of the conversations, and discuss the extent to which the speakers are in agreement with written sources.

The cession of control method has its advantages and disadvantages. Its advantages are as follows:

1. Participants would have direct control over every aspect of the recording process, thus involving them directly in the study rather than presenting them with a “them and us” scenario of “researcher versus participants”.
2. Many fieldworkers report that it is difficult to seek permission before every single recording, so as to ensure that recording is always carried out overtly. This does not apply to the cession of control method. The researcher must only seek permission to use the resulting recording in a scholarly paper.
3. The cession of control method minimises what Milroy (1987) calls the “observer effect”, since the researcher is not present during the recordings. In my case, this was particularly important to consider, given that, when in Okinawa, I am a foreigner with non-native speaking and comprehension abilities in both Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi*. The cession of control method was not dependent on my own linguistic ability, so there was no danger that speakers would perceive the need to choose a code that would involve me in conversation.
4. I was unable to direct the proceedings of a conversational situation inadvertently. All I had was what was on the disc when it was returned to me.

The disadvantages of the cession of control method are as follows:

1. The “observer effect” could never be totally resolved, since participants were aware from the outset that the researcher would eventually listen to their recording.
2. There was always a risk that the recording equipment could be lost or damaged.
3. Potential ethical problems relating to personal privacy were not completely

eliminated by the cession of control (see Section 3.2 for more details).

4. When it came to transcribing the recordings, I was unable to include information about non-verbal behaviour, since I was not present to take notes during the recording process.

Control of the recording process was ceded as described below. One participant from each group (of two or three people) was provided with an MD (minidisc) recorder and shown how to use the record and playback functions (see Section 3.1.4 for details of the recording equipment). This person (hereafter known as the controller) was then asked to take charge of the recording process. I suggested that they could record either by carrying the minidisc player in their pocket and attaching a small microphone to their clothing, or by setting up the recording equipment on a table in a room. Each group of speakers was able to record a conversation at a time and place of their choice, when they were in a relaxed setting, without the researcher present. This meant that the recordings I eventually used for analysis were taken in a wide range of locations. One group recorded their conversation in a restaurant, while another recorded in a shopping mall. Others recorded in the comfort of their own homes.

Participants were told that, since the controller had command of the recording device, they were free to capture their own natural conversation in whatever way they wished. I suggested that one way of achieving this would be for the controller to press the “record” button at a random point in a conversation, when they judged all other participants in the interaction to have forgotten that there was a recording device present. In some cases, the participants themselves decided that such a strategy was not necessary, as they were confident that they could produce natural conversation even in the knowledge that the

recorder was switched on. One pair, for example, were traditional musicians who were in the process of recording an album at the time of my study. With no access to a recording studio, they had to record at home using their own basic equipment. The album was recorded at night between about midnight and six o'clock in the morning when there was minimal background noise. During this time there were recording devices running constantly, so these participants had become accustomed to conversing normally with a recording device present, and then listening to their voices on playback. Two of the recordings used for this thesis were taken under these circumstances. I have analysed these conversations on the basis of my assessment that they are natural and unstilted. They certainly seem to be, judging by the participants' tone of voice and relaxed dialogue flow.

To ensure the protection of the participants' personal information, I arranged a meeting with them after they had finished recording. It was during this meeting that they were given an opportunity to listen to their recording and mark any portions they wished to be deleted. I then erased these portions as they watched. For any researcher considering using similar methods in future, I would suggest that this meeting with the participants is preceded by a stage in which the researcher listens to the recording in full, and makes appropriate deletions before playing back the recording to the whole group of participants (see Section 3.2 for an explanation).

3.1.3 Gaining access to the community

Upon arrival in Okinawa I was confronted with the challenge of finding suitable participants. Note that this is not a study of the vernaculars, which would have necessitated an extensive search for older speakers who were proficient enough in

Uchinaaguchi to provide good data. This may have involved searching the rural areas and smaller islands for willing participants. As it was, I could theoretically record anyone, of any age, provided that they were from the local area. I had heard that *Uchinaaguchi* was rarely spoken in the prefectural capital Naha, but I wished to find out if this was true.

Despite the fact that I could be flexible in my selection of participants, the search was not without its problems. The number of local people one encounters depends on the particular area of town covered in a search. This naturally means that one is likely to hear *Uchinaaguchi* being spoken in some areas more than others. Naha is the biggest city in the Ryukyu Archipelago, and is also a transport hub for visitors from mainland Japan. I was told that many of the people I would meet in the commercialised, tourist-oriented main street that runs through the centre of town – *Kokusai-dōri* – would probably be tourists from the mainland, and that I should concentrate on the maze of narrow alleys adjacent to the market areas where local people run small shops and bars, hidden away from the main thoroughfares. These were the areas where I spent much time building up network ties with individuals in the speech community by gaining their trust.

I initially introduced myself to the community as a traveller, and got to know people by returning to the same places at mealtimes. I did not have the advantage of having made non-academic contacts in the community already, so it was necessary to build up a network from scratch. The advantage of finding participants by this networking method was that invitations to potential participants could be made very informally. I also ended up with a ready-made cross-section of the population, with participants aged from their teens to their seventies. There was also no difficulty in encouraging participants to converse with one another, since many people in the network had already known each other for years, and spoke to each other on a regular basis (a daily basis in some cases,

and roughly a weekly basis in the case of “acquaintances” – see Section 3.1.1 for details of participant interrelationships). There was, therefore, no need to create contrived conversational situations for purposes of the study, as might be necessary for an interview situation, for example. I was merely capturing what conversation was already naturally taking place.

Once I had established a small network of friends, it was possible to expand my network and make further contacts. Below are two examples of the way in which I expanded my networks. One day when I was hungry, I stopped at a tiny karaoke bar, which also advertised a basic menu of noodles and other snacks, as well as live traditional music. Inside, there was only room for about six or seven people. I realised that this intimate setting was ideal for acquainting myself with a small group of people through regular contact. Over the following weeks, I got to know the owner, bar staff, and their family and friends. In doing so, I immersed myself in their way of life. I made sure to cement my friendship with them first, rather than simply treating them as potential research participants. This often required that I fulfilled duties and repaid favours. For example, if they wanted me to help them shop for produce at four o'clock in the morning, I went with them. I made an effort to learn their language and their music, and sang karaoke with them. They took me with them to karate lessons, to a local radio station, and showed me around some local scenic spots. I also befriended some of the customers at the bar, one of whom worked at a nearby restaurant. I went to her restaurant to eat a few times, and we met for coffee on other occasions. I was introduced to her daughter and her daughter's friends. Another customer and friend of the bar owner worked at a local sweet shop, and this link allowed my network to expand further. I was introduced to her family and friends, including an elderly lady who ran the market stall next door to the sweet shop. Before long, I had found many potential participants of different generations, simply

through networking in this way.

In another, separate networking endeavour, I paid a visit to the *Junsuikai* (an Okinawan Language Club) in Shuri, where I met many middle-aged locals who were speaking the kind of mixed Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi* I was interested in recording. I began to attend the club every week, and eventually made friends there. I was taken to another karate club and introduced to the *sensei* and other members there. These people invited me to their homes for dinner, and we also met up occasionally at a bar in Shuri. I was very fortunate that they chose to participate in my study.

In a research method called “participant observation”, the researcher assumes the dual roles of participant and observer of a situation, rather than merely being a detached observer. In some ways, my method for gaining access to a community in preparation for taking audio recordings was similar. As I ceded control of the recording process to the informants, I did not participate directly in the conversations myself. Far from being a detached observer, however, I became involved in the everyday lives of the speakers by socialising and gaining their trust. This trust then had to be maintained, and relationships nurtured, not only through the duration of the fieldwork period, but also after returning home from the fieldtrip. This is why many of the advantages and disadvantages of participant observation apply also to my methodology.

Participant observation methods are advantageous in terms of their capacity to provide a good sample of natural, everyday conversation for a study of speech behaviour, but also have many drawbacks, which are listed below:

1. Regardless of the quality of the data, it is impossible to relate the results to the wider sociolinguistic context without a supplementary broad scale study. Fortunately, some statistical work has already been done on the sociolinguistic situation in Okinawa using questionnaires (e.g. Motonaga 1994; Osumi 2001; Heinrich 2007).
2. As Ihemere (2007: 141) points out, this method is “extremely demanding in terms of tact, energy, persistence, time and emotional involvement. Strong (and sometimes quite intense) relationships with individuals are built up over a period of even a few weeks”.
3. There is the possibility of rivalry between participants competing to be involved more closely with the researcher. I found that, as a foreigner who took an interest in the Okinawan culture, I was something of a novelty, and I was often invited to social events organised by participants in my research. Sometimes it was necessary to apologise and say that I had other engagements, only to have that participant discover later that I had been spending time socialising with a different group of participants. This occasionally caused jealousy to arise, and relationships became tense or broke down completely.
4. There is the potential for participants to become suspicious of the researcher's intentions. This turned out not to be a problem in my case, because many people in Okinawa are interested in language and culture in general, and although people often reacted with surprise that a foreigner should be interested in studying their language, I was not viewed with suspicion. Although Japan is a country where studying and drawing attention to minority culture can be politically problematic, at least it is not a dangerous activity for the scholar, as it is in some countries.
5. Problems could potentially arise from cultural disparity. I countered this as much as possible by making every effort to be sensitive to local customs, and

endeavouring to convey my own personality in a way that would not conflict with local expectations of conduct.

3.1.4 Recording equipment

Conversations were recorded on an MD (minidisc) player using a small microphone that can be laid on a table or pinned to a lapel. MD players are devices that provide a very clear recording, even when the conditions are unfavourable, for example when there is background noise, or when the microphone can only be placed at quite a distance from its target. Even if the device is set to “Long Play” to allow for more hours of recording, there is not much reduction in sound quality. In previous decades, it was more difficult for a fieldworker to record material of good sound quality in the field, but the recording process does not pose so much of a problem now that cassette recorders have been replaced with modern, high-specification devices. This is not to say, however, that the problem of background noise was completely eliminated (see Section 3.1.5).

3.1.5 Selection and transcription of the recordings

In this section I explain how the recordings for the first strand of investigation were selected, organised and transcribed.

By February 2004, I had reached the end of my three month stay in Okinawa, and had accumulated recordings of many different conversations between speakers of varying ages, amounting to several hours' worth of recorded material. The quality of the recordings was generally very good, but one or two were impossible to transcribe due to the presence of background noise. After these were set aside, I was left with seven

recordings in total, each of about ten to thirty minutes long. An index of the seven recordings is included in section 3.1.1.

The recordings were made before the advent of Hi-MD, when MD players did not store data in file format, so each recording had to be transferred to a computer in real time. These were then saved as .wav files, and password protected. Each file was burnt onto a DVD-ROM in order to preserve the quality and ensure the longevity of the original recordings. The recordings were then transcribed in full. The minidisc player functions allowed me to mark certain points in the conversations, and skip between tracks. I was also able to rewind and fast-forward easily, and set the device so that it would automatically play sections on continuous repeat, or slow down sections (without pitch change) to facilitate the transcription of rapid speech. In order to transcribe the recordings as accurately as possible, I later enlisted the assistance of the participants themselves, who made corrections and aided in the transcription of portions which were impossible for me to pick up by ear from the recording. This was particularly helpful when there was mention in the conversations of locations, objects or concepts specific to the speakers' in-group (e.g. in-jokes). Although the attainment of this level of accuracy in the transcription process was very time-consuming, I felt that it was necessary, given that the description of Okinawan code-switching behaviour is extremely limited in the literature.

Although I transcribed as many words of the conversations as possible, I chose not to transcribe every detail of discourse (e.g. pause times, speech overlapping etc.), but opted instead to include only those relevant to the thesis, i.e. the lexemes from different source codes. According to Ochs (1999 [1979]: 44), one of the important features of a transcript is selectivity; otherwise it becomes difficult to analyse.

I ended up with seven very accurate transcripts, which all featured some kind of mixture of Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi*, whether that be code-switching between the two, or *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (Japanese with extra vocabulary borrowed from *Uchinaaguchi*). It was immediately obvious on hearing the recordings that they featured varying degrees of language mixing. Predictably, the recordings of older speakers tended to feature more *Uchinaaguchi* than those of younger speakers, who used *Uchinaaguchi* words only very infrequently. In order that I would be able to see the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi* to Japanese at a glance, I combed through each transcript, highlighting it in different ways. It was this series of highlighted texts that was used as data for the synchronic analysis of speech behaviour in Naha/Shuri, documented in Chapter 4. On the basis of this analysis, I went on to create a diachronic profile of language shift in Okinawa, documented in Chapter 5.

3.2 Ethical considerations

Scholars involved in contemporary social research must consider the ethics of their fieldwork methods. This was not a priority in past decades, but now that the emphasis is on critical, participatory research, one must tread carefully in order not to invade people's privacy. Ihemere (2007: 182) summarises the problems in fieldwork, remarking that problems arise when researchers broach sensitive topics, invade people's private space, use covert methods, misrepresent field notes and so on.

It is generally considered that researchers carrying out this kind of fieldwork must always make their goals explicit (to the extent that this does not compromise the research aims), seek permission, and respect people's privacy. For my research, these requirements were

met in the following ways. First of all, potential participants were provided with an information statement explaining the study. Then those who wished to take part signed a consent form. This form made it clear that the data were to be used in a PhD thesis, that the participants' identities would be concealed, and that there would be an opportunity to play back the recordings and erase any parts the participants did not wish to be included for any reason (for example parts that revealed personal information not relevant to the study).

The cession of control over the recording device has its own ethical challenges, and any researcher considering using this method must be prepared to use discretion when encountering information of a personal nature. Below are three examples of problems encountered during my fieldwork which demanded that I exercise extreme sensitivity towards the participants by unilaterally erasing portions of a recording.

1. In one recording, a participant is heard criticising the professional work of a third party. Although this participant did not ask that the portion be erased, I judged that there was a possibility that they might be identified despite the use of pseudonyms. Given that this could potentially damage the participant's standing in the community, I unilaterally erased the portion in question.
2. In another recording, a participant is heard fighting verbally with a sibling. Harsh words are spoken, and accusations made and denied in aggressive tones. Although there may well have been interesting linguistic data in this portion, I decided to erase it in order to respect the privacy of the individuals involved.
3. After one recording session, a participant took away the MD player but forgot to switch it off. It was placed inside a bag for several hours, still recording on the

“Long Play” function. The bag was thrown into the back of a car. A few days later, the device was returned to me with the disc still inside. Upon listening to the recording, I discovered that events had been inadvertently captured that would cause embarrassment to all concerned. Fortunately, the disc was returned directly to me, and not via a third party who could potentially have abused the situation by revealing sensitive information. This incident also shows why it is important for the researcher to listen to the recording in full before playing it back to a whole group of speakers.

Situations like these show that a researcher requires more than just a set code of ethics, but also an understanding of that code, and a disposition sensitive enough to make appropriate decisions under the circumstances.

3.3 Summary

The objective of this chapter has been to explain the research methods used for this thesis. The stages of fieldwork procedure have been explained, and problems associated with fieldwork methods and ethical issues have been discussed. The next chapter documents the results of the investigation into the speech behaviour of individuals belonging to different subgroups of speakers in Naha.

Chapter 4: The synchronic dimension

4.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to characterise the speech behaviour of the participants featured in the audio recordings (see Chapter 3.1.2 for details of the recording process). The speakers are allotted to four subgroups according to the extent to which they use *Uchinaaguchi*, and the ways in which they use *Uchinaaguchi* together with Japanese. In this chapter, we are not only interested in the speech behaviour of individuals within a particular subgroup (intra-group), but also the characteristics of language use between individuals of different subgroups (inter-group). On the basis of the clear synchronic picture provided by this chapter, we may then go on to explore the diachronic dimension of language shift by considering the “language lives” of speakers, i.e. how their language acquisition at home and at school might have defined their linguistic repertoire and proficiency. This diachronic perspective will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1 An overview of the subgroups

On the basis of their speech behaviour and repertoire, the participants were divided into subgroups as follows:

Table 7: The participants and their subgroups

Participant ID	Gender (M/F)	Date of Birth	Age (years at 2003)	Subgroup
A	F	1987	16	Non-speakers
B	F	1986	17	
C	F	1968	35	Semi-speakers
D	F	1963	40	
E	M	1954	49	Rusty speakers
F	M	1952	51	
G	M	1952	51	
H	F	1949	54	
J	M	1948	55	
K	M	1942	61	
L	F	1941	62	
M	F	1935	68	
N	F	1932	71	Full speakers
P	M	1930	73	
Q	F	1928	75	

Despite the fact that the method of data collection did not include a speaker proficiency test, all of the subgroup names describe speakers in terms of their competence in *Uchinaaguchi*³¹, rather than in terms of their general linguistic repertoire (e.g. whether they are bilingual, monolingual etc.). The reason for this is that I considered it necessary to use subgroup names that were already established in the literature (see Chapter 2.3.6 for further discussion of this terminology). I justify the use of this terminology on the basis that the subgroups in my study match descriptions in the literature which document the linguistic behaviour of speakers of different proficiency levels (e.g. Dorian 1977,

³¹ Note that I use the term “non-speaker” as a convenient shorthand: non-speakers do occasionally use *Uchinaaguchi* or *Uchinaaguchi*-derived vocabulary, but they can hardly be said to be “speakers of the language”.

1989). Furthermore, the terms have been defined in the literature not only according to speaker competence but also other factors such as method of acquisition (e.g. Sasse 1992b).

In this chapter, I discuss the subgroups from a synchronic perspective in terms of their participants' speech behaviour and linguistic repertoire. I leave aside further consideration of language shift from a diachronic perspective, which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5. The general characteristics that set each subgroup apart from the rest are given below:

1. **Non-speakers** – Young people aged roughly in their teens or twenties who have little or no ability to understand or speak *Uchinaaguchi* fall into this subgroup. The variety spoken by these young Naha residents is close to Standard Japanese in grammatical and lexical terms (their dialect is closer to the Tokyo variety than many rural dialects in mainland Japan, such as the varieties spoken in Kansai and Tōhoku). However, there are some non-standard features of their Japanese, which are detailed in Section 4.4. In informal conversation with members of their own subgroup these young people may occasionally use some of the new “Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*” words coined by young Okinawans in recent years (see Sections 4.3.1 and 4.5.4).
2. **Semi-speakers** – This subgroup comprises people aged roughly in their thirties and forties, who appear to have much less spoken competency in *Uchinaaguchi* than their elders, but do understand much of the *Uchinaaguchi* they hear from day to day, whether in conversation or in folk songs or proverbs. The linguistic repertoire of a semi-speaker therefore does include *Uchinaaguchi*, but their

receptive skills are far superior to their productive skills. The language use of semi-speakers is discussed in Section 4.6.

3. **Rusty speakers** – These middle-aged Naha/Shuri residents, aged roughly in their fifties and sixties are defined as code-switchers, who alternate between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese to varying degrees, depending on the social situation and individual level of proficiency in the vernacular. From my personal observations, it would appear that this code-switching behaviour is not the norm in formal situations, such as when meeting strangers; it is only observed when speakers are conversing informally with fellow productive bilinguals (full speakers or other rusty speakers). When conversing with semi-speakers, they revert to their variety of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (i.e. Japanese interspersed with a small number of *Uchinaaguchi* insertions).

The linguistic repertoire of a rusty speaker is weighted more towards Japanese than *Uchinaaguchi*, simply because there is more opportunity to speak Japanese in Naha/Shuri, since that is now the default language of communication with strangers. Rusty speakers are on the less competent end of the proficiency continuum of productive bilinguals (see Section 4.1.3), and themselves admit to lacking certain higher registers, complex grammatical constructions and sophisticated vocabulary through insufficient practice, or, indeed, through never having acquired them³². The language use of rusty speakers is described in

³² As noted in Chapter 2.3.6, the term “rusty speaker” was introduced in Menn (1989) to describe former fluent speakers, who never reached the degree of competence of full speakers due to the lack of regular communication in the abandoned language. Other scholars further subdivide subgroups to account for different acquisitional histories. Dorian (1981, 1982), for example, recognises fluent speakers, formerly-fluent speakers, and two different kinds of semi-speakers: 1. those who acquired the language normally during childhood but whose acquisition ceased at school age, with attrition thereafter; and 2. those who acquired the language abnormally, including those who developed their skills as adults. Sasse (1992b: 62-64) refers to these different categorisation systems in his discussion of the “later loss” and “incomplete acquisition” hypotheses. I follow the categorisation system proposed by Sasse, since it is easily applicable to my data.

4. **Full speakers** – The speech behaviour of these elderly Okinawans, all aged over seventy, is similar to that of rusty speakers, except that they may use whole sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* when conversing informally with semi-speakers, whereas rusty speakers tend to limit their *Uchinaaguchi* use to one- or two-word insertions in the same situation. The linguistic repertoire of full speakers includes a fuller spoken proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* than rusty speakers, to the extent that they are capable of holding a whole – or almost a whole – conversation in the language, given an appropriate social setting (note that there is a proficiency continuum, detailed in Section 4.1.3). They are also competent in Japanese (Osumi 2001: 72). The language use of full speakers is described in Section 4.8.

4.1.1 Categorisation of non-local participants

Some participants were either born outside of Okinawa Island, or had close relatives who were originally from other areas of the Ryukyus where different languages are spoken. However, participants who were born in other areas reported having moved to the Naha/Shuri area when they were still in their teens, so after moving they would probably have come under the same linguistic influences as the Naha/Shuri-born participants. In all cases, the non-locally born participants were familiar with – and proficient in – the Naha/Shuri dialect, as well as their own hometown dialect and Japanese. Since the Naha/Shuri population includes many people who were not born locally, I have counted these non-local participants as typical Naha/Shuri residents. The participants in question are: 1) semi-speaker D (born and raised in Naha, but her parents are from Tarama Island, Miyako group); 2) rusty speaker F (born and raised on Irabu Island, Miyako group, and moved to Naha at the age of 15); 3) rusty speaker J (born and raised on Yonaguni Island,

Yaeyama group, and moved to Naha at the age of 15); and 4) rusty speaker L (born and raised in Nakijin, North Okinawa Island, and moved to Naha at the age of 19).

4.1.2 Are there any *Uchinaaguchi* monolinguals?

Another subgroup that is theoretically possible is one in which the speakers have little or no proficiency in Japanese. In practice, as Heinrich (2005b: 5) points out, “there is no monolingual speaker of Ryukyuan alive anymore”. Although there may be many older speakers who are fully proficient in their local dialect, they are bilinguals who are also proficient in Japanese.

4.1.3 The proficiency continuum of productive bilinguals

The full speaker and rusty speaker subgroups comprise speakers who are **productive bilinguals**. I have collected evidence to suggest that the spoken competence of productive bilinguals of varying ages may be considered as a continuum, with full speakers at the “more competent” end, and rusty speakers at the “less competent” end. From my data, it appears that speakers at any point on the proficiency continuum consider speakers older than themselves to be more competent, and therefore a source of “correct” *Uchinaaguchi*. Speakers at the most proficient end of the continuum are those aged in their eighties and nineties, who are considered to be the best linguistic resource. There are differences in the language lives led by speakers at either end of the proficiency continuum. In general, the most competent speakers would have learnt Japanese as a foreign language in their youth at school, whilst rusty speakers would have grown up during a time when Japanese was already in common use in the community, and would therefore have had more opportunity to gain greater fluency at an early age.

There is evidence for this age-related hierarchy of speakers in recording C7, in which three rusty speakers discuss their own proficiency and the superior linguistic capabilities of their elders (see Excerpts 65, 66 and 67, Section 4.7.4). Younger speakers of high status in the community may also be seen as sources of “correct” language. An example is Fija Bairon (also known as Byron Higa), a presenter of *Uchinaaguchi* radio and internet programmes³³ who was born in Naha in 1969.

In this thesis, productive bilinguals have been divided into two separate groups in order to account for the data and allow for a meaningful analysis. This division is based upon differences in the participants’ speech behaviour, more specifically their different language choices when conversing with semi-speakers. This issue is dealt with in greater detail in Section 4.8.4.

4.2 Narrowing the concept of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*

As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (Okinawan Japanese) is used in the literature to refer to a broad range of language contact phenomena in the Ryukyus. These may include non-standard pronunciation and accentuation of Japanese, mixed codes comprising varying proportions of Japanese and lexical borrowings from *Uchinaaguchi*, as well as interlanguage phenomena such as morphological hybrid words, hypercorrection and interference. In addition, *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* may refer to any of the local varieties of Japanese spoken by Okinawans of all ages living in different areas in the archipelago. These are dynamic dialects of Japanese, which exhibit different stages of development simultaneously present in the population. This means that *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* is useful as a descriptive “catch-all” term for any combination of these phenomena, but is limited in its capacity for the close analysis of language use.

³³ Fija Bairon teaches *Uchinaaguchi* via an OkinawaBBtv podcast show called *Pirin paran! Katayabira!* (www.okinawabbtv.com/international/uchinaguchi/byron.html retrieved at 16/03/2009).

Admittedly, the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* was coined locally (Matsumori 1995: 35), so was probably never meant to be an analytical term, but rather was coined to refer to newly emerging ways of speaking which were different from both *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese. Despite the fact that the term itself is an *Uchinaaguchi* word coined by Okinawans, even *Uchinaaguchi* speakers appear to have difficulty pinpointing its exact meaning. As an illustration of this, consider the excerpt from C7 below³⁴. The two women (aged 62 and 68) are ticket collectors working in a booth at the entrance to a park near Naha, and since they are at work, they use Japanese, unless they are borrowing *Uchinaaguchi* words for use in quotes. I told them that I was studying *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, and then, without discussing the topic any further, I left them with the recording device for one hour. *Uchinaaguchi* portions are written in bold, underlined text, and the non-standard phrase which both women agree is an example of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* is italicised. Some portions are highlighted in the same way in the English translation to clarify how both texts correspond to each other. Utterances are numbered so that, for example, L6 = “speaker L’s sixth utterance”. Note that I do not attempt to narrow the definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* at this stage, but merely seek to point out the confusion that can arise from the use of that term.

Excerpt 1

L = Female, born 1941

M = Female, born 1935

L1: **'Uchinaayamatuguchi** to iu no wa ne, ima no chiisai anoo, kodomotachi no hoo ga joozu

³⁴ In spite of the fact that the reader would usually expect glosses of transcriptions in a linguistics study, I made the decision not to gloss the excerpts since the main focus of this chapter is on the content of the conversation or the patterns of insertions/code-switching. I considered that glossing each excerpt would be extremely distracting for the reader, particularly since the excerpts already feature various typeface styles (bold, underlined, etc.) as well as text highlighted using a character border.

desho? Aimai na koto iu n ja nai?

M1: Aa, anoo, 'uchinaa...

L2: Hoogen de mo nai. Hyoojungo de mo nai.

M2: Iya, hoogen to...

L3: Mikkusu shita...

M3: Un, kore wa shin...shinhoogen.

L4: Shinhoogen! <Laughs>

M4: Anoo, 'uchinaayamatuguchi to iu no wa yamatuguchi to 'uchinaaguchi ga mikkusu shita mun desho? Da kara...

L5: Da kara kono "mikkusu" to iu no ga saa, doo iu...

M5: Da kara, anoo, tokidoki atashi ga tsukatte, anoo waza to tsukatte saa, anoo, Xsan ni warawareru desho? Wakannai? "ama n... 'ama n..."

L6: Patto deru hoogen no koto?

M6: Uun... iya:...

L7: Soo de mo nai desho?

M7: Chigau. Anoo, mikkusu shita, anoo, "'ama nkai..."

L8: Hoogen de mo nai... un...

M8: "'Ama nkai itta saa" tte iu. Wakaru?

L9: Un.

M9: Soo ka, soo iu no ga 'uchinaayamatuguchi... to omou kedo chigau ka naa. <Pause> Chigau? Sore to mo sa?... anoo, anoo, chokuyaku shita mono. 'Uchinaa... 'uchinaayamatuguchi to iu no wa, anoo...

L10: Sonna kanji ja nai ka naa.

M10: Un, chokuyaku ka. Aa soo ka chokuyaku ne. Yoo suru ni, anoo, Gushiken Yookoo ga "umi a... anata ga... anoo wakai toki..."

L11: Un, "'umi'acchaa".

M11: ... aa anoo waka... "bokusaa ni naranakereba imagoro nani ni natte imashita ka" ttara, "umi o aruitemashita".

L12: Un "umi aruiteru" to iu.

M12: A sore ka, soo ka mo.

L13: Soo iu kanji ja nai ka ne.

M13: Un. "umi o aruitemashita" to iu... yepisoodo ja nai kedo, aru saa ne. Un sokka. Soo ka mo shiren ne. Mikkusu shita honto...

L14: Da kara, omoshiroi no yo ne, sore wa ne...

M14: Bikkuri shita kedo ne. Ne? Honto no mikkusu! <A laughs> Ninja ka na to omotta n ja nai? Gushiken Yookoo wa ninja naa tte...

Translation

L1: This Uchinaa-yamatuguchi: young people are better at that aren't they nowadays? They say some puzzling things, don't they?

M1: Ah, um, Uchinaa...

L2: It's not dialect [Uchinaaguchi] and it's not Standard Japanese.

M2: No, it's dialect with...

L3: It's mixed...

M3: Yeah, that's "New Dialect".

L4: "New Dialect!" <Laughs>

M4: Um, Uchinaa-yamatuguchi is a mixture of Japanese and Uchinaaguchi, isn't it? So...

L5: So this "mix" then, what sort of...

M5: Well, um, sometimes I use it, um I use it deliberately, um, you know when Mr. X laughs at me? No? "there... there..."

L6: You mean when dialect slips out by accident?

M6: No... no...

L7: That's not it, is it?

M7: No. Um, it's a mix of, um, "There..."

L8: It's not dialect, either... yeah...

M8: Like when you say “I went **there**”. You know?

L9: Yeah.

M9: Maybe it's that, that's what Uchinaa-yamatuguchi is... I think, but maybe I'm wrong. <Pause> Is that wrong? Or maybe it's... um, um, things that are direct translations [interference]. Maybe that's what Uchinaa... Uchinaa-yamatuguchi means, um...

L10: Maybe it's something like that.

M10: Yeah, maybe it's direct translation. Ah right, yeah, direct translation. So basically, um, when Yōkō Gushiken [a famous Okinawan boxer] said “sea w... when you... when you were young...”

L11: Yeah, “**fisherman**”.

M11: ... ah um young... when he was asked “what would you be now if you hadn't become a boxer”, he said “*I would have been walking the sea*” [literal translation of the Uchinaaguchi word for “fisherman”].

L12: Yeah, he said “*I'd be walking the sea*”.

M12: Ah right, Maybe that's it.

L13: Maybe it's something like that, eh?

M13: Yeah. There's that episode or whatever you call it where he said “*I would have been walking the sea*”. Yeah, right. Maybe it's that. A real mix...

L14: Well yeah, it's interesting, that, isn't it?...

M14: They [the interviewer] got a shock, though, didn't they. Eh? It's a real mix! <L laughs> Do you reckon they thought “maybe he's a ninja”? “Hey Yōkō Gushiken's a ninja!”...

The conversation shows not only that the speakers themselves are familiar with the term *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, but also that they are unsure of its meaning. In her third utterance, speaker M identifies the “puzzling” things that young people say as being *Shin-hōgen* (New Dialect). The first example of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* cited by speaker M in her eighth utterance is analysed in this thesis as a code-switch, in which the first half of the sentence (*'ama nkai* 'to [a place over] there') is in *Uchinaaguchi* and the second half is in non-standard Japanese (*itta saa* 'went') (see Chapter 4.7 for more information about this code-switching behaviour). Speaker M then decides that this is the wrong definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, and instead cites an example of L₁ interference in her eleventh utterance. The example given is the famous incident when a well-known Okinawan boxer called Gushiken Yōkō was interviewed on the television some years ago. When the interviewer asked him (in Japanese) “what would you be doing now if you hadn't become a boxer?”, Yōkō replied that he would have been “walking the seas”. This was a direct translation of the *Uchinaaguchi* word for “fisherman”, which is *'umi'acchaa* (lit. 'seawalker'). Speaker M then describes, in her fourteenth utterance, the interviewer's reaction

of shock upon hearing what was perceived as a rather strange use of Japanese.

For the trained analyst too, these language contact phenomena can be difficult to tease apart. A scholar may have the necessary terminology to identify features such as hypercorrection or code-switching, but the problem is that, in everyday Okinawan speech, any combination of the contact phenomena mentioned in this section may appear in a single conversation.

The borrowing of some commonly used *Uchinaaguchi* lexemes into everyday Okinawan Japanese produces yet another conundrum (discussed in Chapter 2.2.1): where does one draw the line between borrowing and code-switching? If the alternation between languages constitutes code-switching, does the overall proportion of *Uchinaaguchi* words distinguish code-switching from borrowing? If a recurrent *Uchinaaguchi* word constitutes an assimilated borrowing, how frequently does it have to occur for it to be classed as such? As noted in Chapter 2.2.6, these are questions that are still being debated in the wider literature. The debate poses further problems for the clear definition and characterisation of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* and raises yet another question: if the phenomena of borrowing and code-switching cannot be teased apart, then should the definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* also incorporate code-switching as a discourse mode?

Below is a summary of the differences between code-switching and borrowing adapted from Lipski (2005: 13):

Table 8: Code-switching vs. borrowing

Borrowing	Code-switching
Original choice to borrow is conscious and deliberate	Switch may be conscious and deliberate or (apparently) unconscious
Becomes lexicalised and is used consistently	Usage is ad hoc
Becomes adapted to phonotactics and morphology of borrowing language	Does not normally violate grammatical restrictions in either language
Knowledge of origin as being source language disappears	Upon reflection, speakers are aware of origin as being source language
Eventually used by monolingual individuals lacking knowledge of the source language	Produced by bilinguals, usually those raised bilingually
Occurs as an isolated insertion	Normally occurs in discourse in which both languages are liberally used

I do not have sufficient data to be able to establish the extent to which speakers in Okinawa are aware of the origins of certain words they use; however, contrary to Osumi's (2001: 84) comment, my impression has been that upon reflection speakers usually are aware of the source language of words they have used. In view of the definitions in the table above, this would suggest that all speakers were code-switching to some degree. However, my youngest informants are to all intents and purposes monolingual in Japanese, being unable to hold a conversation in *Uchinaaguchi*. Therefore, by the definitions in the table, they cannot be code-switching. Instead, these speakers appear to have borrowed certain words for use in expressing an Okinawan identity. One explanation for the speakers' awareness of the donor language may be that these *Uchinaaguchi* borrowings have not yet had time to constitute a deep substratum in Okinawan Japanese, in the way that Norman French words have become part of the English language to the extent that an English speaker may not be aware of the origins of those words. Indeed, I think it unlikely that speakers of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* in the

future will be unaware that their *Uchinaaguchi* borrowings are not from Standard Japanese, since all speakers are constantly exposed to Standard Japanese through the media and use it in formal situations. The potential for *Uchinaaguchi* borrowings to lose their identification as non-standard lexemes would only exist if *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* were to become cut off from contact with Standard Japanese, for example through mass migration or political independence.

Semi-speakers' language use is similarly difficult to categorise into code-switching and borrowing. Their bilingualism is Japanese-dominant and proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* is mostly receptive. While most of their *Uchinaaguchi* usage is better categorised as borrowing (even larger, learned language chunks such as proverbs), they are also able to produce (albeit hesitantly) full sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* which could be considered code-switching (see for example Excerpts 51 and 52).

Rusty speakers are perfectly capable of code-switching freely between Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi*, yet some words (such as *deejī* 'very') appear as recurrent insertions in the *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* they use when speaking to younger semi-speakers. In this context, it might be reasonable to assume that rusty speakers have borrowed these words into their variety of Japanese. However, words such as *deejī* are also used as insertions in the context of code-switched discourse between rusty speakers and it is difficult (if not impossible) to discern whether these words should be considered as insertional code-switches or borrowings. Even if sufficient quantitative data for frequency and consistency of usage were available, the data would not necessarily prove that particular words had been borrowed into their Japanese by a separate mechanism from code-switching. The fact is that, in every language, some words are used more frequently than others, so comparative frequency alone is not a satisfactory indicator that a word has made the

transition from insertional code-switch to borrowing.

In consideration of the problems mentioned above, this thesis takes the view that it is neither advisable nor necessary to distinguish between insertional code-switching and borrowing in the context of language shift, since the degree to which speakers of all ages are expected to use vernacular expressions in everyday conversation is constantly changing over time, as language shift progresses and sociolinguistic norms change. Instead, I distinguish between **code-switches** (ad hoc switches to whole sentences or multi-lexeme portions of *Uchinaaguchi*) and **insertions** (isolated borrowings including learned language chunks, and insertional code-switching of single lexemes). I consider each subgroup of speakers to have a certain set of *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases available in their collective linguistic pool³⁵, which is limited by that subgroup's (lack of) exposure to the language. In other words, even if there are fully proficient speakers in the community available as a potential linguistic resource, each new generation can only acquire the language to which they are exposed in their social networks, and this level of exposure will differ from person to person. It is the same in any language: some speakers have a larger repertoire of vocabulary than others and speakers conventionalise language and code choices only through the process of constant interaction. Indeed, in the data used for this thesis, there are a few examples of speakers' misunderstandings of *Uchinaaguchi* lexemes, and these misunderstandings may come about when one speaker "tests" a word on another speaker, who turns out not to have that word in their linguistic pool (see for example Excerpts 28 and 49).

Let us now return to the issue of how to narrow the definition of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*.

³⁵ For an explanation of the concept of "linguistic pool", see Nettle (1999a: 5-11).

Having categorised both insertional code-switching and borrowing as generic “insertions”, we can now tease *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* apart from code-switching as a discourse mode and narrow the concept of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* for the purpose of analysis. This thesis recognises three separate discourse modes which have not been clearly distinguished in the literature to date:

- 1) *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* – an informal mixed code including Japanese with Okinawan pronunciation and accentuation, as well as some *Uchinaaguchi* lexemes which appear as insertions only
- 2) Code-switching as the unmarked choice – the liberal use of *Uchinaaguchi* code-switches embedded in an *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* matrix
- 3) Okinawa-accented Standard Japanese – (typically) formal Japanese with Okinawan pronunciation and accentuation, but no *Uchinaaguchi* insertions

4.3 Analytical methodology

Now that the discourse modes have been defined, the next step is to carry out a methodical analysis of the language use in each of the texts. I characterise language mixtures by analysing texts in three stages:

1. Identify what its **constituents**³⁶ (source codes) are (i.e. whether the words spoken are Japanese, *Uchinaaguchi*, or something else entirely).
2. Determine the **extent** to which each constituent is used.

³⁶ The use of the term “constituent” is influenced by the Myers-Scotton’s (1997) Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, which describes code-switching in terms of Matrix Language (ML) and Embedded Language (EL) constituents.

3. Analyse the **patterns** in which they are mixed together.

Once the constituents, extent and patterns of the language mixture have been defined clearly, it is possible to compare different types of mixed code and code-switching. Moreover, the social settings in which a particular mixture is used can be understood more clearly than if the mixture is simply taken for granted and given a name such as “hybrid language” without further analysis.

The three stages of analysis are discussed in separate subsections below.

4.3.1 Defining the constituents of the subgroups' linguistic repertoire

In order to be able to characterise all types of mixed code and code-switching in the data, I calculate the proportions of lexemes from each of the source languages. This is achieved by distinguishing between two primary constituents of Okinawan speech – an “*Uchinaaguchi*-related” constituent and a “Japanese” constituent. Since many speakers use language that is related to *Uchinaaguchi*, but not considered “pure” vernacular, I divide the *Uchinaaguchi*-related constituent into four secondary constituent types: *Uchinaaguchi*, Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*, Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*.

Dividing utterances into these five discrete components allows me to characterise how speakers mix languages to varying degrees, for example by code-switching. The secondary division also allows me to describe more accurately each kind of linguistic phenomenon that comes under the broad umbrella of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. The five

constituents are described below:

1. Japanese constituent

This is strictly defined as the lexically **Japanese** component of Okinawan people's speech, i.e. Japanese words used in a morpho-syntactically standard or non-standard way and spoken with Okinawan accentuation and pronunciation. This constituent does NOT include vernacular or vernacular-derived words. The Japanese constituent is defined as Standard Japanese lexemes which may display hypercorrection and interference from *Uchinaaguchi* (particularly in older speakers). Unfortunately, this means that these non-standard features are not analysed in this thesis in terms of the proportion of their use relative to standard features, since they are all classed together as “Japanese”, but this is a possibility for further study. Japanese constituent words and phrases are not highlighted in the transcripts, even if their usage differs significantly from Standard Japanese.

2. Uchinaaguchi-related constituent

a) Uchinaaguchi – These are the “pure” words from the **Okinawan vernacular**. They are mostly used by older productive bilinguals, but younger speakers may insert well-known *Uchinaaguchi* words into their marked Japanese conversations. If a speaker's aim is to utter a word from the original vernacular, but he or she mispronounces it or makes a grammatical error due to a lack of competency, that word is classified as Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* (see below). *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases are transcribed in **bold, underlined** text.

b) Morphologically Mixed Uchinaaguchi – In order to be classified as

Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*, a word must be some kind of morphological hybrid between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese (or indeed English), that combines, for example, an *Uchinaaguchi* stem with Japanese inflection, or vice versa (e.g. *wajiru* 'get angry', which combines the stem from the original vernacular word *wajiyun* with the Japanese non-past *-ru* inflection). I also count mixed compound verbs into this category, (e.g. *yuntaku suru* 'chat', which combines the *Uchinaaguchi* noun *yuntaku* 'chat' with the Japanese verb *suru* 'do'). Errors in the pronunciation or grammatical construction of *Uchinaaguchi* words are **not** classified as morphologically mixed *Uchinaaguchi* in this thesis. Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases are transcribed in ***bold, italicised*** text.

c) Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* – These are not newly coined words, but vernacular words which are incorrect in their pronunciation or grammatical usage, due to a speaker's lack of competence in the vernacular. Examples of words in this category are *moashibii* instead of *moo'ashibii* 'beach party', *'inu* instead of *yinu* 'same' and **mutiran* [target = *mucchi wuran* (have-NEG-NPST-CONT)] instead of *mutan* (have-NEG-NPST). Jones and Singh (2005: 80) refer to these words as “historically inappropriate morphological or phonological forms”. If a speaker mispronounces a word, and subsequently self-corrects, then the mispronunciation does not fall into this category, but is instead counted as a mere slip of the tongue. Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* is transcribed in ***bold, underlined, italicised*** text.

d) Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* – These are slang lexemes that “mimic” *Uchinaaguchi* words in ways such as the following: i) semantically altered *Uchinaaguchi* (e.g. *jiraa* 'like', which means 'face' in the original

vernacular); ii) phonologically altered Standard Japanese (e.g. *ganchiki* from SJ *gantsuke* 'staring'); or iii) morphologically mixed *Uchinaaguchi* and foreign source codes (e.g. *tunjiman* 'busybody', which is a morphological hybrid of *Uchinaaguchi* and English). These expressions differ from other *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes in that they owe their existence to the linguistic creativity of speakers who do not speak the vernacular as a mother tongue. Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* is transcribed in **bold** text.

The division of any utterance into these five constituents is relatively simple, because instances of Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* (the third constituent), Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* (the fourth constituent) and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* (the fifth constituent) are an exception rather than the rule for all speakers, and are low in number compared to instances of the other two constituents. That is to say, for most of the time, speakers use whole words or whole sentences of either Japanese or *Uchinaaguchi*.

There were still other constituents found in the data, such as English expressions spoken in a Japanese accent and mainland slang. I simply counted both as Japanese.

4.3.2 Determining the extent to which each constituent is used

I ascertained the extent to which different speakers were using each constituent by calculating the relative proportions of the constituents used by each speaker in each of the recorded conversations. This was achieved by counting the total number of lexemes produced by any one speaker, and then determining how many of them were *Uchinaaguchi*-related, how many were Japanese, and so on. That number was then divided by the total number of lexemes produced, and converted into a percentage figure

to provide a rough idea of how much of any one constituent a speaker was using in a particular conversation. For purposes of this analysis, even grammatical particles and function words such as the modal *no* (or its contracted form *n*) were counted as separate words and added into the total. The transcripts are written using romanised script (see Appendix II for details) rather than Japanese characters, allowing word breaks to be easily detected in the texts.

4.3.3 Characterising the patterns of language mixing

Once we have established what constituents an utterance comprises, and to what extent those constituents are being mixed, we are in a position to be able to analyse **how** they are juxtaposed in conversation. The main patterns involved in the discussion are:

1. **Insertion** – when one or two words from one constituent (code-switches or borrowings) appear in isolation within an utterance otherwise spoken in another constituent.
2. **Inter-sentential code-switching** – when a speaker produces a full sentence in one constituent, followed by a sentence in another constituent.
3. **Intra-sentential code-switching** – when a speaker mixes substantial portions of two (or more) constituents within the same sentence rather than just using one or two words of a single constituent in isolation.

I paid particular attention to the code-switching behaviour of older generations, and analysed this sequentially using the various perspectives provided by the work of Auer (1984) and Myers-Scotton (1993) as a guide. When analysing these patterns, I considered

the extent to which certain patterns might have become conventionalised, and entertained the possibility that any mixture of constituents may have developed into a mixed code. I found that certain *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases, such as interjections, were used frequently by speakers of all ages, and that these constituted the predominant element in the *Uchinaaguchi* component of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. However, I also found that the liberal *Uchinaaguchi* use in productive bilinguals' code-switching was not consistent enough for these mixtures of constituents to be identified as any kind of conventionalised mixed code, much less a split language in the sense that this term is used in Myers-Scotton (2007) (see Chapter 2.2.8 for further explanation).

Perhaps if adequate language revitalisation efforts had been implemented during the crucial postwar period (see Chapter 6.3.2 for details), thereby slowing the progress of language shift in Okinawa, this code-switching behaviour might have eventually conventionalised into a mixed code with more liberal *Uchinaaguchi* use than is found in *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, possibly through creolisation³⁷ concomitant with the emergence of a new generation of speakers. Alternatively, conditions might have been conducive to the formation of a true split language. However, the ways in which split languages emerge are not yet fully understood, and more empirical data is required to determine whether their formation is connected to the code-switching behaviour of productive bilinguals during language shift (this issue is explored in depth in the various contributions in Matras and Bakker (Eds.) (2007)). Given that the code-switching behaviour of the participants in this study was found not to be highly consistent, however, this issue is clearly beyond the scope of this study.

³⁷ Here I use "creolisation" in Dixon's (1997) sense (see explanation in Chapter 2.2.5).

