A SOCIOLINGUISTIC DOCUMENTATION OF HONORIFIC VERBS IN SOUTHERN AMAMI ŌSHIMA

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Abstract

This qualitative study describes the use and form of verbal honorifics in Southern Amami Ōshima, an endangered language spoken on the Amami Islands in the Ryukyuan archipelago in Japan. Due to historical and political factors, Amami honorific registers are currently only known by older speakers within the bilingual Setouchi community. As we know, speakers of endangered languages gradually shift until eventually no domains are left, though this stylistic shrinkage process is poorly understood in our field. This project examines the diminishing honorific registers and explores what honorific forms are remaining, and how speakers use them in unelicited daily communication during their day-to-day lives. Firstly, this project documents the remaining verbal honorific forms which are still used and known within the Setouchi community. Fieldwork methodology showed that addressee honorifics (including imperative mood) are more prominent in the Setouchi community than corresponding subject honorifics. Additionally, this thesis explored bilingual Amami speakers' language choices for expressing politeness in light of limited Amami honorific forms by collecting data from speakers in a range of different communicative events where honorifics would be expected. This thesis found that standard language practices in the community today call for speakers to use Japanese in situations where honorific Amami would typically have been used. However, community members, including token speakers, still use Amami honorifics in day-to-day communication. Lastly, this thesis examined the functions and indexes of remaining Amami honorifics in the endangered language situation. Amami is no longer the unmarked code for politeness and deference. Rather, Amami speakers today draw on honorifics most commonly in the form of lexical touchstones, which they use as a we-code to index familiarity, intimacy, and localness.

Keywords: Amami Ōshima, Ryukyuan, honorifics, stylistic shrinkage, language documentation, pragmatics

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List of Abbreviations

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
COP	Copula
EMP	Emphatic
HON	Honorific
NHON	Non-honorific
IMP	Imperative
SG	Singular
PL	Plural
POL	Polite
POSS	Possessive
TOP	Topic

1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on honorifics and politeness in the Southern Amami Ōshima speech community in Setouchi Town, Amami Ōshima (Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan). Due to several factors, this community is undergoing language shift from the traditional local language, Southern Amami Ōshima, or simply, "Amami", to the majority language, Japanese. The main focus of this thesis, honorifics and politeness strategies in an endangered language, represent a dearth of research in Linguistics. Thus, this study will attempt to understand the nature of honorific registers in endangered language communities. This first chapter will introduce the Amami geographical region and language (Section 1.1), then discuss the overall focus of research and research questions (Section 1.2) and finally the motivation for this thesis (Section 1.3).

1.1 Amami region and language

Southern Amami Ōshima (ISO code: ams) is a variety of the Amami Ōshima language which belongs to the Japonic language family. Amami Ōshima (which includes Northern and Southern varieties), is a member of the Ryukyuan subdivision, which includes Miyako, Kunigami, Okinawan (Uchinaaguchi), Yonaguni (Dunan) and Yaeyama (Heinrich, Miyara & Shimoji 2015). The locations of the Ryukyuan languages can be seen in Figure 1, in relation to the Amami Islands (where Amami is spoken). These islands represent most existing speakers, although there are also diaspora communities worldwide.

All Ryukyuan languages are endangered and for over a century have been steadily replaced by Japanese, the language of prestige, political and economic power (see Section 2.1 on historical background). Southern Amami Ōshima is spoken on the Amami Islands located south of Kyushu Island in Japan, which administratively falls under Kagoshima Prefecture, although Amami Oshima is actually 385 km from Kagoshima City, and to
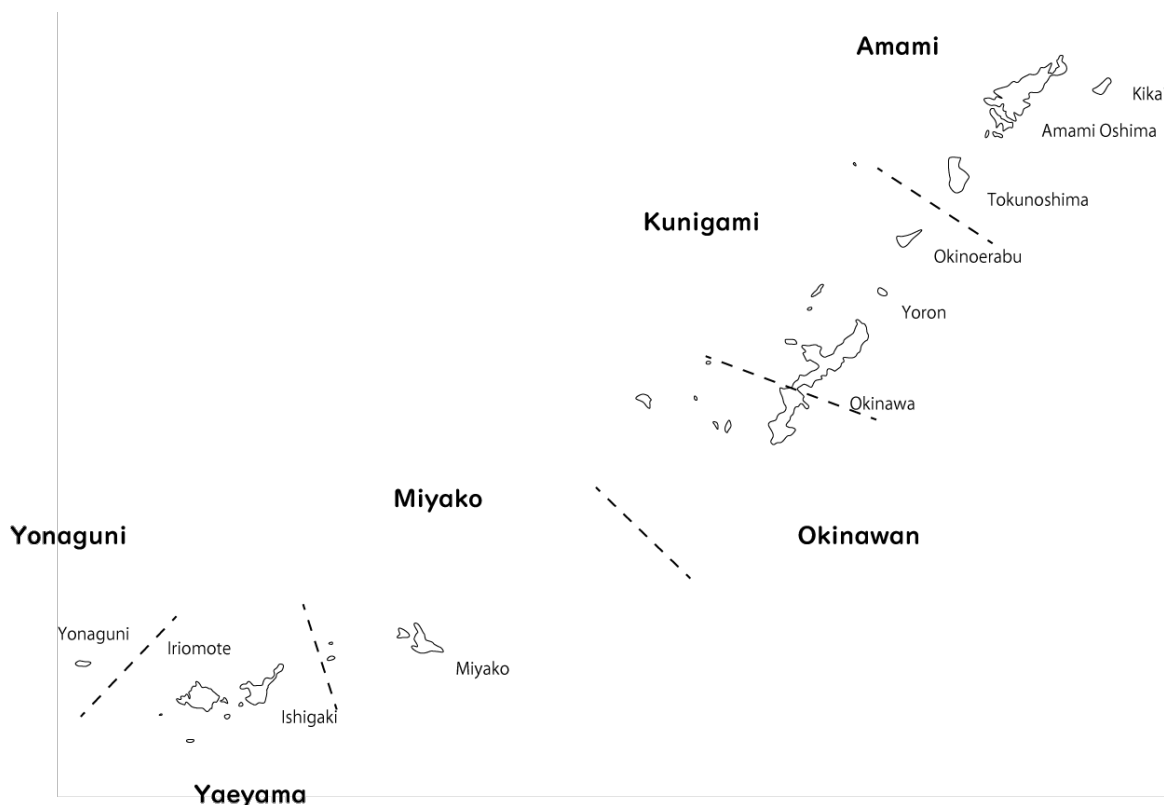
Figure 1: Map of the Ryukyus showing the Ryukyuan languages

travel from Amami to Kagoshima requires either a one-hour flight or a 12-to-14-hour ferry ride. The Amami archipelago consists of eight main islands: Amami Ōshima, Kikaijima, Kakeromajima, Yoroshima, Ukeshima, Tokunoshima, Okinoerabujima, and Yoronjima (Figure 2, below). Four of these islands (Figure 3) make up this study's field site: Setouchi Town, which consist of Kakeromajima, Yoroshima, Ukeshima, and the southern region of Amami Ōshima. The Amami Islands are culturally more akin to Okinawa than to mainland Japan, due to shared history as part of the Ryukyu Kingdom (see Section 2.1), though they do not administratively fall within Okinawa Prefecture.

Amami Ōshima Island (the largest Amami island) has an area of 712.35 km² and a population of approximately 73,000 people. Administratively, it is divided into the city of Amami, the towns of Tatsugo, Setouchi, and the villages of Uken and Yamato. Generally, it is accepted that the Southern Amami variety corresponds to Setouchi Town, which is where this research project was conducted. Setouchi has an approximate population of 9,300, but the speaker population is unknown, though it was estimated to be

approximately 1,800 in 2004 (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019). While most of the

data stems from Amami Ōshima, limited data from the other islands which make up

Setouchi Town (Kakeromajima, Yoroshima, Ukeshima) are also included.
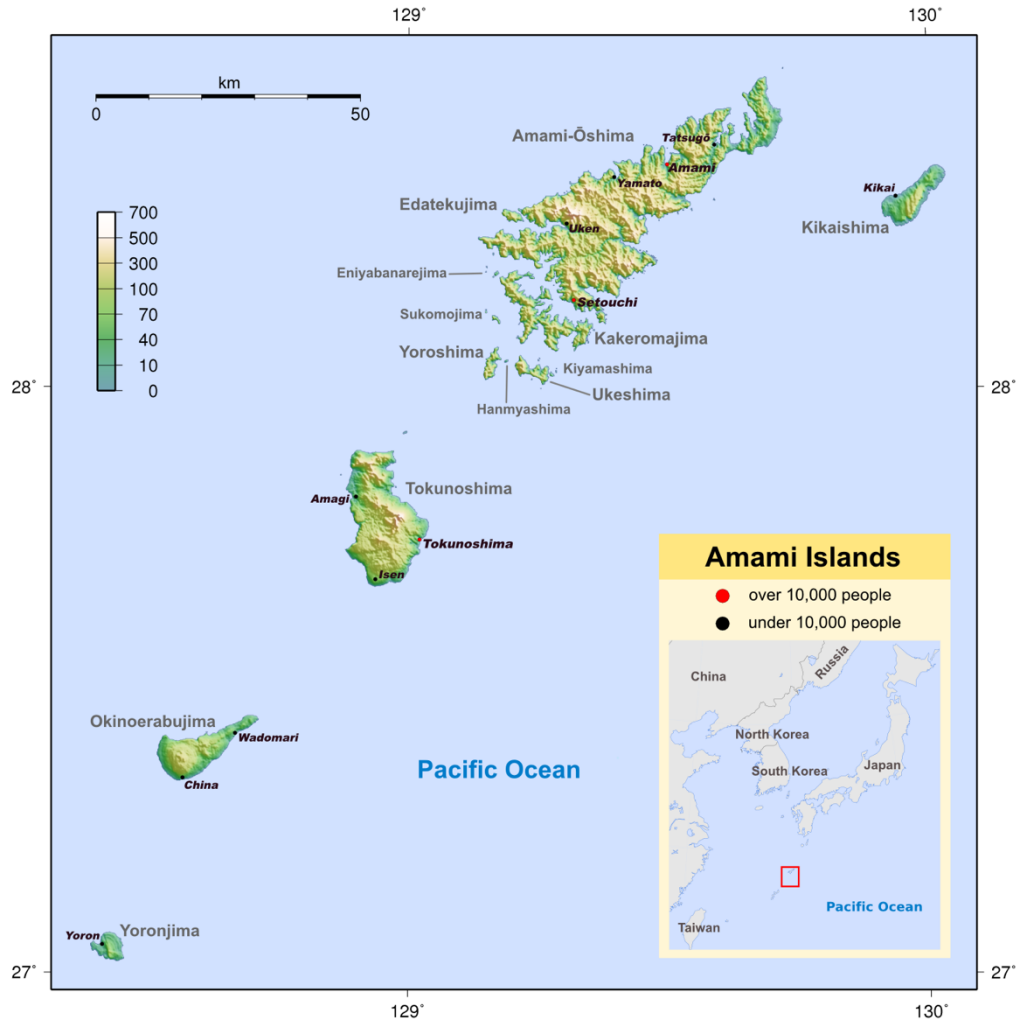
Figure 2: Map of Amami Islands: Kikai, Amami Ōshima, Kakeromajima, Yoroshima, Ukejima, Tokunoshima, Okinoerabu, and Yoron
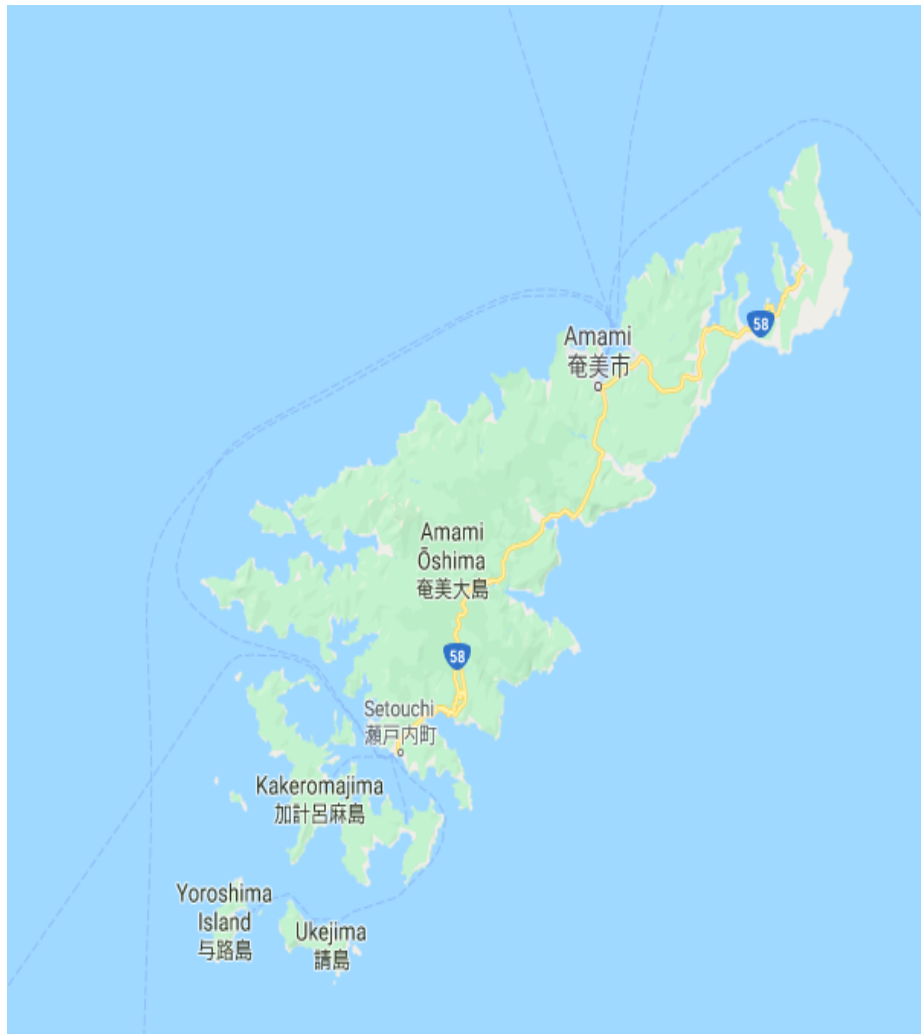
Figure 3: Map of fieldsite islands: Amami Ōshima, Kakeromajima, Yoroshima and Ukejima

1.2 Main focus of research & research aims of this thesis

The overall focus of this thesis is the effects of language endangerment and loss on Amami. More specifically, I focus on the impact language endangerment has on language use and ideologies of Amami speakers as reflected in their use of honorifics and politeness strategies. As the Amami community shifts away from the local linguistic variety, what are the effects on speakers' language use overall, particularly in domains which require polite speech? Today, all Amami speakers are bilingual, so all speakers have fluent knowledge of Japanese. This thesis presents the findings from a language documentation project and sociolinguistic study of the under-documented Setouchi variety of the Southern Amami Ōshima language. Complex honorific systems are a well-

known feature of Japonic languages, including Japanese and other Ryukyuan languages (Shimoji 2012). However, increased language loss in the Setouchi community has resulted in stylistic shrinkage (in the sense of Dorian 1981), resulting in loss of Amami language usage in public domains where Amami honorifics would historically have been used (see Kuipers 1998; Dorian 1981; Grinevald & Bert 2011 on stylistic shrinkage). Thus, the temporal window is dwindling to research Amami honorifics while speakers are still present. However, Amamians do have these honorific registers in Japanese, which is rapidly replacing Amami in most domains. This thesis addresses three main aims, which are detailed below in the following sections.

1.2.1 Aim 1: Documentation of Amami honorifics & prescribed usage

To explore language endangerment on Amami, this thesis will firstly aim to document the use and forms of Amami verbal predicates in honorific, humble, and polite forms, and position them within an inventory of honorific styles. As mentioned, honorifics were chosen as this study's focus due to their relative increased attrition within the speech community. Because honorifics are difficult to elicit due to decreased speaker knowledge, the inventory described in this thesis is incomplete (i.e., not all forms could be elicited from speakers). Honorifics were collected based on Amami speakers' remaining production of honorifics (collected in both elicitations and spontaneous unelicited contexts) and on speakers' knowledge of forms (grammaticality judgments, interviews, and surveys) across the community (60 speakers). Following the collection, a few of the best speakers in the community (i.e., the best speakers in the sample) helped to organize the forms into an honorific inventory.

According to the sketch grammar information in Niinaga (2015), Amami predicate phrases can be divided into three types: NP (i.e., nominal predicate), VP (i.e., verbal predicate), and AP (i.e., adjectival predicate). While Amami historically utilized a rich and complex honorific system, comprising various forms for various situations, the focus

of this research is solely verbal predicates. Verbal predicates were chosen as the focus because there are some parallel studies in other Ryukyuan languages (see Shigeno 2010a; 2010b), making this one a key component of future comparisons between Amami and other Ryukyuan languages.

To address this research aim, I constructed an inventory of previously undocumented Setouchi honorifics (verbal predicate forms) and demonstrated how these honorifics differ structurally from non-honorific forms. Additionally, forms were organized into a taxonomy with the help of fluent speakers, who informed me which forms are normatively considered more polite in comparison to others. Beyond organizing forms by relative (i.e., from most polite to least polite) and normative politeness level, I also described pragmatic functions of Amami honorifics. In other words, I present evidence from speakers on these forms' prescribed normative values and evidence on what social factors prescriptively influence speakers' use of honorific forms.

The created inventory will illustrate both the honorific forms and their identifiable morphemes, their prescribed usage, and compare them to the corresponding non-honorific verbal predicates. Additionally, gaps in the inventory will be discussed, as knowledge across honorific types decreases in a predictable manner. However, some honorifics are extremely well-known within the community, and even non-speaker community members can produce and recognize these more common honorific forms.

Discussion of the normative (now "default" in the sense of Agha 2007- see Section 3.5.5) in the literature review) readings regarding honorifics will draw on speaker interviews and grammaticality judgments (see methodology Chapter 4 for an in-depth discussion of data collection methods). The aim is to discern what speakers think these forms represent at face-value or, in other words, what Amami honorifics mean stereotypically, without co-occurring signs indicating other readings.

This thesis takes an indexical approach to honorifics and therefore does not equate honorifics with politeness. In other words, following Pizziconi 2011 and Agha 2007, honorifics are not considered inherently polite (see Section 3.5.5 in literature review). Rather, honorifics are interpreted based on the context in which they are used, and they can express other meanings besides politeness or deference. However, understanding what factors normatively influence speakers' use of honorifics is essential because "stereotypical" or "default" definitions of honorifics (i.e., that of deference), still "facilitate explicit metapragmatic reasoning, the creation of reflexive models of social behavior, discourses of appropriateness, and even language policies that target issues of morality and civic education" (Pizziconi 2011: 69). In other words, although stereotypical readings may not always reflect what speakers do in everyday communication, understanding what speakers view as proper use of honorifics is still important because it can influence and give insight into other aspects of society. In terms of understanding stereotypical readings of honorifics in Amami as an endangered language, documenting and describing normative uses of honorifics may be beneficial for future revitalization materials, such as Amami language teaching resources.

1.2.2 Aim 2: To explore how Amami bilinguals perform politeness given the limited remaining Amami forms

Secondly, this thesis will seek to investigate bilingual Amami speakers' language choices to express politeness. This second aim is focused on the politeness strategies of the younger semi-speakers, who are Japanese-Amami bilinguals, in light of limited Amami linguistic resources. To explore this issue, data were collected from younger semi-speakers at their workplaces, where politeness would normally be expected. Data were collected from places where politeness would be expected, such as retirement homes, where both younger (employee) and older (resident) Amami speakers interact daily. Younger speakers recorded themselves interacting spontaneously with the elder

residents without the researcher present, and their language choice and honorific uses were analyzed (see Chapter 7). There are also three interactions recorded by an older more fluent speaker with clients at her beauty salon. Further evidence comes from semi-speakers delivering speeches at formal community events.

Polite speech and behavior at the workplace are a well-known necessity in Japan (e.g., Ide 1989), and the honorific register *keigo* is also known as "Business Japanese", exemplifying the link between honorifics and the workplace. These conventions exist in Amami as well, so I focused on politeness in the workplace because, while it is culturally expected, it is also well-documented that older speakers in the Ryukyus often lament younger speakers' shortcomings in polite speech (Section 7.4.4). Therefore, this thesis explored whether Amami's circumstances paralleled the rest of the Ryukyus in this manner. In other words, whether or not younger speakers would or could draw on Amami to express politeness in the workplace. If these younger speakers did not use Amami, would they employ Standard Japanese or something in-between such as Amami-substrate Japanese, which is the dialect of Japanese spoken on Amami with Amami influence.

In addition to the primary data, secondary data in the form of a prepared speech and Amami teaching materials were also investigated. While the primary data were collected of speakers using Amami honorifics in day-to-day interactions via fieldwork, the secondary data (in the form of printed Amami teaching materials) was incorporated into this study in a supporting role. The secondary data provided evidence indicating how Amami speakers *think* they should perform politeness, to be compared to the interactional data collected via fieldwork.

1.2.3 Aim 3: To explore the functions of the remaining Amami honorifics still present in the speech community

Finally, this study will aim to address the role that Amami honorifics fulfill in the endangered language context, in light of Japanese replacing Amami in public domains. As

Pizziconi (2011) and Agha (2007) have noted, honorific forms themselves can be used by speakers to express meanings other than politeness, and they are not automatically polite alone. Thus, other meanings for honorifics in Southern Amami, beyond the typical ones described in Chapter 5 (addressing research aim 1), will also be examined. The hypothesis is that since Amami honorifics are still present in everyday discourse within the community, they are serving some function related to identity or in-groupness among Setouchi community members.

1.3 Motivation for this thesis

As stated, this study focuses on politeness and honorifics. Amami language loss started with formal contexts (Heinrich 2012) and thus honorific registers were the first to be affected by language shift. Therefore, it could be said that the Amami honorific register was the first to fall out of use and collecting data on this register is be even more difficult than collecting data from plain registers as time passes and speakers decrease. More broadly, this project contributes to the greater documentation of Ryukyuan languages, which is considered "fragmentary" at best according to UNESCO's (2003) language endangerment and vitality assessment tool. By collaborating with the community to collect data, this study aims to create an accurate and authentic record of honorific usage in the Amami community. Additionally, as a case study examining a language undergoing stylistic shrinkage, this study strives to shed light on the processes that languages undergo as they lose registers. This is significant because language change in obsolescing languages seems to occur in "uncertain predictability" (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). Finally, this study goes beyond documenting honorific systems (e.g., Shibatani 1990) and stylistic shrinkage (e.g., Dorian 1981) and seeks to interpret their honorifics intended pragmatic meanings in the face of language endangerment, where Japanese has become the "default" variety to express deference. Thus, this project is located in the nexus of pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology by providing a deeper

understanding of honorifics and politeness strategies in endangered language communities.

The importance of polite speech in Japonic languages is well known. Understanding polite speech is essential to understanding a Japonic language. Very complex politeness systems were once present in Amami (Niinaga 2015) and have since been lost, but this project's data could potentially be used in the future to reconstruct those old forms and paradigms. Without a proper documentation and description of forms and functions of polite speech, any understanding of Southern Amami Ōshima is incomplete. As Usami (2002: 1) points out, politeness rules of a particular culture are opaque to outsiders, so in-depth investigation with the cooperation of native speakers is essential to understand Amami politeness. From a sociolinguistics standpoint, understanding polite speech and its uses illuminate Amami social structures and how these structures affect language use in the community. More widely, understanding the language-specific politeness strategies gives us a deeper understanding of underlying principles of social interactions among Amami community members, as well as across languages and cultures. The data from this project could be used for future sociolinguistic studies regarding politeness more generally.

As mentioned in Section 3.3 and 3.4, little is known about stylistic shrinking of obsolescing languages. Therefore, the theoretical implications of this project provide a better understanding of what generally happens to endangered languages as they lose registers, as well as a better understanding of the pragmatics and structures of Southern Amami Ōshima predicates in non-casual speech.

Recording a language holds cultural significance and validation for many groups and is especially valuable to groups like Amamians who have been marginalized for centuries. Documenting Southern Amami Ōshima before it disappears enables the opportunity to capture Amami cultural knowledge pertaining to climate, customs, beliefs,

vegetation, etc. embedded in linguistic knowledge and practice. The final reports from this project will be made available to the community and can be used as they prefer, possibly for archival or revitalization purposes. The community will further benefit from collaboration on this project and the opportunity to take part in documenting an aspect of their language that has gone unrecorded and is rapidly disappearing.