4.3.4 How the analysis is presented in this chapter

The data analysis in this chapter is structured in two main sections. In the first section of the analysis – Section 4.4 – I show how the first constituent (Japanese) is used by Okinawans of different generations. I discuss each non-standard feature of Japanese in turn, noting how the use of these features varies across subgroups.

In the next four sections (Sections 4.5 to 4.8), I deal with the issue of how – and to what extent – Okinawans of different generations use constituents 2a, 2b and 2c and 2d (*Uchinaaguchi*, Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*, Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*). I discuss each of the four subgroups of speakers in turn, from the youngest informants to the oldest, and characterise their speech behaviour in detail.

Finally, in Section 4.9, I summarise my findings from the previous five sections, and clarify concisely how each subgroup differs from the others in terms of the language use of its speakers.

4.4 Usage of Japanese by all informants

Before attempting to analyse patterns in the informants' *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use, it is necessary to identify and isolate occurrences of non-standard Japanese which are common in the Japanese spoken by the participants in **all** age groups. Many of these non-standard features are not unique to Okinawa, and appear in other Western Japanese dialects such as Kansai and Kyūshū. The non-standard features of the Japanese used by the participants are briefly explained below.

4.4.1 Non-standard accentuation

The most obvious non-standard feature that separates this variety of Japanese from mainland varieties is its unique accentuation patterns, i.e. how the voice rises and falls in pitch both in the “micro” sense of ups and downs within single words and the “macro” sense of voice pitch changes over whole utterances.

The accentuation patterns used by young Okinawans differ somewhat from those of the older generations, but nevertheless take on a quality that is uniquely Okinawan. Accentuation patterns also vary widely from person to person – even those speaking the same dialect – so they are extremely difficult to analyse and compare for a non-native speaker, particularly with limited data provided by only a small number of informants.

Whilst a full analysis of accentuation patterns is beyond the scope of this thesis, at the very least it may be noted that even when Okinawans speak Standard Japanese, their accentuation would give them away to other native speakers as being Okinawan.

4.4.2 Non-standard usage of illocutionary particles

To anyone from mainland Japan, or anybody who has studied Standard Japanese as a foreign language, the non-standard grammatical feature that stands out most in Okinawa is the frequent use of the illocutionary particle *sa* or its lengthened equivalent *saa*, often occurring at times when it would be considered unusual in Standard Japanese. In Standard Japanese the particle *saa* is most frequently used clause-finally (typically after gerund forms or conjunctions, and also after “filler words” such as *anoo* 'um' and *nanka* 'like') as an “attention-catcher” to mean something like 'hey'. Okinawans – particularly

younger speakers – also use *saa* in this way. The following three excerpts from C1 are typical examples of this standard usage of *saa*. Note that target words are highlighted by a character border throughout this chapter, and that some examples marked “Standard Japanese (SJ)” are, in fact, casual Tokyo Japanese.

Excerpt 2

A: Otona dattara saa, “koko chotto omise yoyaku shite” to ka “izakayasan yoyaku shite” to ka tte.

A: Hey, if you were an adult you’d be like, “let’s just make a reservation for this restaurant or this pub” or whatever.

Excerpt 3

B: Maa daijoobu da to omou kedo saa...

B: Well I think everything’s okay but hey...

Aside from this standard usage of *saa*, Okinawans of all ages – both male and female – use *saa* directly after a predicate or sentence-final nominal without the need for a copula. This usage is less common in Standard Japanese and the illocutionary particle *yo* tends to be used instead, where *yo* indicates that the speaker is imparting new information to the listener in the form of an exclamation. Rather than attempt to translate this exclamatory use of *saa* and *yo* into words, I use an exclamation mark “!” and treat it as a target word. The following excerpts are from C1. The first two examples show how *saa* can follow a noun phrase (albeit with an adjectival meaning in English in the case of the first excerpt) without requiring that *saa* is preceded by copula *da*. “Standard Japanese” is abbreviated to “SJ”.

Excerpt 4

A: Sono hoo ga anshin saa.

SJ = Sono hoo ga anshin (da) yo.

A: I'd feel safer going that way!

Excerpt 5

A: Toire to ka ikitai no ni "nai jan" te nattara owari saa.

SJ = Toire to ka ikitai no ni "nai jan" te nattara owari da yo.

A: If you want to go to the toilet and it turns out there isn't one, then it's all over!

The next excerpt shows how *saa* can appear directly following a negative verb ending (which is grammatically the same as an adjectival phrase).

Excerpt 6

A: Kawattenai saa chitto mo.

SJ = Kawattenai yo chitto mo.

A: She hasn't changed one bit!

Evidence that *saa* is used in the same way by rusty speakers appears in C5. This time, *saa* directly follows a plain form verb.

Excerpt 7

F: Indean ga iru saa.

SJ = Indean ga iru yo.

F: There are [Native Canadian] Indians there!

In Okinawa, *saa* can be used in combination with another illocutionary particle *ne* (or its lengthened variant *nee*) to emphasise a request for affirmation from the listener (e.g.

'...isn't it?', '...don't you?' etc.). Speakers of Standard Japanese would be likely to use the combination *yo nee* instead. The following excerpt shows how *saa nee* can be used directly following a noun phrase without the need for the copula *da*.

Excerpt 8

B: Nanka, yoku hanashi moo chotto suru yoo ni nattara mitai na kanji de iya: saa nee, kocchi dake.
SJ = Nanka yoku hanashi moo chotto suru yoo ni nattara mitai na kanji de iya da yo nee, kocchi dake.

B: She seems to want to talk to them more often, and that's really horrible, isn't it? – for us, anyway.

The example below shows how *saa ne* may be used directly following a negative verb ending.

Excerpt 9

B: Saisho tte anma shaberen saa ne.
SJ = Saisho tte anmari shaberenai yo ne.

B: At first you don't talk much, do you?

Interestingly, *saa* and *saa nee* are possibly the first features of Okinawan speech to be adopted by Japanese mainlanders who go to live in Okinawa for a long period of time. During my time staying at a youth hostel in Naha in 2003, I noticed that some of the long-stay mainlanders had picked up these sentence-final particles and were using them even when speaking to other people from mainland Japan.

The aforementioned illocutionary particle *yo* is often used in the standard, sentence-final way by Okinawans (as used by speaker B in C1, when she says *konai yo ne* 'they won't

come, will they?'). As well as appearing standard sentence-finally, however, *yo* is sometimes used clause-finally by Okinawans of all ages in order to perform an “attention-catching” function, much like the way *saa* is used in Standard Japanese. Accordingly, I translate both as 'hey' in the following. In Okinawa, the vowel in this particle is often lengthened to become *yoo*. The following example comes from non-speaker B in C1.

Excerpt 10

B: De mo are nanka no naka ni yoo shikasaa mo iru wake yoo.

SJ = De mo are nanka no naka ni saa nanpa mo iru no yo.

B: But hey, there'll be pick-up artists in places like that you know.

This clause-final *yo* is also used in mainland Japan, but is not as prominent a feature of everyday speech as it is in Okinawa. Although this non-standard usage of *yo(o)* can be observed in the speech of all age groups, it seemed to me to be more common in the varieties spoken by older Naha/Shuri residents. Unfortunately my data sample is too small to stand as evidence for this, and more data would be required to be certain that this kind of dialect levelling is taking place. It would be interesting to investigate this particular aspect of language use by way of a statistical study of a larger sample of informants, since my data yielded several examples of this non-standard usage of *yo(o)* from older participants, but only one instance in the conversation between the two non-speaker girls. This may indicate that younger speakers are more likely to use the standard *saa* in the same contexts.

The precise differences in nuance between the semantic domains of *saa*, *yo* and *ne* are a possibility for further research, but for the purpose of this paper it suffices to point out

that in non-standard Japanese in Okinawa, all three particles may be used in clause-final and sentence-final environments, unlike Standard Japanese, in which *saa* usually appears clause-finally, and *yo* is restricted to sentence-final environments.

4.4.3 Non-standard usage of expressions of modality

A characteristic Okinawan non-standard grammatical feature is the frequent occurrence of the word *wake*. As a noun, *wake* means literally 'reason; grounds; case; circumstances; meaning'. Below is an example of this Standard Japanese usage from C1, in which *wake* takes on a meaning of 'reason' or 'grounds', expressed in the construction *X wake (ga) nai* 'there is no reason to X'.

Excerpt 11

B: Yatteru kara betsu ni sonna ni kakusu wake nai saa nee.

SJ = Yatteru kara betsu ni sonna ni kakusu wake nai yo nee.

B: There's no particular reason to hide the fact that you're doing it [writing letters], is there?

This noun has grammaticalised in both mainland Japan and Okinawa and has developed many functions as a clause-final pragmatic morpheme. Two important functions of *wake* are: 1) to draw a conclusion from what has been said earlier (hereafter “conclusive *wake*”), and 2) to lend a certain emphasis to a statement (or question) by making it into an explanation (or enquiry after meaning) (hereafter “explanatory *wake*”). Of the two, usage in Okinawa appears to differ from the standard only in its more frequent usage of the explanatory *wake*. The conclusive *wake* and explanatory *wake* are discussed further below.

The conclusive *wake* is used in Okinawa in more or less the standard way, except that *wake* is not followed by the copula *da* in informal speech, as in SJ *wake da*. Clauses containing the conclusive *wake* are usually preceded by a phrase such as (*da*) *kara* 'so, therefore' or *yoo suru ni* 'so basically, in short'. The use of *wake* merely reinforces the idea that the clause constitutes an outcome or conclusion, and thus takes on a meaning of 'consequently, as a consequence' or 'that means X'. An example from C3 is below. Note that *kara* has also been marked as a target word.

Excerpt 12

D: Soshita kara X ga “okashi kawanai n dattara, nani mi ni kiteru n desu ka” tte itte kara are kara zettai mise ni haitte konai wake <laughs>.

D: And X said, “if you're not buying any sweets, what have you come to look at?”, so consequently he's never come into the shop since <laughs>.

The explanatory *wake* is by far the most common usage of *wake* in Okinawa. The statement *X wake* may translate as 'X, you see' or 'it's that X'. It may also be used in a question *X wake?*, which may translate as “it's X, is it?”, “you X, do you?”, “is it that X?”. In this particular usage, *X wake* and *X wake?* have very similar meanings to the constructions *X no (da)* and *X no (ka)* respectively³⁸. These explanatory *wake* constructions are common to both Okinawa and mainland Japan, except for the fact that, in Okinawa, *wake* is never followed by the copula *da* in informal Japanese. This means that the example sentences below could be found anywhere in the country.

Sensee ni naritai wake.
 Sensee ni naritai no (da).
 I want to become a teacher, you see.

³⁸ Apparently SJ *wake (da)* and *no (da)* have slightly different nuances even in the explanatory sense under discussion here. For a comprehensive English language study of the differences between *wake (da)* and *no (da)* in Standard Japanese, refer to Liu (2008).

Sensee ni naritai wake?
Sensee ni naritai no (ka)?
You want to become a teacher, do you?

Where Okinawan usage differs from the standard is that, in the former, the *wake* constructions are prevalent, and in the latter, the *no* constructions are generally more common. In informal narrative style Japanese, these grammaticalised, explanatory *wake* constructions are ubiquitous in Okinawa. *Wake* is sometimes followed by *yo(o)*, but more often with *saa*. Naha/Shuri residents of all ages often finish their sentences with *wake saa*, although this feature is even more noticeable amongst older speakers. In the following excerpt, speaker B uses *wake* twice to explain to her friend, speaker A, why she thinks she might have failed her Art course. In Standard Japanese, *no (da)* is more likely to be used than *wake* in this context. Note also the aforementioned non-standard use of the typically Okinawan-sounding combination *wake saa* in the second instance.

Excerpt 13

B: Kesseki no jikan datta wake. Aru wake saa kigen tte iu ka nanka.

SJ = Kesseki no jikan datta no. Aru no yo kigen tte iu ka nanka.

B: It was my absences, you see. There's like a limit or whatever, you see.

In C1 there is evidence that *wake* and *no (da)* can be used interchangeably in some cases. In two separate explanatory utterances, speaker B uses *wake* and *no (da)* after the same predicate *itteta* (say-PST-PROG). In the case of *no*, she uses the contracted form *n*, and does not omit the copula *da*. Note that the phrase construction *n da* can often indicate that the speaker has suddenly realised something to be the case, e.g. *aa, tabete kita n da* 'ah, so you've eaten already'. In Excerpt 14, however, the context of the conversation as a whole indicates that *n da* is functioning in its explanatory sense. Compare the excerpts

below.

Excerpt 14

B: Ichioo X ga itteta n da.

B: Well, X said it, you see.

Excerpt 15

B: Moo betsu ni daijooobu saa to ka itteta wake.

B: I said “well that’s absolutely fine”, you see.

According to the rules of Standard Japanese, when *wake* is preceded by the copula *da*, the copula is replaced by the modifier *na* or the quotative phrase *to iu*. In Okinawa, *da* is often retained, as in the following example from C3.

Excerpt 16

J: Janpaa da wake saa.

J: It's a jumper, you see.

As an alternative to the copula *da*, Okinawans often use *de aru*, either sentence-finally, or as a modifier for *wake*. Although *de aru* is also sometimes used in spoken Standard Japanese as a variant of *da*, it is a particularly noticeable feature of everyday, informal conversation amongst Okinawans. Although it is used by Okinawans of all ages, it is most prominent in the speech of older productive bilinguals. The example below shows how full speaker Q uses *de aru* to modify *wake*.

Excerpt 17

Q: Unna nabii to iu hito wa utatte **iooii** **de aru** wake saa.

Q: Unna Nabii **is** good at singing, you see.

Other modal expressions such as *hazu* are used in a different way in Okinawa than in mainland Japan. In Standard Japanese, *hazu* is used as a clause-final modal morpheme to indicate that something is 'expected to occur' or 'supposed to occur'. It is usually only used when there is a high probability that something will happen even when viewed objectively. In Okinawa, *hazu* is also used in more subjective judgements to mean 'probably' in the sense of 'I think that...', and indicates a lower degree of certainty than it does in Standard Japanese, in which *daroo* – or its more formal equivalent *desho(o)* – would be used. Also, like *wake*, the Okinawan *hazu* may follow the copula *da*, wherea *na* replaces the copula before *hazu* in Standard Japanese. Consider the example below.

Excerpt 18

A: Gara ga waruku naru to omotta n da **hazu** ne.

SJ = Gara ga waruku naru to omotta n **desho** ne.

A: She **probably** thought that people would think badly of her.

4.4.4 Non-standard usage of expressions of aspect

The conjunctive construction *X-te kara*, which means 'after X-ing' in Standard Japanese, is also used in Okinawa, but is semantically slightly different. In both the standard and non-standard varieties, the gerund (*te*-form of a verb) alone, without the addition of the *kara* (elsewhere used as a postposition meaning 'from'), may be loosely translated into English as a simple clause conjunction 'and', but may imply a causal relationship between clauses in some contexts. In Standard Japanese, the addition of *kara* implies that two

actions occur in direct sequence. If *kara* is omitted from the sentence, this sequential sense is weakened, and the link between the two clauses must be deduced from the context. Okinawans use the particle *kara* more often after the gerund form than do speakers of Standard Japanese, however, and in Okinawa the gerund + *kara* form appears not to imply such a strong sense of sequential actions. The following excerpt from C3 compares the usage of the gerund + *kara* construction with the equivalent in Standard Japanese. Frequent use of this construction is typical of the informal narrative style of Okinawan discourse.

Excerpt 19

D: “A, soo ka” tte itte kara, oomata de aruite ikiyotta kara.

SJ = “A, soo ka” tte itte, oomata de aruite itta kara.

D: She said “oh, okay” and strode off.

Another device used frequently during informal story-telling is the past tense form *-yotta*. The same verb ending can also be heard in Kyūshū³⁹, where a corresponding present tense form *-yoru* also exists. In Kyūshū, this form indicates the progressive aspect, i.e. 'is doing' or 'was doing', which is conveyed by *-te iru* (present) or *-te ita* (past) verb endings in Standard Japanese. In Okinawa, however, *-yotta* has no corresponding present tense form, and appears not to indicate a progressive sense that somebody 'was doing' something, but rather focuses on a speaker's perception of a past event (Soejima 2009: 58). In everyday Okinawan speech, the *-yotta* form coexists with the Standard Japanese past tense *-ta* form. One major difference is that *-yotta* does not usually co-occur with a first person subject⁴⁰. Consider the examples below:

³⁹ Variants of this non-standard progressive form exist in other parts of western Japan, such as the *-yuu* form in Shikoku (see Fujiwara 1965).

⁴⁰ An account of the use of *-yotta* can be found in Kudō (2004: 56-60).

Excerpt 20

A: Moo hairan to oneechan yameyotta.
SJ = Moo hairanai to oneechan yameta.

A: My sister quit, saying she didn't want to go in anymore.

Excerpt 21

D: Koo yatte saifu watashiyotta tte.
SJ = Koo yatte saifu watashita tte.

D: She handed over her purse like this.

Excerpt 22

D: ikiyotta tte iiyotta kedo.
SJ = itta tte itta kedo.

D: She said that she'd left.

4.4.5 Non-standard negative verb inflections

In casual style discourse, negative verb endings may be inflected with *-n* attached to the verb stem as in many western dialects of mainland Japan, or alternatively with the *-nai* endings heard in Tokyo and other eastern prefectures. The western *-n* endings are often used in abrupt exclamations, or as an abbreviated form when two negatives appear together as in the second two examples below.

Excerpt 23

N: Sore shika taberen.
SJ = Sore shika taberenai [or in less casual speech, taberarenai].

N: I can't eat anything apart from that.

The example above is an abrupt exclamation. The Standard Japanese equivalent *taberenai* 'cannot eat' is also used in casual speech in Okinawa, but Standard Japanese *-nai* verb endings are perhaps considered to be more appropriate than *-n* endings for formal situations. The following two examples are abbreviations of the Standard Japanese *-nai to ikenai* form meaning 'must do'. In the first example of the two, only one of the negative verb endings is abbreviated, and in the other, both endings are non-standard.

Excerpt 24

B: Oya no mae de shaberanai to iken wake saa.
SJ = Oya no mae de shaberanai to ikenai no yo.

B: I'm having to talk [on my mobile phone] right in front of my parents, you see.

Excerpt 25

J: Uta no torikata kangaen to ikan naa.
SJ = Uta no torikata kangaenai to ikenai naa.

J: We have to think about how to record the songs.

4.4.6 Non-standard usage of the deictic verbs *kuru* and *iku*

Another non-standard grammatical feature is the usage of the deictic verbs *iku* 'go' and *kuru* 'come'. In Standard Japanese, these verbs are used from the deictic perspective of the speaker, so if a speaker were to say *paatii ni kuru yo* 'I will come to the party' then the speaker and addressee would have to be conversing in the place where the party is due to be held. If the party is due to be held elsewhere, however, the verb *iku* would be used in place of *kuru*.

Okinawan usage of these verbs is more like English in this respect, as the speaker takes the deictic perspective of the interlocutor. Thus, an Okinawan could say *paatii ni kuru yo*

even if, at the time of the speech event, they are in a place other than where the party is due to be held. Consider the following example from C1.

Excerpt 26

B: Anoo saa, are nanka wa Shitii ni kuru wake yo.

SJ = Anoo saa, are nanka wa Shitii ni iku wake yo.

B: Um hey, those guys come to City [Karaoke House], you know.

Despite the fact that the conversation takes place in a place other than City Karaoke, the verb *kuru* is used to indicate an imagined movement in the direction of where the speaker expects herself to be in the future.

4.4.7 Non-standard phonetic realisations

Some non-standard phonetic features of Japanese in Okinawa are similar to varieties spoken in the western part of the Japanese mainland, such as the Kansai dialect. These features include shorter intervocalic geminate consonants than in Standard Japanese, and lengthened vowels in single-mora words of the structure CV (e.g. *jii* 'Japanese character' from recording C1, which is realised as *ji* in Standard Japanese). In *Uchinaaguchi*, vowels are long in all single-syllable words, but it is unclear whether or not Okinawans' vowel lengthening in Japanese is due to interference from the vernacular, since the phenomenon is common in so many areas west of Tokyo. Similarly, the phonetic realisation of vowels such as the rounding of [ü] to [ü] is common to other varieties of western Japanese.

Word-initial vowels are often glottalised by speakers of all ages. In Standard Japanese,

glottalised and unglottalised forms appear in free variation, although there is usually no glottal stop where word-final and word-initial vowels meet at a word boundary. Okinawans' consistent use of glottalised word-initial vowels may have originated as L₁ interference from *Uchinaaguchi*, which also has glottalised initial vowels (see Appendices II and III). Word initial vowel glottalisation is also present in the speech of the younger participants, but is less noticeable and consistent in the case of non-speakers A (aged 16) and B (aged 17). It is noticeable in the speech of semi-speakers C (aged 35) and D (aged 40), however, and particularly so in C4, in which semi-speaker D can be heard conversing with full speaker Q (aged 75) in a busy shopping mall. In this situation, speaker D enunciates her words loudly and clearly, and her glottalisation is noticeable, as in the following excerpt (the glottal stop is represented by an apostrophe).

Excerpt 27

D: De mo sa? [ʔUchi no [ʔoyaji no [ʔotooto nanka wa, minna... namatteru wake yoo.

D: But hey, people like my dad's younger brother... they all have an accent, you know.

Elsewhere in this chapter, the glottal stop is transcribed for word-initial vowels in *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes only, and is omitted in Japanese lexemes for the sake of simplicity.

4.4.8 Intergenerational differences in Japanese constituent

Certain features that appear in the Japanese spoken by productive bilinguals are not present in the speech of younger generations, perhaps because of the increased exposure to mainland varieties through the mass media over the years. All of the productive bilingual participants in this study showed signs of L₁ interference in their phonetic

realisation of certain Japanese words. Some examples captured on the recordings are listed below:

- 1) As in *Uchinaaguchi*, the Japanese spoken by some productive bilinguals features the palatalised syllables *she* and *je*, which correspond to Standard Japanese *se* and *ze* respectively. Some examples from the recordings are: *mishe* 'shop' (C3); *kanooshee* 'possibility' (C5); *shenkusha* 'pioneer' (C3); *noshete* 'place on top' (C6); *jenjen* '(not) at all' (C3, C4); and *jenbu* 'all' (C2, C6).
- 2) A word-initial /r/ may be realised as [d] (Nakamoto 1990). An example from C3 is *denchuu* (SJ *renchuu* 'company, crowd').
- 3) The Standard Japanese short vowel /o/ is articulated high and rounded by some older speakers, to the extent that it may sound like /u/. This tendency may be L₁ interference reflecting the historical raising of short mid vowels in *Uchinaaguchi* (see Appendix II). This feature is more noticeable in the speech of the full speaker participants, most notably the oldest speaker Q (aged 75). When speaker Q produces the sentence otoosan ga iiyotta no ni 'your father said so', it sounds as though she is saying utoosan ga iiyutta nu ni.

L₁ interference may also manifest itself in the particular ways in which productive bilinguals use vocabulary and idiomatic expressions. One example of this in the recordings is the expression *umi o aruite imashita* from C7, which is a direct translation into Japanese of an *Uchinaaguchi* expression (see Excerpt 1, Section 4.2 for a more detailed explanation).

There is evidence that some of the features specific to the Japanese spoken by productive bilinguals may **not** be due to L₁ interference. One phonetic feature that is noticeable in their Japanese is the pronunciation of word-initial /e/. Many productive bilinguals consistently realise this as [je] with a distinct onglide – a syllable which I transcribe as <ye>. Examples in the recordings are: *yepisoodo* 'episode' (C7); *yeego* 'English (language)' (C7); *yebi* 'prawn' (C2); and *yerande* 'choose' (C3). Unlike the phonetic differences previously mentioned in this section, it is likely that the *ye* syllable stems not from L₁ interference, but from early contact with dialects of the western Japanese mainland (such as Kyūshū). Evidence for this lies in the fact that the *Uchinaaguchi* word for 'prawn' is not *yibi* but *'ibi*, with a glottalised initial vowel. If the productive bilinguals' Japanese pronunciation had stemmed from L₁ interference, then speaker N in C2 would have pronounced the word as *'ebi*, and not as *yebi*.

There are some features of young people's Japanese which are not very likely to be used by older speakers. In C1, the two non-speakers A (aged 16) and B (aged 17) – use some slang expressions which would be familiar to young people in mainland Japan. These expressions include words such as *nanpa* 'pick-up artist', *bimyoo* 'dodgy; so-so; meh (American slang word that may indicate a non-committal attitude with negative connotations)', *jan* 'isn't it?', *maji (de)* 'really?', *yabai* 'awful', *baibure* 'vibrate (mobile phone)', and *kimoi* 'gross, weird, yucky'. The girls also frequently coalesce vowel sequences as is common in many mainland varieties, especially in some adjectives (e.g. *yabai* 'awful' becomes *yabee*) and negative verb endings (e.g. *omowanai* (think-NEG) becomes *omowanee*).

In this section, I have discussed the usage of the first constituent of Okinawan speech – Japanese lexemes. This is the main constituent for all speakers, and provides the matrix⁴¹ in which other varieties may co-occur. In the next four sections, I analyse the characteristics and usage of any *Uchinaaguchi*-related language by all informants. I explain how the speakers of each subgroup mix *Uchinaaguchi*, Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*, Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* into the Japanese framework. In the analysis, I note how the speakers' language choices change according to their interlocutor.

4.5 Non-speakers: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

In informal conversation with members of their own subgroup, non-speakers use their own variety of Japanese, interspersed with a very small number of *Uchinaaguchi*-related insertions. The recording analysed here is C1, in which two girls – speaker A (aged 16) and speaker B (aged 17) converse in an informal, private setting.

The recording is 26 minutes 47 seconds long. During that time, speakers A and B utter a total of 3725 words between them. Neither speaker dominates the overall conversation to any significant degree, and the total number of words uttered breaks down into 1913 words by speaker A, and 1812 by speaker B.

4.5.1 Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

We shall now examine the extent to which *Uchinaaguchi*-related expressions are used in

⁴¹ “Matrix Language (ML)” is a term used by Myers-Scotton and is defined as “the language supplying the grammatical frame of constituents with morphemes from the two languages” (Myers-Scotton 1998: 291).

the girls' speech. Firstly, it is important to note that *Uchinaaguchi*-related words and phrases in the recording are very low in number. The girls occasionally use the same *Uchinaaguchi* words as their elders, but more frequently they use Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*. As discussed in Chapter 2.2.3, the implication in the literature (Nohara 1998) is that the presence of these expressions justifies the classification of young people's speech as *Shin-hōgen* (New Dialect). My findings indicate, however, that young people's speech is basically Japanese with extremely infrequent usage of *Uchinaaguchi*-related expressions. The relative frequency of these expressions in C1 is summarised in the table below. Note that multiple instances of the same word have been counted into the totals.

Table 9: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use by non-speakers

Speaker	Total words	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Morphologically Mixed <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Mimicked <i>U/guchi</i>	Total <i>U/guchi</i> -related	% <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related
A	1913	3	0	6	9	0.47%
B	1812	5	2	6	13	0.72%

It should be clear from the table above that the proportion of combined *Uchinaaguchi*, Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* to Japanese in the girls' speech is extremely low at less than 1%.

4.5.2 Isolated *Uchinaaguchi* insertions

The individual occurrences of *Uchinaaguchi* and pseudo-*Uchinaaguchi* expressions are worth examining in detail to show how they appear in the context of a predominantly Japanese discourse.

First, consider how the *Uchinaaguchi* word *shikasaa* 'pick-up artist' is inserted into a Japanese sentence:

Excerpt 28

B: De mo are nanka no naka ni yoo **shikasaa** mo iru wake yoo. **Shikasaa**? <Translates> Nanpa.

A: Moo, chotto kibun warui na, kibun warui! <Laughs>

B: But hey, there'll be **pick-up artists** in places like that you know. **Pick-up artists**? <Translates> Letches.

A: Oh god I feel sick now. I feel sick! <Laughs>

The word *shikasaa* derives from the *Uchinaaguchi* verb *shikasun* 'cheat, fool around'. The *-aa* affix to verb and noun stems in *Uchinaaguchi* denotes “a person who (is)...”. Although *shikasaa* does not appear in dictionaries as an entry in its own right, the compound noun *yinagushikasaa* 'womaniser' appears in Uchima & Nohara's (2006) Naha dialect dictionary.

Three of the eight instances of *Uchinaaguchi* usage are the same word repeated by both participants. The extract below illustrates the way in which both girls latch onto the *Uchinaaguchi* word *suujii* 'lane, alleyway', and repeat it in their utterances:

Excerpt 29

B: Xchan no ie doko da kke? Acchi ka:... bimyo.

A: Tooi no?

B: Iya chikai kedo bimyo na basho. **Suujii** to ka.

A: **Suujii** ka.

B: Bimyo ja nai? Naha...

A: **Suujii** no uchi na no?

B: Sokorahen. Moo kuruma ga anma tomaranai basho hora. Shikina jidookan nanka atta saa.

A: Un.

B: Where's X's house again? Out there? Dodgy...

A: Is it far, is it?

B: Nah, it's not far but it's a dodgy area, with the lanes and whatnot.

A: Ah, the lanes.

B: Don't you reckon it's dodgy? Naha...

A: The house is in the lanes, is it?

B: Kind of in that area. You know, that bit where there aren't many cars parked. Where the Shikina garage used to be.

A: Yeah.

Like *shikasaa*, the word *suujii* is *Uchinaaguchi* of the type that is spoken by elderly Okinawans. The passage above shows how it is used by non-speakers: it appears as an isolated *Uchinaaguchi* expression within the context of Japanese discourse, albeit a particular variety of Japanese that includes some slang expressions popular amongst mainland Japanese young people, such as the word *bimyoo* 'dodgy' (see Section 4.4.8 for further discussion). This usage would perhaps be described more accurately as an *Uchinaaguchi* loanword than as insertional code-switching, since the girls are not bilingual in *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese. As discussed in Chapter 2.2.6, however, the debate over the distinction between borrowing and code-switching is still ongoing in the literature (e.g. see Matras & Bakker (Eds.) 2007). Non-speakers use such borrowings as identity markers, which express a common Okinawan identity, despite the fact that the speakers are essentially monolingual in Japanese. The girls themselves aided in the transcription of this passage, and explained to me that the word *suujii* was an *Uchinaaguchi* expression. This proves that they are fully aware that they are using expressions from a language they cannot speak fluently. By using these words and mixing language in this creative way, they express their group solidarity as young Okinawans.

4.5.3 *Uchinaaguchi* formulaic expressions and interjections

There are only two other examples of *Uchinaaguchi* in recording C1. These are the formulaic expression *deejii ya* (terrible COP) 'that's terrible/awful' and the interjection '*aga* 'ouch!'. Again, these appear within the context of Japanese discourse. These two

expressions are very commonly heard in Okinawa, and could be considered as touchstones for the conveyance of an Okinawan identity in communication between Okinawans themselves, as well as in presenting themselves to outsiders. The following excerpt is another illustration of how non-speakers use isolated *Uchinaaguchi* words.

Excerpt 30

A: Neechan no mukashi no jooahoo de neechan wa sore no see de ochita kara <Laughs>.

Otoshite, **'aga**, ikimashoo.

B: Ha? Taiiku dake otoshite?

A: Taiiku otoshita tte itteta, oboetenno.

A: According to what my older sister said ages ago, she failed because of that. <Laughs>. Dropped it, **'ouch!** Then she's outta there.

B: Huh? She only dropped PE?

A: She said she dropped PE, from what I remember.

As well as conveying an Okinawan identity, the expression *'aga* may also serve to add humour to the exchange.

4.5.4 Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*

I now turn to the issue of the girls' use of Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*. There is only one instance of this constituent in the text, but it counts as two words because of the romanised transcription I have used. These are the same expressions used by older speakers, so clearly they are acquired rather than coined by Japanese monolinguals.

The example in the text is the expression *yuntaku suru* 'to discuss; to chat'. This derives from the *Uchinaaguchi* compound verb *yuntaku sun*, where *yuntaku* is a noun meaning 'discussion' or 'chat', and *sun* is a verb meaning 'to do'. In order that *yuntaku* may be used easily in the context of Japanese discourse, *sun* is replaced with its Japanese cognate *suru*. The resulting compound could be treated as an insertion of just one *Uchinaaguchi* word

yuntaku, but I have decided to follow the example of Osumi (2001), who considers such expressions as mixed compounds (see comment on *ma ni 'aaran* 'not be on time', Section 4.7.2). The following excerpt shows how one of the girls used this expression in isolation in a sentence that is otherwise completely in Japanese.

Excerpt 31

B: A-san ga ie no shigoto ni kaetta saa nee. Obaachanchi no are tte itte kara. De, B wa aitsu to yuntaku shitete. X wa Y tokoro icchatte kara...

B: You went back to do some work at the house, didn't you? Saying about the thing at your gran's place. And I was chatting to those guys, and X went away off to Y's place, and...

It is this type of expression that Nohara (1998) refers to as *Shin-hōgen* (New Dialect). It is important to realise, however, that the speech of these young people does not feature liberal use of these expressions, but rather constitutes a marked variety of Japanese interspersed with an extremely low number of these expressions. Young people's *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* may either be viewed as having a substratum of *Uchinaaguchi* (as Batibo (1992) and Ihemere (2007) analyse the late stage of language shift), or otherwise as a mixed code containing *Uchinaaguchi* borrowings that have often been modified in some way from the source.

4.5.5 Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*

Some *Uchinaaguchi* words have been semant syntactically altered in young people's speech. One example is the word *jiraa*, which, according to the *The Dictionary of the Okinawan Language* (Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963), means 'face' in the original vernacular. In young people's *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, however, it has been grammaticalised, and has come to mean 'like'. This somewhat resembles the quotative usage of 'it's like [quote]; to be (all) like [quote]' in young people's English. In this usage,

jiraa functions in a similar way to the Japanese quotative particle *to* (or its casual equivalent *(t)te*), but whereas *to/te* follows a precise single quote or descriptive phrase/idea, *jiraa* indicates that the phrase it follows may be imprecise, and only one of many possibilities. Both *jiraa* and *tte* may precede the Japanese verb *iu* 'say', where *X tte iu* means 'to say "X"', and *X jiraa iu* means 'to be (all) like "X"'. Older generations of Okinawans would be unlikely to use the word in this way. Consider the following examples of its usage by both speakers in C1:

Excerpt 32

B: Moo futsuu ni, chotto futsuu ni iu ka "anoo saa?" **jiraa**...

B: Or I could say it casually and **be all like** "hey, um..."

Excerpt 33

A: Okkee soko wa yurusoo **jiraa**... ne?

A: Okay **it's like** we can let her off for that, eh?

I suspect that young non-speakers of *Uchinaaguchi* have picked up this word after hearing older bilinguals using expressions such as *uchinaa jiraa* 'Okinawan face'. They may have assumed that *jiraa* equated to SJ *mitai na* 'like', since *mitai na* can follow nouns directly without the possessive particle *no*, whereas SJ *kao* 'face' requires a preceding possessive particle, yielding the phrase *okinawa no kao* 'Okinawan face'.

Another *Uchinaaguchi* word, which young Okinawans have semant syntactically altered for use in Japanese contexts, is *baa*. Productive bilinguals use *baa* very differently, and it is worth explaining their usage here, before I show how that contrasts with the non-speaker usage of the word.

Productive bilinguals use *baa* in two main ways. The first of these is as a noun meaning 'reason; grounds; circumstance; case; meaning', corresponding to the Standard Japanese word *baai* or *wake* (see Section 4.4.3 for further explanation of *wake*). The following examples from C6 illustrate this usage. In the first example, *baa* is used in its sense of "case". It appears in the phrase *ima no baa*⁴² (now GEN case) – literally 'in the case of now', i.e. 'at the moment'.

Excerpt 34

J: Ima no baa ya, kore chimumuchi ga nai kedo, futsuu no mono de mo, yushi⁴³ de mo kiree ni yatte okeba, nai desu.

J: At the moment people aren't being conscientious. As long as they do a good job of a normal one [*sanshin*] or one made of *Isu*, they aren't.

Another way in which productive bilinguals use *baa* is when they are drawing conclusions from what has previously been said. This usage more or less corresponds to the "conclusive *wake*", described in Section 4.4.3, where I suggested that an appropriate English equivalent is the phrase 'that means X'. The following example from C6 illustrates this usage.

Excerpt 35

J: Yoo suru ni, 'anuu 'ussa... sheeshinteki ni raku yaru baa ya ssaa, jibun de yatte iru kara.

J: So basically, um, that means that's enough for him to feel comfortable psychologically, because he's doing it himself.

By far the most common usage of *baa* is when a productive bilingual is trying to convince someone of their point of view in an argument, or emphasising a point during

⁴² In Standard Japanese this would be *ima no baai*; in *Uchinaaguchi* it would be *nama nu baa*.

⁴³ *Yushi(gi)* is the Okinawan name for the *Isu* tree, which is used for making the *sanshin* (a local variety of plucked stringed instrument), as well as for planting near houses to protect against typhoons.

story-telling. This more or less corresponds to the “explanatory *wake*”, as previously discussed in Section 4.4.3, where I suggested that an appropriate English equivalent is the phrase “X, you see”. The following examples from C6 illustrate this usage.

Excerpt 36

J: **'Aree shiruu ya sunchii ndiru baa tee.**

J: They call that white stuff *shunkei* [a type of lacquer], **you see**.

Excerpt 37

J: Shichihachihon **'ata shiga yoo, maa nkai 'uchara wakaran muru... 'ippun neen baa, waa timutu nkai yoo.**

J: I had seven or eight pieces [of timber], but I don't know where I put them all... I don't have a single one to hand, **you see**.

Excerpt 38

J: **Kuzaa nji yoo sai.** Ima kangaeru to, **neen baa ya ssaa.**

J: In Koza, you know? When you think about it now, there aren't any [trees] left, **you see**.

The following excerpt illustrates both the explanatory and conclusive usages of *baa*.

Excerpt 39

J: Mii **nu neen baa.** Sore de mo, yoo suru ni, moo zenbu ki arashite **tumeeraran diru baa.**

J: They don't seed, **you see**. Anyway, so basically the trees all get damaged which **means** there's no demand for them.

Young people have adapted this *Uchinaaguchi* word for use in their variant of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, in which it is fully grammaticalised, and has come to take on the function of lending emphasis to an exclamation, or firm resolve to a statement of intention. Its meaning and overall effect are reminiscent of the way in which some young English

speakers use the word “totally” in its emphatic slang sense. It is preceded directly by a predicate, or, in the case of noun phrases, the copula *da*. Because young people's usage of this word is semant syntactically different from that of older productive bilinguals, I have classified it as Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*. The following examples show how this word is used as an isolated Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* word in the context of an utterance that is otherwise in Japanese. Note that, in the last of these excerpts, *baa* is used in a statement of intention.

Excerpt 40

B: Un. Xchan mo saisho wa... yokatta kedo ne, ima wa iya da **baa** mitai na.

B: Yeah, X was fine at the beginning as well, but now it's like she's **totally** gone bad.

Excerpt 41

A: Kekkoo... kaitari to ka shite. Jibun doose... sonna taishita koto nai no ni kaiteru **baa** yo na <Laughs>.

A: We were writing [letters] and stuff quite a bit. Even though it wasn't that big a deal for me, I was **totally** writing, y'know? <Laughs>

Excerpt 42

A: Koo attakai toko sawaru **baa** yo naa. Koo, nanka koo iu fuu ni.

A: You're **totally** supposed to touch warm places like this. Kind of like this, look.

Excerpt 43

A: Da kara saa. Mi ni ik... Ashita hitori de mo ganbatte miru **baa**.

A: Well, you know, [I'll go and] have a look. I'll **totally** give it a try tomorrow even if I'm on my own.

It is interesting that such *Uchinaaguchi*-related grammatical morphemes appear as insertions in young people's *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* as well as lexical items such as nouns.

In this respect, the young people's adoption of these morphemes differs from the borrowing process, in which grammatical words are “hardly ever borrowed” (Jones & Singh 2005: 36). One reason for the adoption of grammatical words by these young people may be that, in the Okinawan case, the target language is syntactically and morphologically very similar to the abandoned language, thus allowing for easy integration of words of almost any category.

4.5.6 The older generation's view of young people's Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*

When non-speakers use expressions such as *jiraa* and *baa*, the overall effect is that their Japanese has a local slang-like quality. Older people in Okinawa generally regard the kind of language spoken by teenagers as sloppy and impolite. This generates a desire to teach “correct” *Uchinaaguchi* to children through the media of plays and songs. An article in the Okinawa Times (14/02/2001) quoted the words of a school play coordinator from Urasoe Minatogawa Elementary School:

“Recently children have started using *Uchinaaguchi*-style expressions such as *da baa* and *ya shii* at the end of their sentences. It is not expressions like these that we are trying to teach, but rather more elegant language such as honorific polite language. If your attitude is sloppy, then your language will end up being sloppy too. Teaching language is linked to an education in decorum”.

One of the older participants in my study claimed that she often overheard young people conversing in shops and cafes, and did not understand them when they used *Uchinaaguchi*, commenting that the language young people use is “meaningless” and “incomprehensible”. The intergenerational differences in the usage of *Uchinaaguchi*

words – i.e. the fact that young people have created their own Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* – may account for this “language barrier”. The following excerpt is a typical example of the kind of exchange older people might overhear and be baffled by. Note that speaker A uses both *jiraa* and *baa* in the same utterance.

Excerpt 44

B: “Nanka yoo de mo aru no:?” **jiraa**... “Nan de mo nai yo:” **jiraa**.

A: “Nan to naku:” **jiraa** iitsutsu “aa, imootobu:n” da **baa** yo na.

B: I'd **be like** “what are you up to?” and she'd **be like** “oh, nothing”.

A: You'd **be all like** “there's something up”, and like “argh that's my little sis!” like **totally**.

It must be noted that, as a non-native speaker of this local slang, I had to ask the speakers themselves for assistance in transcribing this excerpt, having discovered that young people from mainland Japan were no more able than I was to make sense of the exchange. Part of the reason for the difficulty was that, in rapid speech, the word *jiraa* is contracted, and can sound more like *jaa*, or *jiri*, or even reduced to the extent that it sounds like a single affricate.

In C7, the two elderly ladies quoted in Chapter 4.2 discuss the new Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* words they have heard children say. Their reaction to these children's creative mixing of Japanese, *Uchinaaguchi* and English is one of amazement and amusement rather than disdain. The following excerpt shows how children's “dialect” can often be unintelligible to elderly *Uchinaaguchi* speakers, even though the expressions derive from *Uchinaaguchi*. Speaker M reports having had to ask a child the meaning of a particular Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* word. This part of C7 reveals much about these Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* expressions, as well as people's attitudes towards them, so it has been quoted here in full. Glottalised initial vowels in the Japanese portions of text have

been omitted for the sake of simplicity. Portions of the translation appear in the original language, and have been written in underlined/bold/italicised text, since it is the conversation as a whole that is under discussion, rather than specific target words. This also draws attention to the way in which the speakers code-switch.

Excerpt 45

M1: Kodomotachi no ne hoogen te omoshiro yo. Atashi no kodomo ga moo, mada... mada chiisai tte shoogakkoo ka chugakusee gurai, chugakusee gurai no toki ni ne? Anoo... kodo... kyo... kodomo dooshi ga hanashitenno o kiita wake yo, uchi no kyoodai ga ne? De, anoo... tatoeba, "A-san ga naninani"... A-san... tomodachi no A-san no koto o itteru kedo, "A-san ga ne, **tunjiman** saa nee" tte itte...iu kara, "nani? Kono hoogen nani?" to omotte, imi o kiita no yo. "Doo iu imi na no?" tte kiitara ne, "deshabari" tte iu wake. Wakaru? "**Tunji**" tte iu no wa hoogen desho? "Man" to iu no wa eego desho? "**Tunjiman**"... "deshabari" <both laugh>. Datte sore ni tottemo kanshin shite ne, konna kotachi ga sono soosaku... <inaudible>

L1: Fu:n...

M2: Ie anoo ne, ee... eego to **'uchinaaguchi** o mikkusu shiteru. De, soo iu no ga kekkoo aru no yo, ima no kodomo de.

L2: "**Tun... tunji**" wa nani?

M3: "**Tunjiru**" to iu no wa "deru" to iu koto.

L3: Tobideru koto?

M4: Soo soo soo soo soo soo soo.

L4: Aa.

M5: To... tobideru koto ga... **tunji**... anoo...

L5: Tobideru hito nee, maa, moo...

M6: "**Ama nkai t...**" anoo, "**michi nkai tunjii nee**, abunai yo" to iu koto iu desho?

L6: Un, un.

M7: "Tobidashite", "tobidasu"... ne? "Tobidashiman". Da kara, anoo, nani? Anoo "deshabari". Un un.

L7: "**Tunjiman**"... ha:~!

M8: Soshite ne? Sore kara, anoo, iya na ko... anoo iya na anoo hyoogen de, "**aree miichikitoo ssaa**" tte iu, wakaru desho?

L8: Un un un. Hai hai hai.

M9: Sore wa nan te iu to omou? "**Ganchiki**"!

L9: "Gan" te. Un, sore wa kiku, "**ganchiki**".

M10: "**Ganchiki**" tte iu kotoba, hoogen ni nai desu yo.

L10: Iya "**ganchiki**" tte iu, kodomo wa ne?

M11: Iu desho? De sore hoogen ja nai no. "**Miichiki**" o honto no hoogen da kedo, "**mii**" o... anoo, "me" wa **yamatuguchi** de wa "gan" desho? Da kara "**ganchiki**" to iu desho? Are wa honto no hoogen ja nai no yo ne? Un, da kara, yeego de aroo ga **yamatuguchi** de aroo ga ironna no ga misukusu [sic. mikkusu] shite, sono hoogen, anoo, hoogen... to shite ka na? Maa shin... shingo to shite tsukatteru wake yo.

L11: Soo iu fuu ni shite kotoba ga dekiagatte kita hazu ne, mukashi kara.

M12: Da kara ne. Da kara, ima no kotoba de mo, anoo, sentenmanten ga aru wake yo ne, saisho kara soo iu wake yo. Kotoba sono mon ga soo desho?

L12: Un, soo soo.

M13: Tabun ne? Saisho wa kotoba no... kotoba ni mo naranai kotoba kara, un.

L13: Datta desho ne.

Translation

M1: Children's dialect is interesting. When my children were, well, still... still small so maybe about the time when they were at primary school or junior high school age? Um, I heard the children talking amongst themselves, our two kids, right? And um, for instance they'd say "so-and-so did such-and-such"... so-and-so as in their friend so-and-so, "so-and-so is a **tunjiman** isn't he?" I thought "what? What's this dialect?" and so I asked them what it meant. And when I asked them "what does that mean?" they said "busybody". Get it? "**Tunji**" is dialect [*Uchinaaguchi*], right? "Man" is English, right? So "**tunjiman**" is "busybody" <both laugh>. Well I found that so intriguing, that these kids can come up with that... <inaudible>

L1: Wow...

M2: I mean, um, they're mixing English and **Uchinaaguchi**. And there are quite a lot of words like that you know, which the kids use.

L2: What's "**Tun... tunji**"?

M3: "**Tunjiru**" means "stick out".

L3: To protrude?

M4: Yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah.

L4: Ah.

M5: To protrude is... **tunji**... um...

L5: Someone who protrudes, right? well...

M6: You would say "**ama nkai** [lit. 'into over there']..." um, "**michi nkai tunji nee** [lit. 'if you stick out into the road'] it's dangerous" [i.e. "come away from there!", "come away from the edge (of the road)!"].

L6: Yeah, yeah.

M7: "Jumping out", "jump out"... yeah? "A jump-out man". So, um, what? Um "busybody". Yeah yeah.

L7: "**Tunjiman**"... wow!

M8: And also. And then, um, there's a horrible... um there's this horrible expression, "**he's staring**"⁴⁴, you know that one don't you?

L8: Yeah yeah yeah. Yes yes yes.

M9: How do you think they say that? "**Ganchiki**"⁴⁵!

L9: They say "*gan*". Yeah, you do hear that, "**ganchiki**".

M10: There's no such word as "**ganchiki**" in dialect [*Uchinaaguchi*].

L10: But they say "**ganchiki**", the children do, don't they?

M11: They do, don't they? And that's not dialect, you see. "**Miichiki**" is real dialect, but "**mii**" is... um, "eye" is "*gan*" in **Japanese**, right? So they say "**ganchiki**" you know? That's not real dialect, you see, is it? Yeah, so, whether it's English or **Japanese**, they're mixing all sorts of things, as their dialect, um, dialect, maybe? Well, they're using it as a new language.

L11: That's probably how words have been invented from way back, don't you think?

M12: Well there you go. I mean, there's a word for everything these days. It's been going on like that from the beginning. That's what words are, don't you think?

L12: Yeah, that's right.

M13: Don't you reckon? At first, words were... they're from words that weren't even words, yeah.

L13: That's probably how it was, yeah.

What is interesting here is that speaker M, in her eleventh utterance, explains the meaning of some phrases to speaker L with reference to the "real dialect" vocabulary from which

⁴⁴ The *Uchinaaguchi* verb *miichikiyun* (present progressive form *miichikitoo*) has two main meanings – 'to discover' or, as it is used here, 'to stare'.

⁴⁵ According to one of my examiners, the word *ganchiki* comes from SJ *gantsuke* 'staring'.

children's words are derived. Then, in the same utterance, Speaker M calls the children's variety *shingo* 'new language'. In utterances 11, 12 and 13, the women speculate as to whether many words originally came into existence through the same creative mixing of language. The excerpt reveals how speakers consider the language use of speakers in other subgroups, and may misunderstand them or make judgements on them.

4.6 Semi-speakers: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

Two of my informants (speakers C and D) show that they are able to understand most of the *Uchinaaguchi* spoken by rusty speakers and full speakers, but have limited productive abilities. The fact that they have receptive abilities is clear from the way in which they respond and answer appropriately to *Uchinaaguchi* when it is spoken to them, and also from the fact that they are able to transcribe as well as translate recorded speech in *Uchinaaguchi* with a fair degree of accuracy.

The data for semi-speaker speech consists of three recordings – C2, C3 and C4. In C2, semi-speaker C (aged 35) converses with her elderly full speaker parents over a meal in a noodle restaurant. Her mother is speaker N (aged 71), and her father is speaker P (aged 73). In C3, semi-speaker D (aged 40) converses with her rusty speaker friend and music teacher, speaker J (aged 55), during a music lesson. In C4, the same individual D converses with an elderly full speaker lady (aged 75), who is selling wares at a stall in a busy indoor shopping mall.

In all three recordings, the semi-speakers interact with older productive bilinguals, who are proficient in *Uchinaaguchi* to varying degrees. I captured these conversations in the hope that they would reveal the extent to which older *Uchinaaguchi* speakers are able to

elicit productive *Uchinaaguchi* use from the semi-speakers.

First, the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use was calculated for each speaker (see Section 4.6.1). Each conversation was then analysed in turn, with the following four questions in mind:

1. What kind of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words do semi-speakers use in everyday conversation with their elders?
2. Given that semi-speakers are proficient enough to be able to use a small number of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words, in what discourse environments are they used?
3. To what level of proficiency are semi-speakers able to speak *Uchinaaguchi*?
4. To what extent do semi-speakers comprehend spoken *Uchinaaguchi* as it is used by their elders?

The first question may be answered simply by studying the recordings/transcripts. To answer the second question, I analysed any instances of code-switching sequentially, and looked for patterns in speech behaviour. The third and fourth questions were rather more difficult to tackle. Evidence relating to spoken proficiency (or lack thereof) may surface as hesitation in delivery, or phonological/grammatical errors. An assessment of receptive proficiency, on the other hand, requires that a person's understanding of an utterance is determined, by paying attention to their requests for translation, or to the appropriateness of their responses.

4.6.1 Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

First, the ratio of spoken *Uchinaaguchi* words to Japanese words was calculated for the semi-speakers in each of the three recordings. The results are shown in the table below.

Table 10: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use by semi-speakers

Recording	Speaker	Total words	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Erroneous <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Total <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related	% <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related
C2	C	537	16	0	16	2.98%
C3	D	1570	126	17	143	9.11%
C4	D	347	3	3	6	1.73%

The result for C3 is a noticeably higher percentage than the others, and this may be attributed partly to the fact that a significant proportion of this conversation was about the topic of *Uchinaaguchi* itself. This somewhat skewed the results for speaker D's *Uchinaaguchi* use. If the percentage is recalculated for only the first 5 minutes 47 seconds of the conversation (i.e. the portion of the conversation that comes before the topic of *Uchinaaguchi* words is brought into discussion by the participants), the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words to Japanese words becomes $(10 / 367) \times 100 = <3\%$, which is much closer to the results for the other two recordings. With *Uchinaaguchi*-related words at only about 2-3% of the total, there appears not to be much productive *Uchinaaguchi* use amongst semi-speakers, even when in conversation with older full speakers or rusty speakers. The ratio of *Uchinaaguchi* to Japanese for semi-speakers is only very slightly higher than the equivalent ratio for the non-speakers (see Section 4.5.1).

4.6.2 Culture-specific *Uchinaaguchi* words and proverbs

Of the few *Uchinaaguchi* words used by the semi-speakers, many are well-known “touchstones” of Okinawan culture. In this respect, their *Uchinaaguchi* use is similar to that of the non-speakers discussed in Section 4.5. For example, in C2, female semi-speaker C (aged 35) converses with her elderly parents in a noodle restaurant. One of the topics of conversation is the types of food made for a New Year's feast, which was attended by speaker C's mother. Speaker C uses the *Uchinaaguchi* name for a popular Okinawan dish *rafutee* (stewed pork belly). Since this is a dish that is familiar to Okinawans of all ages, and indeed to some people from mainland Japan who are familiar with Okinawan cuisine, the usage of this kind of *Uchinaaguchi* is not particularly significant for this discussion.

Much more revealing is the fact that speaker C quotes a proverb in *Uchinaaguchi*, showing that she can recall it correctly, and, more importantly, use it at an appropriate point in the conversation. In the excerpt from C2 quoted below, speaker C discusses table manners with her mother, whilst drinking coffee. Without seeing the speakers' physical gestures, it is unclear what bad habit they are discussing specifically, but from the context it is most likely the act of licking a coffee stirrer or spoon, or possibly licking the cream from the top of the coffee.

Excerpt 46

N: Ne, ouchi de saa? Kore nanka nee, konna shite kara nametari suru wake, koo yaru wake <demonstrates>.

C: Iya:: yamete choodai!

N: Da kara sono kuse ga tsukisoo yo.

C: Kowai! ***Yaa naree nu fuka naree***.

N: Kore mo namete iru saa <demonstrates>.

C: ***Yaa naree nu fuka naree*** to <clears throat>. Osoroshii. Hazukashii, konna shite yatteru hito.

N: Hey, y'know, when I'm at home I do stuff like licking this after I've done this. I go like this

<demonstrates>.

C: Eugh! Stop it!

N: So it looks like I'll get into the habit of it.

C: Scary! ["Habit at home is habit in public"]

N: I lick this too <demonstrates>.

C: ["Habit at home is habit in public"], as they say <clears throat>. That's shocking. How embarrassing – people who do that.

These formulaic language chunks are probably best considered as *Uchinaaguchi* borrowings rather than code-switching.

4.6.3 Hesitation and stumbling in delivery of *Uchinaaguchi* speech

When semi-speakers drop even reasonably well-known *Uchinaaguchi* words into conversation, they may hesitate, perhaps through lack of practice, just as anybody might stumble on certain words when attempting to speak a foreign language. One popular word used by both speakers C and D (in recordings C2 and C3 respectively) is *maga'abii* '(really) loud voice'. Speaker C code-switches from Japanese to *Uchinaaguchi* and uses this word at one point in recording C2, perhaps for humorous effect. In doing so, she is hesitant in her delivery, and stutters. This contrasts with the seamless way in which productive bilinguals are able to code-switch at any point in the conversation (see Section 4.7.8). In the excerpt below, speaker C has just picked up her mother, speaker N, from her traditional dance class. She tells how she had been unable to locate her mother, but had been able to hear her voice from across the room. Incidentally, note that speaker N uses Japanese rather than *Uchinaaguchi* when speaking with her daughter (this is discussed in more detail in Section 4.8).

Excerpt 47

C: Nanka... mama no sakebigoe ga kikoeta yo.

N: Hn?

C: Medatsu nee.

N: Nan de sakeban yo.
 C: “Nan to ka kan to ka” tte no kikoeta yo.
 N: Uun, zenzen... sakeban.
 C: Sore... **'anshi, 'a... 'a... maga'abaa... 'abii shi...**
 C: Y'know... I could hear you shouting.
 N: Huh?
 C: You really stand out, don't you?
 N: What do you mean? I don't shout.
 C: I could hear you going “rargh rargh rargh!”.
 N: No! No way. I don't shout.
 C: And... **and in a really loud voice...**

In the final utterance of this excerpt, speaker C begins her sentence in Japanese. She probably intends to use the Japanese conjunction *sore de* 'and', but cuts herself off and instead replaces this with the *Uchinaaguchi* equivalent *'anshi*. She then stumbles whilst attempting to say the *Uchinaaguchi* word *maga'abii* 'loud voice', and mistakenly says **maga'abaa* instead, but subsequently self-corrects. The fact that the speaker hesitates, stutters and makes errors, may demonstrate a lack of fluency. This idea is supported by evidence from speaker D, documented below (Section 4.6.6).

4.6.4 Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and misunderstandings

Speaker D's *Uchinaaguchi* use follows much the same patterns as that of speaker C. Like speaker C, she sometimes hesitates, but she also makes some errors in pronunciation and grammar, which I have analysed as Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* - the fourth constituent of Okinawan speech. These errors occur not necessarily because the word is new to her and she does not know its meaning (speaker D herself informed me of the meaning of many of the *Uchinaaguchi* words in the texts), but rather because her abilities in the language are mostly receptive. For example, in the following excerpt from C3, speaker D and her interlocutor, rusty speaker J, are trying to establish whether they are talking about the same person. Speaker J describes the person using the *Uchinaaguchi* word *yoogari*

'scrawny'. In her reply, speaker D repeats this word back to speaker J, but mistakenly lengthens the final vowel.

Excerpt 48

J: **Yoogari** no shootokatto.

D: **Yoogari** no... megane...

J: **Scrawny** with short hair.

D: **Scrawny**... with glasses...

Yoogari is a good example of a typical word which semi-speakers use to express their Okinawan identity. After the recording was captured, speaker D was able to explain the meaning of the word to me without the aid of a dictionary or of an older, fluent speaker, thus proving that she had fully comprehended the exchange. Her familiarity with the word and its meaning, however, does not prevent her from making mistakes in her productive use of the word. Is she using a borrowed word as part of a mixed code or is she code-switching to a language in which she has limited bilingual skills? In this case *yoogari* is a high frequency lexeme which probably fills a lexical gap in Japanese, with the *Uchinaaguchi* word lending a slightly different nuance from its nearest Japanese equivalent. However, it is probably inadvisable to try and distinguish between code-switching and borrowing here, so I simply class *yoogari* as an insertion, without specifying whether or not it is a true loanword.

There is other evidence that speaker D has not honed the phonological detail of her productive use of *Uchinaaguchi*, despite being familiar with much of the lexicon. One instance in C3 reveals that this may be partly because many of the productive bilinguals with whom she interacts are rusty speakers who have lost certain phonological

distinctions in their *Uchinaaguchi*. In the example below, there is confusion between the *Uchinaaguchi* words for 'tired' and 'singing'. Full speakers make a clear distinction in pronunciation of the initial syllable in these two words, pronouncing them as *wutatoo* 'tired' and '*utatoo* 'singing', where the latter begins with a glottalised vowel (see Appendix II for further explanation of glottalised vowels). Both speakers D and J fail to make this distinction, however, and assume the pronunciation '*utatoo* applies in both cases. This error is due to the fact that there is no contrast in Japanese between these two syllables. When speaker D asks speaker J what '*utatoo* means, he simply replies that it means both 'tired' and 'singing'. A full speaker might have been able to point out the difference in pronunciation between the two words, but instead, speaker J negatively reinforces speaker D's mispronunciation. The exchange is quoted below. Note that the word '*utatoo* has been left untranslated, since the topic of discussion is the meaning of an *Uchinaaguchi* word.

Excerpt 49

- J: Ima yarareta n ka ne. Janpaa da no ni. <Sighs> 'Utatoo ssaa.
 D: Kuuki ni tsuiteru. "'Utatoo ssaa" tte doo iu imi?
 J: Hn?
 D: "'Utatoo ssaa" tte doo iu imi?
 J: "Utatte iru". "Tsukarete iru".
 D: "Tsukarete iru" tte iu imi? Fu::n.
 J: "'Utatoo sa" tte ittara, "'Utatoo sa, tsukareteru saa" to iu.
 D: <Whilst practising sanshin> "'Utas... 'utatoo... ssaa" tte ittara, "utatte iru saa" tte itteru mitai.

Translation

- J: I must've got bitten just now. Even though I've got a jumper on. <Sighs> I'm 'utatoo.
 D: There's a draught. What does "I'm 'utatoo" mean?
 J: Huh?
 D: What does "I'm 'utatoo" mean?
 J: "I'm singing". "I'm tired".
 D: It means "I'm tired"? Oh.
 J: If you say "I'm 'utatoo", you're saying "I'm 'utatoo, I'm tired".
 D: <Whilst practising sanshin> If you say "I'm... 'utas... 'utatoo", it sounds like you're saying "I'm singing".

In the example above, it is not certain whether the misunderstanding arises because of speaker J's mispronunciation, or simply because of speaker D's lack of basic *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary. Other evidence from the same conversation (C3) indicates that the latter scenario is more likely. In the excerpt below, speaker D reveals that there are times when she misunderstands basic *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary when it is spoken to her. Here, she recounts an incident when her parents reprimanded her, and she mistakenly thought they were praising her. Note that the *Uchinaaguchi* portions of text have been left untranslated since the topic of discussion is the meaning of an *Uchinaaguchi* expression.

Excerpt 50

D: Jibun oyaji ga saa? “duku chiji ya ssaa” tte iu imi ga saa?...

J: Chiji?

D: Un.

J: Chiji no chiji saa.

D: Da kara, <Laughs> “okinawa kenchiji” no chiji ka nee to omottara, “duku chiji ya ssaa” tte iu no wa, “masumasu warui yo” tte iu imi?

J: Un, “chiji ya ssaa” tte “dame” tte iu imi da kedo.

D: Un.

D: Hey, when my dad says “duku chiji ya ssaa” you know what he means?...

J: Chiji?

D: Yeah.

J: Chiji as in chiji.

D: Well, <Laughs> I thought he meant *chiji* [Standard Japanese] as in “Okinawan prefectural governor”, but does “duku chiji ya ssaa” mean “that's really bad”?

J: Yeah, “chiji ya ssaa” means “bad”.

D: Yeah.

To speaker D, speaker J is a respected elder from a different subgroup (speaker D is a semi-speaker, and speaker J is a rusty speaker), so it is appropriate that she should ask for guidance in correct *Uchinaaguchi* usage. Because she suggests what she assumes to be the correct meaning of the *Uchinaaguchi* phrase *duku chiji ya ssaa* (really.bad COP ILL) 'that's really bad', we can tell that she has understood what her father said either from

contextual cues such as facial expressions, or she has discovered the meaning afterwards by asking another speaker or checking in a dictionary. Nevertheless, in the excerpt, she verifies her assumption about the meaning by asking speaker J directly for an explanation. This is a clear example of a semi-speaker deferring to the greater knowledge and fluency of a productive bilingual. This shows her awareness of her interlocutor's capabilities, and the social situation in which she finds herself. It is evidence that she perceives her interlocutor as one of a subgroup of people who have the capability to use language more competently than she can.

4.6.5 *Uchinaaguchi* use for quotes in a narrative context

For a semi-speaker, *Uchinaaguchi* is a “marked code” in the sense in which this term is used in Myers-Scotton (1993). The language is therefore useful for drawing attention to certain words or utterances that require emphasis, such as quotes, isolated interjections (such as '*akisamiyoo* 'oh my god!' and variants thereof *ha(a)ssee*, *hassebiyoo* etc.), isolated expressive adjectival phrases (e.g. *yanakaagi* 'ugly'), and other utterances that call for humorous effect. These devices are particularly useful in story-telling. The most obvious of these, however, is the use of *Uchinaaguchi* in quotes. The use of code-switching to mark quotes is mentioned in the general literature on code-switching. DeBose (1992), for example, found that much of the code-switched Black English spoken by his informants involved words attributed to others, as if the speaker were playing the role of someone else “in dialect”.

The use of *Uchinaaguchi* in quotes has already been exemplified above in Excerpt 50, in which Speaker D quotes her parents' words *duku chiji ya ssaa* 'that's really bad'. The following excerpt further demonstrates how speaker D code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi*

for quoting. Speaker D lowers the pitch of her voice to mark when the third party speaker Q's speech is being quoted, and uses *Uchinaaguchi* liberally to conjure up an image of the elderly woman speaking. She then uses mainly Japanese for quotes of her own speech, parenthetical remarks, and the narrative parts of the story. One exception is when she uses *Uchinaaguchi* to quote her own, emphatic expression *haassee* 'oh my god!', and another is at the end of the story when her speech becomes very rapid. At this point she ceases to take the time to quote in *Uchinaaguchi*, and instead blurts it out excitedly in the language she feels more comfortable speaking – Japanese. In this excerpt, as in others that demonstrate code-switching patterns, the English translations are highlighted (bold, italics, etc.) to reflect the original language variety in which the utterance was spoken.

Excerpt 51

D: Watashi ga Qsan ni “**haassee** dare de mo ii wake ja nai saa”. <Lowers voice pitch> “Soo yo nee. **'An ya shiga yoo. Naa...**” <normalises voice pitch> Kodomo tsukuru kikan wa kagirareteru saa nee.

J: Un.

D: <Lowers voice pitch> “**Heeku naa warabi kara... chikuree**” tte itte kara saa, “Tsukurikata wakaranai kara, anoo kami ni kaite choodai” tte watashi ga itta kara saa? <laughs> <speech accelerates> “mukai no X **nkai tanumee**” tte itte kara ano **yanakaagi** obasan ga yoo, “**too too too** D anta... anta dattara sugu X ga sugu anoo yorokonde are da hazu yo. X ni tetsudatte moratte ite kudasai” <laughs>... anna obasan nanka michi no mannaka de **magaabii** shite kara yoo.

Translation

D: I said to Mrs. Q “**Oh my god** it's not like anyone will do”, and she said <lowers voice pitch> “Yes, **but you know...**” <normalises voice pitch> You know how child-bearing age is limited to a certain period?

J: Yeah.

D: She said <lowers voice pitch> “**Hurry up and have kids**” and then I said “I don't know how to make them, so, um, can you write it down for me on a piece of paper?” <laughs> <speech accelerates> Then when she said “**Ask X** in the place opposite”, that other **ugly** old woman said “**hey hey hey** D... I bet X would be pleased that it was you [who was asking], and then you know what'd happen! Go and get some help from X” <laughs>... and she was **shouting** this out in the middle of the street!

There are few instances in the data of a semi-speaker using full sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* at times other than when they are quoting a third party. Perhaps this is

because, when quoting an elderly person, a younger speaker does not have to take responsibility for the words used, since they are attributing the quote to a third party. Consequently, they may feel less embarrassed about using *Uchinaaguchi*, because listeners are likely to focus more on the humorous effect or the story itself than the accuracy of the speaker's *Uchinaaguchi* phonology or grammar.

The language use in the excerpt above appears to support Myers-Scotton's (1993) suggestion that speakers weigh up the potential benefits of code-switching to a marked language against adhering to the unmarked first language in which they are more proficient. This phenomenon is particularly interesting given that the original utterances from the elderly speakers may not, in fact, have been delivered completely in *Uchinaaguchi*, and may even have been entirely in Japanese. Indeed, one of the elderly women referred to in Excerpts 51 and 52 is speaker Q, who was one of the full speaker participants in this study. I managed to record speaker Q in conversation with semi-speaker D (C4), and found that only 14.21% of speaker Q's words were *Uchinaaguchi* (see Section 4.8.1). This may indicate that speaker D's quoting in *Uchinaaguchi* is intended to encourage the listener to imagine a caricature of an elderly woman, thus adding interest and humour to the story.

Incidentally, one noticeable dissimilarity between speaker D's *Uchinaaguchi* use in C3 and C4 is the absence in C4 of full *Uchinaaguchi* sentences used when quoting elderly people. This may be because of the speech style (narrative in C3), or because her interlocutor is herself elderly, and might consider it disrespectful for a younger person to appear to make fun of the older generation's way of speaking.

4.6.6 Semi-speakers' lack of spoken proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*

The next excerpt encapsulates in a few utterances many of the characteristics of semi-speakers' spoken *Uchinaaguchi* described above, including hesitation/stuttering, phonological/grammatical Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi*, and the use of *Uchinaaguchi* for quoting during story-telling. In Excerpt 52, speaker D code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi* in order to mark clearly the boundaries of the quotes for her listener. Since she is quoting the speech of two elderly ladies, her language use also has the effect of lending the quotes a certain authenticity. Speaker D tells how the women tried to persuade her to have children as soon as possible, whether or not she was married.

Excerpt 52

D1: Shite, kore kiiteta Qsan ga saa? Mata... mata onaji koto iu wake. “‘Ec D, ‘yaa ya, ‘utu... ‘utu muta...’ *Mutiran gutu*⁴⁶?”

J1: <Corrects grammar but not pronunciation> *‘Utu mutan*⁴⁷ *gutu*.

D2: *‘Utu mutan gutu. A? ‘Utu mutan gut..tu. ‘Uta muta... ‘‘Utu mutan gutu yaa? Warabiruu kara saki chikuin doo*” datta ka ne.

J2: *‘Utoo muchiyuusan gutu*.

D3: *Muchiyuusan* ja nai.

J3: *‘Utoo muta... mutan haji ya kutu*.

D4: *Mutan haji* ja nai.

J4: *‘Utu muchiyuusan gutu*.

D5: *‘Utu mutanti n shimun yoo*.

J5: A, soo nec.

D6: “*‘Utu mutanti n shimun yoo*”.

J6: *‘Kkwaa kara nashiroo*” *ndi*.

D7: “*‘Warabi kara nashi... nashee. Naa naa wattaa tushi nati kara, nan... naran doo* <J laughs>. Moo watashi moo, tottemo kookai shiteru saa” tte itte, mata iu wake, mae ni mo itta koto yo.

Translation

D1: Then Mrs. Q, who had been listening to this, said the same thing: “‘Hey D, you won’t g... a husband... husband’. Because you aren’t having?”

J1: <Corrects grammar but not pronunciation of “husband”> Because you won’t get a husband.

D2: Because you won’t get a husband. Eh? Bec...ause you won’t get a husband... you won’t get a song... ‘Because you won’t get a husband, right? You should have kids first’... Maybe it

⁴⁶ The word *gutu* is a Naha dialectal variant of *kutu* 'because; so' (see Uchima & Nohara 2006).

⁴⁷ According to Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963), the verb *muchun* 'to have' means 'to get married' when collocated with *wutu* 'husband'. I have translated it as 'get (a husband)' so that 'husband' can be incorporated into the translation.

was that.

J2: **You can't get a husband.**

D3: No, not **you can't get.**

J3: **You probably won't get... get a husband.**

D4: No, not **you probably won't get.**

J4: **You aren't able to get a husband.**

D5: **You can do without getting a husband!**

J5: Ah, right, okay.

D6: "**You can do without getting a husband!**"!

J6: As in, "**have kids first**".

D7: She said "**have children first. You know, when you get to our age you can't have kids** <J laughs>. You know, I really regret not having had any", which was just her repeating again what she'd said before.

Speaker D's quotes of the elderly ladies' speech are mostly uttered in complete sentences. The exceptions to this rule may highlight gaps in speaker D's knowledge of *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary. For example, consider the sentence in speaker D's second utterance, *warabiruu kara saki chikuin doo* 'have kids first'. In a sentence that is otherwise completely in *Uchinaaguchi*, *saki* 'first' is the only Japanese word. The fact that speaker D does not instead use the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate *sachi* is perhaps symptomatic of her lack of proficiency in the spoken language. Note also that the final quote in speaker D's seventh utterance, *moo watashi moo, tottemo kookai shiteru saa* 'you know, I really regret not having had any', is in Japanese, not *Uchinaaguchi*. Translated into *Uchinaaguchi*, the sentence becomes *naa wan naa, 'ippee kuukwee soo sa*. It is unlikely that speaker D would be familiar with the rarely encountered word *kuukwee* 'regret', and this lack of vocabulary – combined with the fact that she had already begun to hesitate and stumble by the end of her last *Uchinaaguchi* sentence – may be why she resorts to Japanese for the second half of her quote.

Speaker D's hesitation and stumbling in the above excerpt also demonstrate her lack of spoken proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*. First of all, it is noticeable that, like speaker C in Excerpt 47 (Section 4.6.3), speaker D is sometimes hesitant in her formation of *Uchinaaguchi* sentences (e.g. utterances 3 and 13). She also stumbles in utterance 3, and

accidentally says the word for 'song' ('*uta*) instead of 'husband' (in *Uchinaaguchi* this is realised as *wutu*, but is sometimes realised erroneously as '*utu*'). Note that speaker D's use of '*uta*' is mentioned here because it is a slip of the tongue, as shown by the fact that she self corrects to '*utu*'. The fact that the word she stumbles over ('*utu*') is itself Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi*, is discussed separately below.

Now consider the italicised portions of Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi*. Due to her lack of proficiency, speaker D makes a grammatical error, and says **mutiran* instead of *mutan* (have-NEG). This grammatical error is corrected by speaker J. Speaker D also makes some errors in pronunciation. Her first mispronunciation here is similar to the error in Excerpt 50 (Section 4.6.4), in which *wutattoo* was realised as '*utattoo*'. This time she pronounces the word *wutu* 'husband' with a glottalised initial vowel. This could potentially cause confusion when talking to a fluent speaker, because '*utu*' in *Uchinaaguchi* means 'sound'. Other similar mispronunciations from speaker D – featured in Excerpt 52 and elsewhere in C3 and C4 – are shown in the table below. A possible reason for the error is given in the right hand column. In some cases, the error is due to phonological differences between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese (abbreviated in the table as J), whilst in other cases the reason for the error is unclear.

Table 11: Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* use by semi-speakers

Rec.	Erroneous <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Correct <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Meaning	Possible reason for error
C3	<i>yoogarii</i>	<i>yoogari</i>	'scrawny'	Unknown ⁴⁸
	<i>'utattoo</i>	<i>wutattoo</i>	'tired'	No syllable <i>wu</i> in J
	<i>'utu</i>	<i>wutu</i>	'husband'	No syllable <i>wu</i> in J
	<i>magaabii</i> ⁴⁹	<i>maga'abii</i>	'loud voice'	No word-medial glottal stop in J
	<i>tuti ki-misooree</i>	<i>tuti kwi-misooree</i>	'please take'	No syllable <i>kwi</i> in J
C4	<i>kwa 'unmaga</i>	<i>kkwa'nmaga</i> ⁵⁰	'grandchild'	Treats as two separate words
	<i>mooashibii</i>	<i>moo'ashibii</i>	'beach party'	No word-medial glottal stop in J
	<i>gachikee</i>	<i>gachikwee</i>	'glutton'	No syllable <i>kwe</i> in J

4.7 Rusty speakers: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

This subgroup comprises a generation of productive bilinguals who are aged roughly in their fifties or sixties. Because they learnt *Uchinaaguchi* as young children, they have productive abilities that are far superior to the limited capabilities of the semi-speakers (discussed in Section 4.6), who tend only to use multi-lexeme portions of *Uchinaaguchi* in set phrases or quotes. Rusty speakers have a much richer *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary at

⁴⁸ Possible reasons for the erroneous pronunciation of the noun *yoogari* as *yoogarii* are:

1) because speaker D takes the word to be an adjective, and adjectives in Japanese end in a sequence of vowel plus /i/ (e.g. /ai/, /oi/, /ii/ etc.);

2) because similar descriptive nouns familiar to speakers of all ages such as *churakaagi* 'beautiful' and *yanakaagi* 'ugly' have alternative pronunciations in the original vernacular *churakaagii* and *yanakaagii* respectively. However, these words are derived in a different way from *yoogari*. Whereas *churakaagi* and *yanakaagi* incorporate the noun *kaagi* 'appearance', *yoogari* is derived by deleting the *-yun* ending from the verb *yoogariyun* 'to become thin, lose weight'.

3) because speaker D was erroneously back-forming the noun by deleting the final *-n* from *yoogariin*, which is a contracted form of the aforementioned verb *yoogariyun*.

⁴⁹ Note that semi-speaker C's pronunciation of *maga'abii* is more accurate, as it includes a word-medial glottal stop – see Excerpt 47 (Section 4.6.3).

⁵⁰ The *Uchinaaguchi* word *kkwa'nmaga* 'grandchild' has an underlying initial geminate consonant which is realised when preceded by a word without an intervening pause, as shown in speaker Q's utterance in Excerpt 107 (Section 4.8.5).

their disposal, and, when in the company of other members of their own subgroup, they can be heard to code-switch extensively between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese. To somebody from outside Okinawa, this kind of code-switching is almost impenetrable, especially when the speakers are middle-aged men, who often speak very rapidly, and make heavy use of contractions, sometimes omitting whole syllables or words. Indeed, even when speaking only in Japanese, without code-switching to *Uchinaaguchi*, their speech is very difficult for someone from the Japanese mainland to understand. I was fortunate enough to be able to record this code-switching behaviour on minidisc, and later to receive the kind assistance of a native speaker in transcribing the recordings to an exceptional level of accuracy.

Eight of the fifteen informants in this study are classified here as rusty speakers. The data for rusty speakers consists of four recordings – C3, C5, C6 and C7. C3 was mentioned in the previous section, in which I focused on the language use of semi-speaker D (aged 40). In this section, I focus on the speech of her interlocutor, speaker J (aged 55). I note how his language use in C3 differs from that in C6, in which we hear the same speaker J conversing with fellow rusty speaker K (male, aged 61). In C5, three rusty speakers – E (male, aged 49), F (male, aged 51) and H (female, aged 54) – converse informally over drinks. C7 is a recording of three rusty speakers – G (male, aged 51), L (female, aged 62) and M (female, aged 68) – chatting as they work in the entry booth to a public park.

After calculating the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use for each speaker (see Section 4.7.1), the recordings were analysed with the following questions in mind:

1. What kind of *Uchinaaguchi* words do rusty speakers use in everyday conversation

with each other?

2. Is there any pattern to their code-switching behaviour?
3. How does their language use differ when conversing with each other from when conversing with semi-speakers?
4. In what ways are rusty speakers lacking in proficiency compared to full speakers?

The first three questions may be answered simply by studying the recordings/transcripts. The last question is more problematic. As with semi-speakers, evidence for spoken proficiency may manifest itself as hesitation in delivery, or phonological/grammatical errors, but these errors are few and far between in the case of rusty speakers. Fortunately, C7 was highly revealing in in this regard, not because of the language use of the speakers featured in the recording, but because of the content of their conversation. In their comments, speakers G, L and M provide some evidence to suggest that they are aware of their own lack of proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary and higher registers. This issue – the subject of rusty speaker proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* – is addressed in Section 4.7.4.

4.7.1 Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

First, let us take a broad overview of the proportions of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language used by the rusty speakers in the recorded conversations. In the table below, data from C7 is omitted, since much of the conversation is about the subject of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language itself (for example quoting young people's neologisms), and it was deemed that this would skew the results. The table below shows the results for the other three recordings involving rusty speakers.

Table 12: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use by rusty speakers

Rec.	Speaker	Total words	<i>U/guchi</i>	Morphologically Mixed <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Erroneous <i>U/guchi</i>	Total <i>U/guchi</i> -related	% <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related
C3	J	1932	116	0	9	125	6.47%
C5	E	239	24	0	0	24	10.04%
	F	1622	256	0	1	257	15.84%
	H	402	119	0	0	119	29.60%
C6	J	1210	465	6	0	471	38.93%
	K	1393	118	0	0	118	8.47%

The table indicates that a speaker's percentage of *Uchinaaguchi* use differs dramatically depending on the subgroup (and therefore also age and proficiency) of the interlocutor. This is because we have a large volume of data for speaker J using *Uchinaaguchi* in both C3 and C6. In C6, he uses almost 40% *Uchinaaguchi*-related language when speaking to a male rusty speaker six years his senior. In C3, on the other hand, he uses only 6.47% *Uchinaaguchi*-related language when speaking to a female semi-speaker fifteen years his junior. As pointed out in Section 4.6.1, a large portion of the conversation in C3 is discussion about particular *Uchinaaguchi* words, and this has the effect of skewing the results for speaker J's *Uchinaaguchi* use. If the percentage is recalculated for only the first 5 minutes 47 seconds of the conversation, before the topic of *Uchinaaguchi* words is brought into discussion by the participants, the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words to Japanese words becomes $(9 / 370) \times 100 = 2.43\%$. This ratio is much closer to those calculated for the semi-speaker participants discussed in Section 4.6.1. If, as this data indicate, rusty speakers only use a very small amount of *Uchinaaguchi* when addressing semi-speakers, it is hardly surprising that semi-speakers never become very proficient in the language (see Chapter 5.5.3 and 5.5.5 for further discussion of semi-speaker language

acquisition).

The table shows that a greater overall percentage of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language is used in recordings C5 and C6, which feature only speakers from the rusty speaker subgroup. On the other hand, there is significant variation in the percentage of *Uchinaaguchi* used by the individual speakers involved in these two recordings. In C5, for example, speaker F uses 15.84% *Uchinaaguchi*, while speaker E uses only 10.04%, despite the fact that the age difference between the two men is only two years.

In order to assess why there is a large variation in the percentage of *Uchinaaguchi* use between rusty speakers, we must take account of factors other than age. The data may indicate that the more relaxed a speaker feels in a particular social setting, the more likely they are to use *Uchinaaguchi*. For example, the aforementioned difference between the language use of speakers E and F may be attributed in part to the fact that all of the participants in C5 had been invited to speaker F's home, so speaker F was on home territory from the outset, and was more likely to feel comfortable in the surroundings. Furthermore, for the first five minutes of this time, speaker F uses only $(4 / 415) \times 100 = 0.96\%$ *Uchinaaguchi*-related language. As he relaxes into the conversation and imbibes more alcohol, this proportion increases to $(253 / 1207) \times 100 = 20.96\%$ for the rest of the conversation (around nine more minutes). Of course, my data sample is too small to be certain whether this explanation holds true generally, but other scholars have also noted this phenomenon in separate studies. DeBose (1992), for example, also noted this phenomenon in his study of Black English. He observed that his informants tended to begin conversing in Standard English, and that subsequent switches to Black English increased as conversation progressed.

The data from C6 also support the theory that a speaker's level of relaxation affects his/her confidence, and consequently the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi* use. The table above shows that there was a vast difference between the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi* used by speaker J (38.93%) and speaker K (8.47%). Recording C6 took place in a bar owned by speaker J. On this occasion, I was present in the room, until just after the point when the recording device was switched on. I left shortly afterwards, in order that my presence would not distract the participants. Before I left, I was able to see where the speakers were placed, as well as their physical activities and gestures. During the conversation, speaker J was sitting behind his bar, and appeared to be comfortable on his "home turf". He had a glass of beer in one hand, and, at one point during the conversation, he can be heard lighting a cigarette and smoking between utterances in the relaxed setting he had created. Meanwhile, his interlocutor, speaker K, had just called into the bar for a few minutes, and had found a number of customers present who were unfamiliar to him. He remained standing for the duration of the conversation, and left the bar immediately afterwards. Speaker K did not seem uncomfortable, but this social situation, in addition to the physical barrier of the bar between him and his interlocutor, may have caused him to feel slightly less relaxed than speaker J, and so to use *Uchinaaguchi* more sparingly.

How does one explain the significant difference in proportions between speakers F and H, given that speaker H is also a visitor to speaker F's home? The answer is likely to be that speaker H attends the *Junsuikai* (Pure Shuri Club) in Shuri (a weekly *Uchinaaguchi* evening class held in the Shuri community centre). It appears, then, that a person's individual proficiency and opportunities for regular practice can also have a bearing on how much *Uchinaaguchi* he or she is prepared to use.

4.7.2 Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*

I could only find one example of a Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* expression used by a rusty speaker. This expression – used twice in recording C6 – was the compound verb *ma ni 'aaran* 'be late'. This expression could be treated as an instance of *Uchinaaguchi* insertion, where the first two words are Japanese, and the last word is *Uchinaaguchi*. However, I have decided to follow the example of Osumi (2001), who considers such expressions as mixed compounds (see comment on *yuntaku suru*, Excerpt 31, Section 4.5.4). When considered as a compound verb rather than three separate words, *ma ni 'aaran* is neither Japanese nor *Uchinaaguchi*, since Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi* have their own equivalent expressions – *ma ni awanai* and *kaki 'aaran* respectively.

4.7.3 Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi*

Errors in *Uchinaaguchi* pronunciation and grammar are much less noticeable in the speech of rusty speakers than in that of semi-speakers. All the instances of erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* spoken by rusty speakers in this data relate to the pronunciation of word-initial syllables that do not exist in Japanese, such as the syllable *wu* in the words *wutu* 'husband' and *wutattoo* 'tired', which are realised by speaker J as *'utu* and *'utattoo* respectively (see Section 4.6.4 for more details). Other examples in the recordings are:

1. *yii* 'good' – realised by speaker J (C6) as *'ii*
2. *yinu* 'same' – realised by speaker F (C5) as *'inu*
3. *yii-misooree* 'please sit' – realised by speakers L and M (C7) as *'ii-misooree*
4. *wikiga* (also *yikiga*) 'man' – realised by speaker J (C3) as *'ikiga*

The above errors may occur because the syllables *wi*, *wu* and *yi* do not exist in Standard Japanese, and interference from Japanese has perhaps accelerated their loss from the speaker's *Uchinaaguchi*. On the other hand, some syllables that do not exist in Standard Japanese have been retained in the *Uchinaaguchi* spoken by all subgroups. The syllables *kwa* and *gwa*, for example, are still commonly used in words such as *kkwanuchaa* 'children' (speaker F, C5) and *kashiigwaa* 'a bit of a helping hand' (speaker J, C6).

4.7.4 To what extent are rusty speakers lacking in proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*?

The speakers' language use in the recordings offers scant evidence to suggest that rusty speakers lack proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*. Comments and observations from the speakers themselves are far more revealing, however, and the participants in recording C7 had much to say about their own lack of proficiency, which they attributed to their decreasing opportunities to use the language. In this subsection, I first discuss the small amount of evidence from the speakers' language use itself, and then support my observations by selecting appropriate excerpts from C7. For further discussion and anecdotal evidence about rusty speakers' *Uchinaaguchi* proficiency, see Chapter 5.5.4.

Studies have shown that the motivation for code-switching may in some cases be due to a lack of proficiency in the minority language, thereby implying that code-switching is a likely consequence of language loss as language shift progresses. For example, Williamson (1991: 124) cites the following quotes from participants in his interviews of minority language speakers: "I start out in Gaelic but find myself blocked and go into English", and "it's in the area of science that I feel inadequate in Welsh". As Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998: 93) point out, however, "competence in the languages involved in code-switching is certainly not a prerequisite for code-switching". It may be that code-

switching produced as a bi-product of a lack of proficiency in one or both of the code-switched languages follows different sequential patterns and holds different meanings from the code-switching produced by a bilingual who is highly proficient in both languages or varieties.

In the section about semi-speakers' lack of proficiency (Section 4.6.6), I mentioned that the presence of Japanese insertions in certain environments may be symptomatic of a limited vocabulary. I quoted an example (Excerpt 52) in which the Japanese word *saki* 'first' was used in place of the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate *sachi*, with the result that it interrupted an otherwise complete *Uchinaaguchi* sentence. This kind of insertion also occurs in the speech of rusty speakers. In the following excerpt from C5, speaker H breaks up an otherwise complete *Uchinaaguchi* sentence by using the Japanese word *sugu* 'straight away, immediately' in place of the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate *shigu*.

Excerpt 53

H: Sugu 'n^{ji}ti chee kara sugu 'ichiban, "wan kara wan kara wan kara!" <laughs>.

H: Immediately after coming [to the table], they immediately go "me first me first me first!" <laughs>.

It is interesting that both this example and the afore-mentioned Excerpt 52 from Section 4.6.6 involve words whose *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese variants resemble each other very closely. The fact that the speaker chooses to use the Japanese variant may signify that the speaker no longer differentiates between the two variants, and therefore uses the Japanese by default.

Complex words and grammatical constructions such as words derived from Chinese compounds, passives, conditionals, and some quantifiers tend to be realised in Japanese,

whilst common verb forms, set phrases and idioms, conjunctions and pronouns etc. are more likely to appear in *Uchinaaguchi*, since they are more reliably recalled by the speaker. This subject is discussed in more detail in Section 4.7.5, but mentioned in passing here to illustrate how certain code-switching patterns appear to be symptomatic of a lack of complete proficiency. Consider the example below from C6.

Excerpt 54

J: **Wannee** gohon chuumon **sa shiga**, ikkagetsu matasarete **jooi naran mun nu 'nma**.

J: I ordered five pieces, but they kept me waiting a month, and it came to nothing with that place.

In the sentence above, two counter words (*gohon* 'five pieces', and *ikkagetsu* 'one month'), a Chinese-derived compound noun (*chuumon* 'order'), and a causative passive (*matasarete* (wait-PASS-CAUS-GER) 'be made to wait') appear in Japanese, whilst a pronoun (*wannee* (I-TOP)), simple present and past verb forms (*sa* (do-PST) 'did', and *naran* (become-NEG-NPST) 'not become'), a conjunction (*shiga* 'but'), an adverb (*jooi* 'utterly'), a location marker (*'nma* 'there') and other simple lexemes appear in *Uchinaaguchi*. A quantitative study of the constitution of sentences like this may shed light on a possible correlation between code-switching behaviour and the relative frequency or simplicity of words.

Some of the rusty speaker participants were found to use the *Uchinaaguchi* emphatic particle *du* (also pronounced as *ru*). There is no equivalent in English, and English native speakers would probably convey the same emphasis by stressing certain syllables or generally raising their voice. I therefore use capital letters to translate *du* constructions in the excerpts. Note that, in the examples of *du* constructions, the portion of the utterance receiving emphasis is capitalised in the original utterance as well as the translation. The texts contain evidence that rusty speakers are still using *du* in a completely productive

way, despite the fact that it is an archaic form, since it requires that the speaker follow an unusual rule whereby *du* is followed by the attributive (*-ru*) form of the copula or verb, simply for reasons of harmony (Matsumori 1995: 27). This is illustrated by the common construction *du yaru* (or *ru yaru*), in which *du* precedes the attributive form of the copula *ya*. It appears that the *du yaru* construction is an isolated insertion in Japanese matrix sentences, since it carries particularly strong illocutionary force. In the following excerpt, speaker J – talking about the process of employing a machine like a jack to stretch snakeskin over the body of a *sanshin* (an Okinawan stringed instrument) – uses this construction as an isolated insertion in a Japanese sentence.

Excerpt 55

J: Ato wa haru tegiwa no kikai no MONDAI **ru yaru.**

J: Then **there's** the PROBLEM of what kind of machine to use for the stretching process [of the skin of a *sanshin*].

When the attributive *-ru* is followed by the interrogative particle *yi* (*-i*), they coalesce to yield *-rii*. When followed by particles with an initial alveolar consonant (e.g. *doo* 'you know', *naa* 'is it?'), *-ru* becomes *-n*. The following examples from the speech of participant F allow for a direct comparison.

Excerpt 56

F: 'AN **du yarii?**

F: **[s]** THAT SO?

Excerpt 57

F: 'AN **du yan naa?**

F: **[s]** THAT SO, **[is it?]**

There were also instances in the data showing that rusty speakers use constructions in which *du* is followed by a verb rather than a copula. Consider the following example from C5.

Excerpt 58

F: “Aa NAMA ru kari⁵¹ chan doo sai” to iu.

F: You say “ah, I’ve JUST eaten”.

A nominalised verb may also precede *du*, as shown in the following excerpt from C6, in which *du* is preceded by *'ichushi* (go-NP), which is the nominalised form of the verb *'ichun* 'go'.

Excerpt 59

F: Iya firipinee 'aran, BETONAMU NKAI 'ICHUSHI ru yaibiin doo to.

F: No not the Philippines, tell them “GO TO VIETNAM”.

The examples of *du* constructions cited thus far have been limited to ones in which *du* is preceded by a nominal phrase. When *du* is preceded by anything other than a nominal phrase (such as a negative verb form), *du* is followed by *'aru* – the attributive form of the auxiliary verb *'an* (*'aru* becomes *'an* before alveolar consonants). In the following excerpt from C6, *du* is preceded by the negative verb form *'ikan* (go-NEG), which is derived from the verb *'ichun* (literally 'go', but in this context it means 'be as much as').