1.4 Structure of this thesis

Following the introductory chapter in which some general background to the study as well as the main aims of the thesis were described, Chapter 2 dives into details on Amami's historical and cultural background, and situation as an endangered Ryukyuan language. This project draws upon notions of indexicality (Ochs 1992; Silverstein 2003; Agha 2007; Eckert 2008) and takes a discursive approach to honorifics. These theoretical topics are covered in the literature review in Chapter 3, along with relevant literature on honorifics and politeness, endangered language documentation, and Ryukyuan language documentation. The chapter also situates this project in the literature and explains how it fills gaps in the existing research on honorifics, Ryukyuan linguistics and endangered languages. The literature review covers the study of endangered languages and consequences of language shift, code-switching, use of we-codes in endangered languages, and honorifics and politeness studies pertinent to this thesis. Chapter 4 covers the methodology and methods used in this thesis to collect and analyze the data. Chapter 5 draws on original data collected for this project and explores Amami honorifics in verbal predicates, comparing them to "plain forms", or forms with no overt linguistic honorification. Chapter 6 explores original data collected from workplaces of younger semi-speakers working and communicating with elderly (fluent) Amami speakers and looks at what language semi-speakers use when they need to communicate politely. Chapter 7 looks at the functions of Amami honorifics in every day spoken discourse and the linguistic landscape of Amami. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes this thesis by

summarizing the main findings and contextualizing their significance within the wider

literature on Ryukyuan and endangered language studies, identifying the main

contributions made in this thesis, pointing out some limitations and giving suggestions for

further research.

2. Amami Ōshima: Language, history, speakers

Amamians in Setouchi affectionately refer to their language by the endonym *Shimaguchi*. *Shimaguchi* is usually written as シマグチ in the Japanese Katakana script, or sometimes as 島口, in the kanji script. The word *shimaguchi* consists of two morphemes, firstly *shima* meaning "community", or literally "island" (島). The second morpheme is *guchi* which means "speech" or "mouth" (口). This use of Chinese characters for the *guchi* morpheme deviates from related Ryukyuan language, Uchinaaguchi spoken in Okinawa, where *guchi* is written as 語 ("word"), hence 沖縄語 reads as *Uchinaaguchi* ("Okinawa" + "word"). In the literature, Amami language is also reportedly referred to by the endonym *Shimayumuta*, represented as シマユムタ in the katakana script. However, in Setouchi I found that community members, including non-speakers, overwhelmingly prefer *Shimaguchi*. In the Ryukyus, larger linguistic varieties often incorporate the morphemes *-guchi* or *-kutuba*. For example, some (though not all) Ryukyuans use *Yamatu-kutuba*, or *Yamatu-guchi* ("language of Yamato") to refer to the Japanese language.

Alternatively, Amami speakers also refer to their language as *hōgen* ("dialect"), which likely comes from the mainland Japanese perspective that what Amamians are speaking is a dialect of Japanese. This chapter gives a more in-depth view of the Amami language, its speakers, and relevant history. Section 2.1 describes the historical background of Amami as it relates to the language shift and language practices on the islands. Section 2.2 gives an overview of speaker generations and lack of intergenerational transmission. Section 2.3 discusses Amami's removal from some domains which have impacted speakers' use of polite registers, and Section 2.4 outlines an overview of relevant language structure and system. Sections 2.5 through 2.7 reviews

the existing documentation and politeness research on Amami, and Section 2.8 places this thesis in relation to the existing documentation and research.

2.1 Historical background of Amami

The majority of the Ryukyuan Islands (including Amami Islands) formed an independent kingdom, the Ryukyu Kingdom, from the 15th century. This occurred when three smaller domains dispersed across several islands known as the *Sanzan*, or "Three Mountains", were united. The Ryukyu Kingdom existed into the 19th century. The Ryukyu Kingdom closed diplomatic ties by way of a tributary relationship with the Ming Dynasty of China and, due to this close connection, China reserved some trade rights for the Ryukyu Kingdom. There was also immigration from China into the Ryukyus and today some Ryukyuans can still trace their Chinese heritage. Due to their access to China, the Ryukyu Kingdom became a major player in maritime trade in the areas of Southeast and East Asia. In 1609, the Tokugawa Shogunate, which held power in mainland Japan, gave the order for the Shimazu clan from Satsuma (known today as Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan) to invade the Ryukyu Kingdom. This happened relatively quickly and, after a brief but bloody war, the Ryukyu King, Shō Nei, was taken hostage and held for two years in Satsuma (Kagoshima) before eventually being released and returned to Shuri, the Ryukyu capital city. Following this upset, most of the Ryukyu Kingdom regained some autonomy and retained the façade of independence as a feudal kingdom. In contrast to the rest of the Ryukyu Kingdom, following the release of King Shō Nei, the Amami Islands were soon colonized by Satsuma in 1611. This invasion and colonization resulted in wealthy Amamian families gaining access to education via mainland Japan. This initial exposure to what is presently known as Japan initiated the erosion process of the Amami honorifics (*keigo*) system in some social classes. During this period, Satsuma, and later a unified Japan, began levying heavy taxes against the Amamians, and continued to do so for the next 250 years, beginning around 1613 until the Meiji Restoration

(1871) . The Amami Islands were economically exploited for their thriving brown sugar industry (Nishimura 1993). After the invasion of 1609, the Satsuma Clan enforced a sugarcane monoculture and an "impossible harvest quota" (Maeda 2014: 237), which made the Amamians extremely vulnerable to famine as they were prohibited from growing and harvesting other crops necessary for food (Maeda, 2014: 237). In 1920, sugar prices collapsed globally, which resulted in a terrible period of famine, still remembered today in Amami as the *sotetsu jigoku* ("cycad hell") because Amamians were forced to eat the poisonous cycad plant, which is fatal if not prepared properly. Many Amamians were killed through accidental cycad poisoning during this time. Even today, the relationship between Kagoshima and Amami is said to remain "difficult" (Maeda 2014: 237).

Anderson (2009: 30) asserts that despite the invasion and contact with mainland Japan before and after the kidnapping of the Ryukyu King Shō Nei, the Ryukyuan languages retained full vitality throughout this difficult period. It is unclear whether he is considering the Amami Islands in this statement, however, as Amami is often excluded from Ryukyuan studies due to its early invasion by Satsuma and political separation from the Ryukyu Kingdom. Undoubtedly, the Amami varieties (Northern and Southern Amami Ōshima) have been under significant pressure, even longer than other Ryukyuan languages, due to the long-standing occupation of the Satsuma Clan. Heinrich (2015) states that the invasion caused the Amami Islands to begin their shift to Japanese hundreds of years before the rest of the Ryukyuan Islands, in the 1600 and 1700s, beginning with the upper classes of Amami speakers who had access and more exposure to Japan.

Regardless, language shift in Amami and the rest of the Ryukyus was clearly accelerated during the Meiji Period (1868- 1912), when Japan was not only defining its borders for the first time, but also initiating a restructuring of society and culture. This

creation of the Japanese nation and a sense of "Japanese-ness" included education initiatives with a standardized education curriculum which was introduced to the Ryukyus in the 1880s. Between 1872 and 1879, the *Ryūkyū Shobun* ("Ryukyu Disposition") took place, which was essentially the gradual abolishment of the Ryukyu Kingdom. The last Ryukyuan King, Shō Tai, was cast out and exiled to Tokyo in 1879, and the Okinawa Prefecture was officially established as a prefecture of Japan (encompassing the Miyako, Yaeyama, and Okinawa islands). The Amami Islands were absorbed into Kagoshima Prefecture.

During the Meiji Period (1868-1912), local languages were stigmatized, and speakers gradually shifted to Japanese in an ever-growing number of linguistic domains. Ryukyuan languages have become increasingly endangered since that time. The Meiji government used oppressive language policies to "unite" its territories under a single language and introduced the Japanese language through education and export of Japanese officials to the Ryukyuan Islands. Japan aimed to "Japanize" the Ryukyus and spread a common language (*futsūgo*, i.e., the variety spoken in Tokyo, the capital city of Japan), which would eventually become known as Standard Japanese (*hyōjungo*) in 1916 when Japanese was officially standardized by the government. Japan utilized the concept of fusing nation and language via a unifying "national language" (*kokugo*) during the Meiji Period. Prior to this, the concept of a national language which united its speakers had not previously existed within Japan (Heinrich 2012). Together with the political pressure to give up local (i.e., Ryukyuan) languages, mass media brought Standard Japanese (henceforth "Japanese") into the Ryukyus (Osumi 2001: 71). Modernization and economic growth of the islands meant that many people migrated into the cities and to the main islands (*naichi*) and had to use Japanese to find employment (Anderson 2014: 31).

From the 1920s and 1930s, during the *sotetsu jigoku* ("cycad hell"), crippling economic conditions led many Amamians to leave their island and migrate to the main

island in Japan in search of a better life. Perhaps the most detrimental force in Amami's economy is the fact that Kagoshima continued to control Amami's brown sugar supply until the early 1940s, which kept many Amamians impoverished. Furthermore, Amamians were vulnerable to debt with exorbitant interest rates from Kagoshima businesses (Maeda 2014: 237). When a delegation from Amamians sought to end Kagoshima's monopoly of the brown sugar industry, they were sent to the front lines of the Seinan War (1877) without trial (Maeda 2014: 238). While Amami was already politically part of Japan's Kagoshima Prefecture, Amamians continued to move psychologically towards Japan through the 1960s via language assimilation. Many of these migrants went to the Hanshin region (mainly Osaka and Kobe), creating an Amami hub. Amamians were drawn to the Hanshin region of Japan due to their strong familial and community ties, where they received help settling and finding work. Maeda (2014: 246) writes that for Amamians, "'island ties' remained at the center of their new lives on the mainland". These support networks were sometimes formalized into official groups. In 2010, 16 different groups were belonging to the umbrella association *Kansai Amami Kai* or "Kansai Amami Association" (Maeda 2014: 245). According to Maeda (2014), Amamians differ from Okinawans in that they have never, as a group, claimed to be different from the Japanese or sought political independence like Okinawa. Indeed, during their migration to the mainland, they did not consider themselves immigrants at all, though they were treated as second-class citizens in similar ways to other minority groups, such as Koreans and Chinese.

Besides the Satsuma invasion and Japan's Meiji education reform, one other historical event contributed to language shift in the Amami Islands, known as the "American Period" or *Amika-yo* (1946- 1953). Following Japan's defeat in World War II, the Amami Islands came under American military control and were officially separated from Japan in February 1946. However, Amamians were generally opposed to American

control, and their forced separation caused economic hardships due to being excluded from the Japanese economic market. In the early 1950s Amamian elected leaders pledged to attempt to return to Japan and in response, the U.S. stepped in and diminished local Amamian government officials to symbolic figurehead status. During this time, Amamians used the Japanese language as a political act to strengthen their return to Japan (Heinrich 2004), and this directly caused further shifts away from local languages on the islands. This use of the Japanese language to reinforce political ties to Japan in this period was a trend throughout the Ryukyus during American occupation and control. While Amami had suffered under Japanese control, most Amamians felt more strongly opposed to the American occupation and control than that of Japan (Kerr 1958). On December 25, 1953, the U.S. returned the Amami Islands to Japan, which effectively separated Amami from the rest of the Ryukyus.

2.1.1 History of social class systems in the Ryukyus

Before the annexation of the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1879, there were three classes of people in the Ryukyus. The royal ruling class (*ōji*), the noblemen or *yukatchu* (bureaucratic class or "gentry" as they are referred to by Lawrence 2015), and commoners. Each class was associated with a distinct sociolect characterized by certain lexical items and variations in pronunciation, and there were also divides between genders within classes (Lawrence 2015). Once the Ryukyuan Kingdom was dissolved in 1879, these dialectal distinctions of pronunciation broke down in some Ryukyuan varieties. However, Lawrence (2015: 162) states the differences in vocabulary still exist residually from the former class system. Because Amami was absorbed under Japanese mainland control much earlier than the rest of the Ryukyuan Kingdom in 1609, we can speculate that differences in speech among the former classes have further decreased. Anecdotally, it is said that different Amamian classes did indeed have their own honorific systems (Tsutsui Billins, Session Shimaguchi110, 2018).

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In Amami, there was also a class of people known as "house people" or *yanchu*, who were indebted and essentially slaves until they could pay off their debt. Once, if ever, the debt was paid, however, *yanchu* still carried a great social stigma and were not accepted back into whatever class they belonged to before acquiring debt. Nagoshi (2006: 49) states that approximately 20 to 30% of all Amamians during the Edo Period (1603-1868) were *yanchu*. Therefore, a significant portion of Amamians today are *yanchu* descendants. The practice of keeping *yanchu* slaves was abolished in 1871, but Setouchi Amamians maintain that even today, local people know which families are descended from *yanchu* (Session Shimaguchi28f; Shimaguchi110). By contrast, reportedly some Amami families take pride in being descended slave-owners, as it is considered a status symbol (see: Tsutsui Billins, Session Shimaguchi110, 2018). This indicates that the historical class system, though now abolished, continues to have an impact on social structures today. However, Amami social classes cannot presently be distinguished based solely on their linguistic patterns, though historically this would have been the case. Ryukyuan languages historically distinguish social classes linguistically; however, Amami no longer does this. Residual linguistic features associated with class have been observed in other Ryukyuan languages. For example, Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui, and Heinrich (2021) argue that in some Ryukyuan languages, in areas where nobility formerly lived, communities have retained those specific honorifics formerly used to refer to and address this nobility. In other words, Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui, Heinrich (2021) assert that in some Ryukyuan languages, linguistic features that were once associated with social class have now become regional features. As Coulmas

(2013: 103) points out, societal change outpaces linguistic change, thus we cannot assume that social structures directly represent present linguistic structures. Therefore, observable linguistic distinctions do not necessarily reflect actual social stratification in real-time.