Excerpt 60

F: Itte ita ka na? 'IKAN ru 'an roo.

F: Was it as much as that? It WASN'T (as much as that), you know.

⁵¹ *Kari* is an alternative pronunciation of *kadi* – the gerund form of *kamun* 'eat'.

Now we turn to the problem of “register reduction” in the vernaculars, which is mentioned in both the Ryukyuanist and non-Ryukyuanist literature. Matsumori (1995: 41) explains that the “style reduction of registers in the recessive vernaculars in the Ryukyus seems to start, at least, in the following two domains: reduction of local standards⁵² and that of honorifics”. Regarding the reduction of honorifics, Matsumori goes on to explain that since vernacular use becomes confined to casual speech styles in informal situations, speakers “gradually lose facility in the vernacular polite forms”. This is supported by comments from speakers who provided data for this study: many older Ryukyuan reported that they were losing proficiency in their *Uchinaaguchi* honorifics due to lack of use in everyday life.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the rusty speaker participants are proficient in higher registers of *Uchinaaguchi* such as honorific and humble forms of speech. The only attested examples of honorific verbs in the data are the occasional common honorific set phrases such as *yii-misooree* (sit-HON-IMP-POL⁵³) ‘please take a seat’ (C7), which may exemplify only a suppletive use of honorific forms. It is perhaps unsurprising that there are few examples of honorific/humble forms in the data, given that these conversations are largely informal – even those between teachers and students. There are, however, certain other expressions of politeness in the data. Three of the rusty speaker participants use the polite particle *sai* (male speaker) or *tai* (female speaker), the function of which is to soften exclamatory particles such as *doo/roo* ‘you know’, *yaa* ‘isn’t it?’ and *yoo* ‘!/hey’

⁵² At one time there were many Ryukyuan who were proficient not only in their local village dialect and Standard Japanese, but also one or more “regional standards” that could be used as a lingua franca between villages or islands in their region.

⁵³ The honorific portion of this compound, *misooree* (do-HON-IMP-POL) (derived from the verb *misheen* (do-HON)), is a contracted form of *misoori ya*. This final *ya* is apparently neither the copula nor topic marker, but what Loveless (1963: 126) describes as an attitudinal particle which adds a level of politeness to imperatives.

(see Loveless (1963: 127) for a full explanation of the usage of these particles). Female speaker H, for example, uses *tai* to soften her exclamatory particles when speaking to her karate teacher, speaker F. Consider speaker H's contribution to the following exchange.

Excerpt 61

H: <Gasps> Sukoshi ne anoo, ayamari de nee, kotoba no chigai de, **yata shiga yoo tai**, **'Ichanteen chikan**.

E: Aa.

H: **Wannee doojoo nkai 'ichu shiga deeji yatan doo tai** <laughs>.

F: Hn?

H: Moo <laughs>...

F: Jikan machiawashete kara?

H: **'Iibappee sshi yoo tai**.

H: <Gasps> I made um, a mistake and said slightly the wrong thing but **hey (POL)**, even if I tell him that he won't listen.

E: Ah.

H: I went to the dojo but everything went to pot, **you know (POL)** <laughs>

F: Huh?

H: Well <laughs>...

F: After you'd arranged a time to meet?

H: Because I made a slip of the tongue! **(POL)**

The usage of *tai* in the example above would be considered very “correct” and polite, and it is worth noting that speaker H's proficiency is better than average for her age because of her interest in the language and attendance at weekly *Uchinaaguchi* classes.

One of the rusty speakers (J) also showed an ability to use productive distal⁵⁴ style inflections. In the example below, speaker J uses *yaibii* (COP-DIST-NPST) – the distal form of the copula *ya*.

Excerpt 62

J: **Kuri ya 'urushi yaibii sa 'aree**.

J: This one **is** *urushi* [a type of lacquer] – that one over there.

⁵⁴ In this thesis, I use the term “distal” to mean polite *-biin* forms, rather than in the sense of proximal-medial-distal deictic reference.

Another example of the distal copula – this time in the negative – is found in Excerpt 94 (Section 4.7.8), which yields *'aibiran*⁵⁵ (COP-DIST-NEG-NPST) (the distal form of *'aran* (COP-NEG-NPST) – the negative form of the copula *yan*). Distal style is by no means limited to the copula. Excerpts 68 and 76 (Section 4.6.5) yield *'ichunasaibiin* (busy-DIST-NPST) (the distal form of the adjective *'ichunasan* 'busy'), Below is another example from C6.

Excerpt 63

F: **Chaa sabii ga 'anshee?**

F: What are you going to **do**, then?

There is evidence in the data that polite pronouns are also used, proving that these have not been lost from the everyday repertoire of rusty speakers. In the next excerpt, speaker J addresses speaker K as *'unju* (2SG-POL), not as *'yaa* (2SG-INF). Note that, whenever *'unju* is followed by the topic marker *ya*, they may be contracted to form *'unjoo* (see Section 4.7.5 for more discussion about *Uchinaaguchi* pronouns).

Excerpt 64

J: Aa **'unjoo** sekkaku maa ii chansu **yaru mun nu... 'asshe** mottainai saa.

J: Ah but it's a great opportunity for **you**... god, what a waste!

⁵⁵ The latter example appears in the phrase *'urushee 'aibiranshee* 'it ISN'T urushi lacquer'. This is a contraction of *'urushi ya 'aibiranshi ya* (urushi.lacquer.TOP.COP-DIST-NEG-NPST-NOM.COP). The construction *X ya 'aran* (X TOP be-NEG-NPST) and its distal form *X ya 'aibiran* (X TOP be-DIST-NEG-NPST) is used to negate the copula, hence its meaning of 'it isn't'. The form *X-shi ya* or its contracted form *X-shee* (X-NP-COP) is used to emphasise a nominalised verb X, hence my use of capital letters in the translation. Two more examples of the *X-shee* form are *wakaranshee* (understand-NEG-NP-COP) 'I DON'T UNDERSTAND' from speaker F (C5), and *mandooshee* (suffice-NP COP) 'it's ENOUGH' from speaker J (C6). For more information about this use of nominalised verbs, see Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963: 71. For a full, detailed analysis, see Shinzato 2005).

What can be learnt from the speakers' own comments about their proficiency in higher registers? C7 provides some interesting insights. The three participants in C7 are: two female informants – speaker L (born 1941) and speaker M (born 1935), and a male informant – speaker G (born 1952). In his first utterance in Excerpt 65, speaker G laments that he finds it difficult to speak *Uchinaaguchi* because he does not hear it spoken around him often enough. He also comments that he is able to understand the kind of informal *Uchinaaguchi* one might use amongst friends, but not the formal registers used for speaking to people of higher social status. This is evidence that indicates that productive bilinguals at the lower end of the proficiency continuum are probably not proficient in honorific and humble forms of speech. On the other hand, the eldest female speaker M, who is higher on the proficiency continuum, claims in her first utterance to be able to use the higher registers. She then confesses in the same utterance, however, that she herself does not socialise enough with the generation above her, and that she has also fallen out of practice as a consequence. Note that there are no target words in this excerpt since it focuses on the content, not the words used.

Excerpt 65

G1: Da kara... anmari anoo... chiisai toki ni wa yoku... kiite ita kedo... Da kedo, saikin wa... kikoete inai kara, chotto... tsukainikui. <Sound of M replacing telephone handset> Futsuu no dookyusee no renchuu... hoogen mo wakarun da kedo. Shikashi, meue no hito ni iu... hoogen wa chotto... tsukainikui ne.

L1: **Naa, bannai bannai** tte <all laugh>.

M1: **Wattaa** ga ne, anata ni **bannai bannai** agereba ne. Ato watashi nanka de mo ne? Anoo otoshiyori to issho ni inai saa. Anoo shuui ni mo, anoo... **ya sa 'an du**... Tsukaeru no yo, honrai no keego wa. Tsukaeru kedo, dete konai.

G2: A naruhodo. A naruhodo.

M2: Nnn! Moo hontoo ni dete konai. Tsukawanai to saa? Ningen dame yo. Anoo, nan de mo, honto ni dete konai wake yo.

G3: Soroban de mo sanshin de mo yeego de mo, moo tsuujisoo dattara... honto ni...

M3: Un, un, nan de mo ne. Honto yo ne.

Translation

G1: So... I don't often... when I was little I often... heard it [spoken *Uchinaaguchi*], but... But, these days... I don't hear it, so it's a bit... difficult to use it. <Sound of M replacing telephone handset> When I'm in the company of friends my own age... I understand dialect. But the dialect

you use with seniors is a bit... hard to use isn't it?

L1: **Well** [we'll] **bombard** [you with it] <all laugh>.

M1: **We** should **bombard** you with it, eh? Anyway it's the same for people like me, y'know? Um we're never together with elderly people. Um they're not even around us. **It's TRUE**... I can use it, the original honorific and humble speech. I can use it, but I can't get the words out.

G2: Ah I see. Ah I see.

M2: Nnngh! I just can't get the words out. If you don't use them, y'know? People are no good. Um, whatever it is, you really can't get the words out.

G3: Whether it's abacus or *sanshin* or English language, really... if you think you can get by...

M3: Yeah, yeah, whatever it is. That's true.

There is further indication that rusty speakers find fewer opportunities to speak their first language in later life, and therefore fall out of practice. In her fourth utterance Excerpt 66, speaker L attributes her decreasing proficiency in her local dialect to the fact that she moved at the age of nineteen from her hometown of Nakijin village (North Okinawa Island) to Naha, where even the elderly people were already using Japanese (referred to by speaker L as *hyōjungo* 'Standard Japanese').

Excerpt 66

G1: De mo, wakai toki ni wa, acchi de... hoogen o tsukaimashita ka.

L1: Tsukaimashita yo.

G2: A soo ne. Aa, soo desu ka.

L2: Tsukawanai to yappari da kara, <inaudible>.

G3: Hai hai soo ne, wasureru ne.

L3: Oya to issho ni iru toki wa, hoogen o tsukatte ita n desu yo ne.

G4: Jaa, juukusai ni dete kite iru kedo moo, sore kara moo Naha?

L4: Naha de, hora anoo, toshiyori de mo Naha, hyoojungo tsukau yoo ni natte kita.

G5: Aa hai hai. Soo.

L5: <Laughs> Da kara kekkyoku, hoogen tsukau koto ga amari... na:i... to iu.

Translation

G1: But, when you were young, did you use dialect... over there [in Nakijin]?

L1: I did, yes.

G2: Oh right. Ah, is that right?

L2: Because if you don't use it, you obviously <inaudible>.

G3: Yes yes that's right, you forget it, don't you?

L3: When I was with my parents, I would use dialect, y'know?

G4: Right, so you left when you were nineteen, but then what? Did you come to Naha after that?

L4: Yeah, Naha, but um, in Naha, the elderly people had already started using Standard Japanese.

G5: Ah yes yes. Right.

L5: <Laughs> So consequently, I hardly ever use any dialect...

C7 contains evidence that these rusty speakers are lacking not only in higher registers, but also general *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary. In the excerpt below, speakers G and M have been debating about the correct *Uchinaaguchi* words for some of the numbers from eleven upwards. Both speakers show themselves to be aware of their own linguistic weaknesses. They agree that there are many words they do not know, and that they should ask older, more fluent speakers for the correct vocabulary, since these elderly speakers are now the only people with a full knowledge of the lexicon. Both speakers also show an awareness of the importance of intergenerational transmission. Speaker G comments that people from his own subgroup aged around fifty are also “fading”. Speaker M encourages him to acquire language from the older generation while he still can, and considers that she, too, must make efforts to transmit the language to younger generations.

Excerpt 67

G1: Da kara soo iu hito ga iru... iru uchi ni chotto...

M1: Un soo ne, un.

G2: ...kikitai koto ga attara, kiite okanai to.

M2: Kiite okimashoo ne, hatachi ne? Yoo suru ni hatachi ne? Hatachi to nijuu to sanjuu wa doo iu ka kiitokoo ne?

G3: Aa **tuu-tiichi tuu-taachi** ne.

M3: Hatachi **sara mi**. Nani **sara mi**. N:... <Pause> Wakaranai no ga ippai aru ne, kangaete mireba nee...

G4: Nee, aru yo.

M4: ...wakatte iru tsumori de mo nee. Wakaran <inaudible>...

G5: Da kara mata yoo... gojuu gurai ni natte?...

M5: Un.

G6: ...bokura mo asetteru saa.

M6: Soo da ne.

G7: Anoo... yoo suru yo, ima no hachijuu koohan, kyuujuu zengo gurai no hitotachi gurai yo. Koo iu hitotachi ga iru uchi ni wa, kikoo kikoo to omotte saa! <Laughs>

M7: Un kore wa ne, zettai... zehi yatte kudasai nee!

G8: Aa, ne.

M8: Datte ne, kono hitotachi ni wa... shika wakaranai desho? Bunkee ni mo nai koto ga aru n ja nai?

G9: Soo soo soo bunkee...

M9: Ne. Bunkee ni mo nai no ga ippai aru desho? Sore wa moo, watashi nanka ga anoo, messenjaa to omou no yo ne, anoo, anoo... tsutaete ikanakya ikenai desho?

Translation

G1: So while those people are still alive... still alive...

M1: Yeah that's right, yeah.

G2: ...if there's something you want to ask, you should ask them.
M2: Let's ask how you say "twenty years old" eh? So basically "twenty years old", right? We'll ask them how you say "twenty years old" and [the numbers] twenty and thirty, shall we?
G3: Ah yeah, "**eleven**" and "**twelve**".
M3: [Let's ask them] **whether** you say "*hatachi* [SJ for twenty years old]" **or** what. Mmm...
<Pause> When you think about it there are a lot of words we don't know...
G4: Yeah, there are.
M4: ...even if you want to know them. You don't <inaudible>...
G5: Well, and also... once you get to about fifty?...
M5: Yeah.
G6: ...we're fading as well.
M6: That's true.
G7: Um... so basically, people who are now in their late eighties and nineties or thereabouts. I've been thinking I really should ask these people while I still can! <Laughs>
M7: Yeah that's something that you have to... you should definitely do!
G8: Ah, yeah.
M8: Well I mean, surely there's nobody else who'll be able to tell you. There's a lot of stuff that isn't in the literature, isn't there?
G9: Yes yes yes, the literature...
M9: Right. There'll be a lot of words that aren't in the literature, won't there? I think it's people like me who are the "messengers" for that stuff, um, um... we have to pass it on, don't you think?

4.7.5 Words and phrases that commonly appear in *Uchinaaguchi*

It must be noted that there do appear to be some particular *Uchinaaguchi* words and expressions that are more commonly used than others. Some *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases are frequently used as isolated insertions to the extent that it can appear as though code-switching behaviour has conventionalised into a mixed code. Because these *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases appear in isolation within a Japanese sentence, they are easy for younger semi-speakers and non-speakers to pick up by ear. It is therefore hardly surprising that it is words like these that younger generations use as loanwords. This cross-subgroup usage is especially noticeable in the case of interjections such as '*agee* 'oh dear, crikey', '*akisamiyoo* 'oh my god!' (and its contracted forms *hasshi*/'*asshe* etc.), and the adjectival noun *deeki* 'terrible, awful'.

Unlike younger Okinawans, however, rusty speakers often use *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronouns (such as *wan* (1SG), *wattaa* (1PL) etc.), and use the Japanese equivalents

(*watashi* and *watashitachi*) less frequently. The table below shows the full list of *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronouns.

Table 13: *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronouns

Plurality	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Standard Japanese	English
Singular	<i>wan</i>	<i>watashi, boku, ore, atashi</i>	I/me
	<i>'yaa</i>	<i>omae, kimi</i>	you
	<i>'unju</i>	<i>anata</i>	you (formal)
	<i>kuri</i>	<i>kare, kanojo, kore</i>	he/him, she/her
	<i>'uri</i>	<i>kare, kanojo, sore</i>	he/him, she/her
	<i>'ari</i>	<i>kare, kanojo, are</i>	he/him, she/her
Plural	<i>wattaa</i>	<i>watashitachi, wareware</i>	we/us
	<i>'ittaa</i>	<i>omaetachi, kimitachi</i>	you pl.
	<i>'unjuna</i>	<i>anatatachi, anatagata</i>	you pl. (formal)
	<i>kuttaa</i>	<i>karera, kono hitotachi</i>	they/them, these people
	<i>'uttaa</i>	<i>karera, sono hitotachi</i>	they/them, those people
	<i>'attaa</i>	<i>karera, ano hitotachi</i>	they/them, those people (over there)

Sometimes these *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronouns are used in the context of a full sentence in *Uchinaaguchi*, but often they appear as isolated *Uchinaaguchi* insertions within a Japanese matrix sentence. The two examples below were taken from C6. They show different pronouns (*'uri* (3SG); *wattaa* (1PL)) being used in full *Uchinaaguchi* sentences.

Excerpt 68

J: **Uri** n 'ichunasaibiin doo.

J: **He**'s busy too

Excerpt 69

J: **Wattaa** **tukuma n 'ippunun neeran. Hirumasan roo.**

J: There's not a single one at **our** place either. It's amazing.

The next example from C5 shows how *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronouns may also be used as isolated insertions.

Excerpt 70

F: **Wattaa** minna matsu saa.

F: **We** [Japanese] all wait.

Most of the examples of *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronoun use were from two male rusty speakers F and J. However, female speakers may also use them in the same way. See the example below from speaker H (C5).

Excerpt 71

H: Un. Da kara yappari **kuni nu chigai nee**, ee yappari **wattaa** ga rikai dekinai.

H: Yeah. So as you'd expect, if they're from a different country, **we** can't understand them.

Glancing at these examples, one might speculate whether these pronouns are retained as isolated insertions as a way for rusty speakers to express familiarity between individuals, or group solidarity between fellow Okinawans. In other words, a speaker would use *wan* 'I' instead of the Japanese equivalent *watashi* to mean 'I (as a fellow Okinawan)'. In actual fact, this appears to be only partly true. By using *Uchinaaguchi*, speakers express their

Okinawan identity to their interlocutor, but it certainly is not the case that the person to whom the pronoun refers must be a fellow Okinawan. In the excerpt from C5 below, speaker F uses the word '*attaa* (3PL) in reference to Westerners, so clearly '*attaa* does not mean 'they (as fellow Okinawans)'

Excerpt 72

F: '**Attāa** moo are saa. Moo “no” to ieba sore de owari saa.

”
F: [**They**] [Westerners] do that thing where if they say “no”, then that's it, end of story.

Uchinaaguchi pronouns are also used as possessive determiners, sometimes in slightly modified form. In the two following examples from C5, the noun modified by the determiner is also in *Uchinaaguchi*. Further data would be required to establish whether or not this is a grammatical constraint of code-switching. Both of the following examples of possessive determiners being used in code-switched sentences are from speaker F. Note that when *wan* 'I' modifies a noun, it becomes *waa* 'my', whereas *wattaa* 'we, our' is unmodified.

Excerpt 73

F: **Waa wata** ippai desu yo.

F: [**I'm**] full [lit. '**my** stomach is full']

Excerpt 74

F: Da kara **wattaa kangee** to chigau.

F: So it's different from [**our**] way of thinking.

The most likely reason for the pronouns and interjections mentioned above being realised in *Uchinaaguchi* is that they are the kind of words that are used frequently in conversation, and ones that a speaker would be able to recall easily. For instance, it is more likely that a speaker would remember and use the *Uchinaaguchi* words for 'you' or 'ouch!' in everyday conversation than the words for “interrogation” or “calculation”. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that other core items of vocabulary such as conjunctions also frequently appear in *Uchinaaguchi*. Some of the most common are '*anshi* 'and (then)', '*anshee* 'so, in that case', '*ansukutu* 'so, therefore' and *ya shiga* 'but, however'. Like the personal pronouns, they may appear as part of a full *Uchinaaguchi* sentence, or as an insertion within a Japanese or mixed sentence. The following excerpts (from C5 and C6 respectively) illustrate how these conjunctions are used in a full *Uchinaaguchi* sentence.

Excerpt 75

F: **'Anshi, tii n kannikannii shi tii n mishiti yaa!**

F: **And** I'm showing them ["chicken"] with my hands by flapping them around!

Excerpt 76

J: **'Anshi 'nma n... 'nma n 'ichunasaibiin doo 'unu X niinii n.**

J: **And** that place is also... that place is also busy, that young guy Mr. X.

There are also examples in the recordings of *Uchinaaguchi* discourse markers being used in isolation. They may be used sentence-initially to draw a listener's attention when turn-taking. Once the speaker has the listener's attention, he/she may code-switch to Japanese for the rest of the utterance. The excerpts below (again from C5 and C6) illustrate this usage for different conjunctions.

Excerpt 77

E: Un. **ʼAnshi** koo nattara toraburu no gen-in desu yo ne.

E: Yeah. **And** when that happens it causes hassle doesn't it?

Excerpt 78

E: **ʼAnshee** koroku ga naka ni haitte...

E: **So** the cork went inside...

Excerpt 79

J: **ʼYa shiga sanshin** naratte iru hito wa... sore kawanai yo.

J: **But** people who are learning *sanshin* wouldn't buy that.

Interjections, pronouns and conjunctions are not the only words to be used as isolated insertions. I give two more examples of insertional code-switching below, in which speakers use memorable *Uchinaaguchi* nouns that impart an Okinawan flavour to their utterance, even though the rest of the sentence is Japanese. In the first example, speaker E uses the *Uchinaaguchi* noun *gaajuu* 'stubborn person' instead of the Standard Japanese equivalent *ijippari na hito*.

Excerpt 80

E: Doitsu wa sootoo **gaajuu** rashii yo ne <laughs>. Doitsujin wa.

E: Germany's supposed to be quite **stubborn people**, eh? The Germans are.

In the second example, speaker F uses the *Uchinaaguchi* word *'anbee* 'feeling'⁵⁶ instead

⁵⁶ According to one of my examiners, *'anbee* and SJ *anbai* 'balance, condition' are probably cognates.

of the Standard Japanese equivalent *kimochi*.

Excerpt 81

F: Moo danbooki de ii **'anbee** da wake yoo, toire mo, heya no naka zenbu.

F: It's a nice **feeling** with the central heating you know, the bathroom as well, in all the rooms.

Uchinaaguchi that can be recalled easily by a speaker is not restricted to single lexemes. Popular sayings can also be memorised easily. These sayings may be learnt early in life, when rusty speakers had more exposure to *Uchinaaguchi* in their community, so the saying would be associated with that language rather than Japanese. This might explain why speaker H code-switches from Japanese to *Uchinaaguchi* when quoting a popular saying. In this excerpt, the saying is the portion surrounded by a box.

Excerpt 82

H: Uchi no haha ga soo deshita kara, yappari **"tushi tui nee 'uya nkai nichoo sa"** ndichi!

H: Mum was the same, so right enough, **"you become more like your parents the older you get"**, as they say.

It is noticeable that the types of word categories (pronouns, discourse markers, etc.) mentioned above are the same as those which Myers-Scotton (1992) claims are the first to be adopted by languages at the beginning of the borrowing process. Myers-Scotton explains that "the process of core borrowing probably begins with nouns and verbs (because they have the most 'psychological salience') and then proceeds to discourse markers and adverbs (because they have 'positional salience') (Myers-Scotton 1992: 44). My findings may indicate that similar processes are at work in the particular type of code-switching under discussion here. For more on the debate about the distinction

between code-switching and borrowing, refer to Eastman (Ed.) (1992).

4.7.6 Split language, mixed code or code-switching?

What is noticeable about the language mixture in these recorded conversations is that it appears to comprise a combination of conventionalised mixed code and unconventionalised code-switching, rather than being a completely conventionalised mixed (split) language that contains, for example, the grammar of one language and lexicon of the other. (See Chapter 2, Sections 2.2.6, 2.2.7 and 2.2.8 for a discussion of the debate in the literature on the distinction between these phenomena.) Evidence for unconventionalised code-switching lies in the fact that a certain utterance may appear in one language, and then be reiterated by the same speaker in the other language, either immediately after, or at another point in the conversation. For example, consider the following utterances from speaker F in C5. The *Uchinaaguchi* verb *chikariin* 'sound like' is the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate of the Japanese verb *kikoeru*. The fact that speaker F uses first the Japanese and then the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate, indicates that this is unconventionalised code-switching between the two languages rather than a conventionalised split language.

Excerpt 83

F: Moo "**kaman kaman**" **kikoeru** wake saa moo.

F: It **sounds like** "don't eat, don't eat", you see.

Excerpt 84

F: "**Kaman kaman**" **chikariin doo sai**.

F: It **sounds like** "don't eat, don't eat", you know!

Both utterances appear in the context of a humorous anecdote recounted by speaker F. As he embellishes the story, he uses more *Uchinaaguchi*, so it may be that the second utterance is spoken in *Uchinaaguchi* for the purpose of adding humorous or dramatic effect. Speakers who code-switch like this appear to use it as a device similar to hand and facial gestures, i.e. as a contextualisation cue as described by Gumperz (1982). A switch may denote when a speaker wishes to quote or emphasise a particular utterance.

There are many more examples of unconventionalised code-switching in the data. The phrases surrounded by boxes in the excerpt below are equivalent in meaning, although they follow different gerunds [*kaette* (return-GER); *'njiti* (exit-GER)]. The portion of the second, *Uchinaaguchi* sentence that follows the gerund – *kuun baa tee yoo* – corresponds almost exactly to the Japanese equivalent *konai wake yo* 'doesn't come, you see'. This example shows that code-switching is unconventionalised even within the same utterance.

Excerpt 85

F: **Hichii** moo <laughs>, wain **nudoo kutu 'atu** toire **'ichubukunaishee!**
 <Laughs>. **'Asshee!** X wa toire itte mo kaette konai wake yo, zenzen.
Nagariran di 'yaa nkai yoo. 'Ichijikan bikaan 'njiti kuun baa tee yoo! <laughs>.

F: Well the whole time <laughs> he'd been drinking wine, so then he **NEEDED THE TOILET!**
 <Laughs>. Oh my god! So X went to the toilet but he just didn't come back, you see!
 Said he couldn't wee! For about an hour he didn't come out, you see! <laughs>.

These sentences were used in the same story about a friend who had had too much wine to drink at a party and spent the whole night in the bathroom. The idea that speaker F aims to communicate in both sentences is the same, i.e. that his friend did not return (or did not emerge) from the bathroom for a long time. There is therefore no semantic reason

for speaker F to code-switch, and we can assume that he does it in order to add humour to the exchange or emphasise his point via reiteration in the other language.

C6 also contains clear evidence of unconventionalised code-switching. In Excerpt 86, speaker K uses the *Uchinaaguchi* expressions *kunu mee* 'the other day' and *chukuraran* (make-POT-NEG-NPST) 'cannot make'. In Excerpt 87 (spoken several utterances later), he uses the Japanese equivalents (*kono mae* 'the other day' and *tsukutte iru* 'is making'), albeit with a different tense and polarity in the case of the verb 'to make'.

Excerpt 86

K: Un. **Kunu mee**, anoo, kuruki **ndi 'yaa ni, 'anu 'iriguchi nkai 'ucchan nagiti 'uri shee chukuraran** to iu hanashi shite ita kedo...

K: Yeah. **The other day**, um, this blackwood – he'd left some at the entranceway and he was saying that he **couldn't make** [a *sanshin*] with it.

Excerpt 87

K: Da kara ima **tsukutte** iru saa nee. Mita yoo, **kono mae**.

K: Well he's **making** them now, isn't he? I saw him **the other day**.

4.7.7 The function of code-switching in quotes and parenthetical remarks

Like the semi-speakers analysed in Section 4.6.5, rusty speakers often use *Uchinaaguchi* for quoting the speech of a third party. The function of code-switching in this case appears to be for marking the boundaries of a quote. When a speaker code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi* for a quote, the effect is similar to the way in which English speakers change their tone or pitch of voice slightly – or even use a certain voice quality such as “creaky voice” – in order to make it clear to the listener that anything uttered in that voice

is a quote from someone else's speech. The following excerpt from C5 illustrates clearly how code-switching can mark the boundaries of quotes. In this utterance there is also a code-switch to English. Quoted speech is in *Uchinaaguchi* or English (albeit with a Japanese accent in the latter case), and the rest of the utterance is in Japanese.

Excerpt 88

F: **“Naa wannee ’ippee wata micchoon doo kuri ’ijoo iran doo”** tte iu saa moo “fu...furu” tte iu saa moo owari. Moo iran.

F: You say **“I’m absolutely full, I couldn’t eat another thing”**. You say “fu...full” and that’s the end of it. You don’t want anymore.

Rusty speakers use *Uchinaaguchi* for quoting when they are speaking informally not only to members of their own subgroup, but also to younger speakers such as semi-speakers. In C3, rusty speaker J uses *Uchinaaguchi* for quoting when conversing with semi-speaker D.

Excerpt 89

J: Da kara sore o ima no hito wa kotoba tsukattenai kara **“’uree ’uchinaa kutubaa ’aran”** to ka iu kedo, soo ja nai yo.

J: So that **[kind of expression]**... because people don’t use these words anymore, some say things like **“that’s not an Okinawan word”**, but that’s not the case.

In C5, there is strong evidence that code-switching to *Uchinaaguchi* for a quote does not necessarily indicate that the original speaker of the quote used *Uchinaaguchi* (this issue is also mentioned in Section 4.6.5). In the excerpt below, speaker F talks about how his son had given him advice as to how to communicate with Westerners. He quotes his son’s advice as follows:

Excerpt 90

F: “Oto... otoosan **naa nuu** itta ka **'attaa** gokai suru yo” to.

F: He said “Dad... Dad they'll misunderstand what you've said”.

Speaker F's son was born in the 1980s, and is a semi-speaker. It is unlikely that he would have used any *Uchinaaguchi* at all when speaking to his father. The fact that *Uchinaaguchi* is used within the quote may indicate that this kind of code-switching is not intended to reflect the language used by the original speaker.

There is further evidence that the function of code-switching for quotes has more to do with contextualisation than the language of the original quote. *Uchinaaguchi* may also be used for those parts of an utterance that lie outside the quote, whilst the quote itself is spoken in Japanese. The following excerpt from C6 exemplifies this.

Excerpt 91

K: De “jibun de tsukau bun shika nai” **ndi 'yaa ni** “uranai” **ndi 'yaa ni tee**.

K: And [they, sانشين لuthiers] **said** “we only have enough [wood] for ourselves” and **said** “we don't sell it”.

As well as signifying the boundaries of quotes, code-switching to *Uchinaaguchi* may mark parenthetical speech. In the following example from C5, speaker H begins to express an idea. Halfway through her explanation, she code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi* to clarify what she is referring to, before code-switching back to Japanese to resume her explanation of the original idea.

Excerpt 92

H: Zettai anoo kono aimai na? **kutuba ndishee 'uchinaaguchi sshi yoo tai**, zettai nai mitai.

H: You never um, these ambiguous **words – the ones you get in *Uchinaaguchi*** – you never seem to get any of those.

In C6, speaker J code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi* while trying to recall the word for a particular type of lacquer. He asks himself in *Uchinaaguchi*, “what do you call it?”, and then code-switches back to Japanese after completing the parenthetical interrogative.

Excerpt 93

J: Are ga aru n ja nai no? Anoo **nuu ndii ga:...** urushi wa urushi ga aru shi.

J: There's that thingy isn't there? Um, **what do you call it...** for lacquer you've got *urushi* for starters.

4.7.8 Rusty speaker code-switching patterns

Apart from the afore-mentioned functions of code-switching in rusty speaker speech, the code-switching itself does not appear to follow any particular set patterns. For example, the code-switching documented here cannot often be attributed to a change in the topic of conversation (also a finding of Dorian 1981: 80). Furthermore, there is no obvious tendency for speakers to use the language spoken by their interlocutor in the previous turn, as described by Auer (1984, 1995). Intrasentential code-switching and intersentential code-switching both occur. Speakers appear to use the language they feel comfortable with at any one time, or the one that expresses a particular nuance the speaker wishes to convey.

It seems that this kind of code-switching behaviour is an example of what Myers-Scotton

(1993) calls “code-switching itself as the unmarked choice”. In other words, rusty speakers do not choose one language and stick to it, because doing so would not be “normal” behaviour for informal interactions between members of that subgroup. To speak only Japanese might be considered too formal, and to speak only *Uchinaaguchi* might risk intimidating an interlocutor, given that they belong to the same subgroup of rusty speakers. This generation of speakers must therefore strike a happy medium, in order to express their Okinawan identity as a show of solidarity with their peers, whilst at the same time avoiding a situation where somebody might lose face through not knowing enough *Uchinaaguchi*. Swigart (1992) observes that the mixed variety he refers to as “Urban Wolof” appears to fulfil a similar function as the code-switching behaviour of Okinawan rusty speakers. He notes that “it is used in situations where the choice of pure Wolof or pure French would be inappropriate, these situations almost always being of an informal nature” (Swigart 1992: 94). Ihemere (2007: 95) remarks: “it is generally observed (...) that bilingual speakers keep language choice open by switching between languages within a turn”. By code-switching, a speaker may freely swap between the two languages, so if a particular *Uchinaaguchi* word does not come to mind immediately, then that speaker will not be criticised for using Japanese. On the other hand, *Uchinaaguchi* can be beneficial to the speaker as a medium for demonstrating a willingness to develop a closer relationship with a fellow speaker.

Which language is used at any one time is therefore not as significant as the relative proportions of each language used in a particular interaction. Let us imagine a hypothetical situation where three known *Uchinaaguchi* speakers are involved in a conversation. If two of those speakers use a high proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*, and the third person uses none at all, then that third individual is sending a clear message to the other two speakers that he/she is not willing to identify as a fellow *Uchinaaguchi* speaker,

and wishes to set him/herself apart as “different”. The other two speakers will naturally make subconscious judgements about the third person's attitudes and personality based on his or her language use. In this kind of social setting, a speaker can be seen to “accomplish the act of having spoken *Uchinaaguchi*” by using only a few words of the language. I myself experienced this during my time in Okinawa. Even though I tended to use only a few basic words such as interjections, I was told that I could speak *Uchinaaguchi*.

The examples below illustrate the inconsistent patterns of code-switching by rusty speakers. A common pattern appears to be one in which an utterance begins in *Uchinaaguchi*, then switches to Japanese, before finally returning to the original language for completion of the utterance. The following excerpts from C6 exemplify this pattern, which I call the “ABA” pattern. In the next few examples, Note that I have avoided highlighting the translations so as not to detract from the overall patterns of code-switching.

Excerpt 94

J: **Wattaa ga kuneeda** mukoo de naratta no wa – are **'urushee 'aibiranshee**.

J: The one we learnt about over there the other day – that wasn't *urushi* [a type of lacquer].

Excerpt 95

J: **Katasan**. De ima kangaete mitara kuroki wa anoo, **wattaa kayabuchi tu ka 'inaka nu yaa nji... mandootan**.

J: It's hard [wood]. And when I think about it now, um, there was plenty [blackwood] in our area and around people's houses in the countryside.

Looking at the ABA pattern, one might speculate that it would be used by a speaker to

give an impression of having accomplished the act of speaking in *Uchinaaguchi*, without having to deliver the whole utterance in that language. However, the opposite pattern BAB also occurs. See the example from C6 below.

Excerpt 96

K: Kitte nee. Negoto. '**Anshi 'uree maagana nkai**' ishoku shite iru ne.

K: They chopped it, right? At the root. And then they'd be transplanting it somewhere.

A sentence may also be spoken half in *Uchinaaguchi* and half in Japanese, with no obvious reason for the code-switch. I call this pattern the "AB" pattern. In the example from C6 below, both halves of the sentence are uninterrupted by insertions from the other language.

Excerpt 97

K: **Wanee anuu, yeema kuruchi nu maaruu nu** zenbu oorukuro no yatsu o moratte atta n desu yo.

K: Um, I had already been given a slice of Yaeyama blackwood trunk that was black right through.

The patterns described above are far from being a general tendency. In fact, it seems permissible to code-switch in any pattern the speaker wishes, provided that set phrases and other words that are commonly juxtaposed remain intact in one language.

4.8 Full speakers: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

There are still some full speakers in Okinawa who are fluent in *Uchinaaguchi* to the extent that they can hold a full conversation in the language with other speakers of a

similar age. This use of “pure” *Uchinaaguchi* is rarely heard in Naha/Shuri, and even full speakers usually code-switch between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese in everyday conversation. An analysis of “pure” *Uchinaaguchi* use by full speakers that does not involve code-switching is beyond the scope of this thesis. Not only is natural conversation of that type difficult to capture, due to the fact that most Naha/Shuri residents code-switch to some degree regardless of their interlocutor, but also “pure” *Uchinaaguchi* has been recorded, transcribed and analysed in other studies (see for example Loveless 1963; Nishioka & Nakahara 2001). This thesis focuses instead on the way in which full speakers interact with younger generations, who are non-fluent in *Uchinaaguchi*. By focusing on this aspect of their speech behaviour, we can gain insight into the larger picture of how language is transmitted from one generation to another (this diachronic perspective will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5).

Three of the informants in this study are classified here as full speakers. The data for full speaker conversation consists of two recordings – C2 and C4. C2 was mentioned in Section 4.6, in which I focused on the language use of semi-speaker C (aged 35). In this section, I focus on the speech of her mother, speaker N (aged 71), and also refer briefly to the language used by her father, speaker P (aged 73), in C2. C4 was also mentioned in Section 4.6, where I discussed the language use of semi-speaker D (aged 40). In this section, I focus on the speech of her interlocutor, speaker Q, who at the age of 75 is the oldest of all the participants in this study.

Since full speakers and rusty speakers are all productive bilinguals with similar language habits, I approached this analysis with two main questions in mind: in what ways does the language use of full speakers resemble – and in what ways does it differ from – the language use of rusty speakers? One main difference found in the data was in the

proportion of *Uchinaaguchi* used when conversing with semi-speakers. This is discussed in the next subsection.

4.8.1 Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use

As for the other subgroups, the ratio of *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes to Okinawan Japanese lexemes was calculated. In the following table, data for speaker P is omitted, since he is only heard to say eighteen words during the fourteen minutes of recorded conversation.

Table 14: *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use by full speakers

Recording	Speaker	Total words	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i>	Percentage <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>
C2	N	785	65	8.28%
C4	Q	401	57	14.21%

The table above shows the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words used by full speakers during conversations with semi-speakers. This data may now be compared with the equivalent data for rusty speakers in Section 4.7.1. A comparison between Tables 11 and 13 shows that the full speakers use proportionately more *Uchinaaguchi*-related language than the rusty speakers do. In her conversation with semi-speaker D, full speaker Q (aged 75) used 14.21% *Uchinaaguchi*, whilst rusty speaker J (aged 55) used only 6.47% *Uchinaaguchi*-related words when conversing with the same semi-speaker. Also recall that this 6.47% was greatly reduced to only 2.43% after discounting a particular portion of the conversation in which the speakers discussed the topic of *Uchinaaguchi* itself. Admittedly, the difference in the total number of words spoken by speakers J and Q makes direct comparison of their language use risky if based on the

calculations alone. However, a closer inspection of the transcripts reveals that the way speakers J and Q use *Uchinaaguchi* is, indeed, quite different. These differences are discussed in Section 4.8.4.

4.8.2 Split language, mixed code or code-switching?

As discussed in Section 4.7.6, the language mixture used by rusty speakers when conversing with members of their own subgroup is not a conventionalised mixed (split) language, but most likely a combination of conventionalised mixed code and unconventionalised code-switching. In this subsection, I use an excerpt from an exchange between speakers C and N to show that this is also the case for full speakers. In Excerpt 98, speaker C (aged 35) and her mother speaker N (aged 71) argue about whether the correct name for a particular kind of shellfish is *asari* (short-necked clam) or *shijimi* (freshwater clam). In her fourth utterance, speaker N says (in Japanese) *shijimi ja nai?* 'isn't it a *shijimi*?', and in her sixth utterance, she says the exact equivalent in *Uchinaaguchi* – *shijimee 'aran?* This is good evidence that speaker N's language does not constitute a true, conventionalised split language, and is simply an instance of code-switching. Without knowing every detail of the situational context, it is difficult to be sure of the exact reason for her code-switching into *Uchinaaguchi* for her reiteration. The switch may simply be for emphasis, or she may be trying to catch the attention of her husband to gain support for her argument (her husband is sitting silently at the same table).

Excerpt 98

N1: Aa, are mo haitteru nee.

C1: Un.

N2: Anoo... kaigwaa yoo, hen na kaigwaa.

C2: Un.

N3: Shijimi tte iu no?
 C3: Uun.
 N4: Kore shijimi ja nai?
 C4: Asari ja nai no?
 N5: Ha?
 C5: Asari ja nai no?
 N6: **Kkwa yoo. Shijimee⁵⁷ 'aran?**
 C6: Asari desho.
 N7: Asari wa ookii yoo.
 C7: A soo ne, ja shijimi ka ne.
 N8: Asari tte anta, kore no sanbai gurai shiteru.
 C8: Sanbai shinai yoo!
 N9: Asari wa takai! Kore SHIJIMI **ru yaru.**
 C9: A, soo ne. Ja shijimi da ne.

N1: Ah, those thingies are in it too.
 C1: Yeah.
 N2: Um... the **little shellfish, y'know**, those weird **little shellfish**.
 C2: Yeah.
 N3: Are they *shijimi*?
 C3: Nah.
 N4: Isn't this a *shijimi*?
 C4: It's an *asari*, is it not?
 N5: Huh?
 C5: It's an *asari*, isn't it?
 N6: **It's a baby one! Isn't it a shijimi?**
 C6: I think it's an *asari*.
 N7: *Asari* are big, though.
 C7: Oh right, maybe it's a *shijimi* then.
 N8: I'm telling you, *Asari* are about three times the size of this.
 C8: They're not three times the size!
 N9: *Asari* are dear! This **is** a *SHIJIMI*.
 C9: Ah, right. It must be a *shijimi* then.

Incidentally, note that speaker N uses the *Uchinaaguchi* construction *ru yaru* (a variant of *du yaru* – see Section 4.7.4) in her ninth utterance. Her reason for using this construction as an isolated insertion may be that it conveys a level of emphasis that cannot be achieved in Standard Japanese.

⁵⁷ In this example only, *shijimi* is treated as a loanword from Japanese into *Uchinaaguchi* since the speaker has used *Uchinaaguchi* morphology (the topic marker *ya*, giving *shijimi ya*, and thus *shijimee*).

4.8.3 Similarities between the *Uchinaaguchi* use of full speakers and rusty speakers

In most respects, the way full speakers use *Uchinaaguchi* is similar to the way in which rusty speakers use it. In this subsection, I illustrate this by using examples from recordings C2 and C4.

First of all, when *Uchinaaguchi* words are used in isolation, they are usually words that are easily recalled due to their high frequency of use in everyday conversation. As in the case of rusty speaker conversation, these words include greetings, set phrases and culture-specific words, e.g. *nifée deebitan* 'thank you very much' (C4); '*usaga-misooree* (eat-HON-IMP-POL) 'please help yourself' (C4); *hanma yoo!* 'oh my god! [a variant of '*akisamiyoo!*]' (C2); *deeki roo* 'it's awful/terrible' (C2); as well as popular Okinawan cuisine such as *rafutee* (stewed pork belly) and '*irichaa* (fried goat or pig's blood and offal) (C2).

Like rusty speakers, full speakers sometimes use *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronouns, either in the context of a full *Uchinaaguchi* sentence, or as insertions in a Japanese sentence. The following excerpt from C2 illustrates how speaker P uses the *Uchinaaguchi* personal pronoun *wattaa* (1PL) in a full *Uchinaaguchi* sentence.

Excerpt 99

P: Wattaa niku 'uchoochun yaa.

P: We will leave our meat, okay?

The excerpt below shows how the same word may be used in isolation within a Japanese

sentence.

Excerpt 100

N: **Wattaa** kinoko tabeta koto nai.

N: **We** have never had the mushroom [dish].

This pronoun usage is by no means fully conventionalised, however, and the Japanese pronoun *watashi* (rather than the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate *wan*) also appears as part of the same exchange.

Excerpt 101

N: **Watashi** wa kinoko ga yokatta na.

N: **I** wish I'd had the mushroom [dish].

The following excerpt from C4 reveals that demonstrative pronouns may also be used in the same way. In this example, the demonstrative pronoun '*uri* 'that' is used in an otherwise Japanese sentence.

Excerpt 102

Q: <Laughs> **'Uri**, anta mo tabenasai <laughs>.

Q: <Laughs> You help yourself to some of **that** too <laughs>

Other common, well-known, and easily remembered words also appear as isolated insertions in a Japanese sentence. In the following example, speaker Q uses the *Uchinaaguchi* word *jooji* 'skilled' instead of its Japanese cognate *joozu*.

Excerpt 103

Q: Anoo yushiya chiruu [female poet] to iu hito wa uta kai... shi kaite **iooi** datta tte.

Q: Um, there was a person called Yoshiya Chiru who was very **skilled** at wri... at writing poetry.

In using these words, full speakers may sometimes risk their semi-speaker interlocutor not understanding what they have said, due to a lack of *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary. This may be why, in the example below, speaker Q uses first the *Uchinaaguchi* word *yanaguchi* 'bad-mouthing', and then reiterates using the Japanese cognate *waruguchi*.

Excerpt 104

Q: Mata **yanaguchi** ittara okorareru saa.

D: Aa:...

Q: **Waruguchi** ittara okorareru kara, uta... uta de **yanaguchi** shite, anoo...

Q: Also if they **bad-mouthed** them then they'd get angry.

D: Ah...

Q: If they **bad-mouthed** them they'd get angry so they'd **bad-mouth** them through the song [lyrics], and um...

Some common *Uchinaaguchi* particles such as *naa* 'well' and *yaa* 'isn't it?' are also used either as part of an *Uchinaaguchi* utterance, or as an isolated insertion. These are used interchangeably with their Japanese equivalents (*moo* and *ne* respectively), which suggests that these insertions might be code-switches rather than conventionalised borrowings. In the following excerpt from C2, speaker N uses the *Uchinaaguchi* particle *naa* in the same sentence as its Japanese equivalent *moo*.

Excerpt 105

N: Toku ni tsukatte shimatta no moo tsugi no kaikee wa **naa, naa moo** appappaa **yan tai**.

N: Especially with all this money that's been spent, the next accounts will be, **well, well** well they're just fools!

Like rusty speakers (and indeed semi-speakers), full speakers use *Uchinaaguchi* to mark the boundaries of quotes. In the following example from C2, speaker N does not use *Uchinaaguchi* for the full quote, but the code-switch from Japanese to *Uchinaaguchi* marks the point at which the quote begins.

Excerpt 106

N: Sanzenyen no nee, nijuusanninbun de rokumanyen ni naru wake... rokumankyusenyen ni naru wake. "**Ussa muru** sensee ni" tte. Naku naru.

N: Three thousand yen, okay, from twenty-three people, that's sixty thousand yen... that's sixty-nine thousand yen. They say "**all that's** for the teacher", and it's gone.

4.8.4 Differences between the *Uchinaaguchi* use of full speakers and rusty speakers

The data show that there are two main differences between the way in which the full speaker and rusty speaker participants use *Uchinaaguchi*. The first difference is that, in the full speakers' case, there are no attested instances of Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* or Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi*. The second difference is that, when conversing with their semi-speaker interlocutors, the full speakers occasionally use inter- and intrasentential code-switching, rather as rusty speakers do when conversing with members of their own subgroup, as we saw in Section 4.7. Unlike rusty speakers, full speakers sometimes code-switch from Japanese and use whole sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* for purposes other than quoting when conversing with semi-speakers.

Rusty speakers, on the other hand, tend only to use isolated *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases when conversing with semi-speakers, unless they are quoting a third party. Full speaker code-switching patterns are analysed in the next subsection.

4.8.5 Full speaker code-switching patterns

The code-switching patterns used by full speakers are much the same as the rusty speaker code-switching patterns described in Section 4.7.8. The difference is that the extensive use of *Uchinaaguchi* in code-switching is not limited to conversations with interlocutors of the same subgroup. The following excerpt from C4 illustrates the way in which speaker Q uses full sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* when conversing with semi-speaker D. She uses *Uchinaaguchi* for her quotes of a third party's speech, as well as some portions of the utterance outside the quote.

Excerpt 107

Q: 'In, 'in. Nai... naichaa nu gutu... Naichaa to iu yori yoo, kocchirahen no anoo Suinchu nu kkwa'nmaga nu gutu. 'A kkwa'nmaga ya ndi doo yaa. Shuri no hito no kkwa'nmaga tte.

Q: Yes, yes. He's like a mainlander. But he looks even more like the grandchild of someone from around here – someone from Shuri. Ah yes, he did say he was a grandchild of theirs. He said he was the grandchild of someone from Shuri.

In speaking full sentences of *Uchinaaguchi*, speaker Q risks her interlocutor not comprehending what she has said. This is perhaps why she speaks *Uchinaaguchi* as she is “thinking aloud” and then code-switches back to Japanese for her concluding sentence. At first, she uses the *Uchinaaguchi* word *suinchi* 'person from Shuri', but replaces this with the Japanese equivalent *shuri no hito* when presenting the information in her final sentence to speaker D. Note also her use of the *Uchinaaguchi* word 'in 'yes', sometimes transcribed as a glottalised, long, nasalised vowel [ʔĩ:]. This word is only used by elderly

full speakers. Rusty speakers use *un* instead (see for example Excerpt 86, Section 4.7.6).

In another example of intersentential code-switching, speaker Q asks speaker D about her sister, and whether she is going to have children.

Excerpt 108

Q: A, soo nee? **'Ari n chui nasaa ni, nasan du 'arii?**

D: Dakkara yoo!

Q: Otoko no ko tsukureba ii.

Q: Oh right. **What about her – is she going to have a child or NOT?**

D: Exactly!

Q: It'd be good if she had a boy.

In the excerpt above, speaker Q code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi* at the boundary between her first and second sentence. The function of this code-switch may simply be to add emphasis and directness to the question. Another possible reason for the code-switch may be to signify a change to a topic that is more personal and intimate, requiring knowledge of the interlocutor's background. This was one reason given by Mertz (1989) for such code-switches from English to Cape Breton Gaelic. Mertz comments that “older community members switch to Gaelic in order to convey secret or private information”, and adds that “the choice of Gaelic may also simply indicate a feeling of closeness toward the person addressed, signalling as it does a shared history as members of the community” (Mertz 1989: 113).

In the following excerpt, speaker N complains about the way the accounts are handled at her dance class. Her code-switching appears to mark changes in context, such that her explanation of the problem is delivered in Japanese, whilst indignant, rhetorical questions are delivered in *Uchinaaguchi*. She reverts back to Japanese for a final, unrelated comment about the coffee she is drinking. Note that speaker N's code-switching is

unconventionalised, since speaker N first uses the Contact Japanese word *tsukawan* (use-NEG-NPST) 'spend (money)' and seconds later uses the *Uchinaaguchi* cognate *chikaan*.

Excerpt 109

N: Nanni mo okane tsukawan saa. Nani ka mata hora shokujikai ga attara, sensee ni shokuji mo kore kara deru wake. Nuunchi 'uri chikaan? Soshite mata, kurumasu naru desho? Kurumasu no ne?

C: N.

N: Anoo purezento ya mata kondo gosenyen.

C: Fu~n.

N: Shoohinken.

C: A, soo?

N: Nuu ga 'unu sensee ya? Nu... nuu kangeetoo ga? <Pause> Kunu koohii ooi nee! Nanabun gurai ga ii no ni.

N: He doesn't spend any [of his own] money. And also, you know, if there's a dinner party, the teacher's meal is paid for out of this [account]. Why doesn't he spend [his own]? And then Christmas comes around, right? The Christmas stuff you know?

C: Yeah.

N: Um presents are (TOP) another five thousand yen.

C: Wow.

N: Gift certificates.

C: Oh really?

N: Who does this teacher think he is? What... what is he thinking? <Pause> This coffee's huge, isn't it? I'd have been fine with a fraction of this.

It would seem from the above excerpt that *Uchinaaguchi* is used for phrases which convey extreme emotion, but this does not always hold true. For instance, at one point later in her lengthy complaint about her teacher, she says – in Japanese – *hara ga tatsu yo honto ni!* 'It makes me really angry!'. The following excerpt shows how this phrase appears in the context of the code-switched utterances by speaker N.

Excerpt 110

N: Shokuji mo kono hito deru kara mata sensee no shokujidai mo 'uri kara 'niji sa yaa. Mijidai mo desho? Mai... mainichi no mijidai ni. Hara ga tatsu yo honto ni!

N: Meals are paid for by this person as well, so the cost of the teacher's meals are also paid for out of that [account], y'know? And the water bills as well, yeah? For the daily water bills. It makes me really angry!

Note that, in the example above, speaker N's code-switching pattern is similar to the patterns that rusty speakers use when conversing with members of their own subgroup. This particular utterance roughly follows an “ABA” pattern (previously explained in Section 4.7.8), in which language A is Japanese and language B is *Uchinaaguchi*. In the next excerpt, this pattern is reversed to become BAB. Note that I have avoided highlighting the translations so as not to detract from the overall patterns of code-switching.

Excerpt 111

N: **Takasa yoo**, kono okane wa nakunatte **yaa**.

N: It's costly you know, with this money disappearing.

Speaker N also uses the “AB” (or, as in this case, “BA”) pattern when speaking to her daughter.

Excerpt 112

N: **Chuu ya naa, 'ippeee yoo wan ga 'ichii nee yoo** ganbatteta isshookenmee renshuu shite ita.

N: When I went today I put my heart and soul into it and practised really hard.

4.9 Summary

In this chapter, I have characterised the language use of the speakers featured in the audio recordings, and allotted them to four separate subgroups: non-speakers, semi-speakers, rusty speakers and full speakers. For each subgroup, I have discussed the extent to which three *Uchinaaguchi*-related constituents of speech – *Uchinaaguchi*, Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*, Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* – are used in the conversations, and the ways in which lexemes from these constituents are mixed

with lexemes from the main constituent of Okinawan speech – Japanese. In this summary of Chapter 4, I distill my observations into a broad characterisation of language use in the Naha/Shuri speech community. Here, my general findings are organised under six headings: 1) Non-standard Japanese; 2) Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language; 3) Low-level *Uchinaaguchi* insertions; 4) High-level inter- and intrasentential code-switching; 5) Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*; 6) Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and proficiency levels; and 7) Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*.

1. Non-standard Japanese

The code holding the largest proportion of lexemes in the participants' language mixtures is Japanese with a few non-standard features. Older speakers have more non-standard features in their Japanese than younger generations, and exhibit certain phonological and idiomatic differences. In most cases, these differences may be attributed to L₁ interference from *Uchinaaguchi*. The variety of Japanese used by the younger generation incorporates some slang expressions – from mainland varieties of Japanese – which do not appear in the variety spoken by older speakers.

Within the Japanese framework, Okinawans use insertions of *Uchinaaguchi*-related varieties, or code-switch to varying degrees, depending on the interlocutor and the social setting.

2. Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language

The table below shows, very approximately, the optimal *Uchinaaguchi* use for speakers of each subgroup. The three full speakers in this study are known to be fluent in *Uchinaaguchi*, so they are marked “fluent” in the table. The right hand column shows

how the productive bilinguals' language use changes when conversing with younger semi-speakers, who have only minimal productive abilities in the language.

Table 15: Proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language use for all subgroups

Subgroup	Optimal proportion of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related words	Proportion of <i>Uchinaaguchi</i> -related words when conversing with semi-speakers
Non-speakers	<1%	-
Semi-speakers	2-3%	-
Rusty speakers	8-40%	3%
Full speakers	fluent	8-14%

Using the data in Table 15, we can now refer back to the discourse modes mentioned in Section 4.2 and attempt to characterise the language mixture in terms of proportions of source codes. The data suggest that the informal mixed code *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* comprises about 0-3% *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes, which appear as insertions only. The non-speakers' variant of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* comprises a proportion of less than 1% *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes. Productive bilingual intra-group discourse combines an *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* matrix with liberal use of unconventionalised code-switching as the unmarked choice, bringing the total proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes (code-switching and borrowing) to between 8% and 40% depending on the speaker.

3. Low-level *Uchinaaguchi* insertions

Each of the participants uses some degree of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language in everyday, informal conversation. Even at its lowest levels of use, there are insertions of single words or phrases, including interjections, culture-specific words and other words that, for example, have a particular descriptive nuance that does not exist in Japanese (i.e. words

that fill a so-called “referential gap”), such as *'akisamiyoo* 'oh my god!', *yanakaagi* 'ugly', and *yoogari* 'scrawny'. Speakers who belong to bilingual subgroups (semi-speakers, rusty speakers and full speakers) may also have some knowledge of *Uchinaaguchi* proverbs, which can be regarded as memorised, set phrases rather than high-level code-switching. It is unknown whether non-speakers also know these sayings, as there are no attested examples in the data.

The data show that most of the *Uchinaaguchi* used by semi-speakers can be categorised as low-level insertions. Sasse (1992b) explains the reason for this as follows.

“What he [a semi-speaker] learns of the language is learned *in chunks*. No complete linguistic system is established; linguistic competence remains confined to a closed list of short sentences of everyday use, formulaic expressions, phrases, words and different forms whose functions are, for the most part, opaque. This means that linguistic creativity is restricted to putting these elements together in some way; the ability to create new utterances on the basis of principled grammatical patterns and rules is irreversibly lost. The prototypical semi-speaker at the lower end of the continuum is unable to utter a narrative text or to carry on a longer conversation; for such purposes he will always switch to the target language” (Sasse 1992b: 63-64).

4. High-level inter- and intrasentential code-switching

This relates to instances of higher-level code-switching involving more than one- or two-word insertions. In the data, there are no examples of non-speakers using this kind of code-switching.

Semi-speakers appear to code-switch in this way only as a marked choice, and only when

they are quoting the speech of a third party who is perceived as a regular speaker of *Uchinaaguchi*. In doing so, they are able to mark the boundaries of a quote and lend it an element of authenticity.

Rusty speakers code-switch extensively when in the company of fellow *Uchinaaguchi* speakers. Their code-switching is not conventionalised and therefore cannot be regarded as a true split language in the sense in which this term is used in Myers-Scotton (2007). As well as code-switching into *Uchinaaguchi* for quotes, they also use it to mark parenthetical remarks. The code-switching patterns vary and speakers may switch for just one or two words (notably personal and demonstrative pronouns), or constantly alternate between full sentences – or parts of sentences – of *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese.

Full speakers' code-switching behaviour is much the same as that of rusty speakers in that it includes parenthetical remarks and heavy use of *Uchinaaguchi* personal and demonstrative pronouns. The difference between the two subgroups is in the social setting in which they are prepared to use full sentences of *Uchinaaguchi*. The data show that full speakers occasionally code-switch in this way when conversing with semi-speakers. When rusty speakers converse with semi-speakers on the other hand, they only code-switch for quotes, and otherwise revert to *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*.

The findings of this thesis support the conclusions of other scholars about the role of code-switching in bilingual communities. For example, Backus (2007: 250) remarks that, in the case of Turkish immigrants in Holland, code-switching is “employed for various conversational effects, perhaps in addition to an overall function of signalling bilingual identity”.

5. Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi*

The use of these “hybrid” words is comparatively rare. The fact that examples were found in the speech of non-speaker and rusty speaker participants may suggest that these expressions were coined by productive bilinguals (probably rusty speakers) as a by-product of code-switching, and that they have been transmitted through the generations as borrowings.

There are no attested examples of Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* expressions from full speaker participants.

6. Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* and proficiency

Non-speakers have little receptive or productive proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*.

Semi-speakers are able to understand much of the *Uchinaaguchi* they hear, but misunderstandings do occur due to a lack of proficiency. When attempting to form code-switched *Uchinaaguchi* sentences (e.g. when quoting a third party), they are hesitant, and stumble over some words. They make occasional grammatical errors, as well as mistakes in pronunciation, particularly of words that contain sound distinctions that do not exist in their first language, Japanese.

Rusty speakers make fewer errors in their productive *Uchinaaguchi* than do semi-speakers. The few attested examples of Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* in the data relate to certain sound distinctions which appear to have been lost from the *Uchinaaguchi* spoken

by this generation of speakers. It is unclear whether these changes have occurred as a direct consequence of language shift, or whether it is symptomatic of natural language change that would have taken place even if *Uchinaaguchi* had retained its vitality. Evidence from the data suggests that rusty speakers also have difficulty with *Uchinaaguchi* higher registers, and lack certain vocabulary, due to underuse of the language on a daily basis.

There are no attested examples of Erroneous *Uchinaaguchi* from full speaker participants.

The analysis in this chapter has taken a synchronic perspective. In Chapter 5, I consider the language shift situation in Okinawa from a diachronic perspective, and discuss how the speakers came to be using language in the ways I have described.

Chapter 5: The diachronic dimension

5.0 Introduction

In Chapter 4, I organised the participants in this study into subgroups based on their speech behaviour. In this chapter, I build up a diachronic profile of language shift in Okinawa by representing what I refer to as the “timespan” of each of those same subgroups on a timeline. The positioning of the subgroups on the timeline is based on the year in which each participant was born, but also takes into account vital statistics such as child-bearing age, as well as the existing literature on Ryukyuan language shift and my own general observations in the field. The resulting language shift profile is only intended to be a rough approximation of the process as it has taken place in Okinawa, since the data sample of fifteen participants is relatively small. In order to build up a more accurate profile, it would clearly be necessary to collect a larger data sample. The construction of such a profile is nevertheless a worthwhile exercise even with a small data sample, since it allows us to see at a glance how language use has changed over the years and to make predictions relating to the future course of language shift. The profile also facilitates consideration of the Okinawan case from an emergentist perspective, which I mention in my conclusion in Chapter 6.

The discussion in this chapter is ordered as follows. First, I provide a brief outline of what the profile shows. Next, I give details of the assumptions that I have had to make in order to build the profile. I go on to show how the basic profile is constructed for representation of the Okinawan case. I then discuss how a more refined profile can be reconstructed and what conclusions can be drawn about the Okinawan situation. This is followed by a discussion of the future course of language shift in Okinawa, based on the

results of this investigation. Finally, I summarise the findings of this diachronic analysis before moving on to the concluding chapter.

5.1 What the profile shows

The profile is a representation of the speakers' role in the language shift process, drawn on a timeline. It shows not what has happened to *Uchinaaguchi* itself over time, but rather how new subgroups of speakers have emerged in the community as the process of language shift progresses. The extent to which speakers continue to be born into each subgroup is represented on the timeline as a bar, hereafter referred to as the “timespan” of a subgroup. The speakers in each newly emerging subgroup use language differently from those who came previously, so the arrangement of the timespans on the timeline shows how language use has changed in stages over the course of language shift. The length of the timespans reveals whether or not changes in patterns of language use coincide with the birth of new generations into the speech community. If patterns of language use remain constant over more than one generation, then the timespans can “extend” to reflect this. Timespans may also overlap as speakers of different subgroups are born simultaneously.

Because the profile is based on a timeline, it is possible to relate each phase of shift to its historical context as documented in the literature. In doing so, we are able to understand how the external setting has influenced speech behaviour, and on that basis, we may surmise what role the language attitudes and psychological processes that relate to the external setting have played in determining the pattern of shift. Since we also have information about the language proficiency of the speakers in each subgroup, we can relate that to how the language has gradually been reduced in its domains of use. Most importantly, we can identify the significant points in the language shift process when a

critical mass of people choose to favour the transmission of one language over another to their children.

5.2 The subgroups and participants

In this section, I review some aspects of the subgroups and participants in this study, and discuss the generalisations and assumptions I have had to make about them in order to be able to build the language shift profile. Firstly, I briefly review the main characteristics of the four subgroups and introduce some further terminology. Secondly, I summarise all the necessary basic information about the participants including their year of birth, what subgroup they belong to, and their language acquisition, repertoire and proficiency. Finally, I explain the generalisations I make about the internal uniformity of the subgroups and the speech community as a whole in order to facilitate a diachronic analysis.

5.2.1 Defining the subgroups

The four subgroups (discussed in detail in Chapter 4) form an important part of the profile. It is worthwhile reviewing their main characteristics here very briefly, by describing them in terms of which generation the members of each subgroup belonged to in 2003, when the primary data for this study were collected.

- 1) **Full speakers (abbreviated to FS in diagrams)** – elderly, fluent speakers of *Uchinaaguchi*. These are the speakers whom middle-aged people respect for their superior skills in vocabulary and polite registers, including honorific and humble forms of speech.
- 2) **Rusty speakers (abbreviated to RS in diagrams)** – middle-aged speakers of

Uchinaaguchi, who generally lack confidence in their range of vocabulary and ability to converse with their elders using honorific and humble language. Although these speakers acquired *Uchinaaguchi* as a first language, they are not proficient in certain styles of the language because Japanese had already become dominant in some higher domains during their childhood years. As a result, they either never acquired full competence, or forgot some of what they had acquired during childhood due to lack of regular use of the language in later years.

- 3) **Semi-speakers (abbreviated to SS in diagrams)** – parents of school-age children who have very limited speaking skills, since they were born after the intergenerational transmission link was broken, i.e. they have not acquired *Uchinaaguchi* as a first language through transmission from their parents at home. They do understand spoken *Uchinaaguchi* to a degree, however, and these receptive skills are acquired from hearing *Uchinaaguchi* spoken in the community environment.
- 4) **Non-speakers (abbreviated to NS in diagrams)** – young people with very limited receptive and productive skills in *Uchinaaguchi*. They may be able to use some set expressions and newly coined “Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*”.

As discussed in Chapter 4.1.3, full speakers and rusty speakers are perhaps best described as two extremes on a continuum of productive proficiency. For simplicity's sake, however, they are represented in the profile as two separate subgroups.

Below, I define some further terminology relating to the participants' linguistic repertoire and language acquisition.

- 1) **Receptive bilingual** – a person whose proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* is mainly

limited to passive understanding of what is spoken around them.

- 2) **Productive bilingual** – a person whose proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* includes speaking skills as well as comprehension skills.
- 3) **Acquirer** – a person who has acquired *Uchinaaguchi* as a first language via intergenerational transmission in the home domain.
- 4) **Non-acquirer** – a person who has not acquired *Uchinaaguchi* as a first language via intergenerational transmission in the home domain, and whose speaking skills, if any, are gained through exposure to the language outside the home domain.
- 5) **Transmitter** – a person who transmits *Uchinaaguchi* to his/her child(ren) as a mother tongue
- 6) **Non-transmitter** – a person who does not transmit *Uchinaaguchi* to his/her child(ren) as a mother tongue

5.2.2 The participants

The table below summarises information about the participants which is necessary for building the language shift profile.

Table 16: The participants' repertoire and acquisition

Participant ID	Year of Birth	Subgroup	Linguistic repertoire	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i> L ₁ Acquisition
A	1987	Non-speakers	Monolingual	Non-acquirers
B	1986			
C	1968	Semi-speakers	Receptive bilingual	
D	1963			
E	1954	Rusty speakers	Productive bilingual	Acquirers
F	1952			
G	1952			
H	1949			
J	1948			
K	1942			
L	1941			
M	1935	Full speakers		
N	1932			
P	1930			
Q	1928			

5.2.3 Treatment of the speech community as homogenous

In order to allow for broad generalisations to be made about the speech community as a whole, I have treated the population of Naha/Shuri as basically homogenous and “local”. The reality is, of course, that many people of all ages who reside in Naha/Shuri were born in other areas of the Ryukyus, and these include speakers of *Uchinaaguchi*. Indeed, as noted in Chapter 4.1.1, some of the participants were from other islands in the archipelago, or other dialect areas on Okinawa Island. I decided that these people counted as “locals”, because the local population is by definition a mixed one. Furthermore,

people who have moved to Naha/Shuri from other areas have tended to do so for purposes of employment or education, and many of these people have lived there from a young age – usually their teens or early twenties. Upon arriving in Naha/Shuri, they report having learnt the local language in order that they integrate more easily into the community. I have therefore assumed that they would have been subject to the same pressures and influences as their Naha/Shuri-born peers, and would end up adopting similar language attitudes, resulting in their making the same decisions as to which language to transmit to their children. In all cases, these speakers were as proficient in *Uchinaaguchi* as the other bilinguals. For the sake of simplicity, they can therefore be regarded as having acquired the language as their L₁.

5.2.4 Treatment of the subgroups as internally uniform

Not only have I treated the whole Naha/Shuri population as basically homogenous in the sense described above (in Section 5.2.3), but I also treat the subgroups of that population as internally uniform, with clear boundaries between each. The reality is that, in any particular subgroup, people will vary in terms of their level of exposure to different external factors (for example some young people may have receptive language abilities from living with their grandparents throughout their childhood years), they will learn or forget portions of their linguistic repertoires at different rates, and ultimately reach different levels of proficiency. One could take this to its logical conclusion, however, and rightly point out that every single person has his/her own situation and idiolect(s), and that no two people live their lives behaving in the same way linguistically. Such a view would, however, preclude the possibility of making any general statements about patterns of linguistic repertoire and behaviour across the speech community. In order to be able to make such statements, it is necessary to suspend acknowledgement of certain levels of difference in order to make observations about general trends.

5.2.5 The assumption that the participants are not anomalies

In order to be able to construct a profile, I have assumed that the participants are all fairly typical examples of their subgroups, and not anomalies that were born outside the subgroup timespan. This assumption has had to be made because of the lack of quantitative data necessary for determining precisely the overlap between subgroup timespans.

5.3 Parameters

The important parameters used for building the profile are as follows:

1. **Child-bearing age** – the point at which parents make a conscious or unconscious decision as to which language(s) to transmit to their children (given that parents speak to their children from the time of birth, or even before)
2. **Maximum life expectancy** – the projected maximum age reached at death
3. **Workforce age** – the approximate age of the speakers when they gain full competence in polite and honorific registers

These parameters are discussed in turn in the following subsections. It must be noted that Okinawan vital statistics for the period of U.S. Occupation (1947-1972) are unknown, and consequently, when Japanese governmental statistics are organised by prefecture, this period is excluded from the data for Okinawa Prefecture. For the purposes of the language shift profile, however, the available statistics suffice.

5.3.1 Child-bearing age

This may be set as an average age, or as an age range, depending on the desired complexity of the resulting profile. An average age produces a rather crude profile, whilst an age range produces a more refined profile which accounts for early and late child-bearers. I base the numeric value of child-bearing age on the data shown in Table 16 from the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. These are nationwide statistics, and, in the absence of data pertaining to Okinawa Prefecture alone, I assume that child-bearing age in Okinawa has followed much the same patterns as in the rest of the Japan.

Table 16 shows the changes of mothers' age at childbirth. The cells shaded in diagonal lines represent – from top to bottom – the figures that apply to women who were born during the periods 1931-1935, 1946-1950 and 1961-1965. There is enough information in the table to be able to see that, in general, women born in the 1930s were more likely to have children during their teenage years than women born in later decades. Also the tendency for women to wait until later in life to have children is increasing. Based on this data, I take child-bearing age to be 15-40 for women born during the period 1931-1935, and 20-40 for any period thereafter.

Table 17: Changes in mothers' age at childbirth (Japan)

Year	Total live births	Live births by mothers' age						
		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
1950	2,337,507	56,365	624,797	794,241	496,240	278,781	81,953	4,524
1955	1,730,692	25,219	469,027	691,349	372,175	138,158	33,055	1,706
1960	1,606,041	19,739	447,097	745,253	300,684	78,104	14,217	942
1965	1,823,697	17,719	513,645	854,399	355,269	72,355	9,828	480
1970	1,934,239	20,177	513,172	951,246	358,375	80,581	9,860	548
1975	1,901,440	15,999	479,041	1,014,624	320,060	62,663	8,727	319
1980	1,576,889	14,590	296,854	810,204	388,935	59,127	6,911	258
1985	1,431,577	17,877	247,341	682,885	381,466	93,501	8,224	245
1990	1,221,585	17,496	191,859	550,994	356,026	92,377	12,587	224
1995	1,187,064	16,112	193,514	492,714	371,773	100,053	12,472	414
2000	1,190,547	19,772	161,361	470,833	396,901	126,409	14,848	402
2005	1,062,530	16,573	128,135	339,328	404,700	153,440	19,750	598

Source: Statistics and Information Department, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, *Vital Statistics of Japan* (2008)

The advantage of taking child-bearing age to be a wide age range is that it also accounts for women who have many children over the course of several years. The tendency towards late childbirth in recent decades could not be due to women bearing a large number of children, since it is a well-known fact that the Total Fertility Rate (TFR)⁵⁸ in Japan is now very low compared to other countries. Okinawa has the highest TFR of all Japanese Prefectures, but it is still comparatively low. In 2007, the TFR in Okinawa Prefecture was 1.75, as compared with the national average of 1.34 (Japan Times, 05/06/2008, citing statistics from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare). However,

⁵⁸ The TFR is commonly misunderstood to mean the average number of children a woman bears in her lifetime, but in fact represents the mean number of children a woman would have in her lifetime if she were to live through her reproductive years and bear children in line with age-specific birth rates in a given year.

the TFR in Japan has not always been so low, as shown in Table 17. The higher TFR in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s perhaps accounts for the late child-bearers in those decades.

Table 18: Changes in Total Fertility Rate (Japan)

Year	Total Fertility Rate
1930	4.70
1940	4.11
1950	3.65
1960	2.00
1970	2.13
1980	1.75
1990	1.54
2000	1.36

Source: National Institute of Population and Social Security Research (2008)

5.3.2 Maximum life expectancy

Okinawans are famous for their longevity, and many have been known to live well beyond 100 years of age. Recent statistics suggest that Okinawa may have the world's highest centenarian ratios at approximately 50 per 100,000 population representing 740 centenarians in a population of 1.3 million (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2006). In Okinawa, the first centenarians did not appear until the mid-1960s, shortly after the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare began tabulating the centenarian population. More recent studies have shown that life expectancy for Okinawan males has been falling since around 1990, probably due to changes in diet (Okinawa Centenarian Study⁵⁹). According to studies conducted every five years by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, in 1980 and 1985, Okinawan men and women ranked top of Japan's prefectures

⁵⁹ The website for the Okinawa Centenarian Study (OCS) may be found at <http://www.okicent.org>, retrieved 17/03/2009.

for longevity, but male longevity had slumped to 5th place by 1990 and 26th place by 2000. Given the recent predictions of falling longevity, I take the value of maximum life expectancy to be no more than 100 years for purposes of the language shift profile. Note that this parameter is a **maximum** projected age, not an average, since it is to be used for predicting the approximate maximum lifespan of *Uchinaaguchi*.

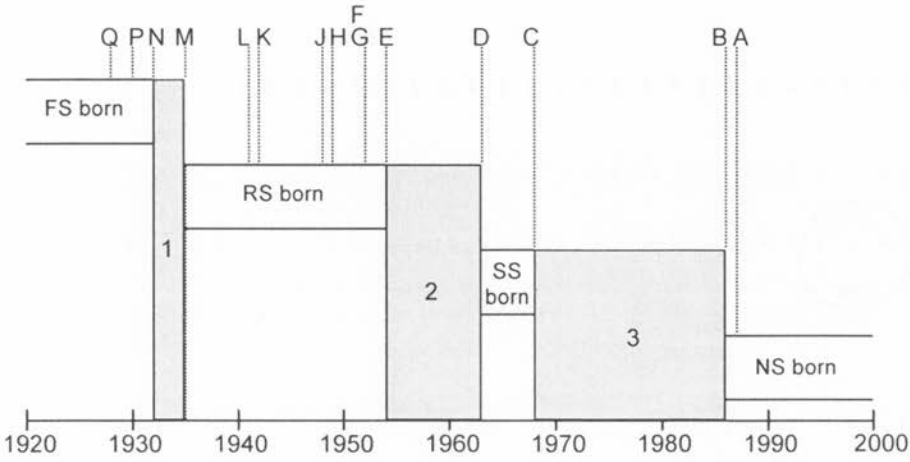
5.3.3 Workforce age

The approximate age of speakers when they gain competence in polite and honorific registers is estimated to be twenty years old. According to Wayne Lawrence (pers. comm.), it is not until speakers join the workforce that they have to use honorific and humble language, and many companies train their newly hired staff in it, because it is known that high school leavers are not sufficiently proficient. The new recruits may well have learnt the rules as school children, but they certainly do not have the experience in using this style of language necessary to become fully competent. Some school-aged students who are members of martial arts clubs do become proficient in respect language while at school (due to the fact that if they are not competent, they are punished). For the rest of society, however, honorific and humble registers are learnt and practised after reaching adulthood and joining the workforce.

5.4 A provisional profile outlined by the data

As explained in Section 5.2.5, participants are treated as typical representatives of their subgroups, and not as anomalies. When the data are treated in this way, it may be used to draw provisional subgroup timespans on a timeline. This timeline is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2: A preliminary profile based on the data from Chapter 4



Note that the three shaded areas 1, 2 and 3, represent “gaps” in the data. It is possible to reconstruct what happened during the time periods covered by these shaded areas. This involves considering the “language lives” led by hypothetical people. By “language lives”, I am referring to the way in which particular individuals use language throughout their lives, i.e. their first language learning experiences, their language choices and attitudes, and how their linguistic repertoire changes as they forget vocabulary of a language, or learn a new language as a second language. In order to add detail to these gaps in the profile, I draw on evidence from the literature and from my own personal observations in the field, and also use child-bearing age as a way of calculating the extent of subgroup timespans. Without larger samples of fully transcribed code-switched conversation, this only amounts to speculation, but it is worth considering the possible scenarios so that hypotheses may be posited, which can then be proven or disproven in future studies.

In the next sections, I show how the basic profile may be refined. I begin by explaining

how I have divided the language shift process into three distinct phases, and go on to show how each phase may be reconstructed by adding detail to the shaded areas.

5.5 The three phases of language shift

Language shift in Okinawa appears to have taken place in three main phases – the “displacement” phase, the “tip” phase and the “moribund” phase. During the displacement phase, all speakers were “acquirers”, that is, they acquired *Uchinaaguchi* as a first language (mother tongue). The tip phase describes the period during which more and more parents chose to transmit Japanese to their children instead of *Uchinaaguchi*, eventually leading to complete loss of the intergenerational transmission of *Uchinaaguchi* in the home domain. The moribund phase follows as a direct consequence of the tip phase, and is therefore characterised by the birth of “non-acquirers”, i.e. children who were taught Japanese rather than *Uchinaaguchi* as their first language. In this section, I explain briefly the differences between these phases before considering each phase in turn and discussing how speech behaviour interrelates with the sociohistorical context.

The loss of intergenerational transmission appears to have taken place fairly rapidly in Okinawa – a phenomenon which Dorian (1981) refers to as linguistic “tip”. I discuss the evidence for the occurrence of linguistic tip in the Okinawan case in Section 5.5.3. At this point in the discussion, however, I simply define the term and explain how it relates to the course of language shift. Linguistic “tip” is the point at which intergenerational transmission in a language is lost suddenly rather than gradually, as parents in many families choose more or less simultaneously to transmit the target language in preference to the abandoned language. This phenomenon is evidently common in language shift situations. Dorian, who originally defined the term to describe language shift from East

Sutherland Gaelic to English, explains that “a language which has been demographically highly stable for several centuries may experience a sudden ‘tip’, after which the demographic tide flows strongly in favour of some other language” (Dorian 1981: 51). Many others have observed the same phenomenon occurring in other language shift situations across the world, one example being Mertz's (1989) study of the variety of Gaelic spoken in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.

How do the displacement and moribund phases of language shift differ? The displacement phase is the collective name I have given to the stages of language shift which occur before the “tip” into the moribund phase. There does not appear to be a general term for this phase in the literature, and it is often simply referred to as “language shift”, although it does correspond to the “fragmentation” and “marginalisation” stages of Tsitsipis’ (1998, 2003) Progressive Erasure Model. During the displacement phase, intergenerational mother tongue transmission is still intact, but the abandoned language gradually loses domains of use to the target language⁶⁰. The progress of language shift during the displacement phase depends on the complex interplay of external sociopolitical factors, as well as people's language attitudes and the choices they make for their children's future.

The moribund phase, on the other hand, is characterised by ongoing language decay, and this phase constitutes an inevitable series of stages that are traceable by using child-bearing age as a parameter. During the moribund phase, external political factors are not salient unless there are serious attempts to save the language. Otherwise, each subgroup is inevitably followed by the next, generation by generation, without “extension” of any one subgroup timespan. There can be no delayed onset of monolingualism: children born

⁶⁰ Here I am referring specifically to the process of “gradual shift”. Other kinds of language shift such as “radical shift” progress differently (see Chapter 1.2.2).

to semi-speakers by definition must be, to all intents and purposes, monolingual in Japanese, since their parents are unable to speak *Uchinaaguchi* and therefore cannot transmit it to the next generation. Moreover, any subsequent generation must also be monolingual. After the onset of the moribund phase, the lifespan of the language is also predictable to a fair degree of accuracy, since child-bearing age and longevity in human beings are limited by physiology.

The primary reason for this difference between the displacement and moribund phases is that speakers born during the displacement phase are productive bilinguals. That is, they are able to speak both languages to at least some degree. Speakers born in the moribund phase, on the other hand, have limited productive ability, since they do not speak *Uchinaaguchi* as their mother tongue. This difference is significant because, in theory, child-bearing productive bilinguals have the potential to transmit the abandoned language, whether they themselves are full speakers or rusty speakers who speak a depleted form of the language. Each stage of the displacement phase of language shift is therefore potentially extensible if *Uchinaaguchi* is successfully transmitted to the next generation. It is unclear from other case studies, however, whether further generations of rusty speakers can continue to transmit the language to the next indefinitely, or whether pressure on the abandoned language eventually becomes so great that the rusty speaker stage inevitably leads to loss of mother tongue transmission. More research needs to be done in this area of the language shift process.

In the following subsections, I discuss the displacement, tip and moribund phases in turn, and, with the Sasse's (1992a) Gaelic-Arvantika Model and Tsitsipis' (1998, 2003) Progressive Erasure Model in mind (see Chapter 2, Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 for details), I consider how the external setting in Okinawa could have affected people's speech behaviour, and how certain behaviours may have led to structural consequences such as

the loss of honorific registers.

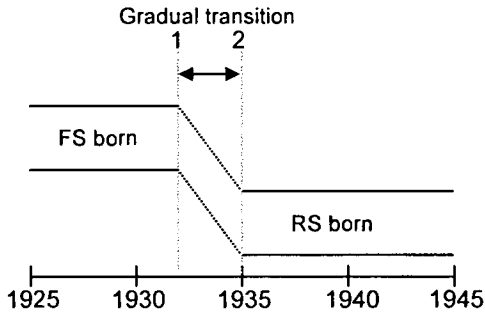
5.5.1 The displacement phase of Okinawan language shift

In reconstructing the profile, we first turn our attention to the displacement phase, which continues until language transmission habits begin to change in the home domain. The only method for determining the position of the timespans of the subgroups within the displacement phase is to collect field data and analyse the speech behaviour of participants as I have done in Chapter 4. As we shall see in Section 5.5.5, the position of the subgroups' timespans within the moribund phase is calculable by using child-bearing age as a parameter, but this is not possible for the displacement phase because full speaker and rusty speaker timespans are theoretically extensible.

Let us first deal with shaded area 1 in Figure 2. As explained in Chapter 4.1.3, I acknowledge that there is probably no clear boundary between full speaker and rusty speaker subgroups, since they represent two ends of a continuum of speakers showing varying degrees of proficiency in spoken *Uchinaaguchi*. Although full speakers and rusty speakers are treated here as two discrete subgroups for purposes of analysis, we can represent the smooth transition between the two simply by joining the ends of the bars of their timespans, as shown in the Figure 3. Note that the timespans of the subgroups are drawn on different levels in the diagrams to allow for overlap between subgroups. The numbers in the diagram mark the following:

1. Last full speakers born
2. First rusty speakers born

Figure 3: Transition between full speaker and rusty speaker timespans



5.5.2 Reasons for the displacement of *Uchinaaguchi* from higher domains

The Japanese assimilation policy was launched from the 1880s onwards (Heinrich 2005b: 2). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Japanese was established as the language of government, media (newspapers, books, periodicals), higher level business and education. After compulsory education was introduced in 1880, the bilingual textbook *Okinawa Taiwa* (Okinawa Conversation) was compiled. Its use ceased, however, in 1905 (Motonaga 1994: 131-132). The Ryukyu Islands had become a diglossic speech community, with *Uchinaaguchi* as the low status language for use in the private domain. This is the stage of language shift which Tsitsipis (1998, 2003) refers to as “fragmentation”, i.e. the use of *Uchinaaguchi* was narrowed to restricted functions.

As a result of the encroachment of Japanese into the higher domains, *Uchinaaguchi* was never considered to be appropriate for discussing academic subjects, politics, economics or issues of modernity. When speakers of *Uchinaaguchi* needed to talk about these subjects, they used Japanese, or simply borrowed all the required terms into

Uchinaaguchi (Hokama 2001: 97). This perpetuation of the subordinate status of *Uchinaaguchi* is the stage Tsitsipis (1998, 2003) refers to as “marginalisation”.

The general campaign to eradicate *Uchinaaguchi* and other Ryukyuan languages was intensified during the pre-war years. Japanese had already been the medium of education in schools by law since Ryukyuan languages were banned from schools in the so-called Ordinance to Regulate the Dialect of 1907. However, further coercive measures were taken on behalf of the Movement for the Enforcement of the Standard Language in 1931, and in 1937, the local Department of Education compiled a policy platform called the Programme for Education in Okinawa Prefecture, which oversaw the establishment of committees responsible for Japanese language dissemination in all local communities. According to Heinrich (2005a), “people who addressed the staff of post offices or governmental offices in Ryukyuan had to be refused service and employees caught using a Ryukyuan language risked punishment”. Heinrich also notes that the use of the “dialect tag” (see Chapter 1.3.1 for explanation) also increased drastically during the 1920s and 1930s, peaking in the late 1930s. All these factors combined to establish *Uchinaaguchi* as the low prestige language vis-à-vis Japanese and also to change the attitude of the Okinawan people towards their language. This sowed the seeds of eventual loss of intergenerational transmission.

Another effect of marginalisation was the reduction of contexts in which *Uchinaaguchi* honorific registers could be used. This led to a general decrease in proficiency in the honorific registers over time, which corresponds to the aforementioned proficiency continuum of productive bilinguals. Taking a speaker-oriented perspective, this means that there is a continuum from full speakers, who can use the full range of honorifics, to the youngest rusty speakers, who only have limited proficiency in these registers, whilst

semi-speakers can only use honorific set phrases such as formulaic greetings. Nagata's (1996: 157) study reveals that the loss of *Uchinaaguchi* honorific registers preceded language shift in casual speech. This observation is supported by my data, which suggest that honorific registers fell into disuse in the post-war years when the campaign for the eradication of *Uchinaaguchi* reached its peak and intergenerational transmission was interrupted as parents chose not to pass the language on to their children (see Figure 5).

5.5.3 The tip phase of Okinawan language shift

In this section, I deal with shaded area 2 in Figure 2. Arguably the most important point in the timeline is the year of birth of the last acquirers of *Uchinaaguchi* (i.e. the last rusty speakers). This represents the point at which intergenerational transmission of *Uchinaaguchi* in the home domain ceased. The line corresponds to the boundary between stages 6 and 7 of Fishman's GIDS (see Chapter 2.3.3) and the beginning of the "sublimation" process in Tsitsipis' Progressive Erasure Model (see Chapter 2.3.1).

According to my data, the youngest rusty speaker amongst the participants is speaker E, who was born in 1954. The next youngest participant was speaker D, who was born in 1963. As shown in Chapter 4.6, speaker D definitely belongs in the semi-speaker subgroup. Theoretically, the last rusty speaker in Okinawa could have been born after 1954, but I treat this year as the year in which intergenerational transmission was lost on the basis of reports in the literature (detailed below) as well as the assumption that speaker E is not an anomaly. I draw a line in the profile at 1954 which I call the "intergenerational transmission loss line". Its significance is explained later in the chapter.

This date of 1954 is supported by reports in the literature and my own observations in the

field. Heinrich (2005a: 6) states that “in most cases people born after 1950 no longer speak Ryukyuan languages, particularly those living on Okinawa, the main island”. Osumi (2001: 73) agrees: “Okinawans between 35 and 50 generally understood a spoken Okinawan language, but could not speak it well”. These remarks are consistent with my own observations in the field. In 2003, most of the Okinawans I encountered who were aged over fifty had a reasonable command of spoken *Uchinaaguchi*, whilst the productive ability of those aged below fifty was very limited. There were some exceptions to this general rule, but these were unusual, and considered to be so even by the locals themselves. I once witnessed a man, whom I judged to be in his early forties, speaking fluent *Uchinaaguchi* in a karaoke bar, but he turned out to be a fisherman from a small coastal village, i.e. not living locally in Naha/Shuri. I was later told that it was rare to find people of that age who can speak fluent *Uchinaaguchi*, and that the ones who can are usually tradespeople who have had no cause to leave their village for work or education.

At this point we must remind ourselves that this diachronic analysis is a retrospective reconstruction based largely on the participants' language use as it was in 2003. It is quite possible that the participants' speech behaviour and linguistic repertoires changed considerably during the course of their lifetime. Such changes would have serious repercussions for this diachronic analysis. For example, it may be the case that people born in the few years after 1954 grew up as rusty speakers, and therefore **did** acquire spoken *Uchinaaguchi* in their childhood years, but simply forgot it. If these speakers were then analysed as non-acquirers on the basis of their adult speech behaviour, the transition to the moribund phase would appear to have taken place earlier than it actually did. This scenario is theoretically possible, but unlikely to be the case in practice. The semi-speakers to whom I have spoken report that their parents addressed them in

Japanese even during their early years. Nevertheless, this would have to be verified by a statistical study aimed at finding out more about the early language lives of the first semi-speakers. For the purposes of this study, 1954 suffices as the latest extent of the rusty speaker timespan.

Since 1954 is treated here as the year of birth of the last rusty speakers, the semi-speaker timespan may be extended at least as far back as the beginning of shaded area 2 in Figure 2. But does the semi-speaker timespan overlap with the rusty speaker timespan? It seems reasonable to assume that it would. It is somewhat unlikely that, in the Okinawan case, all parents bearing children in the year 1954 suddenly decided to transmit Japanese to their children instead of *Uchinaaguchi*. A much more likely scenario is one where more and more families became Japanese-speaking ones in the years leading up to 1954. This would result in a gradual alteration of the ratio of dominance between children who became rusty speakers and those who became semi-speakers. In other words, some families were linguistically more conservative than others. Logic dictates that a child could only belong to one subgroup or the other – rusty speaker or semi-speaker. If a child acquires only receptive abilities in *Uchinaaguchi* – either because his/her parents did not speak to him/her in *Uchinaaguchi* at home, or because the language was not enforced outside the private domain – then by Sasse's (1992a) definition, that child cannot belong to the rusty speaker subgroup. Due to inadequate exposure, they would not have acquired productive abilities in *Uchinaaguchi*, and would only have productive control over isolated words and expressions. Hence, in this scenario, as the number of rusty speakers in society decreases, so the number of semi-speakers increases.

This scenario is supported by reports about the sociohistorical context during these years. For example, Heinrich (2005a: 5) states that “due to further consequences of the

modernisation process such as an increasing mobility of the population, a growing rate of exogamy and an extension of infrastructure, local language varieties also came under pressure and were increasingly often replaced by Standard Japanese in private domains too". Another possible reason for differences in linguistic conservatism between families is speakers' varying degrees of exposure to the mass media. Those people with access to a radio (and later television) would have had much more exposure to Japanese than those without. My point is not that children would necessarily learn the language by watching television and imitating, but rather that the use of a particular language in broadcasting increases the prestige of that language. This prestige is a motive for bilingual parents to teach their children the dominant language.

These gradual fluctuations in the relative populations of subgroups can be represented in the model by tapering the ends of the "bars" that represent the timespans of each subgroup. The bar representing the semi-speaker timespan would reach full width when the last acquirer (rusty speaker) of *Uchinaaguchi* is born.

If we assume, then, that the semi-speaker timespan **does** overlap with the rusty speaker timespan, how far back in time is the semi-speaker timespan likely to extend? To answer this, it is necessary to look at the profile as a whole, and consider the parents of the first non-acquirers (semi-speakers). Dalby describes these parents as follows:

"There must always be one generation that is reasonably bilingual. This is the generation of parents who decide, for the first time, that their children should learn the new language at home. To take that decision, the parents must themselves be able to speak it, as well as the language they spoke when they were children. But these parents will still speak the old minority language

between themselves, and they therefore have to take a second decision whether to teach their children the minority language as well. If they do, the children in turn will be forced with the same decision when they themselves marry and have children” (Dalby 2003: 89-90).