The historical hardships and traumas have all been instrumental in shaping the unique Amamian identity which makes them distinct from both Okinawans (and other Ryukyuans) and mainland Japanese. The Amami honorific system underwent several disruptions, including the invasion of the Satsuma Clan (1609) where upper social strata now began adopting the Japanese honorific system. Additionally, the education reform of the Meiji Period (1868 to 1912) which brought widespread language shift (across classes), and the American Period (1946 to 1953) where Amamians embraced Japanese culture and language as a way to strengthen their movement for Japan reversion (Maeda 2014). These three upheavals created language shifts and probably initiated the simplification and erosion of the Amami honorific system, though to what extent remains unclear (and will be explored in Chapter 6).

2.2 Intergenerational transmission & generations of speakers

UNESCO lists the Amami languages as "definitely endangered" (Moseley 2016). Southern Amami Ōshima was reported to have approximately 1,800 speakers in 2004 (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019). Intergenerational transmission of the language has been interrupted for at least two generations (Maeda 2014), and all inhabitants on the Amami Islands are fluent in Standard Japanese as a second or first language, as well as one or more regional variety of Japanese. In the Ura (Northern Amami) dialect, Shigeno (2010b) writes that fluent speakers tend to be in their sixties and older. In my own research, I found that in Setouchi (Southern Amami Ōshima), most self-proclaimed and

community-agreed-upon "fluent speakers" were at a minimum in their late sixties, but generally older in their seventies, eighties, and nineties. Most of the semi-speakers I collaborated with had grown up near or had been raised by their fluent (sometimes Amami monolingual) grandparents. Most Amamians under forty speak Japanese as their main language. These young speakers may use a local variety of Japanese (e.g., Kagoshima Japanese dialect, or Amami-substrate Japanese) when speaking to their elders (Anderson 2015: 482). The remaining (elderly) "fluent native speakers" (in the sense of Craig 1992a), who were born in the mid-1930s or earlier, rarely use Amami formal registers, honorifics, or humble speech in natural discourse (Anderson 2014). "Semi-speakers" (Craig 1992a) born between the mid-1930s to the mid-1950s do not have command of formal registers (Anderson 2014), meaning that the only possible participants for this project are now elderly and few in number. Thus, Amami is similar to other endangered language communities undergoing language shift, where the younger speakers have less ability than older more fluent speakers. What is particular about Amami is that the importance of polite speech as a marker of competence is likely more heightened for Amami than it is for other languages that do not have elaborate honorific systems, and this has far-reaching effects across speakers in how each generation communicates. The spread of language shift and endangerment and the breaking of the intergenerational transmission link will be further explored in the literature review (Section 3.1.3). Individual speaker profiles will be detailed in the methodology chapter (Section 4.10.5).

Anderson (2014) did a breakdown of speaker groups in the Ryukyus, and this thesis adopts Anderson's definitions to discuss Amami speakers. He defined "full-speakers" as those who can speak in all domains (including honorific registers). "Rusty speakers" only have proficient ability in plain or casual registers. Today, most speakers of Amami (and other Ryukyu languages) now fall in the "rusty speaker" category. Rusty

speakers are limited in their productive language abilities, and generally rely on the plain registers when they speak Amami. Children of rusty speakers tend to be Japanese monolinguals or "token speakers" (Anderson 2015). Token speakers are only able to produce some set formulas ("lexical chunk/touchstones"), such as greeting or expressions of thanks (this is relevant for the discussion of Amami honorifics as lexical touchstones- see Chapter 7). Anderson creates a range of language facility that can be incorporated into a framework of bilingualism. He defines bilingualism as:

> the linguistic repertoire of individuals or of whole societies. When used in reference to bilingual people, the term can have many different nuances…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 (2009: 25).

Anderson's definition of "receptive bilingual" describes most speakers today of Amami in Setouchi Town. Generally, younger Amami speakers (aged 40-59) would fall under Anderson's definition of a "semi speaker" and the elderly speaker participants (aged over 70) fall under the category of "full speaker" (any "rusty speakers" are marked in the data). For more details on speakers' self-assessed fluency, see Section 4.10.5 on speaker profiles. Most interactions recorded for this thesis are between younger "semi-speakers," and older "full speakers."

2.3 Loss of domains in Amami: Amami language use & endangerment

Amami has been losing domains since the Meiji Period (1868-1912) when oppressive language policies were introduced to the Amami Islands via education and local language use became stigmatized. During this period, Japanese language overtook all official and public communication spheres including media, education, and government (Anderson 2014: 112). Because of the endangered language situation where domains are not stable, we cannot say that Amami fits into a "diglossic" context (in the sense of Fishman 1967, 1972) where productive bilinguals use Amami in limited but stable domains such as in casual "home-family-neighbourhood" contexts (Fishman 1991).

Yet, some community members still use Amami regularly in traditional arts, such as *hachigatsu odori* ("August dance") and *shimauta* ("island songs").

As domains of use have become increasingly limited, Amami has undergone "stylistic shrinkage," a process that is common in endangered languages (Kuipers 1998; Gal 1979, Dorian 1981). This stylistic shrinkage, which has occurred across the Ryukyuan archipelago, has particularly affected polite registers (Anderson 2014: 123). The effect of this shrinkage is that speaker knowledge of the full range of Amami registers (e.g., formal speech) is rapidly decreasing, and speakers do not have full command of their heritage language. Stylistic shrinking eventually becomes "monostylism" (Gal 1979), where speakers can only use the language in certain casual domains and contexts. Eventually, speakers will no longer be able to draw on polite speech in Amami, and they will likely only be able to use Japanese (or another language) which would be the only adequate option for certain speech situations (see: de Cillia et al. 1998: 29). This study explores the current situation in Amami and examines speakers' communication strategies when contexts dictate the use of politeness.

In the Ryukyuan context, speakers have been shifting from their local languages to Japanese, due to socio-economic pressures (for example, people could once be fired from jobs for speaking local Ryukyuan languages) and stigmatization (Anderson 2014). In professional and formal situations where polite Amami forms would have traditionally been used, Amami speakers (full and rusty) now rely on Japanese to convey respect and humility. Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui, Heinrich (2021) assert that Ryukyuan languages are now entirely expelled from the public domain (since the mid-1940s) and intergenerational transmission has been broken for at least two generations. Anderson (2014: 104) also comments on the loss of honorific and humble registers and vocabulary in Uchinaaguchi Okinawan (a related Ryukyuan language). The following excerpt from Elmendorf (1965:

2) illustrates the situation in the Ryukyus regarding speakers' code choices to express

politeness:

> Ryukyuans have come to equate Japanese speech forms with the public,
> literate, formal, official, or polite sides of social behaviour. Thus, if one asks
> for the real, native, Okinawan pronunciation of some place name, one will
> inevitably receive a Japanese equivalent, sometimes a literal translation of the
> native term into Japanese, sometimes a sort of phonological Japanesing the
> native term by a one-to-one substituting of Japanese for (supposedly)
> equivalent Okinawan phonemes. At first I thought this indicated rapid
> morpheme replacement, of native by Japanese forms. Nothing of the kind.
> The native form would be used by anyone speaking Okinawan, but of course
> you don't speak Okinawan to strangers; to them you use Japanese, because
> Japanese forms are polite, literate, educated forms, which ought to go on a
> map, be related to strangers with whom one is formal, etc.

Elmendorf states that until he came to know his linguistic consultant very well, he was

not even able to elicit the Okinawan words for numerals 1 to 10. He deduced that the

reasoning behind this was his consultant's discomfort at speaking the "low" (Ryukyuan)

variety to an outsider. To a Ryukyuan language speaker, to use one's own language in

polite company was embarrassing or awkward, and Japanese (polite language) was the

only appropriate option.

Consequences of language loss observed thus far in the Ryukyus include

relexification, that is, replacement of Ryukyu lexicon by Japanese (e.g., Lawrence, 2015),

simplification of the phonological system (e.g., loss of phonemic distinctions, Nagata

2001). Ryukyuan prosodic patterns are leveling to assimilate to Standard Japanese

patterns (Heffernan, 2006). Thus, the retreating Ryukyuan languages are becoming more

similar to Japanese, the dominant language (Heinrich, 2012: 132–138). As in the cases

mentioned previously where registers and styles become reduced as speakers lose

opportunities to use them, honorific registers are also diminishing. Nagata (1996: 157)

schematically depicts the retreat of honorifics as an early indicator of language shift and

language endangerment. This has been observed in the Ryukyus by Anderson (2014) and

Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui, Heinrich (2021). Anderson 2014 (114) wrote:

A command of formal registers is important for functioning in Ryukyuan society which, like Japanese society, is vertical and hierarchical in structure. Hence, the loss of […] respect forms may have been one of the reasons why these bilingual parents chose to transmit only Japanese to their children after 1950.

Despite substantial anecdotal evidence that formal register loss is affecting language shift in the Ryukyus, there are currently no detailed studies on this matter, most likely because descriptive studies tend to focus on "full speakers," and neglect to study language use amongst less proficient generations of speakers (Heinrich & Sugita, 2009). There is also a dearth of research on workplace language in the Ryukyus (Anderson 2019: 383). This study aims to address both of these gaps in the literature.

2.4. Amami language structure and system

This section situates Amami as a Japonic language and discusses some structural aspects relevant to this thesis's research aims, particularly research aim 1 which addresses verbal honorifics. Thus, this section reviews Amami syllable and clause structure, predicate phrase structure and basic morphology, as well as nationalist ideology regarding Amami language in Japan.

2.4.1 Amami as a Japonic Language

As previously mentioned, (Section 2.3), the Ryukyuan languages are officially unrecognized and have been historically grouped under the umbrella term "Japanese dialect," even though Ryukyuan languages lack mutual intelligibility among themselves and with Japanese (Heinrich 2005). Amami and the other Ryukyuan languages are descended from Proto-Ryukyuan, not Old Japanese as is often assumed (see Bentley 2015, Pellard 2015). Therefore, it is linguistically incorrect to call Amami a dialect of Japanese, as the two languages have descended from two different, albeit related, languages.

The Amami Ōshima language has been classified as a "Northern Ryukyuan" language (along with Okinawan, or *Uchinaaguchi*). According to the Japanese

government, the official stance on Amami languages (and all Ryukyuan languages) is that they are mere "dialects" of Japanese, rather than fully-fledged languages (Heinrich 2005). However, in the Linguistic field it is generally accepted that the Japonic language family has two main branches, one with Japanese, and the other with the Ryukyuan languages, including Amami languages (Pellard, 2015: 15). The Japonic language family is illustrated below, in Figure 4, where we can see that Amami and Okinawan (Uchinaaguchi) form the Northern Ryukyuan branch of the Ryukuyan family, whilst Miyako, Macro-Yaeyama (Yonaguni/Dunan and Yaeyama) form the Southern Ryukyuan branch.
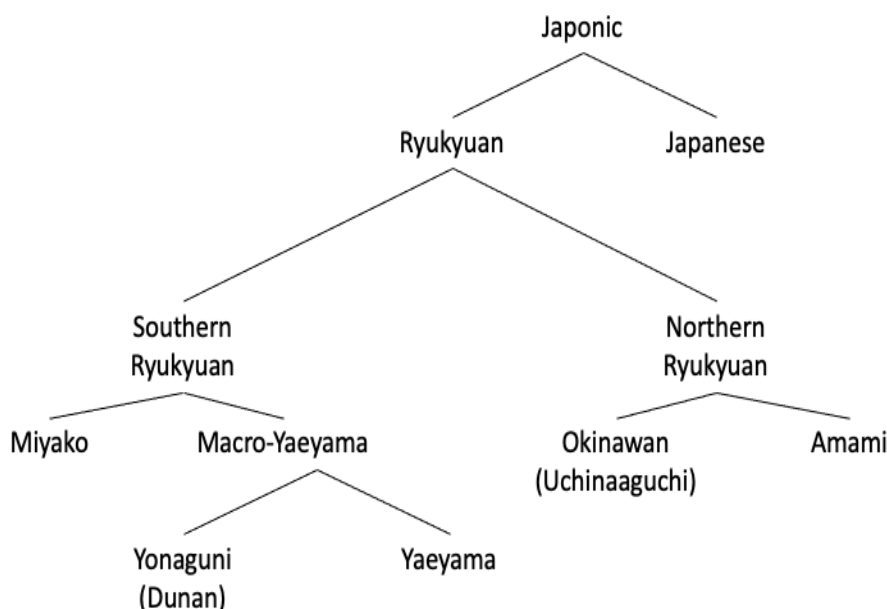
Figure 4: Japonic language family tree (adapted from Pellard 2015: 15)

2.4.2 Syllable structure

Southern Amami Ōshima's syllable structure is as follows (Niinaga 2015: 326).