Rusty speakers are, as discussed in Chapter 4.7, “reasonably bilingual”. We can therefore assume that at least some semi-speakers would have been born to rusty speaker parents, but could some semi-speakers also have been born to full speaker parents? The data seem to suggest that they could. Semi-speaker participant C (born 1968) was born to late child-bearing full speaker parents N (mother, born 1932) and P (father, born 1930). On the recording, we hear speaker P addressing his wife speaker N in *Uchinaaguchi*, but when speaker N addresses her daughter, she uses mostly Japanese interspersed with some *Uchinaaguchi* in the form of isolated insertions or the occasional full sentence. Furthermore, speaker C reported to me that this was also the way her parents had spoken to her when she was a child.

The language shift profile also indicates that semi-speakers could be born to full speaker parents. If it were the case that no full speakers had semi-speaker children, then the rusty speaker timespan would have extended forward in time to 1972, when the last child-bearers amongst the full speakers were having children (1932 + 40). As noted above, the rusty speaker timespan only extends to about 1954. This suggests that semi-speaker children could be born to parents who were full speakers as well as parents who were rusty speakers.

The fact that semi-speaker children could be born to either full speaker or rusty speaker parents implies that the reason for the loss of transmission of *Uchinaaguchi* had more to

do with external pressures (such as the government's coercive measures to eradicate *Uchinaaguchi* and promote Standard Japanese or the popular movement to revert to Japan) than with the subgroup to which their parents belonged. However, the rusty speakers were arguably more vulnerable to these pressures than were the full speakers, because of their identity and language attitudes (these are explored in depth in Section 5.5.4). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the oldest rusty speakers would have been the first to transmit Japanese to their children, that is to say that it was these rusty speakers who initiated the semi-speaker timespan when they reached child-bearing age. As noted in Section 5.5.2, rusty speakers grew up in an environment where Japanese was dominant in the public domain. Throughout their childhood years they were exposed to the language at school and via the media. As a result, they acquired Japanese as a second language. By the time they reached child-bearing age, they would therefore have been proficient enough in the language to transmit it to their children. Indeed, transmitting Japanese would have seemed the sensible option at the time, since it was perceived as an opportunity to improve the life chances of their children. This is supported by the research of other scholars into language shift. Dixon (1997: 80) writes:

“Sometimes we find that speakers of a non-prestige language (who also, necessarily, know something of the prestige language) will purposely speak to their children only in the prestige language, in order to assist them to move out of their non-prestige social group and get a better life-style. This is one of the ways in which a non-prestige language loses its speakers and dies”.

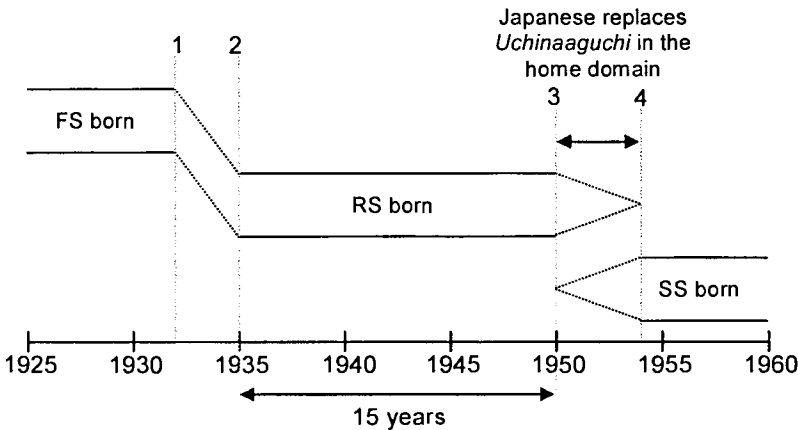
Once the semi-speaker timespan had been initiated by the early child-bearers amongst the first rusty speakers, other new parents – whether rusty speakers or full speakers – would soon follow suit and transmit Japanese to their children. The presence of the first non-acquirers in the speech community would necessarily cause a change in norms of

language use. Since the semi-speaker children had very limited productive *Uchinaaguchi* skills, Japanese would have become the unmarked language for addressing children directly. This change in the unmarked language would have motivated any other new parents to transmit Japanese to their children. Thus the tip phase was complete, and the intergenerational transmission link had been broken.

Assuming that the first rusty speakers were indeed the first non-transmitters, we can then establish how far back in time the semi-speaker timespan extends by calculating when the first rusty speakers would have begun to have children. Taking child-bearing age to be 15-40 for speakers born in the 1930s (see Section 5.3.1), the earliest child-bearers amongst the rusty speakers would have had children around the year 1950 (1935 + 15). This explains why the situation is as Heinrich observed, i.e. that “people born after 1950 no longer speak Ryukyuan languages”. The semi-speaker timespan may now be extended back to 1950 in the language shift profile. The diagram below shows the reconstructed profile of the period when the “tip” from *Uchinaaguchi* to Japanese occurred. Note the four-year overlap between the rusty speaker and semi-speaker timespans. The numbers in the diagram mark the following:

1. Last full speakers born
2. First rusty speakers born
3. First non-acquirers born (semi-speakers)
4. Last acquirers born (rusty speakers)

Figure 4: Loss of mother tongue transmission during the tip phase



5.5.4 Possible reasons for the rapidity of the tip phase

The rusty speaker timespan can theoretically extend for more than one generation. In the Okinawan case, however, we have seen that the rusty speaker timespan appears to have lasted for only one generation before sudden language tip occurred between about 1950 and 1954. Why was the tip phase so sudden? Below, I discuss some possible explanations for the rapidity of this phase. Note that the reasons given are not mutually exclusive. Statistical analyses may allow us to understand the process in greater depth, but in such a complex emergent system, it may not be possible to attribute the rapidity of the tip phase to one (or a small number of) causes. In some cases, such as in relation to the issue of identity, forces are pulling in more than one direction and multiple sociohistorical factors

are at play.

1. Japanese language ideology

Parents who had grown up in a bilingual society identified themselves as Japanese as well as Okinawan by the time of child-bearing age. In the 1950s, Japanese symbolised modernism and econotechnical advancement, so bilingual parents may have chosen to transmit Japanese to their children in the hope that it would give them a better start in life. This was promoted by the nationalistic language ideology of the time, which fostered the belief that Standard Japanese was the “correct” national language (*kokugo*) and that any deviation from it was “wrong” (Lee 1996; Osa 1998). A lack of proficiency in the standard language came to be seen as disrespectful, and parents, who did not want to see their own children suffer embarrassment, naturally chose to transmit Japanese in preference to *Uchinaaguchi* (Heinrich 2005a: 4).

2. Reaction against the U.S. occupation

At the beginning of the U.S. military occupation, the American authorities spread pro-Ryukyuan/anti-Japanese propaganda in an attempt to distance the Ryukyuan people from Japan. Heinrich (2005a: 5) explains the basis for this policy as follows:

“A report compiled in 1944 by anthropologists from Yale University for the preparation of a possible occupation of Japan stressed exploitation of and discrimination against Ryukyuan by mainland Japanese. On this basis, the American authorities developed a policy of encouraging Ryukyuan autonomy. Such policy rested above all on US perceptions of the strategically important

location of the Ryukyu Archipelago. US authorities thus explored the Yale-report as a basis to legitimize their attempts to split Okinawa from Japan, that is, to preserve it within the orbit of American power as a bulwark with respect to US policies toward China, Taiwan, and Korea”.

In line with this policy, the American authorities encouraged the use of the Ryukyuan languages and English. Seen from the American point of view, this policy had the undesired effect of pushing Okinawans towards a Japanese identity (and hence towards the Japanese language) as a reaction against the U.S. military occupation. Heinrich (2005a: 6) further explains:

“The presence of extensive military infrastructure, land confiscation, noise pollution, crime, prostitution, poverty, all had the effect of leading the overwhelming majority of Ryukyuans to favour immediate reversion to Japan. US American occupation thus inadvertently reinforced Ryukyu Islands – mainland Japan bonds. Promotion of Standard Japanese after 1945 thus continued to serve as a means to foster a Japanese identity for the Ryukyuan population and a means of resisting the unwelcome US occupation”.

3. Post-war hardship

This was most likely a major factor in the rapidity of the tip phase in Okinawa. The settlements on Okinawa Island had been completely destroyed, and over a quarter of its population killed (Heinrich 2005a: 5). The remainder of the population was living in temporary camps. Heinrich notes that “language planning was not a priority issue [and] provision of food for the population and reestablishment of infrastructure proved to be more urgent tasks” (Heinrich 2005a: 5).

4. “Bad” language

Some of the rusty speaker participants in my study explained that, during their childhood, they were criticised by their elders for their “bad” language use (that is, inaccurate and/or inappropriate usage of vocabulary and grammar). The consequence of this criticism was that rusty speakers developed an inferiority complex (see reference to “dialect complex”, Chapter 1.3.1), and avoided using *Uchinaaguchi* when speaking to older interlocutors for fear of portraying themselves as inferior members of the in-group. This inferiority complex would remain with the speaker until child-bearing age, and is likely to have played a part in their choice to transmit Japanese to their children.

This inferiority complex can sometimes surface as discrimination. According to some Shuri residents, the Shuri dialect is criticised by non-Shuri people for being “overly polite” (i.e. the normal level of politeness in Shuri is “overly polite” to the Naha ear) (Wayne Lawrence, pers.comm.). This can lead to a total breakdown in communication, as the following anecdote may exemplify. In an informal interview, a participant in my study, informant H (female, born 1949), recounted an incident where she struck up a conversation with another Okinawan woman on the beach whilst collecting *sunui* (the *Uchinaaguchi* word for Japanese *mozuku* - a type of edible seaweed). When the other woman asked her (in Japanese) where she was from, informant H replied (in *Uchinaaguchi*) *sui kara chaabitan* 'I'm from Shuri'. People from the former capital Shuri have a reputation for being linguistically conservative, and H's reply seemed to intimidate the other woman to the extent that she did not know how to answer and simply walked quickly away without saying another word.

5. Loss of proficiency in polite language

This issue is related to the last point about “bad” language, but pertains specifically to polite registers. When a language has a complex array of registers including honorific/humble and distal/plain forms of speech (and these may be completely different words, not just different inflections), that language is particularly vulnerable to register reduction. In Japanese (and Ryukyuan) society, speakers use different registers depending on their relationship with an interlocutor. These registers differ according to how well the speakers know each other, and also their relative social status in the community. Appropriate usage plays an important role in discourse, and if a speaker uses a register that is inappropriate for the situation, there may be unfavourable consequences. The existence of honorific/humble registers in both *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese may have caused speakers to abandon their mother tongue more readily than they would if *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese had been non-honorific languages.

My own fieldwork provides evidence to indicate that register reduction has been a major factor in speeding up the language shift process in Okinawa. In Chapter 4.7.4, I discussed in detail the problem of register reduction amongst rusty speakers. Also, whenever I have interviewed rusty speakers informally, and asked them in what way they feel their *Uchinaaguchi* skills are lacking, they invariably report that they would like to have a better command of polite/honorific registers.

This lack of proficiency in the “correct” usage of *Uchinaaguchi* higher registers would have been a huge disadvantage to the particular faction of rusty speakers

who were keen to express a public identity as *Uchinaaguchi* speakers in the 1950s⁶¹. Rusty speakers often report that they avoid speaking to their elders (full speakers) in *Uchinaaguchi* for fear of a negative reaction to their use of these registers. I also have anecdotal evidence that it is not only full speakers who are critical of inappropriate politeness levels. Younger speakers can also be quite aggressive in their requests for repair from speakers in their own subgroup, particularly in cases when a gender hierarchy is perceived. One informant participating in my study (speaker H – female, born 1949) recounted such an incident to me in an informal interview. She claimed that her friend and teacher (speaker F – male, born 1952) could become “angry” if a woman addressed him using the informal personal pronoun 'yaa (2SG-INF) 'you', in place of the polite version 'unju (2SG-POL). His typical response to any woman who addressed him in such a way would be *taa nkai 'yaa ya ndi 'ichooru baa ga?* 'who are you calling 'yaa?!'.

As *Uchinaaguchi* lost higher domains of use to Japanese, rusty speakers would have been more comfortable speaking Japanese polite and honorific/humble registers, and, as the number of rusty speakers increased in the speech community, expectations of an interlocutor's repertoire also changed. When addressing strangers, speakers would tend to err on the side of caution and address the stranger in Japanese rather than *Uchinaaguchi*. Using Japanese was also important for making a good first impression because, by the 1950s, Japanese was the high status language. *Uchinaaguchi*, on the other hand, was seen by many as a

⁶¹ This tendency towards a particular identity was not uni-directional. There was also a pro-Ryukyuan faction headed by some local activists and scholars of Okinawan studies, including Jahana Noboru, Iha Fuyu, Higashionna Kanjun and Kinjō Chōei as well as mainland scholars of folklore studies such as Yanagita Kunio, dialectologists such as Tōjō Misao and folk art scholars such as Yanagi Muneyoshi (Heinrich 2005a: 4).

mere peasant dialect.

The most significant aspect of register reduction in the Okinawan case is that it would have affected language use in the local neighbourhood and the workplace as well as more formal domains such as government and media. For example, a teenage rusty speaker making a purchase at a local shop or addressing a school friend's older relatives would have been unable to use *Uchinaaguchi*, and would instead have used Japanese. Osumi (2001: 75) paraphrases a comment from one of her informants, who remembered the very day when the local fishmonger changed his call from the *Uchinaaguchi* phrase 'iyu koo-nsooree'⁶² (fish buy-HON-IMP-POL) to the Japanese one *sakana kaimasen ka* (fish buy-DIST-NEG INT) 'fish for sale!'. This change may have occurred in response to register reduction: the fishmonger would have found that many of his younger customers were *Uchinaaguchi* rusty speakers, and, because buying and selling involves the use of polite, formal language, the fishmonger would have come to speak Japanese as his default language for business.

It is important to consider register reduction in the neighbourhood and work domains because it would have affected language use in the home domain by promoting the loss of intergenerational transmission. If parents were to teach only *Uchinaaguchi* to their children, then further down the track those children could

⁶² This is misspelled in Osumi (2001) as *io konsoore*, perhaps due to a mishearing on Osumi's part, or to inaccurate pronunciation/recall on the part of her informant. The honorific compound verb *koo-nsooree* is a contraction of *koo-misooree* (buy-HON-IMP-POL), where the mora *mi* is contracted to *n*. The verb stem is *koo-* from the verb *kooyun* 'buy'. Attached to this stem is the imperative form of the honorific verb *misheen* (do-HON), which corresponds to the Standard Japanese verb *nasaru*. The imperative of *misheen* is *misoori*. To this is added the particle *ya*. This *ya* adds an extra level of politeness to the imperative, thus preventing the imperative from seeming too assertive (Loveless 1963: 126). This honorific phrase is contracted, such that *misoori ya* becomes *misooree*, and then contracted again to form *nsooree*.

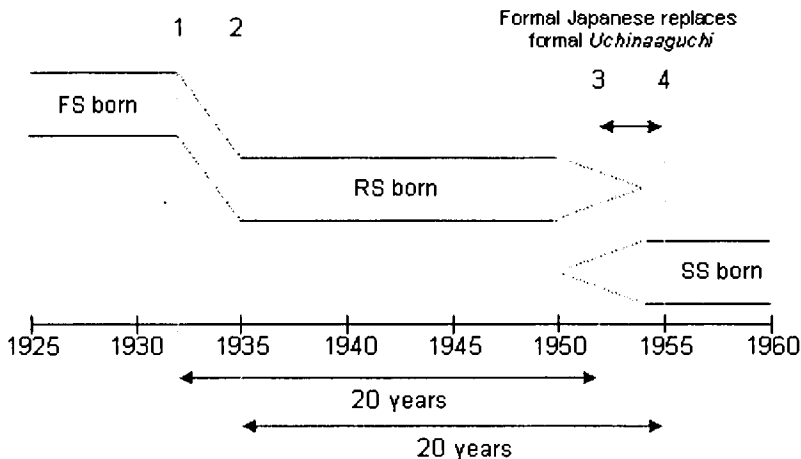
potentially have problems functioning in formal situations in the local neighbourhood and the workplace; therefore, there was a great incentive for parents to teach only Japanese to their children. The more parents made this decision, the further the intergenerational transmission link weakened, and the fewer new *Uchinaaguchi* speakers were introduced into the neighbourhood.

Despite the fact that *Uchinaaguchi* was being lost from the higher domains (such as government, media and education) from the earliest stages of the Japanese occupation (see Section 5.5.1), the fact remains that *Uchinaaguchi* honorific and humble registers were still being used in the workplace until fairly late in the language shift process. If this had not been the case, full speakers would not have been able to acquire them. Since we know that full speakers are more proficient than rusty speakers in their use of honorific and humble registers, we can calculate roughly when Japanese became the language of choice in situations where honorific and humble registers were necessary in the workplace by using the workforce age parameter of twenty years of age, since that is presumed to be the time when speakers first come to acquire these registers. We calculate that the last full speakers reached workforce age in 1952 (1932 + 20), whilst the first rusty speakers reached school age in 1955 (1935 + 20). In other words, those speakers who were twenty years old in 1952 were generally able to acquire the full range of *Uchinaaguchi* registers, but those who were twenty years old in 1955 did not acquire these registers. This suggests that Japanese replaced *Uchinaaguchi* as the language of choice in formal situations in the workplace sometime between 1952 and 1955. This phase of Okinawan language shift is shown in the diagram below. The fact that it coincides almost exactly with the tip phase may indicate that the rusty speakers' lack of competence in *Uchinaaguchi* honorific and humble

registers contributed to their decision not to transmit that language to their children. The numbers in the diagram mark the following:

1. Last full speakers born
2. First rusty speakers born
3. Workforce age of the last full speakers
4. Workforce age of the first rusty speakers

Figure 5: Loss of honorific and humble registers from the workplace during the tip phase



6. In-group solidarity/conformity

If a few parents choose to transmit Japanese, then, being vulnerable already, the rest are likely to follow quickly to conform to the new in-group trend, particularly if that trend is reinforced by the state. This factor also applies to other language shift cases across the world (see for example the case of East Sutherland Gaelic as documented in Dorian 1981). In Japan and the Ryukyu Islands too, in-group conformity is considered to be very important in all social interactions. As noted

in Section 5.5.3, it is likely that the tip phase was initiated by rusty speaker parents around 1950. After initiation of the tip, other rusty speaker and full speaker parents probably followed soon after.

The question of which of these reasons are most relevant to the Okinawan case would have to be established in future research based on quantitative data pertaining to the linguistic histories of speakers born between about 1940 and 1960. Since many of the people who made these decisions are still alive, it is still possible to interview them and obtain statistical data that would clarify details about their linguistic repertoire, attitudes and motives at that time. Such research might succeed in establishing to what extent it was the pressure to shift **towards Japanese** and to what extent it was the pressure to shift **away from *Uchinaaguchi*** that motivated parents to abandon *Uchinaaguchi* in favour of Japanese.

5.5.5 The moribund phase of Okinawan language shift

Next, we turn our attention to the moribund phase, which begins immediately after intergenerational transmission of *Uchinaaguchi* ceased around 1954. According to Heinrich (2005b: 5-6), it was during this phase that *Uchinaaguchi* became decontextualised from its unmarked functions. To use Tsitsipis' (1998, 2003) terminology, *Uchinaaguchi* was to undergo a process of sublimation (see Chapter 2.3.1). Heinrich cites the work of Narita (2001 [1964]), Teruya (2001) and Motonaga (1994) as examples of studies that have documented this process. Unfortunately, in over-emphasising the end results of the language shift processes on the language itself, such a language-oriented approach to this phase of language shift misses some of the detail about how speakers bring about linguistic change in their community through their interactions. Specifically,

it does not take account of the implications of continuing use of casual *Uchinaaguchi* in the work domain. Nor does it explain exactly how the transition from semi-speaker to non-speaker births takes place, despite the fact that speakers from both of those subgroups coexist with fluent *Uchinaaguchi* speakers in their community. In other words, this approach de-emphasises community networks and micro-interactional changes in inter- and intragroup communicative norms. Ideally we can use this approach in combination with a more speaker-oriented approach according to the emergentist model, so that we can understand the phenomena more clearly. The issues mentioned above will now be discussed from a more speaker-oriented perspective.

In the case of the moribund phase (unlike the displacement phase), it is possible to calculate the position of the bars on the timeline by using statistical data relating to child-bearing age to reconstruct what would have happened after intergenerational transmission loss. By working forwards chronologically, we can follow the hypothetical language lives of the last acquirers who, according to the profile, were born in 1954.

Consider shaded area number 3 in Figure 2. It is unfortunate that I do not have data for any participants born between 1968 and 1986. This is a rather large gap in the data. It would be preferable to ascertain the positions of the semi-speaker and non-speaker timespans by using a larger data sample, but, as noted, it is still possible to refine the profile by using the child-bearing age parameter.

We may now consider which subgroup(s) the parents of the first generation of non-speakers belonged to. Three possible scenarios are detailed below. The first two scenarios explain the emergence of non-speakers as being directly related to their parents' subgroup(s), whilst the third scenario instead emphasises the importance of language exposure outside the home domain.

Scenario 1

The first generation of non-speakers was born exclusively to semi-speaker parents, and never to rusty speaker parents

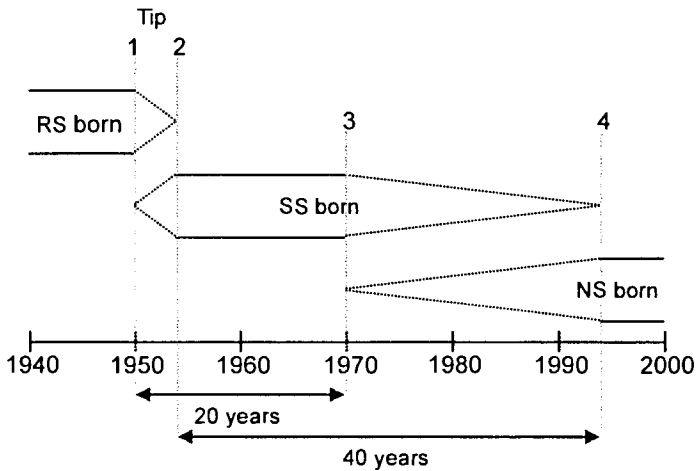
According to this scenario, the first non-speakers were the children of the first semi-speakers. If the first semi-speakers were indeed born around 1950, as I calculated in Section 5.5.3, the earliest child-bearers amongst them can be considered to have had children around the age of 20 in 1970 (1950 + 20). This scenario assumes that these children were non-speakers, since they would never have heard their semi-speaker parents conversing with each other in *Uchinaaguchi*, except perhaps when they used isolated words and phrases of the language. Most of the people of their own generation and their parents' generation, with whom they had daily contact, would have been non-acquirers of *Uchinaaguchi*. The children would therefore have had very little exposure to spoken *Uchinaaguchi* – hardly sufficient even to pick up receptive skills in the language. Hence, in this model, the non-speaker timespan began around 1970.

How far forward in time does the semi-speaker timespan extend in this scenario? To answer this, we must consider which subgroup the semi-speakers' parents belonged to. According to this model, the children of rusty speaker parents were not non-speakers, so it follows that they must instead have been semi-speakers. This means that the last semi-speakers were the children of the late child-bearers amongst the last rusty speakers. If the last rusty speakers were indeed born around 1954, then the late child-bearers amongst them can be considered to have had children around 1994 (1954 + 40). Thus the semi-speaker timespan lasted until 1994. The diagram below shows the extent of the semi-speaker and non-speaker timespans according to this scenario. The numbers in the

diagram mark the following:

1. First non-acquirers born (semi-speakers)
2. Last acquirers born (rusty speakers)
3. First non-speakers born
4. Last semi-speakers born

Figure 4: Moribund phase - scenario 1



This scenario does not appear to be reflected in reality. During my stay in Okinawa, I did not encounter any semi-speakers who were as young as this model predicts.

Scenario 2

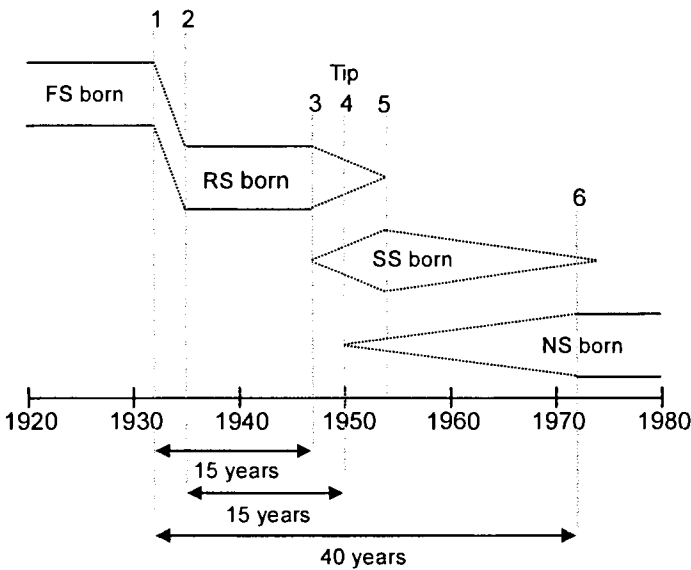
The first generation of non-speakers was born to semi-speakers or rusty speakers, whether early or late child-bearers

According to this scenario, the first non-speakers were the children of the earliest child-bearers amongst the first rusty speakers. If the first rusty speakers were indeed born in 1935, then the earliest child-bearers amongst them can be considered to have had children around 1950 (1935 + 15). Hence, in this model, the non-speaker timespan began around 1950.

What about the semi-speaker timespan? To answer this, we must consider which subgroup the semi-speakers' parents belonged to. The children of rusty speaker parents were not semi-speakers, so it follows that semi-speakers were the children of the last full speakers. It is therefore impossible to calculate how far back in time the semi-speaker timespan extends. However, we can make an estimate if we assume that semi-speakers emerged because the last full speaker parents were subject to the same pressures as the first rusty speaker parents who were starting families at around the same time. This assumption implies that some children became semi-speakers because they were exposed to their full speaker parents (or grandparents) conversing with each other in *Uchinaaguchi*. Other children became non-speakers because their rusty speaker parents did not provide them with that kind of exposure. If the last full speakers were indeed born in 1932, then the earliest child-bearers amongst them can be considered to have had children around 1947 (1932 + 15). The latest child-bearers amongst them can be considered to have had children around 1972 (1932 + 40). Hence, in this model, the semi-speaker timespan extends from 1947 to 1972. The diagram below shows the extent of the semi-speaker and non-speaker timespans. The numbers in the diagram mark the following:

1. First non-transmitters born (last full speakers)
2. First rusty speakers born
3. First non-acquirers born (semi-speakers)
4. First non-speakers born
5. Last acquirers born (rusty speakers)
6. Last semi-speakers born

Figure 5: Moribund phase - scenario 2



Again, this scenario also does not appear to be reflected in reality. During my stay in Okinawa, I encountered semi-speakers who were born to full speaker parents (e.g. speaker C) as well as those who were born to rusty speaker parents, but I did not encounter any non-speakers who were as old as this model predicts. Also, since semi-speakers and non-speakers grow up alongside each other in this scenario, the implication is that receptive competence in *Uchinaaguchi* is something that is acquired only at home,

not in the general community environment. This is not supported by case studies in the literature, such as Sasse's (1978) study of the Arvanitika speech community in Greece. In his (1992b) discussion of this study, Sasse remarks that “all residences of this village clearly identifiable as semi-speakers claimed that their parents did not talk to them in Arvanitika and that they learned the language just by listening to and occasionally talking to elder fluent speakers” (Sasse 1992b: 62).

Scenario 3

The first generation of non-speakers was born to parents who were either semi-speakers or late child-bearing rusty speakers

Of the three models, this is the one that seems most likely to apply to the Okinawan case. According to this scenario, a child's acquisition or non-acquisition of receptive skills in *Uchinaaguchi* was not directly related to the fact that their parents belonged to a particular subgroup. Non-speakers were born to the late child-bearers amongst the rusty speaker parents, but not to the early child-bearers of that subgroup. It follows that the deciding factor as to whether a child became a semi-speaker or a non-speaker was related to the child's level of exposure to *Uchinaaguchi* **in the absence of direct transmission as a mother tongue at home**. This scenario therefore supports Sasse's (1992b: 62) characterisation of a prototypical semi-speaker as “a person who has not learned the language by way of a normal language acquisition process”. As Sasse points out, this “anomalous language learning process” also explains why different semi-speakers coexisting in the speech community form a continuum of proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*.

During the moribund phase, then, a child's receptive proficiency depended on **who was**

speaking what language in their social network. We may assume that, for most children, the people with whom they had daily contact were their parents (and perhaps also grandparents and family friends of their parents' generation), school friends and teachers. Since Standard Japanese was being enforced at school (two of my informants claimed to have had first-hand experience of the 'dialect tag' as recently as the 1960s), this meant that any receptive skills in *Uchinaaguchi* would have been acquired mainly through their parents' social network – in particular from hearing their parents converse with each other in the language, either in full or code-switched sentences. The data for speakers C and D seems to support this hypothesis. Recall that, in Excerpt 50 (Chapter 4.6.4), speaker D inquired about the meaning of an *Uchinaaguchi* sentence her father had uttered to her. Also, in C2, we hear a mother speaker N (born 1932) using Japanese with occasional portions of code-switching and *Uchinaaguchi* insertions with her semi-speaker daughter speaker C (born 1968). However, when the mother turns to address speaker C's father, speaker P (born 1930), he answers her in *Uchinaaguchi*.

The fact that a child's parents belonged to a particular subgroup did, therefore, play a part in determining the extent of a child's receptive skills in *Uchinaaguchi*, but only in the sense that the **potential** for exposure to the language was pre-determined. Below, I consider a child's potential for exposure to *Uchinaaguchi* in families in which the parents were 1) both late child-bearing rusty speakers, 2) both semi-speakers or 3) one rusty speaker parent and one semi-speaker parent.

1) *Both parents were late child-bearing rusty speakers*

Like the early child-bearing rusty speakers (whose children were semi-speakers), the late child-bearing rusty speakers were fluent enough in *Uchinaaguchi* that

they could have exposed their children to the language. Whether they actually chose to expose their children to the language would, of course, depend on the attitude of those parents towards their mother tongue. These children would gain a level of receptive proficiency largely through overhearing their parents (and perhaps also grandparents) conversing with each other and with other people in their social network. Despite the fact that there was potential for the children of late rusty speaker parents to gain receptive abilities, they instead turned out to be non-speakers. The possible reasons for this are discussed later in this subsection.

2) *Both parents were semi-speakers*

Semi-speaker parents had limited productive skills, so their children would get very little exposure to spoken *Uchinaaguchi*, except perhaps for the occasional word or phrase embedded in their variant of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (incidentally this explains the *Uchinaaguchi* substratum in the Japanese spoken by the non-speakers). Being non-acquirers themselves, the semi-speaker parents would not converse with friends of their own generation in *Uchinaaguchi*, even if those friends were rusty speakers who were able to speak the language. For the children of semi-speakers, then, the only potential for exposure to the liberal use of *Uchinaaguchi* would be from overhearing speakers of their grandparents' generation. It is possible that families with cohabiting grandparents could produce late semi-speaker children, but it is debatable whether exposure to grandparents' speech alone would be enough to gain receptive proficiency. Further research in the form of a case study could verify this.

3) *One parent was a rusty speaker and one was a semi-speaker*

Since one parent is a non-acquirer in this situation, the two parents would converse with each other in the language they have in common, i.e. *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. Their children's potential for exposure to *Uchinaaguchi* would therefore be much the same as for families in which both parents were semi-speakers.

From the above it should be clear that, in this particular scenario, families in which one or both of the parents were semi-speakers produced non-speaker children. However, the question remains as to why families in which both parents were late child-bearing rusty speakers also produced non-speaker children. Why did these parents cease using *Uchinaaguchi* in the presence of young people?

The fact that the non-speaker children of late child-bearing rusty speakers did **not** acquire receptive skills in *Uchinaaguchi* implies that at least one of the following was the case: a) their rusty speaker parents for some reason no longer spoke *Uchinaaguchi* in the presence of children; or b) the children actively rejected the language. Whatever the case, it seems reasonable to assume that language use in the community would already have changed such that *Uchinaaguchi* was not reinforced away from home. In other words, it would already have become the societal norm for rusty speakers to speak only Japanese (or *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*) in the presence of children. Consequently, *Uchinaaguchi* would only be used liberally in conversation between older speakers when children were not present. This would explain why children might reject the language when their own parents used it: if they only ever heard their teachers and school friends' parents speaking Japanese/*Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, then it is understandable that children would want their

own parents to act in the same way as other people of their generation.

So how would this new societal norm have come about? One reason may have been the end of the U.S. military occupation and the return of the Ryukyu Islands to Japan in 1972. At this time, many people in Okinawa reacted against the U.S. by enthusiastically identifying themselves as Japanese, and the Japanese language was, of course, a symbol of Japanese identity.

Another possible reason was that the new societal norm was initiated by the families in which one parent was – or both parents were – semi-speakers (see scenarios 2 and 3), and the late child-bearing rusty speaker parents were responding to this by following the trend. This means that the non-speaker timespan would have been initiated when the earliest child-bearers amongst the semi-speakers began having children in 1970 (1950 + 20). Around this time, community speech norms would have to have changed to accommodate the newly emerging non-speakers. The unmarked choice for use in the presence of children would have become Japanese/*Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, since, unlike the semi-speaker generation, those children could not be expected to understand *Uchinaaguchi* when it was spoken to them in full or code-switched form rather than in the form of occasional insertions. These norms would have changed gradually as older people came to realise that they could no longer use *Uchinaaguchi* liberally when speaking to children who were below a certain age. Moreover, late child-bearing rusty speakers would probably have responded to this new societal norm by avoiding the use of *Uchinaaguchi* in the presence of their children. Incidentally, this change in speech norms may explain why full speakers occasionally code-switch to whole sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* when conversing with semi-speakers while rusty speakers do not, as discussed in Chapter 4.8.4. Whereas rusty speakers were influenced by the new speech

norm of avoiding the use of *Uchinaaguchi* when in the presence of children, full speakers may not have been influenced as strongly by this norm. Full speakers had become accustomed to using occasional whole sentences of *Uchinaaguchi* when conversing with semi-speaker children who were born before the 1970s.

I have anecdotal evidence to suggest that language use in the speech community changed in this way. One of my informants, speaker H (female, born 1949), told me about her three sons' varying levels of proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*. She remarked that she had not used *Uchinaaguchi* after her children were born because they “didn't understand it”. Her sons were born in the 1970s and 1980s. Hence, according to the scenario described above, speaker H's children were born during the time when societal speech norms were changing significantly. As predicted, her sons appear to be at different points on the proficiency continuum – the oldest being a semi-speaker and the youngest being a non-speaker. Speaker H reported that her eldest son (born 1971) was fairly proficient at speaking full sentences of *Uchinaaguchi*, but acquired it as a second language. Her second son (born 1973) had good receptive skills, but could speak only a few formulaic phrases, such as *kamu mi* 'will you eat?' and '*akkisamiyoo* 'oh my god!'. Her youngest son (born 1982) could understand only a little *Uchinaaguchi*, and he often became “irritated” with people who addressed him in that language.

How far forward in time does the semi-speaker timespan extend in this scenario? To answer this, we must take account of semi-speakers who may have acquired their skills after leaving school and entering the working population. I have anecdotal evidence to suggest that, in some work sectors at least, *Uchinaaguchi* was still the medium of choice in the 1960s. One of my informants (J), from Yonaguni Island, became fluent in *Uchinaaguchi* (Naha dialect) after immigrating to Naha in the 1960s at the age of 15.

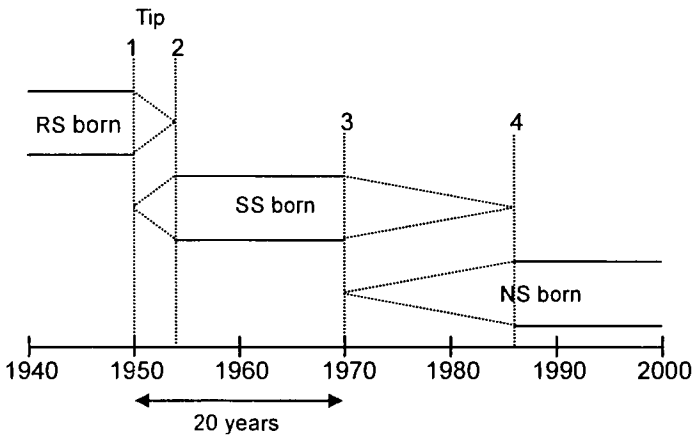
Uchinaaguchi had already become moribund by that time, and Japanese had been present in all domains of use (including the home domain) for a decade or so. In an informal interview, I asked informant J what kind of work he had done during his first few years in Naha, and he replied that he had done mainly manual work, such as labour on building sites. In these environments, his workmates were conversing with each other in *Uchinaaguchi*, code-switched with Japanese. In order to become part of their in-group and show solidarity with his peers, he found it necessary to learn the local language. Presumably, if he became known as an insider, then his job prospects would also improve. Social class may have been a factor in such cases: there would be more need for *Uchinaaguchi* on a building site, for example, than in a city office. This class distinction would explain why the youngest *Uchinaaguchi* speakers I met in Naha tended to be (or have been) labourers or tradespeople. Speaker H attributed her eldest son's productive proficiency to the fact that, in his work as an architect, he had to communicate with older, fluent speakers in *Uchinaaguchi*. Speaker H also reported that, until recently, *Uchinaaguchi* was still being used in some areas of work before people “stopped using *Uchinaaguchi* and switched to Japanese”. For her eldest son to have picked up *Uchinaaguchi* through communications at work, the language must still have been in use in some sectors of the work domain at least as recently as the 1990s. It must be noted that this hypothesis – that language use in the work domain supports semi-speaker L₂ acquisition even after intergenerational transmission loss in the home domain – appears to be at odds with the linear model of domain loss in language shift depicted by Fishman's GIDS (see Chapter 2.3.3).

Given the points discussed above, it is clear that there is insufficient evidence to be able to determine with any certainty how recently speakers have been able to acquire some level of receptive or productive proficiency at their workplace. I certainly did not

encounter any semi-speakers who were younger than speakers A and B (born in 1987 and 1986 respectively) during my time in Okinawa, so for purposes of the diagram, it is enough to assume that it would have been unusual for people of the same generation as speakers A and B to become semi-speakers. The semi-speaker timespan can therefore be extended provisionally to 1986 when speaker B was born. The position of this timespan could be revised in future studies with the aid of statistical data. Below is a diagram showing the reconstructed version of the moribund phase of Okinawan language shift. The numbers in the diagram mark the following:

1. First non-acquirers born (semi-speakers)
2. Last acquirers born (rusty speakers)
3. First non-speakers born
4. Last semi-speakers born

Figure 6: Moribund phase - scenario 3

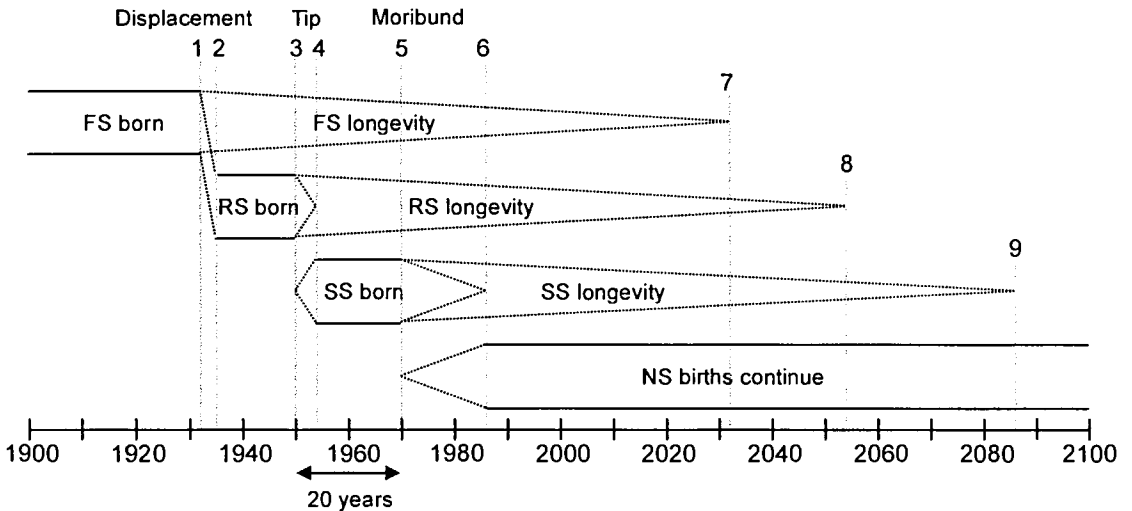


5.6 Predicting the lifespan of *Uchinaaguchi*

Using the reconstructed version of the language shift profile, we may predict when *Uchinaaguchi* is likely to reach various stages of decay, and finally death. This may be calculated using the maximum life expectancy parameter, which I have set at 100 years old (see Section 5.3.2). Using this parameter, we may calculate the approximate points at which there will no longer be any people alive in the community who can: 1) speak *Uchinaaguchi* using a full range of vocabulary and complex higher registers; 2) hold a conversation in whole sentences of *Uchinaaguchi*; and 3) understand most of a full conversation spoken in *Uchinaaguchi*, rather than just a few isolated words and phrases existing as a substratum of Japanese. These are represented by the maximum life expectancy of the last full speaker, the last rusty speaker and the last semi-speaker respectively, as shown in the diagram below. Note that, for reasons of simplicity, the portion of timespan representing “longevity” depicts a uniform decrease in the population following the birth of the last subgroup member. The numbers in the diagram mark the following:

- 1) Last full speakers born
- 2) First rusty speakers born
- 3) First non-acquirers born (semi-speakers)
- 4) Last acquirers born (rusty speakers)
- 5) First non-speakers born
- 6) Last semi-speakers born
- 7) Maximum life expectancy of last full speakers
- 8) Maximum life expectancy of last rusty speakers
- 9) Maximum life expectancy of last semi-speakers

Figure 7: Projected lifespan of *Uchinaaguchi*



The diagram shows that, assuming there are no successful revitalisation attempts in future, the full range of vocabulary and higher registers of *Uchinaaguchi* will cease to be used around the year 2032 (1932 + 100). The language will cease to be spoken in

conversations of whole sentences around the year 2054 (1954 + 100). Finally, there will probably be nobody left who would be able to confirm the accuracy of transcriptions/translations of archived recordings of fluent speakers in conversation by about the year 2086 (1986 + 100).

5.7 Summary

The profile presented in this chapter has shed light on how language shift has progressed in the Naha/Shuri communities. Because of the way the profile was constructed, it is possible to see the way in which different subgroups of speakers have emerged, generation by generation, in the speech community. It is also possible to see the extent to which subgroup timespans have overlapped. I will now attempt to summarise how language shift has progressed over the years by relating the emergence of subgroups of speakers to the sociohistorical context.

According to the reconstructed version of the profile, language shift in Naha/Shuri progressed in three main stages: the displacement phase, the tip phase and the moribund phase. The displacement phase lasted until around 1950. During this phase, *Uchinaaguchi* was gradually replaced by Japanese in its higher domains of use such as school, government and the media, largely due to aggressive efforts by the Japanese government to eradicate the language. After the Pacific War, *Uchinaaguchi* honorific and humble registers fell into disuse in the workplace, although casual *Uchinaaguchi* continued to be spoken in this domain for a number of years, particularly by tradespeople. The Naha/Shuri speech community was still diglossic after the war: *Uchinaaguchi* was still used at home, whilst Japanese was reserved for public use and formal situations. However, this was soon to change. As a consequence of a broad range of sociohistorical

factors including the governmental campaign and a popular movement for reversion to Japan, Okinawans came to have a negative attitude towards *Uchinaaguchi*, whilst Japanese was viewed as the language of modernism, technological advancement, the media and education. Also, Okinawans suffered extreme hardship during the post-war period. These factors combined to bring about the onset of the tip phase of language shift.

The tip phase began around 1950, when increasing numbers of young Okinawan rusty speaker parents made the choice to raise their children as Japanese first language speakers. By about 1954, almost all families were Japanese-speaking, including those families in which one or both parents were full speakers. This marked the end of the tip phase, and the moribund phase began.

At the beginning of the moribund phase, the Japanese-speaking families introduced a new generation of semi-speakers into the Naha/Shuri community. These semi-speakers gradually increased in numbers as the years passed. Adults altered their patterns of language use to accommodate these semi-speakers by code-switching between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese in informal conversation so that these young people would understand them. As a result, young people who were born between 1950 and 1970 were able to acquire good receptive skills in *Uchinaaguchi* from occasionally overhearing adults code-switch to the language, but were unable to acquire productive skills. This code-switching behaviour in the presence of the youngest generation probably continued until sometime in the 1980s. Proficiency levels varied between semi-speakers depending on their level of exposure to *Uchinaaguchi* in the community: some had the opportunity to hear it spoken – or even use it themselves – at work, while others cohabited with grandparents who were fluent in the language.

Around 1970, the first semi-speakers began to have children of their own. Those children were the first non-speakers. Because their parents (and many of the people in their parents' generation) only ever used a few isolated words and phrases of *Uchinaaguchi*, this level of the language was all the non-speaker children were ever able to acquire. Consequently, when they wished to express their Okinawan identity in informal conversation, they began to use their own unique variety of Japanese that incorporated a substratum of *Uchinaaguchi* insertions.

The emergence of this new generation of non-speakers in the Naha/Shuri community again triggered a change in patterns of language use in the community. By the 1980s, Japanese had become the unmarked language for use in the presence of children, both at home and in public. Consequently, young people were very rarely exposed to the language. Children were no longer able to acquire *Uchinaaguchi* even as a second language unless they studied it in formal educational institutions. Hence, young people no longer developed into semi-speakers.

This situation has continued until the present day, and new generations of Okinawans are currently being raised as monolinguals in Japanese. The model presented in this chapter predicts that, unless there are successful revitalisation attempts, *Uchinaaguchi* will no longer be used in fluent conversation by the year 2054. After that time, there will be a period of about thirty or forty years when semi-speakers continue to exist in the community. These semi-speakers will still be able to understand archived recordings of fluent speakers, and will also be able to produce some fragments of the language. Once these people are gone, however, there will be nobody left (apart from scholars of the language) who uses or understands anything but a few isolated words. By the end of the 21st century, *Uchinaaguchi* will almost certainly be a dead language.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and implications

6.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with a summary of the key findings of the investigation (6.1), in particular of the synchronic and diachronic analyses of the data presented in Chapters 4 and 5. It goes on to discuss the ways in which this study contributes to the field (6.2), in terms of approach and methodology, of the data collected and transcribed, and of the profiling method developed. The chapter concludes (6.3) with a discussion of the findings from the perspective of emergent language shift, and the relevance of this perspective to the future, both of *Uchinaaguchi* and of other endangered languages.

6.1 Summary of findings

In this section, I attempt to draw together the key findings of the synchronic analysis (Chapter 4) and the diachronic analysis (Chapter 5).

The qualitative data collected from the participants has revealed much about the speech behaviour of the four linguistic subgroups identified in the Naha/Shuri community. These subgroups are:

- 1) Full speakers – born before the mid-1930s
- 2) Rusty speakers – born between the mid-1930s and the mid-1950s
- 3) Semi-speakers – born between about 1950 and the mid-1980s
- 4) Non-speakers – born from about 1970 to the present

One main finding of this thesis is that the use of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words and

expressions has continued to decrease, generation by generation, despite the recent revival of interest in local language varieties in Japan. For the younger participants in this study, at least, the use of *Uchinaaguchi* is confined to a very small number of *Uchinaaguchi*, Morphologically Mixed *Uchinaaguchi* and Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi* insertions in their own variety of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (see 4.5). Whether or not this variety is termed as *Shin-hōgen* (New Dialect), there is no evidence in the data examined of any revival of *Uchinaaguchi* itself in their speech.

6.1.1 Low-level insertions and high-level code-switching

Perhaps the most important findings of this thesis are those relating to the way in which speakers mix *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese in informal conversation. I have established that there are very few hybrid words in the language mixtures used by any age cohort, and found that, to a large extent, the mixture may be defined in terms of varying proportions of *Uchinaaguchi* lexemes and Japanese lexemes. As a result of this approach, I conclude that there are two basic discourse modes in the informal speech of bilinguals in the Naha/Shuri communities. These are: 1) *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*, which includes low-level insertions of one or two *Uchinaaguchi* words, and 2) high-level code-switching, which constitutes *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* embedded with varying degrees of additional inter- and intrasentential code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi*.

Low-level insertion involves the use of the best-known formulaic *Uchinaaguchi* words and phrases, such as culture-specific vocabulary, interjections and proverbs. These appear as isolated borrowings (or perhaps code-switches in the case of bilinguals) within an otherwise Japanese utterance. All the participants produced these to some degree; in doing so, they are able to express solidarity with fellow Okinawans.

High-level code-switching, on the other hand, requires that the speaker is bilingual. It differs from low-level insertion in that *Uchinaaguchi* use is not limited to formulaic expressions. High-level code-switching behaviour is characterised by changes within the same conversational context, either as a marked or unmarked choice. Code-switches to *Uchinaaguchi* range from one-word insertions to extensive inter- and intrasentential code-switching. Insertions are not confined to well-known words and phrases, as is usually the case in low-level insertion. Nevertheless, it appears that some lexical categories are more likely candidates for insertion than others, even in high-level code-switching. These include words and phrases of psychological salience such as nouns, and those of discourse salience such as markers of illocutionary force. Code-switching that is more extensive than one- or two-word insertions seems to function on two levels. On one level, code-switches can be used rather like gestures to achieve certain conversational effects such as marking the boundaries of quotes and parenthetical remarks. However, code-switches cannot always be explained as performing this kind of contextualising function. Hence, on another level, the act of code-switching itself can be assumed to perform an overall function of signalling a bilingual identity.

An important finding of this thesis is that neither of the two levels of discourse mode described above constitutes a true, conventionalised mixed language (or “split language” as termed by Myers-Scotton 2007), since the functions are not split between lexicon and grammar, form and semantics or verbs and nouns. In addition, *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese cognates co-occur in the same conversation or even the same utterance. I conclude that it is misleading to refer to the language mixtures one encounters in Okinawa as “mixed languages” or “hybrid languages”. I propose instead that all variants of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* are referred to as mixed codes, whilst (marked or unmarked) code-switching is termed just that, so as to reflect its unconventionalised nature.

6.1.2 The speech behaviour of the participants

How do speakers in the different subgroups use these two levels of discourse mode, and why have they come to use *Uchinaaguchi* in the way that they do? The non-speakers who participated in this study are basically monolingual in Japanese, and can barely understand *Uchinaaguchi* if it is spoken to them. They do, however, use a small proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related vocabulary in informal conversation (less than 1%). This mixture of Japanese plus 1% *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes forms the basis of the non-speakers' variant of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. For non-speakers, productive *Uchinaaguchi* use appears to be limited to a small number of one- or two-word insertions (borrowings), since these young people simply do not receive enough exposure to the language to be able to learn it. Some of these insertions, such as the particles *baa* 'you see' and *jiraa* 'like' (see Section 4.5.4) have been analysed here as "Mimicked *Uchinaaguchi*", since non-speakers use them in a semant syntactically different way from productive bilinguals. It is difficult to surmise at this stage which of the *Uchinaaguchi*-related expressions will remain embedded in the Japanese used by future generations. This will become clear over the next few decades.

Semi-speakers in this study have mostly receptive proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi*. They are unable to speak the language fluently since they have not acquired *Uchinaaguchi* as a mother tongue from their parents, and have instead learnt it as a second language from the community environment. The productive output of semi-speakers is therefore mostly limited to low-level insertions and the use of phrases which have been learnt in formulaic "chunks". Although semi-speakers are bilingual to a degree, these insertions are probably best considered as borrowed *Uchinaaguchi* rather than code-switching. Even when conversing with older, fluent bilinguals, the overall proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes used by semi-speakers is no more than about 3%. This mixture of Japanese plus

3% *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes forms the basis of the semi-speakers' variant of *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi*. Semi-speakers may occasionally attempt higher-level code-switching, but this usually only occurs when they are quoting the words of a third party who is fluent in the language. This is the absolute limit of most semi-speakers' productive capability in *Uchinaaguchi*, however, and they may be heard hesitating and stuttering when they attempt to use *Uchinaaguchi* for quoting in whole (or almost whole) sentences. Presumably, the potential benefits of using *Uchinaaguchi* for lending authenticity to a quote outweigh the risks of revealing oneself to be an imperfect speaker.

For the productive bilingual participants in this study (a proficiency continuum ranging from rusty speakers at the least competent end to full speakers at the most competent end), *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* (3% *Uchinaaguchi*-related lexemes) is the default language of choice for everyday informal interaction with other members of the community. When in the company of other productive bilinguals in an informal setting, however, these speakers use high-level code-switching as the unmarked choice. Unlike semi-speakers, they are able to switch seamlessly between the two languages to the extent that their linguistic output sounds like a single, coherent code (even though it appears not to be, as discussed earlier). A productive bilingual may code-switch several times in one utterance in order to keep language choices open for his or her interlocutor. These speakers' productive proficiency in *Uchinaaguchi* is high because they acquired it as a first language before the mid-1950s, when the intergenerational transmission link was still intact. Despite the productive abilities of speakers like these, whole conversations spoken in *Uchinaaguchi* are rarely heard in the Naha/Shuri area, even amongst full speakers.

How do the productive bilinguals at either end of the proficiency continuum differ in their speech behaviour, language lives and linguistic repertoire? The rusty speakers in this study were born during a time when the governmental campaign to eradicate

Uchinaaguchi was at its peak. When the first generation of rusty speakers entered the workforce (after the Pacific War), formal (honorific/humble) Japanese displaced formal *Uchinaaguchi* from the work domain. After this, most *Uchinaaguchi* use in the workplace would have occurred during informal interactions between colleagues – especially among tradespeople. Whereas *Uchinaaguchi* had been used in some formal situations prior to the war, the language was now completely limited to informal and private settings. Consequently, rusty speakers failed to acquire the full range of *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary and registers, or simply forgot them through lack of regular use.

As a result of changing societal conditions and language attitudes at the time (see Chapter 5.5.4), bilinguals of child-bearing age abandoned *Uchinaaguchi* and instead transmitted Japanese to their children. In this thesis I have suggested that it was the first child-bearers amongst the rusty speakers who initiated linguistic “tip” towards transmission of Japanese in the home domain. During the early 1950s, it seems that more and more parents chose to speak only Japanese to their children. This may, in turn, have prompted other bilinguals to alter their speech behaviour in order to accommodate the new generation of semi-speakers. This general change in speech behaviour has apparently led to the emergence of a societal norm whereby rusty speakers revert to *Uchinaa-yamatuguchi* when conversing with semi-speakers. In doing so, they match the language use of semi-speakers in terms of the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related words and expressions used (only around 3%). This presumably results in a self-perpetuating process whereby the semi-speakers are unable to improve their productive skills in *Uchinaaguchi* due to limited exposure, and rusty speakers continue to curtail their *Uchinaaguchi* use to low-level insertions to ensure that their interlocutor understands what they are saying.

This thesis has analysed data from conversations between rusty speakers using high-level

code-switching as the unmarked choice, in which the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language used can be as high as about 40%. In order to convey their bilingual identity, a rusty speaker may use what *Uchinaaguchi* words they know, as well as the *Uchinaaguchi* words his or her interlocutor is likely to know. These words are often ones that are easily recalled due to their high frequency or ease of grammatical integration (i.e. lack of bound morphemes). When using *Uchinaaguchi* to quote a third party, the person they are quoting does not necessarily have to be fluent in *Uchinaaguchi*. The code-switch merely marks the boundaries of the quote. The particular language of the code-switch is therefore not as meaningful as the switch itself.

Full speakers are able to use a wider range of *Uchinaaguchi* vocabulary and registers than rusty speakers. According to the data herein, one aspect of their speech behaviour that sets them apart from rusty speakers is that full speakers are prepared to use some high-level code-switching when conversing with semi-speakers. In contrast to the rusty speakers' tendency to revert to low-level insertions only, the proportion of *Uchinaaguchi*-related language used by full speaker participants in this study was around 8-14% when conversing with semi-speakers. In other words, rather than limiting their *Uchinaaguchi* use to formulaic insertions when addressing younger people, full speakers sometimes use the language in full (or almost full) sentences. Further study is required to find out whether this is because full speakers and rusty speakers differ in their attitudes towards *Uchinaaguchi*, or whether full speakers are acting according to more conservative speech norms from an earlier stage in the language shift process (for example, perhaps they have not made recent adjustments to their language use when addressing younger people because they have had little cause to interact with a newly emerged generation of non-speakers over the years).

6.2 Key contributions

This study has much to offer in its approach and methodology. As explained in Chapter 1, this thesis has taken a predominantly micro-interactional approach to the study of language shift, in contrast to the macro-societal investigations accomplished by Osumi (2001) and Heinrich (2007). The fact that this thesis is based on data from recordings of real-life, natural conversations rather than information collected from interviews and questionnaires, allows the reader to witness directly how language is actually being used by speakers in everyday situations. My methodical approach to dealing with varying degrees of language mixture in the texts has allowed for a clear comparison between the speech behaviour of different subgroups. Instead of naming language mixtures without first defining them clearly, I have divided texts into discrete constituent codes. This has allowed me to establish what proportions of each code are being used, and in what way, thus facilitating characterisation of the language mixture. The results of my analysis constitute a significant contribution to the study of *Uchinaaguchi* and to the wider literature on language contact phenomena and language shift. As discussed in Chapter 2, Matsumori (1995: 35) and Nagata (1996: 159) point out that code-switching between Ryukyuan varieties and Japanese is under-researched. Similarly, both Franceschini (1998: 66) and Myers-Scotton (1992: 51) mention that there has been little attention given to the relationship between code-switching and language shift in the wider literature.

The recording method I used for this study (the “cession of control” method) – a method used widely in the field of conversation analysis – may also benefit other fieldworkers who wish to obtain natural conversation without breaching ethical codes by recording covertly. By ceding control of the recording device to a participant designated as a “controller”, a fieldworker can record overtly whilst at the same time minimising the “observer effect”.

Another significant contribution is the recorded data itself, and the very accurate transcripts thereof. These are very valuable, since, as far as I know, they are the only ones of their kind in existence. Other scholars have neglected code-switching behaviour as a research topic, since it is generally believed to be a watered-down version of *Uchinaaguchi*, and therefore unworthy of attention. This contribution is especially significant considering that, in another forty or fifty years, there will probably be nobody left in Naha/Shuri who is able to code-switch in this way.

The profiling method I have developed for the diachronic analysis in Chapter 5 is a good way of representing the emergence of new subgroups of speakers into the speech community over time. This profiling method differs from other representations of the language shift process in the literature in that it is more speaker-oriented than language-oriented like Fishman's "GIDS" or Tsitsipis' notion of "progressive erasure" (see Chapter 2.3). With some refinements, the profiling method developed in this study could be applicable to other language shift cases across the world, provided that it is used in conjunction with data from macro-societal studies similar to the ones carried out in the Ryukyus by Heinrich (2007) and Osumi (2001). Its advantages are as follows:

- 1) Because this profiling method separates language users into discrete subgroups, they may be treated as "agents" that drive change under the influence of external factors. Hence, with a greater understanding of how individuals in subgroups develop and interact, it might eventually be possible to create a computational model of language shift dynamics that could predict the course of language shift with a fair degree of accuracy. This computational model would resemble those that have been developed for quantum mechanics or the study of market fluctuations in economics mentioned in Chapter 1.1.5. I suggest that the act of

reconciling the macro-societal and micro-interactional approaches to the problem by way of computer modelling may be the key to gaining a fuller understanding of how language shift works.

- 2) For the benefit of those involved in fieldwork, whether related to language revitalisation or documentation, this profiling method would be useful for anyone attempting to estimate the number of speakers of a language, given that the organisation of speakers into subgroups allows for the “grey areas” occupied by speakers who are not fully proficient in the language. In other words, estimates based on numbers in each societal subgroup are more precise than those based on the over-simplified categories of “speaker” and “non-speaker”.

6.3 Emergent language shift and the future of *Uchinaaguchi* and other endangered languages

This section is about language shift in Okinawa as an emergent system. I add this final section as an overarching conclusion, tying together all the themes explored in this thesis and thereby – I hope – justifying its title. I deem this section to be important because a clear picture of the language shift process as a whole can allow us to see how the process might work in reverse.

Although Reversing Language Shift (hereafter RLS) has not been a major subject of discussion in this thesis, I wish to bring up the issue in this concluding section. My reason for doing so is my feeling that there is something slightly unethical about studying a dying language without offering suggestions as to how the research can potentially help towards revitalisation, either of that language or of other languages progressing along a

similar path.

The introductory sentence of Chapter 1 was “this thesis is an investigation into how a dying language is used by its last speakers”. As a linguistic study this would be perfectly valid, and, indeed, this thesis has shown very clearly how *Uchinaaguchi* is being used by its last speakers. However, that alone does nothing to help *Uchinaaguchi* or any other endangered language. Whilst I concede that the emotive “death” analogy can be taken too far, studying a dying language in this way over a period of years really is rather like watching a terminally ill patient die, taking notes on how the disease progresses and what happens to the human body as the organs gradually lose their function. The information collected may well be useful in enhancing our understanding of that particular disease, but that knowledge alone is of little value unless it can be used to counter the disease in some way, either in treating the patient or in preventing the spread of the disease to other patients by way of a vaccine, for example.

Over my years of studying the demise of *Uchinaaguchi*, I have watched the people who participated in my study grow older: the teenage girls have become adults and may soon have children of their own, and the older participants are soon to become the community “elders”. This sense of the passage of time – the sense that I have been studying something that is not static – has helped shape my philosophy of language shift. This is why I have chosen to make some closing remarks about the implications of the findings of this thesis for language revitalisation.

6.3.1 Language shift as an emergent phenomenon

The overwhelming impression one gains from the results of the synchronic and diachronic analyses (presented in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively) is that language shift is

an extremely complex phenomenon, the course of which is determined by a multitude of factors. Speakers drive the course of language shift not only through which language they choose to speak, but also in many other ways in which they interact with fellow speakers, including what they **choose** to say, and how they influence the attitudes and beliefs of others by communicating ideas about language and culture. Furthermore, these speakers are interacting in a context that is influenced by historical, political and social factors well beyond their control. In investigating and analysing this complexity, I came to realise that language shift is best viewed as an emergent phenomenon, the concept of which was introduced in Chapter 1 (1.1.5).

The key point here is that, if language shift is an emergent system, then so is RLS. In other words, if one takes an emergentist perspective, the people involved in an RLS effort must also be viewed as agents who interact with each other and influence each other. If an RLS effort addresses only one group of agents (e.g. teaching *Uchinaaguchi* to non-speakers in schools) then only one aspect of the emergent system is tackled. Even if all non-speakers were successfully taught *Uchinaaguchi*, their proficiency would not necessarily secure the future of the language. Viewing RLS as an emergent system aids in understanding how revitalisation attempts should address the very different needs of each group of agents (i.e. each subgroup such as those identified in this study) as well as the external factors. In a world where around 2500 languages are predicted to disappear within the next century (Dalby 2003: ix), such a structured approach to RLS would be welcomed, not only by linguists, but anyone involved in language revitalisation attempts.

6.3.2 Implications for RLS

In this subsection, I discuss some of the main insights provided by the emergentist

perspective, and suggest its implications for the development of a focused RLS strategy. For would-be RLSers, the emergentist framework highlights two main factors involved in planning an RLS strategy. Firstly, RLS efforts must be tailored to meet the needs of each separate subgroup coexisting in the speech community. Secondly, RLS efforts implemented during the displacement phase must differ tactically from those implemented during the moribund phase.

RLS during the displacement and tip phases

It is likely that *Uchinaaguchi* would be in a much healthier state now if a well planned RLS strategy had been effected before too many semi-speakers or non-speakers were born into the community. As more and more semi-speakers and non-speakers were born, the greater was their presence in the community relative to *Uchinaaguchi* speakers, and societal language use changed accordingly. If effective measures had been implemented before the moribund phase set in around the postwar era, the situation might have been very different, and language shift could have been stopped in its tracks.

There are lessons to be learnt from the Okinawan case for those involved in language revitalisation in other parts of the world. When a high status language encroaches on the formal domains of government and media, language planners must monitor the emergence of rusty speakers in the community, perhaps by carrying out surveys to assess people's habitual language use in formal domains. If new members of the workforce never use their first language for formal situations at work, then this may indicate that linguistic tip is imminent, and that language planning is imperative.

RLS efforts must then be focused on these rusty speakers. From as early as possible in the lives of those speakers, they must have their L₁ nurtured through education (at school and at work) so that they acquire the upper registers and nourish their vocabulary. Full speakers with fluency in a wide range of vocabulary and registers could be enlisted as teachers/trainers, and interactions with rusty speakers could be manipulated to elicit the discussion of subjects outside the home domain. Although state support would clearly be ideal, this need not necessarily involve significant state investment, since this type of education may take place outside of the school or workplace, and may benefit subgroup members of any age. This type of RLS effort could be likened to “preventative medicine”, and has similarities to a public health scheme, in that preventative measures are taken on the micro-level in order to avoid increased deteriorating health on a societal level.

Language attitudes are an important factor influencing the transmission of linguistic repertoire, and the problem of pervasive negative attitudes would also have to be addressed by RLSers during the displacement phase. It would be necessary for RLSers to prepare a philosophy and relevant vocabulary so that they can explain in terms that are relevant and accessible to people in the speech community what is happening to their language, and educate the speakers about the consequences of language death. Rusty speakers would need to be encouraged to have a positive attitude towards their L₁, so that they would still choose to transmit what L₁ skills they have to their children. It would also be necessary to make full speakers aware of the importance of maintaining a positive attitude towards the younger generation of rusty speakers. They should be encouraged to request repair from rusty speakers gently, rather than overtly criticising them for their “incorrect” language use. It must be emphasised to both subgroups that rusty speakers lack certain vocabulary because of external factors, not because the speakers themselves are somehow at fault.

RLS during the moribund phase

As Sasse (1992a: 21) observes, RLS becomes much more difficult to implement after the onset of moribundity. Heinrich (2005b: 6) makes the same point: “Once language proficiency has dropped to an extent as it has done among Ryukyuan born after 1950, it becomes difficult to reverse language shift. Since the child-bearing generation does not speak Ryukyuan anymore, they cannot pass it on to their children”. As subgroups with less proficiency in the abandoned language emerge in the speech community, RLS efforts must be intensified and far-reaching. The aforementioned “nourishment” of the language through education and positive reinforcement of the speakers is as important to maintain in the moribund phase as in the displacement phase, but when non-speakers are also present in significant numbers in the community, there is more work to be done, and there are more funds to be spent. Below are some ideas for RLS efforts appropriate for a moribund language.

Firstly, the new generation of semi-speakers who have not acquired the spoken language must be targeted by RLSers before they reach child-bearing age, so that they can learn the language and become fluent enough to be able to transmit it to their children. One way they could learn the language is through formalised teaching in language classes. At present in Naha/Shuri, it is mainly rusty speakers who attend evening classes in *Uchinaaguchi*, and it is rare to encounter young people of child-bearing age learning the language in class. Teaching the language to these people would be difficult, but not impossible. After all, it is likely that they already understand much of what they hear spoken around them, so classes could be oriented primarily towards the development of productive proficiency. Motivating semi-speakers to attend these classes would be the most difficult task for the RLSer, since semi-speakers might not feel in the least

concerned or culturally dislocated by their lack of productive ability, particularly if language shift has reached a stage where the target language has become the default medium of discourse in society.

Just as for rusty speakers, it would be necessary to promote in semi-speakers a positive attitude towards the abandoned language. This may involve making efforts to raise the status of the language by emphasising the potential benefits to speakers vis-à-vis the target language. This status “manipulation” would be easier to achieve if the language could be associated with modernism, for example by creating networking websites on the internet in the medium of the abandoned language⁶³. In most cases, however, the target language is all-pervasive in the area of science and technology, so it would be necessary to emphasise other types of benefit, such as local solidarity and identity, and family/neighbourhood ties.

Once non-speakers begin to emerge in the community, the language is in real trouble. Non-speakers would be more difficult targets for class teaching. They would have to learn the abandoned language from scratch as a second language⁶⁴, since they have little receptive ability and are unlikely to hear the language spoken around them on a daily basis. As with the other subgroups, this language teaching would need to be supplemented with an awareness campaign about language attitudes. Motivating students to learn the language would be extremely difficult without reinforcement outside of the classroom. If their parents are rusty speakers, who are already fluent, or semi-speakers, who can potentially learn the spoken language and teach it to their children, then there is a chance of success in RLS, but once monolinguals reach child-bearing age, language

⁶³ Jones & Singh (2005: 123) also mention the importance of “equipping a variety with the means to be used in today’s world”.

⁶⁴ Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1998: 81) refer to this as teaching the Native language as a second language (NSL).

revival would be virtually impossible.

One way to teach the abandoned language to young children would be to establish special crèches that function in the medium of the abandoned language, rather like the Maori language kindergartens in New Zealand (Dixon 1997). There, children could immerse themselves in the language spoken by older community members (productive bilinguals), who have themselves been educated about why it is necessary to transmit the language to younger generations. These children would acquire the language as a first language, rather than learning it as a second language. The children's parents would need to be targeted in a separate RLS effort to ensure that they reinforce *Uchinaaguchi* use outside the crèche, providing further social context for its use. They would require reassurance that they would not be disadvantaging or confusing their children by exposing them to two languages from an early age.

Even if the situation is averted, and these children acquire the language, their abilities would need to be reinforced in as many domains of use as possible, so that the language is maintained past child-bearing age and transmitted to the next generation. This reinforcement would entail targeting all other subgroups in the ways described above, and also making efforts to raise the status of the language by using it as the medium for formal materials such as newspapers.

Meanwhile, preparations must be made for RLS-focused education at school to reinforce these achievements in reestablishing the intergenerational transmission link. In order to safeguard language use outside of the home and school domains, the work domain would need to be prepared to some extent so that speakers of the abandoned language could be supported throughout their working lives. This may involve, for example, introducing laws to protect the linguistic rights of those people who wish to use the language at work,

so that they do not suffer discrimination from colleagues.

Language revival at this late stage of moribundity is no easy task, because any RLS strategy would have to target all age groups simultaneously and in different ways. RLS endeavours could not be limited to reinstating the intergenerational transmission link, since young speakers would simply forget what they have learnt through lack of use if the language is not reinforced and supported at all levels in society. In fact, unless the speech community in question is very small and isolated, any RLS efforts at this late stage would require strong state support at least, if not state intervention. In this respect, I disagree with Heinrich, who advises against implementing efforts to bolster the status of *Uchinaaguchi* by increasing its use in higher domains. “Symbolic use of Ryukyuan”, he suggests, “displays features of progressive erasure itself” (Heinrich 2005b). Whilst this is true on one level, one must not underestimate the potential of symbolism to instill positive attitudes and galvanise societal activity towards RLS. Moreover, when language shift is viewed as an emergent phenomenon, it becomes clear that continued transmission in the home domain could not be achieved by focusing all efforts on that domain at the expense of others. Okinawans in all sections of society would have to make efforts to use *Uchinaaguchi* so that any successes in the home domain could be reinforced and supported. This would require that opportunities are created for new speakers to use their newly acquired language at school, and later in the workplace.

Since state support from Tokyo is not forthcoming, it is exceedingly unlikely that the Okinawan situation can be reversed. RLS efforts in Okinawa would have been better implemented at a stage when it became clear that new additions to the workforce were using Japanese in preference to *Uchinaaguchi* in formal situations at work, and therefore had little proficiency in honorific and humble forms of speech. At that stage, RLS efforts could have been intensified from the bottom up, in order that the emergence of new non-

speakers would be limited. Now that many working people of child-bearing age are non-speakers of *Uchinaaguchi*, it would be extremely difficult to implement a successful RLS strategy in Okinawa. *Uchinaaguchi* is still referred to as a 'dialect' (*hōgen*) of Japanese, and is generally considered to be low in status. A negative attitude towards the language has been promoted at all levels, and this does not appear to be changing.

If this thesis is, indeed, primarily “an investigation into how a dying language is used by its last speakers”, it is very much the hope of this investigator that it will also contribute something more positive to the current situation around the world, in which thousands of other languages face a similar fate over the course of next 100 years.

Appendix I. Abbreviations and transcript symbols

SJ	Standard Japanese
J	Japanese
CS	code-switching
FS	full speaker
RS	rusty speaker
SS	semi-speaker
NS	non-speaker
L ₁	first language
L ₂	second language
<>	speaker action or analyst's comment on recording
[]	clarification of translation
:	length mark
<u>Text</u>	<i>Uchinaaguchi</i>
<u>Text</u>	Erroneous <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>
<u>Text</u>	Morphologically Mixed <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>
<u>Text</u>	Mimicked <i>Uchinaaguchi</i>

ATT	attributive	NOM	nominative
CAUS	causative	NP	noun phrase
CONT	continuous	NPST	non-past
COP	copula	PASS	passive
DIST	distal	POL	polite
GER	gerund	POT	potential
HON	honorific	PROG	progressive
ILL	illocutionary	PST	past
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic marker
NEG	negative		

Appendix II. Transliteration

Problems with orthography

There has never been a formal standard orthographical system for *Uchinaaguchi*, and it has been written in various ways using phonetic symbols, Japanese romanisation systems, and Japanese characters (*kanji* and *kana*).

All of these systems have their advantages and disadvantages. Phonetic symbols are extremely accurate in portraying the exact articulation of sounds, but for most people they are very difficult to read and write fluently. Moreover, the use of phonetic symbols can obscure the underlying allophonic relationships for each phoneme. A non-phonetic transcription is therefore advantageous in that it is possible to make some sense of morphophonemic sound changes.

The advantage of Japanese romanisation systems such as the Hepburn and Kunrei is that they are generally easier to read fluently than IPA symbols. However, they can be disadvantageous in that they often do not accurately represent pronunciation. Although *Uchinaaguchi* is similar to Japanese in many ways, there are some sounds in *Uchinaaguchi* that do not exist in Japanese, and these are impossible to represent using standard romanisation systems alone. The most obvious of these is the glottal stop /ʔ/, which is distinctive in *Uchinaaguchi*. Another example is the contrast between sounds such as /t/ and /tɕ/. In Standard Japanese, the alveolopalatal affricate [tɕ] is an allophonic realisation of /t/ preceding the high front vowel /i/ – the result of a historical process of palatalisation. There are only a few exceptions to this general complementary distribution, namely in the form of recent loanwords such as *tii-shatsu* ‘T-shirt’. In *Uchinaaguchi*, however, /t/ and /tɕ/ are separate phonemes in contrastive distribution, and both

phonemes may appear before any vowel.

In Okinawa, Japanese characters (*kanji* and *kana*) have been used to write *Uchinaaguchi*, and sometimes one encounters these in newspapers or academic documents. The advantage of *kanji* is that they are excellent for conveying meaning, and allow clear distinction between homophones, whilst reducing the volume of text by minimising the necessary number of *kana*. They have been used for writing *Uchinaaguchi*, but because pronunciation and vocabulary differ from Standard Japanese, it is difficult for non-Ryukyuan to surmise the correct character reading without a good knowledge of the language.

Even without *kanji*, *kana* orthographies are problematic for representing *Uchinaaguchi*. Some institutions, such as the University of the Ryukyus and the Council for the Dissemination of the Okinawan Dialect (*Okinawa Hōgen Fukyū Kyōgikai*), have suggested systems that could be standardised, but have had little success in popularising them.

Like romanisation systems, *kanji* and *kana* are disadvantageous insofar as they lack symbols for representing some of the sounds that do not exist in Japanese. By using a mixture of *hiragana*, *katakana* and, in some systems, obsolete characters from both syllabaries (ゐ/ヰ *wi* and ゑ/ヱ *we*), it is possible to represent most of the sounds fairly accurately⁶⁵. However, attempts have rarely been made to represent glottalisation within a written text in *kanji* and *kana* containing vowels and semivowels in juxtaposition. Although word-initial vowels in mainland Japanese may be glottalised in independent

⁶⁵ See Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963: 93-98) for a full list.

words, vowels are not separated by a glottal stop between word boundaries in a sentence of rapid speech, or compound word formations such as *yamainu* ‘mountain dog’ (Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963: 30). The existence of glottalised semivowels in *Uchinaaguchi* is also relevant here. The sound combinations /ʔj/ and /ʔw/, which do not appear in mainland Japanese, correspond to Japanese moraic combinations with an initial vowel, such as *iya*, *iu*, and *uwa*, *ui*, *oya*, *oi* etc. respectively. The Japanese semivowels /j/ and /w/ are not usually glottalised, but glottalisation does not change the meaning of words by creating a minimal pair, so glottalised and unglottalised semivowels can be considered to appear in free variation in Japanese. This perhaps explains why Japanese writers of *Uchinaaguchi* in *kanji* and *kana* do not make any attempt to represent the glottal stop in transliteration.

The use of *kanji* and *kana* also eliminates the possibility of distinguishing vowel sounds in the different Ryukyuan dialects (e.g. the traditional dialect of Hateruma contains seven vowels /a/ /i/ /u/ /i/ /e/ /ə/ /o/ (Shibatani 1990).

The transliteration system used in this thesis

Many *Uchinaaguchi* texts and dictionaries are now written in some form of Japanese romanisation system fused with characters from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). In order to make the transcripts legible for readers who are not literate in *kanji* and *kana*, a modified form of the Hepburn romanisation system was employed for this thesis. This modified system adheres to as many of the conventions of the Hepburn system as possible, but has been slightly altered to cater to the specific requirements of *Uchinaaguchi*. I deliberately rejected the Kunrei romanisation system because it could cause confusion when juxtaposing portions of Standard Japanese and *Uchinaaguchi*. For

example, in the Kunrei system the ‘t’ row in the *kana* syllabary of Standard Japanese is written <ta ti tu te to> and pronounced [ta t̤ei ts̤i te to] respectively. However, the syllables pronounced [ta] [t̤i] [t̤u] [te] and [to] exist in *Uchinaaguchi*. This means that, for instance, the word *tuci* written in the Kunrei system could either be read as the Japanese word [ts̤i̥t̤ei] ‘earth’, or the *Uchinaaguchi* word [t̤u̥t̤ei] ‘time’. The Hepburn system used by Osumi Midori (2001)⁶⁶ is therefore more appropriate in this context.

Whilst the Hepburn system clarifies pronunciation as in the example above, its weakness is that it represents affricates inconsistently: some are digraphs, such as <ch> and <ts>, whilst others are represented by a single letter, such as <j>. Ideally one would use an orthography that represents each phoneme with one character only. Indeed, such a system has been used by the likes of Loveless (1963), who consistently represented the phoneme /t/ using the letter <t̤>, and /t̤s/ with the letter <c>, demonstrating that such a method facilitates an understanding of verb stems and inflections in *Uchinaaguchi*. Since this thesis discusses code-switching behaviour and loanwords, it was necessary to employ an orthography that would facilitate comparison between varieties by clarifying pronunciation. This is why /t̤s/ is transcribed here as <ch>, despite the fact that this obscures the grammatical and phonological system to some degree. In this respect, the nature of my proposed system is more phonetically oriented, in that it attempts to represent the actual sound being produced⁶⁷.

The alterations I made to the Hepburn system are: 1) representation of the glottal stop, 2)

⁶⁶ Note that Osumi uses <cch> to represent a lengthened <ch> rather than the more commonly encountered <tch>.

⁶⁷ A discussion of the pronunciation of the variety formerly spoken by the Shuri upper classes would also have lent itself to a more phonetically orientated system, since the Shuri variety distinguished /s/ and /s̤/; /t̤s/ and /ts̤/; /d̤z/ and /dz/ as separate phonemes, which I might have represented as <s> and <sh>; <ch> and <ts>; <j> and <dz> respectively

the addition of syllables such as *yi* and *yee* which do not appear in the Japanese *kana* syllabaries, and 3) exclusion of the macron. These are discussed below.

The glottal stop

Glottalisation is an important contrastive feature of *Uchinaaguchi* with mainland Japanese, and indeed with the Sakishima dialects (except Yonaguni). In this paper, the glottal stop is denoted by the apostrophe <'> as in some orthographic representations of Hawaiian (Pullum & Ladusaw 1996: 250) Other writers have generally used the phonetic symbol <ʔ> to represent this sound, but I prefer to avoid mixing IPA symbols with a conventional romanisation system.

There are two problems with using the apostrophe to represent the glottal stop. Firstly, confusion could arise because of its use in sources (such as Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963) to denote non-glottalisation, i.e. the exact opposite of my proposed representation. Secondly, the apostrophe is also used conventionally in Japanese romanisation to separate syllables distinguishing pairs of words such as *kanyuu* 'joining' and *kan'yuu* 'invitation'. Some scholars resolve this problem would have been to use different symbols for /n/ and the various allophones of |N|, but this was not in keeping with this paper's adherence to the conventions of Japanese romanisation (the letter <n> represents both sounds in the three accepted styles of romanisation). For my transcriptions I use a hyphen <-> after the moraic |N| to separate syllables in these circumstances.

The syllables *yi*, *yee*, *wu* and *woo*

Attention to the detail of glottalisation entails careful representation of the syllables *yi*,

yee, *wu* and *woo*, which some writers describe as “unglottalised vowels”. In this paper, these syllables are treated not as unglottalised vowels, but as vowels preceded by an underlying semivowel. However, the semivowel is only transcribed if the syllables appear word-initially.

In Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963), these semivowels (or so-called “onglides”) are ignored in transliteration, and the syllables in question are written <'i> <'ee> <'u> and <'oo>, where the apostrophe denotes **non-glottalisation**. Although this transliteration would appear to indicate that there is no preceding semivowel, the dictionary notes that word-initial unglottalised /i/ and /u/ are often preceded by weak palatal and labiovelar onglides respectively, because of the “extra expulsion of air required compared to when the vowels are glottalised”, e.g. *'in~yin* ‘green’ and *'un~wun* ‘be’⁶⁸. The dictionary also notes that, in careful speech, semivowels may be retained word-medially, as in *kau~kawu* ‘face’. No mention is made of such an onglide preceding the unglottalised /o/. For a detailed discussion of the “unglottalised” /e/, see Appendix III.

In contrast, Loveless (1963) treats these syllables as having an underlying (morpho-) phonological semivowel, and transcribes them as <yi>, <yee>, <wu> and <woo>. According to his analysis, there are no (underlying) vowel sequences in *Uchinaaguchi*, and the syllable structure follows the CV pattern. The neutralisation of word-medial *yi* is explained in terms of the unglottalised semivowel having undergone a process he calls “smoothing” (ibid.: 143), so that for example *tuyi* ‘taking’ becomes *tui*⁶⁹. Loveless also discusses a type of smoothing whereby vowel fronting takes place in a process of

⁶⁸ Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963: 30-31) – note that in these transcriptions, the apostrophe represents a “deleted semivowel” as opposed to glottalisation.

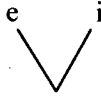
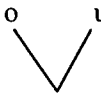
⁶⁹ Word-medial *ri* may also undergo smoothing by Whitman's Law, so that *tui* ‘bird’ corresponds to Standard Japanese *tori*. See also Footnote 95.

palatalisation when the speaker is not observing careful speech, so that for instance – *yabiyun* distal style verb suffixes become –*ibiin* (ibid.: 144). This means that ‘takes’ (distal) would usually be rendered as *tuibiin*. Furthermore, the morphology of “Y-stem” verb conjugations as described by Loveless (ibid.: 60) suggests a morphophonological connection between *ya*, *yi*, *yu*, *yee* and *yoo*, e.g. *tuyabiyu n* ‘takes’ distal, *tuyi-busa n* ‘want to take’, *tuyu n* ‘takes’, *tuyee san* ‘won’t take’ [but may well perform another action].

It is perhaps less confusing to transcribe preceding semivowels consistently in order to reflect these morphophonological connections, but this is not common practice. In most modern sources, the semivowel component of these syllables is omitted from transcription word-medially, and are only retained word-initially to distinguish them clearly from glottalised vowels. The fact that transcription methods differ may suggest that these onglides are currently in the process of disappearing from *Uchinaaguchi*, first word-medially and then word-initially, just as the syllables *wi*, *we* and *wo* did in mainland Japanese. Indeed, whether one chooses to transcribe preceding onglides is perhaps a matter of whether the transcription is one of surface phonetics or underlying phonology. Since this paper is concerned more with contrasting mixed codes and code-switched discourse modes rather than the morphological detail of *Uchinaaguchi*, the “smoothed” versions of *yi* and *wu* are used word-medially by default, unless of course the recording shows clearly that the speaker is enunciating the onglides in careful speech. If these syllables appear word-initially, however, it is less obvious to the reader that the glottal stop is absent. For this reason, I have followed the example of Loveless (1963) in including the relevant semivowel word-initially. This means that *yin* ‘green’ retains the initial semivowel to make a clear contrast with *in* ‘dog’, but *nkayi* ‘to, in’ is written here as *nkai*.

Exclusion of the macron

In the Hepburn romanisation system, a macron is used to denote long vowels, so that /a:/ is written <ā>. In my transcripts, all long vowels have been transcribed as double letters, so that /a:/ is written <aa>. *Uchinaaguchi* has three short vowels (*a*, *i* and *u*) and five long vowels (*aa*, *ii*, *uu*, *ee* and *oo*). The three short vowels correspond to the five Standard Japanese short vowels as follows:

Tokyo	a	e	i	o	u
					
Naha	a	i		u	

The reason why the *Uchinaaguchi* long vowels /e:/ and /o:/ generally have no short equivalents⁷⁰ is that they correspond to Chinese compound words loaned from Japanese, or Japanese diphthongs such as *ai/ae*, and *au/ao* respectively. They also occur in colloquial speech when the topic marker *ya* undergoes a morphophonemic change, in which final short vowel of a subject is “merged” into the subject marker, so that for example *kuri ya* (SJ: *kore wa* ‘[as for] this...’) becomes *kuree* (Loveless 1963: 99), and *'utu ya* (SJ: *oto wa* ‘[as for] the sound...’) becomes *'utoo*.

One other important exception to the vowel correspondence rule is the phenomenon of “vowel fronting” of /u/ to /i/, which usually (but not always) occurs when preceded by an alveolar or alveolopalatal fricative, e.g. *chichi* (SJ: *tsuki* ‘moon’).

⁷⁰ There are some exceptions to this rule. Short mid-vowels may occur when preceding assimilated sounds or syllabics in onomatopoeic words and some Chinese loanwords (Nagata 1996: 31).

In conclusion, I use a version of the Hepburn romanisation system as used by Osumi (2001), modified to take glottalisation into account. The main reason for using this system is to facilitate the transcription of instances of code-switching between *Uchinaaguchi* and Japanese. For a phonemic inventory of *Uchinaaguchi*, and romanised syllabaries, see Appendix III.

Appendix III. The sounds of *Uchinaaguchi*

Phonemic inventory

This paper does not contain a full phonological analysis of *Uchinaaguchi*, as comprehensive descriptions appear in other works (see for example Kokuristu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963; Loveless 1963; Matsumori 1995). For the purposes of this thesis it is sufficient to include only a phonemic inventory with basic allophonic realisations, and orthographic details, since it is concerned more with sociolinguistic aspects of language use such as what is being said in which variety of language, rather than the better-documented details of *Uchinaaguchi* phonology.

The phonemic inventory below shows details of how each sound is denoted in the romanised transcripts in this thesis. Note that Akamatsu (1997) and Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996) were used as guides in representing sounds accurately.

Table 19: Phonemic inventory – vowels

Transcription	Phonemes	Allophones	Description	Example
<a>	/a/	[ã]	open central unrounded vowel	'aca tomorrow
<i>	/i/	[i]	close front unrounded vowel	kii tree
<u>	/u/	[ü] ⁷¹	somewhat centralised close back rounded vowel	sun do
<e>	/e/	[e] ⁷²	close-mid front unrounded vowel	'ee if
<o>	/o/	[ɔ]	mid back rounded vowel	woo king

⁷¹ Like western dialects of Japanese, articulation of this vowel involves lip rounding rather than lip compression as in the corresponding eastern equivalent [ü].

⁷² According to Kokuritsu kokugaku kenkyūjo (1963: 29), the moras referred to as the “glottalised and unglottalised /e:/” (transcribed here as <'ee> and <yee>) are both said to be slightly diphthongised, so that they are realised as [ʔie:] and [ie:] respectively. The onglide is ignored in the dictionary transliteration since there are “no examples without diphthongisation in *Uchinaaguchi*”. However, having listened carefully to the sound files on the new internet database of for the same dictionary (<http://ryukyu-lang.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp>) it seems to me that, whilst the glide on *yee* is definitely perceptible, the diphthongisation of glottalised 'ee is so subtle as to be almost non-existent. Because the same slight effect of diphthongisation of the long vowel /e:/ appears to occur in all environments, I would argue that consonants are naturally slightly palatalised preceding /e:/, just as they are to a greater extent preceding /i/. This is because the vowel /e/ in *Uchinaaguchi* is articulated noticeably high. This theory is supported by the fact that 'ee and yee correspond to SJ *ai/ae* and *yai/yae* respectively, so can be assumed to have derived from the coalescence of different Archaic Ryukyuan vowel sequences. There is, therefore, no historical reason for 'ee to have an underlying onglide.

Table 20: Phonemic inventory – consonants

Transcription	Phonemes	Allophones	Description	Environment	Example
<'>	/ʔ/	[ʔ]	glottal stop	precedes vowels, semivowels and the moraic nasal usually word initially ⁷³	' <i>nma</i> 'horse'
<k>	/k/	[k]	voiceless dorso-velar plosive	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>nkai</i> 'to'
		[kʲ]	voiceless palatalised dorso-velar plosive	precedes i	<i>kii'iru</i> 'yellow'
<kw>	/kʷ/	[kʷ]	voiceless labialised velar plosive	precedes a	<i>kwaji</i> 'fire'
		[kʷʲ]	voiceless labiopalatalised velar plosive	precedes i, e	<i>kweemun</i> 'food'
<g>	/g/	[g] ⁷⁴	voiced dorso-velar plosive	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>gushiku</i> 'castle'
		[gʲ]	voiced palatalised dorso-velar plosive	precedes i	<i>magiyun</i> 'to bend'
<gw>	/gʷ/	[gʷ]	voiced labialised velar plosive	precedes a	<i>soogwachi</i> 'January'

⁷³ May also occur before /m/ in the word '*mensheen* – a contraction of '*imensheen* 'go (honorific)'.

⁷⁴ Never velar nasal /ŋ/ as in some Japanese varieties.

		[gʷ]	voiced labiopalatalised velar plosive	precedes i, e	<i>yumangwi</i> 'dusk'
<s>	/s/	[s]	voiceless lamino-alveolar median fricative	precedes a, u, o	<i>sura</i> 'sky'
<sh>		[ɕ] ⁷⁵	voiceless laminodorso-alveolopalatal median fricative	precedes i, e ⁷⁶	<i>shima</i> 'island'
<t>	/t/	[t]	voiceless apico-dental/alveolar plosive	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>tachun</i> 'to stand'
		[tʲ] ⁷⁷	voiceless palatalised apico-dental/alveolar plosive	precedes i	<i>tii</i> 'hand'
<d>	/d/	[d]	voiced apico-dental/alveolar plosive	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>dee'u</i> 'downpour'

⁷⁵ Articulated laminally (with the flat blade of the tongue) rather than apically (with the tip of the tongue, as in the retroflex [ɕ]) and at the same time dorsally (with the back of the tongue). This fricative is articulated further back than the palato-alveolar fricative [ʃ] (the English 'sh').

⁷⁶ Loveless (1963: 8) remarks that "palatalisation before /i/ is more marked than before /e/".

⁷⁷ Note that palatalisation before /i/ occurs naturally in the process of articulation. The Okinawan [tʲ], which corresponds to the Japanese mora *te*, has not undergone palatalisation to the extent that it becomes an alveolar or alveolo-palatal affricate. This distinction could potentially disappear over time. See also voiced counterpart [dʲ].

		[dʲ]	voiced palatalised apico-dental/alveolar plosive	precedes i	<i>madi</i> 'until'
<ch>	/tʃ/	[tʃ] ⁷⁸	voiceless laminodorso-alveopalatal median affricate	precedes all vowels	<i>chaa</i> 'tea'
<j>	/dʒ/	[dʒ]	voiced laminodorso-alveopalatal median affricate	precedes all vowels	<i>juu</i> 'ten'
		[ʒ]	voiced laminodorso-alveopalatal median fricative	may appear intervocalically	<i>kaji</i> 'wind'
<n>	/n/	[n]	voiced apico-dental/alveolar nasal	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>nama</i> 'now'
		[ŋ] ⁷⁹	voiced laminodorso-alveopalatal nasal	precedes i, [j] ([j] deletes)	<i>kani</i> 'money'; <i>nyafin</i> 'more'

⁷⁸ Other writers have used [tʃ] or [ç] to represent this affricate, but strictly speaking these are incorrect, as the initial plosive is neither alveolar nor palatal, but alveopalatal. The palatalised alveolar plosive [tʃ] has also been used to represent the plosive, but I prefer to use [ʃ] – a symbol used by Sinologists which better conveys its slightly more retracted, post-alveolar place of articulation. See also voiced counterpart [dʒ].