Syllable structure: $(C_1 (G))V_1 (C_2)$ and $(C_1 (G))V_1 (V_2)$
Possible phonemes in each syllable:
C_1: any consonants
G: /j/ or /w/; /w/ may follow /k/ or /h/ only
V_1: any vowels
C_2: word-internally: /p, t, k, b, d, g [tʃ]/ (obstruents or sonorants)

word-finally: /p, t, k, s, r, m, n/
V_2: /i/

Southern Amami Ōshima has many closed syllables formed from vowel elision of high vowel i or u (Karimata 2015: 124). The syllable coda may be filled by either obstruent /q/ or nasal /N/. This is distinct from Northern Amami Ōshima, many other Ryukyuan varieties and Standard Japanese, which tend to have open syllables (Uemura 2003: 51). Generally, Southern Amami Ōshima vowels follow consonants which occur in the syllable onset position (Karimata 2015).

2.4.3 Predicate phrase structure

A clause is made of at least one argument filled by a nominal phrase + a predicate phrase (Niinaga 2015: 334). If the argument(s) is inferable, it may be omitted from the utterance. Amami constituent order is SOV for all clauses (finite and non-finite). At least one verb (V) forms the predicate phrase, and Subject (S) and Object (O) act as nominal phrases (Niinaga, 2010: 44). Because the argument (Subject and Object) may be left out if inferred, only the Verb(s) (V) are obligatory.

[(Argument) $_{1n}$ Predicate] $_{Clause}$

Predicate phrase structure will be the most relevant to the discussion in this thesis. Amami predicate phrases can be filled by either a noun (nominal predicate), a verb (verbal predicate), or adjective (adjectival predicate).

Two types of predicate phrases are possible (Niinaga, 2010: 45):

(1) Verbal predicate
lexical verb 1 (+auxiliary verb/lexical verb 1)

(2) Nominal predicate
NP (+ copula verb)

This thesis adopts Ackerman and Webelhuth (1998) definition of predicates where predicates are "determiners of central properties of clauses" (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998: 6) and "determin[e] all of the complement requirements for the domain which it

heads" and are the "locus for clausal operators" such as tense, aspect, and mood (Ackerman and Webelhuth 1998: 37). In other words, predicates do not equal verbs per se but include a lot of different types, as demonstrated in this section. A predicate can consist of multiple verbs.

2.4.4 Southern Amami verbs

Southern Amami Ōshima verbs, like Japanese and other Ryukyuan verbs, conjugate according to tense, aspect, mood, affirmative or negative polarity, and voice. Derived verbs are created through affixation of auxiliary verbs and suffixes, and express aspect, polarity, politeness, and voice (Karimata 2015: 129). Morphological honorification is expressed in verbs (as well as pronouns and other parts of speech). This morphological honorification in Southern Amami Ōshima contrasts to some other Ryukyuan varieties, such as the Miyako dialects, which reportedly do not have honorific forms (Nakasone 1976).

Basic Ryukyu verb morphology is as follows (Miyara 2002:97):

root(+continuous aspect)(+politeness/honorific) (+negation) (+modality tee, yɨ) (+tense) +mood

For example, from Niinaga's sketch grammar of Yuwan Amami (2015: 330):

wa ŋ =ga ju-da.
1SG=NOM read-PST
"I read."

2.5 Amami Studies: Currently published Amami documentation

The varieties spoken on the Amami Islands are usually divided into Southern and Northern Amami. By some accounts, these could be classified as distinct languages (Uemura & Suyama 1997: 437), but other scholars disagree and maintain that they are two dialects of a single Amami language (Heinrich & Ishihara 2017: 1). It should be noted that the UNESCO *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* (Moseley 2016) list Northern and Southern Amami as belonging to two different languages, Northern Amami

is listed with ISO code [ryn] and Southern Amami as ISO code [ams]. However, Heinrich, Miyara and Shimoji list Southern Amami Oshima and Northern Amami Oshima as two dialects of one Amami language (2015: 15), and this is the position that this thesis also takes. Throughout the Amami Islands, considerable dialect variation exists, making work on one variety relevant for research on that dialect, but not necessarily for dialects from other villages (Niinaga 2015: 323). Prior to the Meiji Period (1868 to 1912) are no records of vernacular languages in the Amami Islands (Maeda 2014: 238). Most Amami varieties are undocumented, and most of the work that has been done on Amami languages has been conducted on only three of the Amami dialects: Amami Ōshima, Tokunoshima, and Kikai (Niinaga 2015). Most of the existing documentation is decades old and generally inaccessible (published in Japanese and not available outside of Japan due to lack of digitization). Existing literature on Amami consists primarily of scant dictionaries and grammars, word lists, and texts, with limited description. Nagata & Fujii (1980) produced a limited lexicon of the Yamatohama dialect, while Shirata et al. (2011) produced a text of the Amami Kamikatetsu dialect. Shirata has also published papers on the Kikai Ryukyuan variety, which is near Amami (e.g., Rieser & Shirata 2014; Shirata 2018; Shirata 2020). As for Amami dictionaries, Kiku & Takahashi (2005) and Okamura et al. (2009) produced dictionaries (in Japanese) in the Tokunoshima and Yoron dialects, respectively. Terashi (1985) produced a sketch grammar of Amami, but he does not specify which variety his grammar is based on, and furthermore, he assumes Amami is a "dialect"' of Japanese (as was the norm before 2010 when Shimoji began treating Ryukyuan varieties as their own distinct languages- see Shimoji 2010). Predicates in Amami (Yoron dialect) are briefly discussed in Niinaga's (2015) sketch grammar of Amami. Niinaga also wrote a sketch grammar of Northern Amami's Yuwan dialect (2010). Shigeno wrote a sketch grammar of the Northern Amami Ura dialect (2010b).

There are no sketch grammars of the Setouchi dialect (Southern Amami), which this study investigates.

The existing Amami Ōshima publications are based primarily on elicitation and narratives and do not draw its conclusions based on naturalistic speech, nor does the literature offer more than a few scant examples (see: Terashi 1985; Niinaga 2015). Since the existing research does not appear to draw on naturally occurring speech, we cannot answer the questions with whom and in what context polite speech is used (or was once used) and what the pragmatics for using polite registers are. Without such empirical data, linguists cannot hope to explain the functional values non-casual speech carries. In other words, the question of "how do Amami bilinguals express politeness?" or "what is the current role of Amami honorifics in naturally-occurring discourse?" cannot be answered using the current documentation and description of the language.

Based on the current documentation, we see that data on natural speech must be collected while there are still speakers around who can produce such material. Also, existing documentation covers the Yoro, Yoron, Ura, Yamatohama, and Tokunoshima dialects, but there is little to no existing documentation on the Setouchi varieties. Maeda (2013a) created a textbook to be used for language revitalization and teaching materials specifically for the Setouchi variety (see Section 6.1.2). This is the closest thing to a sketch grammar that currently exists. Furthermore, data collected should ideally be published and disseminated both inside and outside of Japan, preferably in both English and Japanese, and digitally archived, making it more widely accessible to researchers and community members. For example, there is a large number of Ryukyuan diaspora and their descendants (e.g., the Brazilian Okinawan community) who may not have access to data that is in Japan exclusively in Japanese.

2.6 Amami Studies: Amami's exclusion from Ryukyuan Studies

Although Amami is located within the Ryukyuan language group, and was a part of the former Ryukyuan Kingdom, Amami has often been excluded from Ryukyuan language studies (Maeda 2014). There are no sociolinguistic studies published on Amami before 2000 (Maeda 2014: 236). Contrastingly, there are some sociolinguistic studies of related Ryukyuan languages, such as Clark (1979) and Motonaga (1979; 1994) on Okinawan, and Matsumori (1995) on the Ryukyus as a whole. This is indicative of a divide between Amami and other Ryukyuan languages, as Amami was administratively consolidated into Japan's jurisdiction much earlier than other Ryukyuan islands (see Section 2.1.1). Furthermore, as mentioned above, there are no records of the Amami language before the Meiji period (1868 to 1912). Maeda (2014: 238) states this is due to lack of interest, which could be partially accounted for by the stigma Amamians were subjected to as a "back-water" minority group who spoke "improper Japanese." The Amami Islands were occupied by Satsuma (i.e., mainland Japan) much earlier than the rest of the former Ryukyu Kingdom, which created a boundary between Amami and the rest of the Ryukyus. In 1609, the Satsuma military took over the island, creating a political border between Amami and the other Ryukyu Islands. Amami was also returned to Japan before the rest of the Ryukyus (Maeda 2014), further reinforcing the ideology that Amami and Japan are more similar than Amami and Okinawa or the rest of the Ryukyus. Perhaps because of this barrier, Amami is often excluded from the discussion on Ryukyuan languages.

Even within Ryukyuan and Japanese language studies, the Ryukyuan languages have often been assumed to be dialects of Japanese and viewed from a dialectology perspective (see Uemura 1997, 2003; Uchima et al. 1976.). This is rooted in Japan's "national language" ideology which started with the standardization of Japanese during the Meiji period. During this time, Japan was a newly created state. During this period,

hyōjungo ("standard language") education "corrected" local Ryukyuan varieties into "proper [Japanese] language." Researchers like Uemura (1997, 2003) describe the Ryukyuan languages as dialects of a single Ryukyuan language, rather than Japanese dialects. This perspective likely originates from Japan's history of discriminatory language policy, which reduced the Ryukyuan languages to mere "dialects" of Japanese (Yoshimura 2014). Studying Ryukyuan languages through a dialectologist lens is problematic because without making the distinction between Ryukyuan "language" and "dialect," case studies regarding the Ryukyus cannot be effectively analyzed against the backdrop of endangered *language* studies. As Anderson (2009: 59) points out:

> 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.

2.7 Politeness & honorific research in the Amami Islands

Early documentation of politeness in Amami consists of works by Kinshiro (1931) and Iwakura (1932) on Amami Ōshima dialects. Thus far, Hiromi Shigeno has published the most on Amami politeness. Her studies on politeness on the Northern Amami Yoro and Ura varieties discuss honorifics forms and usage, however, these studies are only available in Japanese (Shigeno 2010a 2013, 2014, 2015; Shibatani & Shigeno 2013). Furthermore, her 2010 study of honorifics of Ura is based on only two speakers: a woman and a man, who vary greatly in age (82 years old and 52 years old) (2010: 280). Speakers of differing ages and generations may have different speaking styles and different abilities, so for a small study, it would be better to work with a speaker sample of people of similar ages.

Both Yuto Niinaga (2010) and Hiromi Shigeno (2010b) mention honorifics in their sketch grammars of Ura and Yuwan, two Northern Amami varieties. Niinaga references honorifics and politeness in his sketch grammar but does not make any comments on the use of forms and does not elaborate other than to say that honorific forms exist. Niinaga

states that Amami predicates take two forms regarding politeness: humble (which lowers

the status of the speaker), and honorific (which raises the status of the listener), as is the

case in Japanese. However, Niinaga gives no examples of Amami utterances exhibiting

these forms. Furthermore, he does not identify any patterns in honorific suffixes and

prefixes or predicate forms in Southern Amami Ōshima. Niinaga also marks a distinction

in pronouns in politeness (2010: 49).

The lack of politeness studies in Ryukyuan studies is symptomatic of a larger

issue in documentary linguistics, which is that register variation has been under-explored.

In Japanese, researchers have investigated linguistic variation based not only on

socioeconomic factors but also on social factors such as gender. For example, several

studies suggest that Japanese-speaking women use more honorifics than men, but this

may be related to the traditional lower-status of women compared to men (and not merely

an issue of gender, but also social status) (e.g., Hori: 1986). Despite much investigation

into variation in Japanese, there is very little to no mention of variation in Ryukyuan

language documentation. Outside of Ryukyuan language studies, endangered language

documentation features very little representation of different language uses. In published

studies, we see no evidence of the linguistic register range, with only the best examples

(stereotypes) used as references for conclusions drawn and as examples. This highlights a

challenge this project will encounter, which is the issue of collecting the actual usage of

linguistic forms (rather than only illustrating just the polite and impolite forms out of

context). Additionally, language documentation gathered across linguistic genres (in the

sense of Himmelman 1998) is sparse. To fully document a language, researchers cannot

rely on a single genre, as Himmelman (1998: 176) states:

> …It is commonly agreed that conventional text collections, which often
> include only narratives and procedural texts, are far from sufficient in
> providing an adequate sample of the linguistic practices found in a given
> speech community.

In the case of Amami, the most commonly collected genres are procedurals, narratives, and traditional songs and folktales. The existing documentation of Amami is based on these genres and elicitations.

As mentioned, there is scant documentation of Amami varieties, and what documentation there is generally glosses over politeness and honorific forms. The documentation that has been collected thus far has been conducted through the lens of Japanese. For example, Hiromi Shigeno has conducted survey studies on honorifics in Northern Amami. However, Shigeno's research categorized Amami honorific speech into Japanese language structures. Japanese is well-known for its complex honorific system (known as *keigo*). However, Amami, as a language in its own right, does not necessarily conform to all of the categories of Japanese *keigo*. In Shigeno's studies, she relies on the Japanese system and taxonomy to categorize Amami honorifics by pigeonholing Amami honorifics into the Japanese categories of politeness: *teineigo* (polite), *sonkeigo* (honorific), and *kenjougo* (humble) (2010a).

In this way, it is clear that the currently published politeness studies on Amami honorifics are attempting to fit Amami honorifics into an existing but inappropriate Japanese taxonomy. Amami and Japanese are both Japonic languages, however, to assume that Amami will behave in the same way as Japanese is not scientifically sound. Heinrich (2012) also supports this argument by noting the starting point was national ideology which led to a constructed "linguistic reality", so it is not bound to conform to empirical realities. Hence, approaches like this thesis can actually make a case for change in how we approach language study in East Asia. Furthermore, the traditional mindset of the national language of Japan is damaging because it implies that Amami is not a language in its own right with its own formal structures and linguistic features.

2.8 How this study fits in with Amami Studies

All varieties of Amami are endangered and vary widely at every linguistic level (Niinaga 2015). Therefore, existing documentation and description of one variety is inadequate in terms of necessary fieldwork to be conducted. This project complements existing work on Amami as it is on an undocumented variety, Setouchi, spoken in Setouchi Town on Amami Ōshima. What little Amami descriptive research has been done thus far primarily covers Yamatohama, Ura, Yuwan, Yoro, Sani, and Naze varieties. Furthermore, this description is primarily intended for teaching materials and does not draw on naturally occurring data. Additionally, corpus data used for descriptive publications in Amami are virtually impossible to locate. As Fija, Brenzinger & Heinrich (2009) assert, most of the material published was conducted by researchers untrained in language documentation. Additionally, archiving in Japan is not a common practice. This project's research could eventually be used for studies making cross-comparisons of Setouchi and other varieties.

Historically, Northern Amami predicates in polite speech contain two forms: humble (which lowers the status of the speaker), and honorific (which raises the status of the listener) (Niinaga 2015; 2013, 2014, 2015). However, this thesis aims to expand knowledge in Ryukyuan linguistics by exploring the Southern Amami variety, and also explores a third honorific form, addressee honorifics. While some documentation has been collected on Amami, it is obvious that there is more work to be done to adequately document Amami, particularly the full range of registers present in the language, including language utilizing honorific and humble forms. This thesis, as a documentation of honorifics in a Southern Amami variety, lays the groundwork for future in-depth documentation of honorifics beyond verbal predicates. Further documentation should also be based on actual usage and originate from natural contexts, rather than from elicitation.

More broadly, politeness studies in Ryukyuan studies are under-researched and under-published, so this thesis contributes to that research gap as well. Finally, this project sheds light on not only Southern Amami Ōshima as an endangered language, but also the process endangered languages undergo as their domains decrease and the language shrinks. This project's outputs serve a variety of purposes, not only for future research but also for the Amami community members. Furthermore, data collected will likely contribute knowledge useful to other disciplines examining other aspects of Amami, such as cultural, ethnobotanical, historical, and ethnomusicological data.

3. Review of existing literature

This chapter provides extensive coverings of all relevant and critical issues linked to this thesis's aims to be examined in this project. Specifically, the topics of language endangerment in the Ryukyus, politeness, and honorifics. These sections will also discuss current gaps in the literature to be filled by further studies, including this thesis. This chapter covers the study of endangered languages (Section 3.1), code-switching (Section 3.2) and we-codes in endangered languages (Section 3.3), which are two relevant topics in this thesis. Section 3.4 reviews the concept and study of linguistic landscape, which is relevant to the analysis of Amami honorifics present in the Setouchi linguistic landscape. Sections 3.5 and 3.6 review the relevant theories on politeness and studies regarding the functional values of polite speech, as well as classify honorifics with the taxonomy that will be utilized for this study. Finally, 3.7 places this study within the existing literature.

3.1 Study of endangered languages

Documentary Linguistics (or Language Documentation) saw a resurgence in the 1990s, following a "call to action" (Austin & Sallabank 2011) from Hale et al. (1992) which highlighted the seriousness of an alarming rate of language shift in today's world. Indeed, today over half of the world's 7,000 languages are estimated to be at risk of falling silent (Austin & Sallabank 2011). This section will define key terminology regarding endangered language and language loss (i.e., "death"), and situate Southern Amami Ōshima as an endangered language.

3.1.1 Defining language endangerment, loss and shift

Woodbury (2019:1) defines an endangered language as a language which:

> is likely to become extinct in the near future. Many languages are falling out of use and being replaced by others that are more widely used in the region or nation, such as English in the U.S. or Spanish in Mexico. Unless current trends are reversed, these endangered languages will become extinct within the next century. Many other languages are no longer being learned by new generations of children or by new adult speakers; these languages will become extinct when their last speaker dies. In fact, dozens of languages

today have only one native speaker still living, and that person's death will mean the extinction of the language: It will no longer be spoken, or known, by anyone.

In 2003, UNESCO put forth a framework to measure language endangerment. While admitting that no single factor can be used to accurately assess language vitality, this framework draws on a variety of factors to determine a language's endangerment. It proposes six degrees of vitality according to nine factors, the most important being intergenerational transmission. According to UNESCO's framework, Amami's level of endangerment is "definitely endangered".

While some scholars have discussed language loss as though languages are independent entities, e.g., "language X died and was replaced by language Y" (Schulze & Stauffer 2007), following Anderson (2009:23), this thesis views language endangerment and language shift and loss from a speaker-centered approach. In other words, this thesis acknowledges that languages themselves do not vanish or obsolesce on their own, but rather are given up by speakers who shift to another language (Anderson 2009: 23-24). This process of speakers abandoning one language in favor of another is language shift. Language shift can be defined as the "gradual replacement of one language by another" (Weinreich, 1952: 68). In Setouchi, the traditional language (Amami), is and has been discarded by speakers in favor of Japanese. Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui & Heinrich (2021) state that in the cases of language shift there is also always instances of language loss and vice versa: there is never societal-level language loss without language shift. Ergo, we can see that these two concepts are intimately connected. Language loss – sometimes also called "language contraction" or "language decay", is the inevitable result of language shift (e.g., Dorian, 1981; Sasse, 1992; Schmidt, 1985)." Language loss may occur on a micro-level (i.e., individual speakers lose language ability), and/or on a larger scale in society due to language shift (Schmid, 2011: 3). However, it is also true that individuals and even entire communities can shift to another language without causing language

endangerment, if that language exists elsewhere (Pauwels 2016). For example, many migrants from Japan came to the U.S. between the 1860s-1920s, and this community eventually shifted from Japanese to English, the majority language of their new home. This is a common case example of language shift without language loss, because Japanese is a major language still spoken natively by millions of people in Japan. Thus, while the Japanese-speaking migrants and their descendants underwent language shift, this did not lead to Japanese language endangerment. This thesis examines speakers' choices against the backdrop of language loss, particularly in contexts where polite speech is required. Additionally, against the backdrop of language shift/loss, where many Amamians are either Japanese monolinguals or speak Amami in limited manners, the question of *who* counts as part of the Amami speech community is a relevant one. Thus, this thesis uses the following definition from Meyerhoff et al. (2011: 125) to describe the Amami speech community as:

> Any socially meaningful grouping of speakers whose direct and indirect interactions with each other contribute to the maintenance, establishment, or contestation of a social order recognizable to the speakers or the researcher.

Thus, this definition encompasses speakers of varying linguistic proficiency of Amami, from older fluent speakers, to younger, semi-speakers who only use Amami in limited ways.

3.1.2 Reasons for language loss and shift

Several scholars have used the "death" metaphor when discussing language loss (e.g., Campbell & Muntzel 1989, Crystal 2000, Nettle & Romaine 2000). Campbell & Muntzel (1989: 182-6) describe four possible scenarios for language death (i.e., loss): "sudden death", "radical death", "gradual death", and "bottom-to-top death". Sudden death takes place in cases where an entire speech community is abruptly silenced - for example in cases of genocide, famine, natural disaster, or other reasons. Sudden death

describes the fate of many Native American languages, where the entire communities were killed by settlers from Europe. Like "sudden death", "radical death" also takes place under extreme circumstances (e.g., extreme political oppression) and leads to a fast-acting language shift. For example, speakers abruptly shift to the majority language exclusively out of risk of being killed or imprisoned for using their language (e.g., the case of Catalan being outlawed in Francoist Spain during the 1940s and 1950s). In cases of "radical death", speakers "stop speaking their languages out of self-defense as a survival strategy" (Nettle & Romaine 2000: 6). Gradual death describes a language shift process that is slower than "sudden death" or "radical death", and in this case, speakers gradually use their language in less and fewer domains/situations, so that the language undergoes attrition and becomes "somewhat impoverished". The process of languages shrinking domain by domain (e.g., Fishman 1991) is relevant to the Setouchi community because today and in recent years, Amami has not been used in several domains where honorifics were once commonplace (such as the workplace). As speech communities shift and stop transmitting the language to the next generation, the intergenerational link is broken, and younger generations of speakers gradually become less and less able in the local language. Eventually, only the elderly generations will still speak the language well, and the youngest generations will gradually not be able to use the language at all and only have fluency in the dominant language. When there are no elderly speakers left, the language dies. Lastly, "bottom-to-top death" occurs when a language is restricted to specific domains and purposes, such as liturgical language used for ceremonial purposes only.

While examples that fit each of these scenarios described by Campbell & Muntzel are well-documented, there is rarely a sole and clear reason why language loss and shift occurs. In the case of the Ryukyus, speakers have been under political pressure from Japan to shift to Japanese, and social stigma has also played a significant role. Local

policies in the Ryukyus discouraged the use of local languages in public domains (school, work, etc.), and Japanese was favored as the language of economic opportunity, and thus passed on exclusively in some families to the next generations. Anderson (2009: 25) states that the most apt description of language shift in the Ryukyus is "gradual death". A feature of gradual death is language attrition, which will be discussed in the next section.

3.1.3 Consequences of language loss and shift

While language loss generally refers to the complete loss of language (from either an individual speaker or community), language attrition refers to the "loss of, or changes to, grammatical and other features of a language as a result of declining use by speakers who have changed their linguistic environment and language habits." (Schmid 2011: 3). In cases of language loss, languages may undergo simplification of aspects such as tense system or certain properties of subordinate clauses; some lexical items may diminish in use and phonetic features may be altered. These linguistic changes may be influenced by the speakers' environment, and/or speakers' attitudes and sense of identity (Schmid 2011: 3). This is what Dorian (1981) referred to as "stylistic shrinkage" in her study of Gaelic, where she observed that speakers' Gaelic abilities were undergoing "functional reduction", and she asserted that "reduced use of a language will lead also to a reduced form of that language" (Dorian 1977:24). The stylistic shrinkage and loss of speech genres that occur in endangered languages produce "asymmetrical" speakers who cannot use the language to its full capacity (see Dorian 1981; Grinevald & Bert 2011). The more endangered a language becomes, the larger the proportion of "marginal speakers" becomes (Grinevald & Bert 2011). Dressler theorized that stylistic shrinkage ("language decay") could eventually result in speakers who were only productive in one style (monostylism) (1981: 326). This language attrition may be due to the "restriction in contexts of usage" (King 1989: 146), where languages can be used by their speakers in

more limited ways due to social factors (e.g., social stigma, socio-economic prestige or lack of, etc.).