⁷⁹ The laminodorso -alveopalatal nasal [ŋ] differs from the palatalised apico -dental nasal [ɲ], the palatalised apico-alveolar nasal [ɲ̟], and the dorso-palatal nasal [ɲ].

<f>	/ɸ/	[ɸ]	voiceless bilabial fricative	precedes u and (rarely) a ⁸⁰	<i>faa</i> 'leaf'
		[ɸʷ]	voiceless palatalised bilabial fricative	precedes i, e ⁸¹	<i>fii</i> 'day'
<h>	/h/	[h]	voiceless glottal fricative	precedes a, o and (rarely) e ⁸²	<i>haa</i> 'tooth'
		[ç]	voiceless dorso-palatal median fricative	precedes i ⁸³ , [j] ([j] deletes)	<i>hii</i> 'yes'; <i>hyaaku</i> 'hundred'
	/b/	[b]	voiced bilabial plosive	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>baa</i> 'aunt'
		[bʲ]	voiced palatalised bilabial plosive	precedes i, [j] ([j] deletes)	<i>kabi</i> 'paper'; <i>byoochi</i> 'ill'
<p>	/p/	[p]	voiceless bilabial plosive	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>pan</i> 'bread'

⁸⁰ Usually found in complementary distribution with [h]. This sound is currently undergoing rephonemisation.

⁸¹ In the Naha dialect, this is alternatively (and more usually) pronounced as [ç], such that Shuri dialect words such as *'ufigwaa* 'a little' and *fichii* 'all the time' are respectively *'uhigwaa* and *hichii* in Naha – see Uchima & Nohara (2006) for details of the Naha dialect.

⁸² Usually found in complementary distribution with [ɸ]

⁸³ Rarely found preceding i in the Shuri dialect, but is an alternative to /ɸ/ in this environment in the Naha dialect.

		[pʲ]	voiceless palatalised bilabial plosive	precedes i, [j] ([j] deletes)	<i>pin</i> 'pin'; <i>ruppyaku</i> 'six hundred'
<m>	/m/	[m]	voiced bilabial nasal	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>yama</i> 'mountain'
		[mʲ]	voiced palatalised bilabial nasal	precedes i, [j] ([j] deletes)	<i>miji</i> 'water'; <i>myuu</i> 'strange'
<y>	/j/	[j]	voiced palatal median approximant	precedes a, u, o; also i and e word-initially or elsewhere in careful speech	<i>yii</i> 'good'
<r>	/r/ ⁸⁴	[ɾ]	voiced apico-alveolar flap	precedes a, u, e, o	<i>kara</i> 'from'
		[ɾʲ]	voiced palatalised apico-alveolar flap	precedes i ⁸⁵	<i>kuri</i> 'this'
		[l]	voiced apico-alveolar lateral	follows [n]; precedes a, u, e, o	<i>'anraku</i> 'comfort'

⁸⁴ Becomes /d/ word-initially in the Naha/Shuri dialect except for upper class speech and literary style.

⁸⁵ Note that, unlike Japanese, there are no examples of /r/ preceding [j] in *Uchinaaguchi* (Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963: 52).

		[ɺ]	voiced palatalised apico-alveolar lateral	follows [nʲ]; precedes i	<i>binri</i> 'useful'
<w>	/w/	[w̥]	voiced compressed labiovelar approximant	precedes a; also o word-initially or elsewhere in careful speech	<i>woofuku</i> 'round trip'
		[w]	voiced rounded labiovelar approximant	precedes u word-initially or elsewhere in careful speech	<i>wutu</i> 'husband'
		[ɥ]	voiced compressed palatal median approximant	precedes i, e	<i>'wii</i> 'above'
<n>	[N] ⁸⁶	[n]	voiced apico-dental/alveolar nasal	precedes dental/alveolars	<i>nna</i> 'everybody'
		[nʲ]	voiced palatalised apico-alveolar nasal	precedes [ɺ]	<i>binri</i> 'useful'
		[ɲ]	voiced laminodorso-alveolopalatal nasal	precedes alveolopalatals	<i>tinchi</i> 'weather'
		[m]	voiced bilabial nasal	precedes bilabials	<i>yinpo</i> 'distant'
		[ŋ]	voiced dorso-velar nasal	precedes unpalatalised velars	<i>gungwachi</i> 'May'

⁸⁶ Voiced moraic nasal archiphoneme; may also appear word-initially, or follow a word-initial glottal stop.

		[ŋʲ]	voiced palatalised dorso-velar nasal	precedes palatalised velars [kʲ] and [gʲ]	<i>mankiyun</i> 'mix in'
		[ŋ]	voiced dorso-uvular nasal	in prepausal context	'yun 'say'
		[ŋ̃]	nasalised vowel	precedes vowels, semivowels and fricatives incl. glottal stop	<i>finsuu</i> 'poor'
<k>	Q ⁸⁷	[kʰ]	unreleased voiceless dorso-velar plosive	precedes [k], [kʲ]	'akkiyoo 'oh dear'
<s>		[s]	voiceless lamino-alveolar median fricative	precedes [s]	<i>gassan</i> 'light'
<ɕ>		[ɕ]	voiceless laminodorso-alveolopalatal median fricative	precedes [ɕ]	<i>masshiigu</i> 'straight'
<t>		[tʰ]	unreleased voiceless apico-dental/alveolar plosive	precedes [t]	'attaa 'they'
<c>		[tʰ]	unreleased voiceless laminodorso-alveolopalatal plosive	precedes [tɕ]	'icchin 'most'

⁸⁷ Archiphoneme that produces a geminate consonant.

<p>	[pʰ]	unreleased voiceless bilabial plosive	precedes [p], [pʰ]	<i>happyaku</i> 'eight hundred'
-----	------	---	--------------------	---------------------------------------

Syllabaries

Below is a syllabary table summarising the possible syllables in modern *Uchinaaguchi* (i.e. not including the historical Shuri upper class variety). Syllables including double consonants have been omitted. All have been written using the modified Hepburn romanisation system explained in Appendix II.

Table 21: Syllables in modern *Uchinaaguchi*

Single moras			Syllables derived from the contraction or vowel coalescence of two moras
'a	'i	'u	'ee, 'oo, 'wa, 'wi, 'wee, 'ya, 'yu, 'yoo, 'n
ka	ki	ku	kee, koo, kwa, kwi, kwee
sa	shi	su	shee ⁸⁸ , soo
ta	ti	tu	tee, too
cha	chi	chu	chee, choo
na	ni	nu	nee, noo, nya, nyu
ha/fa	fi/hi	fu	fee/hee, hoo, hya, hyu, hyoo

⁸⁸ *Uchinaaguchi* formerly made a distinction between the moras deriving from *sai/sae* and those deriving from *shia/shiya*, rendering them as /se:/ and /œ:/ respectively. There were also distinctions between /tse:/ and /tœ:/, and /dze:/ and /dœ:/ . These distinctions were maintained by the Shuri upper classes until recently. A similar distinction between /ne:/ and /nœ:/ existed in an even earlier period, but had been lost by the time of the publication of Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963: 52).

ma	mi	mu	mee, moo, mya, myu, myoo
ya	yi	yu	yee, yoo
ra	ri	ru	ree, roo
wa	wi	wu	wee, woo
ga	gi	gu	gee, goo, gwa, gwi, gwee
ja	ji	ju	jee, joo
da	di	du	dee, doo
ba	bi	bu	bee, boo, bya, byu, byoo
pa	pi	pu	pee, poo, pya, pyu
n			

In the table above, I have deliberately avoided arranging moras in the same way as for a conventional Japanese *kana* syllabary. To do so would be misleading, since the moras of *Uchinaaguchi* have completely different origins (Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo 1963: 51-52). For example, written in the Hepburn system, the ‘t’ row in the Hiragana syllabary reads: *ta chi tsu te to*. Since the consonant /t/ may appear before any of the five vowels in *Uchinaaguchi*, that row would read *ta ti tu te to* in a Japanese syllabary table. On the basis of this information one might conclude that there is a direct correspondence between these sounds in the two languages, but this would have obscured the fact that the Okinawan mora *ti* corresponds to the Japanese *te*, and that *tu* corresponds to *to*. I have therefore included below a syllabary table based on data in Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963), showing the sound correspondences with single Japanese moras. In the table, the *hiragana* character for each Japanese mora is shown next to its corresponding romanised mora in *Uchinaaguchi*. The phonemes at the head of each row and column may be

combined to show the pronunciation of each of the Japanese *kana*. This time, the moraic nasal, syllables containing a long vowel, and Chinese-derived syllables such as *bya* and *byu* have been omitted for clarity and simplicity. Moras in parentheses contain additional phonemes featured in the variety formerly spoken by the Shuri upper classes.

Table 22: Sound correspondences with Japanese single moras

	a	i	u	e	o
#_	あ 'a	い 'i/yi' ⁸⁹	う 'u	え 'i/yi/wi' ⁹⁰	お 'u
k	か ka	き chi	く ku	け ki	こ ku
s	さ sa	し shi	す shi (si)	せ shi (si) ⁹¹	そ su
t	た ta	ち chi	つ chi (tsi)	て ti	と tu
n	な na	に ni	ぬ nu	ね ni' ⁹²	の nu
h	は ha/fa	ひ fi/hi	ふ fu	へ fi/hi	ほ fu
m	ま ma	み mi	む mu	め mi	も mu
y	や ya		ゆ yu		よ yu
r	ら ra	り ri/(y)i' ⁹³	る ru	れ ri	ろ ru

⁸⁹ An example of the first of the two moras is 'i 'stomach'. Examples of the second of the two moras are *yii* 'good', and *yii* 'twelfth sign of the zodiac (boar)'. More research needs to be done into how these correspond with older forms of Japanese and Chinese.

⁹⁰ An example of the first of the three moras is '*ibi* 'shrimp'. An example of the second of the three moras is *yii* 'picture'. An example of the third of the three moras is *wii* 'handle'. As above, more research needs to be done into how these correspond with older forms of Japanese and Chinese.

⁹¹ The moras *si*, *tsi*, *dzi* and *dzu* were once common in the Shuri variety spoken by the upper classes, but are apparently no longer used.

⁹² According to Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963: 57), some varieties such as the Kikai dialect have preserved the distinction between [ŋi] and [ni], the former corresponding to the Japanese に *ni* and the latter to ね *ne*.

⁹³ The dropping of /r/ in the mora corresponding to SJ *ri* occurs word-medially, e.g. *fijai* 'left', except when

w	わ wa				を wu
g	が ga	ぎ ji	ぐ gu	げ gi	ご gu
z	ざ ja/da	じ ji	ず ji (dzi)	ぜ ji	ぞ ju (dzu)
d	だ da	ぢ ji	づ ji (dzi)	で di	ど du
b	ば ba	び bi	ぶ bu	べ bi	ぼ bu
p	ぱ pa	ぴ pi	ぷ pu	ぺ pi	ぽ pu

A few features of this table are noteworthy. Firstly, it is clear that, like Japanese, the /i/ in the second column has the effect of palatalising the preceding consonant. In some *Uchinaaguchi* words containing the mora corresponding to the Japanese き *ki*, the consonant has been palatalised to the extent that it has become an alveolopalatal affricate. There have also been sound changes in the ‘u’ column. These have either been palatalised in a similar way due to vowel fronting, or in the case of upper class Shuri speech, they became the alveolar affricates written in parentheses. Notice also that the consonants in the ‘e’ column appears to be at an earlier stage of palatalisation than those in the ‘i’ column. This indicates that the three-vowel system of the Naha dialect is an innovation; in fact Archaic Ryukyuan is thought to have had five short vowels like modern Standard Japanese.

Exceptions

1. When preceded by /i/, the moras corresponding to SJ: ka, ke, ga and ge are often pronounced [tɕa], [tɕi], [dʑa] and [dʑi], e.g. *ichi* (SJ: 'ike 'pond'), *fiji* (SJ: *hige* 'beard'). The moras corresponding to SJ: ta, te, to, and da, de, do are also

/r/ is preceded by /i/, e.g. *nijiri* 'right'.

sometimes realised as the alveolopalatals [tɕa], [tɕi], [tɕu] and [dʑa], [dʑi], [dʑu], e.g. *shicha* (SJ: *shita* ‘below’), *fijai* (SJ: *hidari* ‘left’).

2. The /k/ in the words *kii* (SJ: *ki* ‘tree’) and *'ukiyun* (SJ: *okiru* ‘get up’) is not alveolopalatalised. This is because in these instances the high front vowel /i/ is derived from the hypothetical Pre-Japanese⁹⁴ diphthong */əi/, which later became */i/ in the Late Old Japanese five-vowel system and */e/ in Proto-North Ryukyuan (Matsumoto 1975). In other words, Shuri/Naha *kii* derived from Proto-North Ryukyuan **ke*, which in turn is thought to have derived from Pre-Japanese **kəi*.
3. Vowel fronting of /u/ to /i/ occurs after alveolopalatals, except when the surrounding moras contain /u/, in which case vowel harmony causes /u/ to be retained, e.g. *chukuyun* [upper classes = *tsukuyun*] (SJ: *tsukuru* ‘make’), *'ujunun* [upper classes = *'uzunun*] (SJ: *uzumeru* ‘bury’).
4. A few words contain *hi* instead of *fi*, but these are exceptional in the traditional Shuri vernacular.

⁹⁴ I use the term “Pre-Japanese” in preference to “Proto-Japanese” because it is thought that these vowel sequences were originally separated by a consonant. Refer to Martin (1987).

Appendix IV. Diversity in Ryukyuan vernaculars

Phonology

Vowels

Dialects of the Amami group (Amami-Ōshima, Tokunoshima, Kikai etc.) have four short vowels – /a/ /i/ /u/ and /ɨ/. The central vowel /ɨ/ (often transcribed as <ɨ>) is significant to historical linguists because it is thought to show that dialects of the Amami group have preserved vowel distinctions that existed in the common ancestral language of Japanese and Ryukyuan varieties. This has aided linguists in establishing a probable date when Japanese and Archaic Ryukyuan began to diverge⁹⁵.

The Miyako and Yaeyama groups also have /ɨ/, but in their case it is an innovation and corresponds to the SJ vowel /i/, e.g. [pitu] (SJ: [çit̚t̚] ‘person’). In the Miyako dialect, /ɨ/ becomes an “apical” vowel with friction when preceded by a voiced phoneme such as a vowel, semivowel or voiced consonant. The resulting sound appears in words such as [tu^zi] (SJ: [t̚ɾi] ‘bird’) (Nagata 1996: 36).

Phonological differences in the short vowels within the Ryukyuan language cluster are represented in the following table taken from Hokama (1977):

⁹⁵ See Matsumori (1995) for a more detailed explanation.

Table 23: Variation in the development of short vowels

Variety	Short Vowel				
	*a	*i	*u	*e	*o
Archaic Ryukyuan	*a	*i	*u	*e	*o
Amami	a	i	u	i	u
Okinawa	a	i	u	i	u
Miyako	a	i	u	i	u
Yaeyama	a	i	u	i	u
Yonaguni	a	i	u	i	u

Vowel sequences have also developed differently across the archipelago. In some varieties, such as the one spoken in Naha, vowel sequences have coalesced to form long mid vowels /e:/ and /o:/. The Hateruma dialect in the Yaeyama group has an additional long central vowel /ə:/ (often transcribed as <ë>). This distinguishes pairs of words such as [mə:] (apparent SJ cognate: [mäi] ‘rice’), and [me:] (SJ: [mäę] ‘front’). Conversely, in some Amami dialects that also contain the central vowel /ə/, [mə:] is the word for ‘front’. The following table – also taken from Hokama (1977) – shows the variation in the development of vowel sequences in different areas:

Table 24: Variation in the development of vowel sequences

Variety	Vowel Sequence				
	ai	ae	ao	au	oe
Archaic Ryukyuan	ai	ae	ao	au	oe
Amami	ə:/e:	ə:/e:	o:	o:	i:/ə:
Okinawa	e:	e:	o:	o:	i:/e:
Miyako	ai/ai	ai	o:/au	o:	ui
Yaeyama	ai	ai	o:/au	au	ui
Yonaguni	ai	ai	au	u	ui

Consonants

One of the most noticeable differences between the consonantal systems of the various Ryukyuan varieties is the retention of archaic pronunciations of the ‘h’ row in the Japanese kana syllabary. This phoneme is thought to have been */p/ in Proto-Japanese, and later to have undergone shift to bilabial fricative /ɸ/ for most environments, through a process known to phonologists as the “weakening of labiality”. This /ɸ/ then merged with /w/ word-medially around the beginning of the eleventh century, but word-initial /ɸ/ was retained until the transition to Modern Japanese when it became [h] or [ç] in all environments except before /u/. All of these sounds from the various stages of phonemic shift obtain in the Ryukyu Islands, and some Miyako-Yaeyama varieties even have the labio-dental fricative /f/, which may contrast with /p/ e.g. [fũŋi] (SJ: [ɸũne] ‘boat’) versus [pũni] (SJ: [hõŋ] ‘bone’).

Glottalisation is a noticeable feature, particularly of northern Ryukyuan varieties, and this may apply to vowels, semivowels or other consonants. Some dialects of the Inner Ryukyuan group and Yonaguni show contrast between glottalised and unglottalised word-initial voiceless obstruents. In some northern dialects, especially in the Amami area, moraic distinctions lost in the process of vowel raising have been maintained by the development of contrast between glottalised and aspirated preceding consonants, e.g. [kʰũmo] and [kũmi] in the Kakeromajima dialect correspond to SJ [kũmo] ‘cloud’ and [kõmẽ] ‘rice’ respectively. Some examples of glottalisation in the Yonaguni dialect are [kʰũŋ] (SJ: [ãkũ] ‘open’) and [tʰã:] (SJ: [çĩtã] ‘tongue’). Most of the occurrences of glottalisation in Ryukyuan dialects are innovative, but glottalised vowels may have their origins in Proto-Japanese.

The phonemes /w/ and /j/ in Japanese are thought to have developed from Proto-Japanese */b/ and */d/ respectively. The Sakishima dialects (Miyako, Yaeyama, Yonaguni) have retained /b/, e.g. [bätä] (SJ: [wätä] ‘stomach’, and the Yonaguni dialect has retained /d/, e.g. [dämä] (SJ: [jämä] ‘mountain’).

Another phonologically archaic feature of some Ryukyuan dialects is the retention of [t] and [d] before /u/. Romanised material written by Portuguese Jesuit missionaries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries proves that these moras were already being pronounced with preceding alveolar affricates [ts] and [dz] on the mainland, despite the fact that there was no change in kana spelling. The retention of the older phoneme is exemplified by [midü] (SJ: [mizü] ‘water’) in a part of Kikai Island in the Amami group (Matsumori 1995: 26).

Accentuation patterns

According to Matsumori (1995), modern Ryukyuan varieties have lost many of the original accentuation pattern combinations that existed in Proto-Japanese, to the extent that most have only one, two or three distinctive accentuation patterns for any number of moras. Hokama (1977) mentions four basic types of accentuation pattern found in the Ryukyu Islands, but it appears that their distributions are not confined to one area: for example, the Yonaguni pattern belongs to the same class as Tokunoshima, one of the Amami group.

Morphology

Inflectional suffixes on verbs and adjectives demonstrate the extent of diversity in this respect. The tables below summarise information taken from Hokama (1977). The first shows how the varieties in each area differ using as examples a) the conclusive form of the SJ verb *saku* ‘bloom’ differs according to variety, and b) the conclusive form of the SJ adjective *nagai* ‘long’.

Table 25: Variation in morphological development

Variety	a) Verb ‘bloom’	b) Adjective ‘long’
Amami	sakjuri/sakjun (or -m)	nagasari/nagasan (or -m)
Okinawa	sakɕun	nagasan (or -sa:n, -han, -ha:n etc.)
Miyako	saki/sakim	naga:kai/naga:kan
Yaeyama	sakun	na:san
Yonaguni	sagun	na:n

It is generally thought that the verbal inflections are derived from either *saki+woru* (mostly in the Amami area) or *saki+womu* (elsewhere), where *woru* and *womu* correspond with SJ *oru* ‘to be’. However some, notably Hirayama (1966: 16) and Loveless (1963: 213-219), have suggested that many of these forms are derived from *saki+woru+mono*. Similarly, the adjectival forms /nagasari/ and /nagasan/ found in Amami-Okinawa and elsewhere are thought to have derived from *naga+sa+ari* and *naga+sa+amu* respectively, whilst the Miyako forms are supposed to have derived from *naga+ku+ari* and *naga+ku+amu*, where *ari* and *amu* correspond to SJ *aru* ‘to be’ (Hattori 1959: 334).

Although the most widespread variations on these forms are included in the table above, there is amazing diversity from village to village. For example, other Amami-Okinawa variations on the *-sa+ari* form are *-sain*, *-sen*, *-se:n*, *-hain*, *-hen*, *-hon*, *-a:n* and *-o:n*. Other variations on the Miyako *-ku+ari* form for the adjective corresponding to SJ: *takai* 'high' include *takakari*, *takakam*, *takamunu*, *takaφudari* and *taka:taka*.

Vocabulary

Many words now obsolete in Japanese still exist in Ryukyuan varieties, such as *wan* 'I', and *warabi* 'child'. Although much of the vocabulary corresponds directly to Japanese, there are some words that have no equivalent in any of the Japanese mainland dialects e.g. *waa* 'pig'. Another example is the word *tiida* 'sun'. Linguists have proposed a number of theories as to the origins of this word, and comparisons with Austronesian languages have been made, but there is no conclusive evidence proving the existence of an Austronesian substratum for any members of the Japanese language family (see Shibatani 1990). The similarity between *tiida* and the word /tsidaɿ/ in the Taiwanese indigenous Amis language was pointed out by Hattori (1959), but it has not been proven whether or not this is coincidental.

References

- Abrams, D. M. & Strogatz, S. H. (2003). Modelling the dynamics of language death. *Nature* 424: 900.
- Adler, P. A. & Adler, P. (1994). Observational techniques. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln, Y. (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Aitchison, J. (1991). *Language change: progress or decay?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Akamatsu, T. (1997). *Japanese phonetics: theory and practice*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Alfonzetti, G. (1998). The conversational dimension in code-switching between Italian and dialect in Sicily. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 180-214). London: Routledge.
- Auer, P. (1984). *Bilingual conversation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Auer, P. (1995). The pragmatics of code-switching: a sequential approach. In L. Milroy & P. Muysken (Eds.) *One speaker, two languages: cross-disciplinary perspectives on code-switching* (pp. 115-135). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Auer, P. (1998). Introduction: bilingual conversation revisited. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 1-24). London: Routledge.
- Backus, A. (2007). Can a mixed language be conventionalized alternational codeswitching? In Y. Matras, & P. Bakker (Eds.) *The mixed language debate: theoretical and empirical advances* (pp. 237-270). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bakker, P. (1997). *"A language of our own": the genesis of Michif – the mixed Cree-French language of the Canadian Métis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bakker, P. (2007). Mixed languages as autonomous systems. In Y. Matras, & P. Bakker (Eds.) *The mixed language debate: theoretical and empirical*

advances (pp. 107-150). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Bakker, P. & Mous, M. (Eds.) (1994). *Mixed languages: 15 cases of language intertwining*. Amsterdam: IFOTT.
- Batibo, H. M. (1992). The fate of ethnic languages in Tanzania. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.) *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 85-98). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Batibo, H. M. (2005). *Language decline and death in Africa: causes, consequences and challenges*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Benson, E. (2001). The neglected early history of codeswitching research in the United States. *Language and communication* 21: 23-36.
- Blom, J. & J. J. Gumperz (1972). Social meaning in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (Eds.) *Directions in sociolinguistics* (pp. 407-434). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Bourhis, R. (2001). Reversing language shift in Quebec. In J. A. Fishman (Ed.) *Can threatened languages be saved?* (pp. 101-141). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Buchanan, M. (2008). Why economic theory is out of whack. *New Scientist* 2665 (July 19, 2008): 32-35.
- Carroll, T. (2001). Changing attitudes: dialect versus the standard language in Japan. In T. E. McAuley (Ed.) *Language change in East Asia* (pp. 7-26). Richmond, UK: Curzon Press.
- Campbell, L. & Muntzel, M. C. (1989). The structural consequences of language death. In N. C. Dorian, (Ed.) *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death* (pp. 181-196). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chamberlain, B. H. (1895). Essay in aid of a grammar dictionary of the Luchuan language. *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 23: Supplement.
- Clarke, H. (1997). The great dialect debate. The state and language policy in Okinawa. In E. K. Tipton (Ed.) *Society and the State in Interwar Japan* (pp. 193-217).

London: Routledge.

- Clarke, H. (2006). *Language, ritual and identity: the case of Kohamajima*. 5th International Conference on Okinawan Studies. Imagined Okinawa: challenges from time and space.
- Croft, W. (1996). *Typology and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dalby, A. (2003). *Language in danger: the loss of linguistic diversity and the threat to our future*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Dauenhauer, N. M. & Dauenhauer, R. (1998). Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: examples from Southeast Alaska. In L. A. Grenoble & L. J. Whaley (Eds.) *Endangered languages: current issues and future prospects* (pp. 57-98). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DeBose, C. E. (1992). Codeswitching: Black English and Standard English in the African-American linguistic repertoire. In C. M. Eastman (Ed.) *Codeswitching*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (1997). *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doran, M. (2004). Negotiating between Bourge and Racaille: Verlan as youth identity practice in suburban Paris. In A. Pavlenko & A. Blackledge (Eds.) *Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts* (pp. 93-124). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dorian, N. C. (1977). The problem of the semi-speaker in language death. In W. Dressler & R. W. Wodak-Leodolter (Eds.) *International Journal of the Sociology of Language 12*: 23-32
- Dorian, N. C. (1981). *Language death: the life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Dorian, N. C. (Ed.) (1989). *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Dressler, W. & Wodak-Leodolter R. W. (1977). Language preservation and language death in Brittany. *International journal of the Sociology of language* 12: 33-34.
- Eastman, C. M. (1992). Codeswitching as an urban language-contact phenomenon. In C. M. Eastman (Ed.) *Codeswitching* (pp. 1-18). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Farmer, J. D. (2008). Economic theory just isn't up to scratch [Editorial]. *New Scientist* 2665 (July 19, 2008): 5.
- Fasold, R. W. (1984). *The sociolinguistics of language*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *Word* 14: 325-340.
- Fija, B., Brenzinger M. & Heinrich, P. (2009). The Ryukyus and the new, but endangered, languages of Japan. *The Asia-Pacific Journal* [Newsletter 19, item 2, May 9, 2009]. Retrieved from <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Patrick-Heinrich/3138>
- Fishman, J. A. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics* 9: 32-70.
- Fishman, J. A. (1965). Who speaks what language to whom and when? *Linguistics* 2: 67-68.
- Fishman, J. A. (1968). Sociolinguistic perspectives in the study of bilingualism. *Linguistics* 39: 21-48.
- Fishman, J. A. (1972). *Advances in the sociology of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (Ed.) (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Franceschini, R. (1998). Code-switching and the notion of code in linguistics: proposals for a dual focus model. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 51-75). London:

- Fujiwara, Y. (1965). *A dialect grammar of Japanese*. Tokyo: Sophia University Press.
- Gibbons, J. (1987). *Code-mixing and code choice: a Hong Kong case study*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Golovko, E. (1994). Mednyj or Copper Island Aleut: An Aleut-Russian mixed language. In P. Bakker & M. Mous (Eds.) *Mixed languages: 15 cases of language intertwining* (pp. 113-121). Amsterdam: IFOTT.
- Gordon, R. (Ed.) (2005). *Ethnologue: languages of the world* (15th ed.). Dallas: SIL International. [Online version retrieved from <http://www.ethnologue.com>].
- Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hattori, S. (1968). Nihongo no ryūkyū hōgen ni tsuite. *Bungaku* 36: 1-14. [Rep. in S. Hokama (Ed.) (1972) *Okinawa gengo ronsō* 5. Tokyo: Heibonsha].
- Heinrich, P. (2004). Language planning and language ideology in the Ryukyu Islands. *Language policy* 3 (2): 153-179.
- Heinrich, P. (2005a). Language loss and revitalization in the Ryukyu Islands. *The Asia-Pacific Journal - Japan Focus*. [November 10, 2005]. Retrieved from <http://www.japanfocus.org/-patrich-heinrich/1596>
- Heinrich, P. (2005b). What leaves a mark should no longer stain: progress in erasure and reversing language shift activities in the Ryukyu Islands. In *Refereed papers from the 1st international small islands cultures conference*. Kagoshima University Centre for the Pacific Islands.
- Heinrich, P. (2007). *Look who's talking: language choices in the Ryukyu Islands*. Essen: Linguistic Agency University of Duisburg-Essen.
- Hirayama, T., Ōshima I. & Nakamoto, M. (1966). *Ryūkyū hōgen no sōgōteki kenkyū* [*A comprehensive study of Ryukyuan dialects*]. Tokyo: Meiji-shoin.
- Hokama, S. (1970). Okinawa ni okeru gengo kyōiku no rekishi [The history of language education in Okinawa]. In K. Tanikawa (Ed.) *Waga okinawa hōgen ronsō* [*Our Okinawan dialect dispute*] (pp. 186-216). Tokyo: Kijisha.

- Hokama, S. (1977). Okinawa no gengo to sono rekishi [The Okinawan language and its history]. *Iwanami kōza nihongo* 5: 11. Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten.
- Hokama, S. (2001). *Okinawagaku e no michi [The road towards Okinawan studies]*. Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten.
- Holman, E. W., Schulze, C., Stauffer, D., & Wichmann, S. (2007). On the relation between structural diversity and geographical distance among languages: observations and computer simulations. *Linguistic typology* 11 (2): 395-423.
- Ihemere, K. U. (2007). *A tri-generational study of language choice and shift in Port Harcourt*. Boca Raton. Florida: Universal Publishers.
- Inoue, F. (1986a). Sociolinguistic aspects of new dialect forms: language change in progress in Tokyo. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 58: 73-89.
- Inoue, F. (1986b). Sociopsychological characteristics of users of “new dialect forms”. *Journal of pragmatics* 10 (3): 175-193.
- Itani, Y. (2006). *Okinawa no hōgen fuda [The Okinawan dialect tag]*. Naha: Boda inku.
- Jones, M. & Singh, I. (2005). *Exploring language change*. London: Routledge.
- Karimata, S. (1997). Ryūkyū rettō no gengo: Yaeyama hōgen [The languages of the Ryukyu Islands: The Yaeyama dialect]. In Y. Uemura (Ed.) *Ryūkyū rettō no gengo [The languages of the Ryukyu Islands]*. *Nihon rettō no gengo: gengogaku daijiten serekushon [Selection from the encyclopædia of linguistics: the languages of the Japanese Archipelago]*. Tokyo: Sanseido.
- Karimata, S. (2006) Okinawa wakamono kotoba jijō: Ryūkyū kureōru nihongo shiron [The situation of youth language in Okinawa: a tentative assumption on Ryukyu Creole Japanese]. In *Nihongogaku [Japanese language study]* 25 (1): 50-59.
- Karimata, S. (2008). Ton-futsūgo: Uchinaa-yamatuguchi wa kureōru ka: Ryūkyū kureōru nihongo no kenkyū no tame ni [Sweet potato language: is Uchinaa-

yamatuguchi a creole? An approach to research into creole Japanese in the Ryukyus]. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ryukyuan Culture* 30: 55-65. Okinawa International University.

- Keller, R. (1994). *On language change: the invisible hand in language*. London: Routledge.
- Kloss, H. (1967). Bilingualism and nationalism. *Journal of social issues* 23: 39-47.
- Kokuritsu kokugo kenkyūjo (1963). *Okinawago jiten [The dictionary of the Okinawan language]*. Tokyo: Ōkurashō Insatsukyoku.
- Kondō, K. (2006). *Kindai okinawa ni okeru kyōiku to kokumin tōgō* [Education and national unity in modern Okinawa], Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press.
- Krauss, M. E. (1992). The world's languages in crisis. *Language* 68: 4-10.
- Kudō, M. (2004). Kenkyū seika no gaiyō: asupekuto/tensu/mūdo o chūshin ni [A summary of research findings: focus on aspect/tense/mood]. In M. Kudō (Ed.) *Nihongo no asupekuto/tensu/mūdo taikai [The Japanese aspect/tense/mood system]* (pp.34-76). Tokyo: Hitsuji.
- Ladefoged, P. & Maddieson, I. (1996). *The sounds of the world's languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lawrence, W. (2003). *Tarama hōgen no keitōteki ichi [The genetic position of the Tarama dialect]*. 4th committee for the International Symposium.
- Lee, Y. (1996). *'Kokugo' to iu shisō [An ideology called 'kokugo']*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.
- Lewes, G. H. (1875). *Problems of life and mind* 1: 2. London: Trübner and Co.
- Lipski, J. M. (2005). Code-switching or borrowing: no sé so no puedo decir, you know. In L. Sayahi & M. Westmoreland (Eds.) *Selected proceedings of the second workshop on Spanish sociolinguistics*: 1-15. Somerville MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Li, Wei (1998). The “why” and “how” questions in the analysis of conversational code-switching. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language,*

interaction and identity (pp. 156-179). London: Routledge.

- Li, Wei (2005) How can you tell? Toward a common sense exploration of code-switching. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37 (3): 375-389.
- Liu, Xiangdong. (2008). *The discourse functions of the modal auxiliaries “wake da” and “no da” in Japanese*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Loveless, O. (1963). *The Okinawan language: A synchronic description*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International.
- Martí, F. et al. (Eds.) (2005). *Words and worlds: world languages review*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Maschler, Y. (1998). On the transition from code-switching to a mixed code. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 125-150). London: Routledge.
- Matras, Y (2007). Mixed languages: re-examining the structural prototype. In Y. Matras, & P. Bakker (Eds.) *The mixed language debate: theoretical and empirical advances* (pp. 151-176). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Matras, Y. & Bakker, P. (Eds.) (2007). *The mixed language debate: theoretical and empirical advances*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Matsumori, A. (1995). Ryūkyuan: past, present, and future. In J. Maher & Yashiro, K. (Eds.) *Multilingual Japan*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Matsumoto, K. (1975). Kodai nihongo boin-soshiki kō: naiteki saiken no kokoromi. Kanazawa University. *Bulletin of the Faculty of Law and Letters* 22: 83-152.
- Meeuwis, M. & Blommaert, J. (1994). The “markedness model” and the absence of society: remarks on code-switching. *Multilingua* 13 (4): 387-423.
- Meeuwis, M. & Blommaert, J. (1998). A monolectal view of code-switching: layered code-switching among Zairians in Belgium. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 76-100). London: Routledge.
- Menn, L. (1989). Some people who don’t talk right: universal and particular in child

- language, aphasia and language obsolescence. In N. C. Dorian, (Ed.) *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death* (pp. 335-346). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mertz, E. (1989). Sociolinguistic creativity: Cape Breton Gaelic's linguistic "tip". In N. C. Dorian, (Ed.) *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death* (pp. 103-116). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - Milroy, L. (1987). *Observing and analyzing natural language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 - Moseley, C. (Editor in Chief) (2009). *Atlas of the world's languages in danger*. Paris: UNESCO.
 - Motonaga, M. (1979). Okinawa ni okeru jidō seito no kotoba [Young people's language in Okinawa]. University of the Ryukyus. *Bulletin of College of Education* 23 (1): 37-52.
 - Motonaga, M. (1994). *Ryūkyū-ken seikatsu-go no kenkyū [Studies in the everyday language of the Ryukyus]*. Tokyo: Shunjusha.
 - Mous, M. (1994) Ma'á or Mbugu. In P. Bakker & M. Mous (Eds.) *Mixed languages: 15 cases of language intertwining* (pp. 175-200). Amsterdam: IFOTT.
 - Mous, M. (2007). The linguistic properties of lexical manipulation and its relevance for Ma'á. In Y. Matras, & P. Bakker (Eds.) *The mixed language debate: theoretical and empirical advances* (pp. 209-236). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
 - Mufwene, S. S. (2001). *The ecology of language evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 - Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Codeswitching as a mechanism of deep borrowing, language shift, and death. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.) *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 31-58). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
 - Myers-Scotton, C. (1993). *Social motivations for code-switching: evidence from Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Myers-Scotton, C. (1997). *Duelling languages: grammatical structure in codeswitching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). A way to dusty death: the matrix language turnover hypothesis. In L. A. Grenoble & L. J. Whaley (Eds.) *Endangered languages: current issues and future prospects* (pp. 289-316). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myers-Scotton, C. (2007). What lies beneath: split (mixed) languages as contact phenomena. In Y. Matras, & P. Bakker (Eds.) *The mixed language debate: theoretical and empirical advances* (pp. 73-106). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nagata, T. (1996). *Ryūkyū de umareta kyōtsūgo [The standard language born in the Ryukyus]*. Tokyo: Ōfū.
- Nakamoto, M. (1990). *Nihon rettō gengo-shi no kenkyū [Research on the linguistic history of the Japanese Archipelago]*. Tokyo: Taishūkan.
- Narita, Y. (2001 [1964]) Okinawa no gengo seikatsu [Language life in Okinawa]. In Inoue, F. et al. (Eds.) *Ryūkyū hōgen-kō vIII (Ryūkyū rettō ippan) [Considerations about the Ryukyuan Dialects vIII (Ryukyu Archipelago General)]*. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō.
- Nettle, D. (1999a). *Linguistic Diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nettle, D. (1999b). Is the rate of linguistic change constant? *Lingua 108*: 119-136.
- Nilep, C. (2006). “Code switching” in sociocultural linguistics. *Colorado research in linguistics 19* (1): 1-22. Boulder: University of Colorado.
- Nishioka, S. & Nakahara, J. (2001). *Okinawago no nyuumon: tanoshii uchinaaguchi [Introduction to the Okinawan language: Uchinaaguchi for fun]*. Tokyo: Hakusuisha.
- Nohara, M. (1993). *Shin-hōgen: atarashii wakamono no kotoba 1 [New dialect: a new youth language 1]*. Monograph. Okinawa kokusai daigaku nohara zemināru [Okinawa International University Nohara Seminar]. Faculty of Literature, Department of National Literature, Okinawa International

University, Okinawa.

- Nohara, M. (1998). Ryūkyū shakaihōgengaku e no sasoi: okinawa no wakamono kotoba-kō [Come and study Ryukyuan sociolinguistics: considering the language of Okinawan youth]. In *Okinawa kokusai daigaku kōkaikōza 7 [Okinawa International University Seminar 7]*. Kōzaiinkai henshū [Seminar Committee ed.].
- Ochs, E. (1999 [1979]). Transcription as theory. In A. Jaworski & N. Coupland (Eds.) *The discourse reader* (pp. 167-182). London: Routledge.
- Oesch Serra, C. (1998). Discourse connectives in bilingual conversation: the case of an emerging Italian-French mixed code. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 101-124). London: Routledge.
- Okinawa-ken kyōiku iinkai (1976). Tsūshi. *Okinawa-ken-shi 1*. Tokyo: Tosho Kankōkai.
- Ono, M. (1995). Chūkan hōgen to shite no uchinaa-yamatoguchi no isō [Aspects of Okinawan Japanese as an interdialect form]. In *Henyō suru nihon no hōgen [Changing Japanese dialects]* (pp. 178-91). Tokyo: Taishūkan [Gengo special publication].
- Osa, S. (1998). *Kindai nihon to kokugo nashonarizumu [Modern Japan and national language nationalism]*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan
- Osumi, M. (2001). Language and identity in Okinawa today. In M. Noguchi & S. Fotos (Eds.) *Studies in Japanese bilingualism* (pp. 68-97). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pullum, G. K. & Ladusaw W. A. (1996). *Phonetic symbol guide*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Rabson, S. (1996). *Assimilation policy in Okinawa: promotion, resistance and "reconstruction"*. [Occasional paper no.8. Japan Policy Research Institute]. Retrieved from <http://www.jpri.org/publications/occasionalpapers/op8.html>

- Risager, K. (2000). *Language and culture: global flows and local complexity*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Romaine, S. (1989). Pidgins, creoles, immigrant, and dying languages. In N. C. Dorian, (Ed.) *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death* (pp. 369-384). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sanada, S. (2000). *Datsu-hyōjungo no jidai [Post-standard language era]*. Tokyo: Shōgaku-kan.
- Sasse, H. (1992a). Theory of language death. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.) *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 7-30). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sasse, H. (1992b). Language decay and contact-induced change: similarities and differences. In M. Brenzinger (Ed.) *Language death: factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa* (pp. 59-80). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schulze, C. & Stauffer, D. (2007). Competition of languages in the presence of a barrier. *Physica A* 379 (2): 661-664.
- Sebba, M. & Wootton, T. (1998). We, they and identity: sequential versus identity-related explanation in code-switching. In P. Auer (Ed.) *Code-switching in conversation: language, interaction and identity* (pp. 262-289). London: Routledge.
- Selinker, L. (1972). Interlanguage. *International Review of Applied Linguistics (IRAL)* 10 (3): 209-231.
- Shibata, T. (1958). *Nihon no hōgen [The dialects of Japan]*. Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten.
- Shibatani, M. (1990). *The languages of Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shinzato, K. (1963). Okinawa ni okeru hyōjungo seisaku no kōzai. *Gengo-seikatsu* 141: 43-49.
- Shinzato, R. (1991). *The standardization movement in Okinawa: a sociolinguistic*

perspective. [Paper presented at the symposium of the International Society for Ryukyuan Studies, Naha].

Shinzato, R. (2005). *Nominalization in Okinawan: a diachronic and comparative perspective* [Manuscript]. Georgia Institute of Technology. Retrieved from [http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/lin/nomz/nomz%20pdf%20\(final\)/\(FPR\)Nomz_Okinawan%20.pdf](http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/lin/nomz/nomz%20pdf%20(final)/(FPR)Nomz_Okinawan%20.pdf)

Soejima, K. (2009). Ryūgakusei no chiikigo ni taisuru ishiki: Okinawa o jirei to shite [A case study in Okinawa of the consciousness of the regional dialect among international students]. *Ryudai Review of Euro-American Studies* 53: 53-71. Naha: University of the Ryukyus.

Sugita, Y. (2009 [2007]) 'Jissen to shite no gengo' no kiroku hozon. Uchinaa no tagengo shakai saisei mukete [Documenting 'language as practice'. Towards a regeneration of Uchinan multilingual society]. In P. Heinrich & S. Matsuo (Eds.) *Higashi ajia ni okeru gengo fukko [Language revitalisation in East Asia]*. Tokyo: Sangensha.

Sutherland, W. (2003). Parallel extinction risk and global distribution of languages and species. *Nature* 423: 276-279.

Swigart, L. (1992). Two codes or one? The insiders' view and the description of codeswitching in Dakar. In C. M. Eastman (Ed.) *Codeswitching* (pp. 83-102). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Takaesu, Y. (1994). Uchinaa-yamatoguchi no kenkyū [Study of Okinawan Japanese]. *Okinawa gengo kenkyū sentā shiryō 117 [Okinawan Language Research Centre Monograph 117]*. Naha: Ryukyu University.

Teruya, K. (2001 [1976]). Kōkōsei ni okeru hōgen ishiki ni tsuite: Okinawa-ken chūbu chiiki no baai [Concerning the dialect consciousness of high school students: The case of Central Okinawa Island in Okinawa Prefecture]. In F. Inoue et al. (Eds.) *Ryūkyū hōgen-kō VIII (Ryūkyū rettō ippan) [Considerations about the Ryukyuan Dialects VIII (Ryukyu Archipelago General)]*. Tokyo: Yumani Shobō.

- Thomason, S. G. & Kaufman T. (1988). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Trudgill, P. (1978). Creolization in reverse. *Transactions of the philological society* 1976 (7): 32-50.
- Trudgill, P. (1986). Dialects in contact. *Language in society* 10. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. (1988). On the role of dialect contact and interdialect in linguistic change. In J. Fisiak (Ed.) *Historical dialectology: regional and social. Trends in linguistics: studies and monographs* 37 (pp. 547-564). Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tsitsipis, L. (1981). *Language change and language death in Albanian speech communities in Greece: a sociolinguistic study*. [Unpublished Ph.D.Diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison].
- Tsitsipis, L. (1998). *A linguistic anthropology of praxis and language shift*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tsitsipis, L. (2003). Implicit linguistic ideology and the erasure of Arvanitika (Greek-Albanian) discourse. *Journal of pragmatics* 35: 4.
- Uchima C. & Nohara, M. (2006). *Okinawago jiten: Naha hōgen o chūshin ni [Dictionary of the Okinawan language: focus on the Naha dialect]*. Tokyo: Kenkyūsha.
- Uemura, Y. (1989). *On-in henka wa dono yō ni shite hikiokosareru ka (2) [How phonological changes arise (2)]*. Okinawa gengo kenkyū sentā shiryō 79 [Okinawan language research centre monograph 79]. Naha: Ryukyu University.
- Uemura, Y. (Ed.) (1997). *Ryūkyū rettō no gengo [The languages of the Ryukyu Islands]*. *Nihon rettō no gengo: gengogaku daijiten serekushon [Selection from the encyclopædia of linguistics: the languages of the Japanese Archipelago]*. Tokyo: Sanseido.
- Ure, J. (1972). Code-switching and mixed speech in the register systems of

developing languages. In *Proceedings volume II of l'Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée, 3rd congress*. Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag.

- Vogt, H. (1954). Language contacts. *Word* 10 (2-3): 365-374.
- Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wichmann, S. (2008). The emerging field of language dynamics. *Language and Linguistics compass* 2 (3): 442-455.
- Williamson, R. C. (1991). *Minority languages and bilingualism: case studies in maintenance and shift*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing.
- Woolard, K. A. (1989). Language convergence and language death as social processes. In N. C. Dorian, (Ed.) *Investigating obsolescence: studies in language contraction and death* (pp. 355-368). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yabiku, H. (1987). Uchinaa-yamatuguchi to Yamatu-uchinaaguchi [Okinawan Japanese and Japanese Uchinaaguchi]. *Kokubungaku: kaishaku to kanshō [National literature: interpretation and appreciation]* 52 (7): 119-123. Tokyo: Shibundō.