This is certainly the case for Ryukyuan languages, which have been replaced by Japanese in the workplace and official contexts. As languages become increasingly endangered, they lose "domains". Fishman (1971) defines domains as "sociolinguistic contexts definable for any given society by three significant dimensions: the location, the participants and the topic". There are five domains of language use; family, friendship, religion, education, and employment (Fishman 1972). Comparably, Spolsky defines domains as "definable social or political or religious groups or communities, ranging from family through a sports team or neighborhood or village or workplace or organization or city or nation state or regional alliance" (2004: 2155). In the Ryukyu context, Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui & Heinrich (2021) use this framework to demonstrate that the domain of "home", defined by these three basic components and not simply in the "physical place of home", but a default language choice that exists in multilingual settings. As speakers choose to use the majority language exclusively (as the unmarked choice) in more and more domains, the endangered language (i.e., Amami) retreats until there are no domains (no settings, no occasions) left where Amami is spoken.

There has been little research on the phenomenon of stylistic shrinkage, and what happens to languages' pragmatic and discourse systems as they undergo this stylistic shrinkage is still unclear as few detailed case studies have been conducted on the subject. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) put forth several hypotheses regarding the structural changes that "obsolescing languages" undergo as they become more and more endangered, such as overgeneralization or marked features and development of variability. Additionally, Campbell and Muntzel (1989) note that these changes thus far seem to take place in a matter of "uncertain predictability". As more case studies (such as

this one) are conducted on obsolescing languages, more can be learned about the processes languages go through as they are lost.

Stylistic shrinkage in endangered languages has been observed in the following cases:

- Ocuilteco (an Oto-Pamean language of Central Mexico) speakers cannot perform the formulaic ritual language necessary for religious ceremonies and marriage rituals following language loss (Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 195).
- Speakers of endangered language Pipil are unable to draw on oral-literary devices (e.g., paired couplets), cannot use original passives (Campbell 1985).
- Speakers of the endangered Dyirbal language cannot use the "mother-in-law" speech style, which is required in the presence of taboo relatives (Schmidt 1991: 120).
- Semi-speakers of Albanian depend on formulaic material, which they use inappropriately and also may accidentally use obscenities. For example, a young man was recorded using a formulaic expression that is appropriate only for older female speakers to use (Tsitsipis 1989: 126). Albanian is spoken by approximately 7.5 million speakers (Rusakov 2017).

Dorian (1981) observed this phenomenon in Scottish Gaelic speakers, as communities shifted from Gaelic to English in most domains, leaving only "domestic functional domains" in Gaelic. Dorian found that as well as limited Gaelic domains, Gaelic styles were also depleted (Dorian 1981: 80).

Besides structural consequences to the obsolescing language, language loss and attrition is also connected to the loss of "diversity, human knowledge, identity, and history" as outlined by Crystal states "if diversity is a prerequisite for successful humanity, then the preservation of linguistic diversity is essential, for language lies at the heart of what it means to be human" (2000: 33-34). The idea that language loss is tied to the loss of cultural diversity is reinforced by Nettle and Romaine, who wrote, "language death is symptomatic of cultural death: a way of life disappears with the death of a language" (2000: 7).

3.2 Code-switching

The field of code-switching is vast and applies to both endangered language contexts and other multilingual contexts, particularly in Asia and Africa where speakers use various codes in various contexts (Pauwels 2016). However, this thesis focuses on code-switching as it relates to language endangerment as that is what is relevant to this project. In communities undergoing language shift, there is usually a degree of code-switching between the shifting language (e.g., Amami) and the dominant language (e.g., Japanese). Myers-Scotton (1992:35) puts forth this definition of code-switching and borrowing:

> [code-switching] is differentiated from [borrowing] in two major ways. First, [matrix language] speakers may be monolingual and still use [borrowing] forms, but those who use [code-switching] forms must show some degree of bilingualism. Second, [borrowing] forms have acquired status as part of the grammar of the [matrix language], 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 [code-switching] forms.

Speakers code-switch for several reasons, such as to discuss specific topics, to directly quote someone, to show solidarity or gratitude, to mark group identity, to mark emphasis, or to make a clarification in conversation. In terms of marking group identity, code-switching can index who is in one's in-group and out-group in multilingual communities (such as Setouchi), where speakers speak more than one variety. Auer (1984) suggests that code-switching not only indexes social situations but can also create social situations. For example, if a speaker wants to build rapport with another speaker, they may code-switch to speak to them in a certain way to achieve that. There are two opposing theories regarding code-switching in the literature, the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton 1993) and the Conversational Analytic (CA) approach (Auer 1995; 1998).

The Markedness Model aims to clarify speakers' motivations behind their code choices as "Rights and Obligations sets" (RO sets) or "benefits and costs for various speech behaviors". In this model, speakers make either "unmarked" or "marked" code

choices for the specific social situation. This model has been criticized for being underdeveloped and is extremely difficult to implement because it operates from a top-down perspective. Thus, unless the researcher analyzing the conversation has in-depth contextual knowledge about the participants and culture the conversation is occurring in, it is nearly impossible to make the necessary judgments to analyze data using this model. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model falls into a wider group of approaches, known as the Rational Choice (RC) models (e.g., Elster 1979, 1989, 1997). The Rational Choice models assert that bilingual speakers code-switch due to rational choices they made according to their perceptions of their rights and obligations in the given communicative situation. Thus, speakers choose the code based on their rational decisions, made according to their attitudes, and identities. The RC model differs slightly from the CA approach in that it emphasizes speakers' orientation to conversational structures. The CA approach also agrees that speakers are "rational individuals". In other words, the CA model argues that speakers code-switch in order to achieve coherence during the communicative event. Thus, speakers' language choice and decision to code-switch is "programmatically relevant" to the talk-in-interaction (Wei 2005). The RC models align with Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory, where they argue that speakers adjust their behavior in order to maximize benefits in their self-interest.

On the other end of the spectrum is the Conversational Analytic (CA) approach (Auer 1995; 1998). Auer asserts that analyzing code-switching can be accomplished without specific cultural information that the Markedness Model calls for. The CA approach's main points are:

1) no significant correlation has been found between the content of the topic of conversation itself and language form (Auer 1984).
2) Speakers have a strong tendency to maintain the language of the previous conversational turn and speakers tend to code-switch whilst initiating turns (Auer 1984, 1995)
3) code-switching may be used to attempt repair (Sebba and Wootton 1998), soften refusals (Wei 2005), attract a listener's attention by the code's "otherness" (Wei

1998), restart a conversation or change topics (Wei 1998), and contextualize specific speech acts such as storytelling, quoting, 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 allows intrasentential switching" (Auer 1998: 3).

Auer's CA approach has been criticized for potentially "missing important elements of the function and meaning" (Nilep 2006: 45). Nilep (2006: 54) states that the optimal approach to understanding code-switching must include "ethnographic observation with close analysis of discourse, providing an empirical warrant for any theory of discourse interaction". Thus, in this thesis, I attempt to achieve this optimal approach by drawing on ethnographic methods and use Myers-Scotton's definition of code-switching as "itself as the unmarked choice" as a valuable framework of reference when examining the Setouchi community's linguistic practices. I also follow Myers-Scotton's notion that speakers carry with them in each conversation what is marked and unmarked for the particular communicative situation they find themselves in.

3.2.1 Code-switching in endangered language context

Crystal (2000) suggested that increased code-switching indicates that the minority language is under pressure from the majority language. Code-switching may also indicate a disruption in fluency, as younger speakers lack ability in the minority language. These younger, semi-speakers may use code-switching to create and use "non-standard and innovated forms" (McConvell & Florey 2005) Thus, in the endangered language context, lack of endangered language knowledge can be a much more prominent reason for code-switching than in more stable multilingual contexts. Martin (2005) also suggested that increased code-switching may be a symptom of language shift and obsolescence. As a language obsolesces, the existing linguistic norms break down (Aikhenvald 2020). This leads to increased variation, where speakers of varying fluency draw on differing forms and amounts of forms from their dominant language. For example, Aikhenvald (2020: 246) writes that speakers "may insert a non-native form as an ad-hoc way of filling a

lexical gap in a language one does not speak well any longer. Blurring the boundaries between borrowing and code-switching goes together with the inherently unstable character of languages on the path to extinction."

Besides code-switching due to linguistic limitations or lack of knowledge, speakers may also code-switch as an indicator of social identity in endangered language communities, such as within the Maya-Mam (Collins 2003). Code-switching can also be utilized to remind other interlocutors of the speakers' bilingualism (Hickey 2009), or to display that bilingualism. Code-switching may also be drawn on due to "higher salience" of the code-switched insertions (de Rooij 2000).

In the Ryukyuan context, there is little literature available regarding Ryukyuans code-switching and code-mixing practices, beyond Anderson (2009; 2015) who examined code-switching and overall language shift in Okinawa, and "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).

For this project, as a sociolinguistic documentation, while recording interactions between speakers of different ages, the data includes mixed language and code-switching present in the speakers' language use. Therefore, this thesis does not aim to present Southern Amami Ōshima in its "purest" form, rather, it aimed to accurately represent how people are using the language today, in conjunction with other codes (e.g., standard Japanese). Virtually all speakers of Southern Amami Ōshima are bilingual Japanese speakers, and the code speakers I chose were relevant for research aims 2 (how do speakers perform politeness) and 3 (what are the functions of Amami honorifics in Amami bilinguals).

As Lüpke asserts (2010: 61); "Including multilingual and multilectal speech situations can result in a proper representation of all the genres and registers attested in

the varieties under investigation." Also, by documenting the importance of everyday speech practices (including code-switching), the sociolinguistic documentation can valorize Amami's current usage, rather than enforcing language ideologies of only "pure" forms of Amami being worth documenting (such as monolingual narratives or folk songs) (Childs, Good, & Mitchell 2014: 180):

> sociolinguistic documentation can validate a language and valorize its speakers and their culture in contemporary terms rather than treating their language as an artifact of a "lost and ancient" culture, likely to be perceived as irretrievable in its ideal form.

3.3 We-codes in endangered languages

This thesis uses Gumperz's term "we-code" (Gumperz 1982a), who used the term to refer to the language of the minority ethnic group (in Gumperz's case, Hindi). As a we-code, this variety was drawn on by its speakers for "in-group and informal activities" (1982: 66). We-codes are utilized for communicating with "kin and close friends", or roughly equivalent to the *uchi* ("inside") category of person (see Section 5.10.5 on *uchi*). In other words, a we-code can index familiarity between speakers. In contrast, Gumperz refers to the majority language as a "they-code", reserved for out-group, and more "formal, stiffer, less personal" communication (1982a: 66). In this thesis, we explore how Amami honorifics have become part of the we-code variety on Amami (Section 7.3). Gumperz warns against losing the distinction between borrowing and code-switching and states that simple lexical insertions (borrowings) do not constitute a we-code. In this thesis, while monolingual Japanese speaking Amamians may use honorifics in a borrowing sense when drawn on in lexical touchstones, this thesis will be examining honorifics in bilingual Amami speakers, who are not borrowing the honorifics but using them in conjunction within their Amami code, which includes other linguistic features distinctive and separate from Japanese, such as lexical insertions (e.g., touchstones, interjections).

Another study that investigated the concept of we-code in the Ryukyus is Sugita (2014), who looked at Okinawa-substrate Japanese (the dialect of Japanese spoken by Okinawans born in the early 1970s) as a we-code. Sugita (2014) found that Okinawan-substrate Japanese's utilization as a we-code related to the language consciousness and language ideologies of the speech community. Sugita reports that valorization of localness in Okinawa combined with a shift in language attitudes and language practices among younger (born in the 1970s) community members occurred in the 1980s, situating Okinawa-substrate Japanese as a youth we-code. This occurrence was the result of emergent self-esteem in Okinawa (Takaesu 2005). The semi-speaker generation of Okinawans who no longer had "active proficiency" in Uchinaaguchi had lost a "symbolic resource" which tied them to their Okinawan identity (Morris-Suzuki 1998: 200), but the substrate language was still available to these speakers. Sugita suggests that Okinawa-substrate Japanese can index "informality, intimacy, crudeness, aggressiveness, or sometimes protest against 'the other' including mainlanders" (2014: 193). While Okinawa and Amami have divergent colonial histories, this use of Okinawa-substrate Japanese as a we-code suggests that non-standard varieties in Japan (and the Ryukyus) can be useful to speakers as a we-code. This concept is explored in the Amami context in Chapter 7.

3.4 Linguistic landscape

Linguistic landscape (a term first used by Landry & Bourhis 1997) is the study of public multilingual signage. It is "a valuable way to study language choice" (Spolsky 2009: 75). It is defined as "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry & Bourhis 1997:23). It can more broadly be defined as:

> The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic

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> functions: an informational function and a symbolic function (Landry &
> Bourhis, 1997: 25).

or, more succinctly "the study of public multilingual signage" (Spolsky 2004: 66).

Linguistic landscape can carry "high emotional value" (Spolsky 2009: 75), particularly

for communities speaking minoritized languages, such as Amami. By examining the

linguistic landscape of Setouchi Town, we can observe and speculate on how languages

are visually realized in the multilingual (Amami and Japanese) setting. Spolsky (2004)

describes the "public linguistic space", which is divided into three sub-domains; written

materials (such as signage, newspapers, magazines, brochures, books), spoken content

(such as announcements, radio, and television), and the internet. In this study, data was

collected from the written materials sub-domain, particularly local signage and

magazines/brochures.

When analyzing the linguistic landscape, the following were taken into

consideration:

1) languages used in public signage are assumed to be locally relevant or becoming locally relevant (Hult 2009; Kasanga 2012).
2) The "presumed reader's condition" indicates that signs should be in language(s) that can be read/understood by expected readers/target audience (Spolsky 2004: 68). In the case of the Amami linguistic landscape, that gives us some indication of what honorifics are still known (if not used) by the community- because having a sign in Amami which cannot be understood by the target audience (inhabitants of Amami) is counteractive to the presumed reader's condition.
3) Signs can be used to express ownership (Spolsky 2004). In this case, signage adheres to "symbolic value condition", which means that the signs may be written in one's own language or a language with which the sign-makers want to be identified (Spolsky 2004: 69)
4) This study did not take a quantitative approach to the linguistic landscape, rather, the Amami linguistic landscape will be assessed qualitatively in conjunction with other data gathered.
5) Public signs have two major functions; to communicate and/or to express a symbolic function (Landry & Bourhis 1997). Three parties should be considered- the sign owner, the sign-maker, and the sign reader.

Spolsky & Cooper (1991) put forth a conditions model for the study of the

linguistic landscape. These conditions guide "the major part of theory of language choice

in public signage":

1) the first condition is that the sign must be written in a language you know & with a writing system
2) the second condition is the "presumed reader's condition"- which is that signs are preferably written in a language that can be read by the expected audience. For example, in mainland Japan, signs are generally always written in Japanese, the majority (and only) language of most of the population. Signs for tourists within Japan are generally written in English. Only in the Ryukyus may local language signage be found.
3) the third condition is the "symbolic value condition" which states that it is preferable to write a song in your own language and/or a language you wish to be identified with. "this accounts for the order of languages on multilingual signs & for the prevalence of monolingual signs on commemorative of building plaques" (Spolsky 2009: 69).

All three conditions can apply to one sign.

When analyzing the linguistic landscape, several participants must be considered. These are the sign initiator or owner, the sign maker, and the sign reader. In the instance of a communicative sign, the owner (via a sign maker) is communicating with the sign reader. In a sign expressing ownership, the sign owner is communicating with sign readers as well as non-readers. In many cases, there is also a fourth participant, the language management authority which controls/dictates signage. For example, in Tokyo, there is a municipal policy regarding bilingual Japanese-English signs to accommodate tourists/foreigners (Backhaus 2005). In this case, the local government is "managing" the language choice of signs through official language policies, rather than the sign maker or owner deciding what language to put the sign in. Kelly-Holmes (2000: 67) made the point that not all consumers of a sign need to be able to read/understand it, as long as the sign conveys "cultural stereotypes".

Language landscape studies have a long history in Japan (e.g., Masai 1972, one of the first linguistic landscape studies conducted). These studies in Japan have particularly examined the use of English in the Japanese linguistic landscape (e.g., Backhaus 2007, 2015a; Barrs 2015; Inagawa 2015; MacGregor 2003; Obata- Ryman 2005; Someya 2002, 2009). In these studies, English was considered to play a role as "as a symbolic resource and marker of modernity, internationalism, globalization, 'high class', and so on"

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(Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010: 14). Furthermore, within Japan there have been a growing number of studies on minority languages on linguistic landscape, such as Osaka dialect (e.g., Takagi 2011) and Korean (e.g., Kim 2003, 2004, 2009). These studies have found that Korean communities in Japan may write their signs in hangul (the Korean script), thus making their non-Japanese/Korean existence felt more prominently within their community (e.g., Saito 2013; Backhaus 2019). Heinrich (2010) did a study of language choice in Naha, Okinawa, and Long (2010) did a study of linguistic landscape in Northern Amami. Heinrich states that the absence of local languages (such as Ryukyuan languages) in the public space symbolizes their inferior status compared to Standard Japanese (2016: 332).

In the context of minority language communities, the linguistic landscape is "a mechanism of language policy" (Shohamy 2006:112) and can give information about language ideologies because it reflects the relative status and power of the minority language (in this case, Amami) to the majority (Standard Japanese). Gorter et al. (2012) write that "being visible may be as important for minority languages as being heard", and a minority language in the linguistic landscape can influence and reflect community members' perception of the status and their own language use (Cenoz & Gorter 2006: 68).

While many studies have been quantitative, there has been an emerging trend of qualitative linguistic landscape research (Backhuas 2019), which this thesis also adheres to. This is based on Wetzel's observation that every sign is a "mini-narrative" and can be interpreted in conjunction with other methods, such as ethnographic interviews, to analyze and make sense of the public space and a community. This thesis views written language in the linguistic landscape as a primary source of data and then analyzes these data in the context of the presence, status, and functions of Amami. Particularly, investigating the Setouchi Amami linguistic landscape can shed light on what Amami

(particularly honorifics) represents and index to both speaker and non-speaker community members. This ties back to research aim 3, which seeks to illuminate the role or function Amami honorifics play.

3.5 Study of honorifics & politeness

Japanese honorifics can be found in practically every grammatical category (noun, verb, pronoun, adverb, etc.) (Pizziconi 2011:4). This thesis is primarily concerned with honorifics expressed in verbal predicates, which will be discussed in-depth in this chapter. This thesis focuses on honorifics in Amami verbal morphemes, as a closely related language to Japanese, verbs are a rich resource of honorifics.

The word "honorific" usually describes certain linguistic features which signify respect, deference, or social distance towards a nominal addressee (i.e., addressee honorifics) or a referent (i.e., referent honorifics) of an utterance (e.g., Ide 1982; Niyekawa 1990; Shibatani 1990, 2006; Makino & Tsutsui 2013). After Brown & Levinson's theoretical framework, several linguists working on honorific-rich languages (e.g., Ide 1989) called for a culture-specific framework to accommodate languages with complex honorific systems (see Section 3.14 for more on this). While honorifics traditionally have been conceptualized as "grammaticalized linguistic devices typically interpreted as markers of deference to people of higher status, they are commonly conceived as exhibiting a "core" deferential meaning, coded in the very honorific form, therefore constant across instances of use and always presupposed" (Pizziconi 2011: 45). However, this thesis takes an indexical approach to honorifics, and following Agha (2007) and Pizziconi's (2011) argument that deference cannot be inherently coded in any linguistic form, not even specialized forms like honorifics. Honorifics are *deictic signs* (i.e., signs which cannot be understood without additional information/context) (Levinson 1983). As such, honorifics can normatively indicate relative social status ("horizontal distance") or familiarity ("vertical distance"). As deictic signs, honorifics index relative

roles speakers occupy concerning one another (e.g., a waitress with a customer; a manager with their subordinate). This section goes through basic honorific classifications (based on Strycharz 2011 and Pizziconi 2011) and then discuss Agha's 2007 indexical approach to honorifics, and how it relates to this study (Section 3.5.5).

3.5.1 Defining honorifics

The most common term that encompasses honorifics in Japanese linguistic studies is *keigo*, which translates to "honorific language" or "polite language" (Ide 1982; Miller 1967; Shibatani 1990). The term *keigo* has traditionally been used to encompass "politeness" in Japanese, in fact, the term *keigo* only describes grammaticalized politeness features (i.e., honorifics) (Pizziconi 2011: 47) and not politeness expressed in other manners, such as gesture (e.g., bowing), or other expressions of politeness (e.g., tone of voice). In this thesis, grammaticalized linguistic features whose "default" reading is one of deference and politeness (i.e., honorifics) are the focus of this study. Agha (2007) argues that honorifics may be interpreted in other ways besides "deference" (their "default reading") depending on co-occurring signs (e.g., interlocuters' dress, bodily comportment, demeanor, etc.). The term "honorific" will encompass all forms with linguistic honorification, and "plain forms" will refer to forms which do not take on any linguistic honorification (following Yoshida & Sakurai 2005, Strycharz 2011). What is an Amami honorific and what is an Amami plain form will be based on speakers' prescriptive metapragmatic judgments (see Chapter 6), where speakers differentiated between honorifics (*keigo* in Japanese) and plain forms. In other words, the breakdown of Amami honorifics is based on speakers' evaluation of forms.

3.5.2 Social factors & social norms

Language use, like all other aspects of social life is governed by norms, which are "socially shared concepts of appropriate and expected behaviour" (Kauhanen 2006: 1). The use of honorifics is likewise governed by norms, and their use is influenced by

several social factors. Ide (1982) asserts that these social factors act as a set of "ground rules", and suggests a ranking of rules, whereby if rules conflict, one of the rules usually dominates the others (1982: 369). In the case of a speaker-addressee interaction, the ranking is power > social position > age. In contrast, in the case of a speaker-referent utterance, the ranking is social position > age > power, according to Ide. Martin (1964) also suggests a ranking of social factors, and he provides the following arrangement for speaker-addressee utterances: out-groupness > social position > sex difference > age. Meanwhile, for speaker-referent Martin suggests social position> age > sex difference > out-groupness as guiding factors for honorific use. These social factors will be taken into consideration when analyzing interactions between Amami speakers and their use (or lack thereof) of honorifics and Amami.

3.5.3 Japanese approaches to honorifics

Very little research has been conducted on local honorifics in Japanese dialects (see: Strycharz 2011), and even less on honorifics in Ryukyuan languages (Section 2.7), so I will now review the approaches taken to Japanese honorifics in general, to demonstrate how we can approach Setouchi Amami honorifics.

Brown and Levinson's canonical theory of politeness (1987) describes honorifics as one of the essences of polite behavior which speakers may choose to use to achieve their strategic aims, many Japanese linguists challenged this framework, stating that in honorific-rich languages speakers do actually not have volition (i.e., choice) in whether to perform an honorific or not. The most notable of these linguists who reject Brown and Levinson are Ide (1989) and Okamoto (2010), who have argued that Brown & Levinson's framework of politeness cannot explain many culture-specific politeness manifestations and that their universal politeness principles do not apply to languages with honorifics, such as Japanese, and Ryukyuan languages (including Amami, though Ryukyuan languages are not specifically named, they would fall into this category of honorific-rich

language). Ide writes that Japanese politeness devices either fall outside of Brown & Levinson's framework or only play a minor part within it (Ide 1989: 224). Ide wrote that Brown & Levinson's framework contains 'ethnocentric bias towards Western languages and the Western perspective' (1989: 224). Ide asserted that speakers draw on a variety of forms with varying degrees of formality ("formal linguistic forms" or honorifics). Further examples of formal forms Ide presents include the pronoun V (French *vous*) which contrasts with T (French *tu*) in Romance languages, and choice of addressee terms (e.g., Title + Last Name), as in English (Ide 1989: 226). Ide asserts that these formal forms are used to adhere to social conventions, as opposed to it being an interactional strategy. She maintains that formal linguistic formal forms (e.g., honorifics) are not negative politeness strategies, because the speakers do not have the choice that Brown & Levinson assume speakers have. Ide asserts that Japanese formal forms are limited in choice and that Japanese speakers use honorifics even when there is no face-threat (Ide 1989). Ide (1989: 225) also offered a specific definition of linguistic politeness, as:

> the language usage associated with smooth communication, realized 1) through the speakers' use of intentional strategies to allow his or her message to be received favorably by the addressee, and 2) through the speaker's choice of expressions to conform to the expected and/or prescribed norms of speech appropriate to the contextual situation in individual speech communities

Ide (1989), Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Hill et al. (1986), and other researchers looking at east Asian languages with honorifics popularized the notion of a binary system, which divides languages into two sides; one side with "very developed honorific repertoires…(that force the speakers to obligatory choices virtually on every utterance)" (Pizziconi 2011:3) and languages without elaborate honorific systems, which force speakers to use various other linguistic strategies and leave much room for interpretation and "leeway" in how politeness is expressed. Pizziconi argued that honorifics should be examined in terms of "reflexive models of behaviors and cultural discourses at work in specific social groups" (2011: 3).

Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989) characterized these situations where speakers are using honorifics to adhere to social conventions/social norms/expectations with the term *wakimae* (or "discernment" or "socially-agreed upon rules" in English). Hill et al. (1986) defined this concept as: "*wakimae* refers to the almost automatic observation of socially-agreed-upon rules and applies to both verbal and non-verbal behavior. A capsule definition would be "conforming to the expected norms" (1986: 348). This notion of *wakimae* conceptualizes what many researchers consider to be a significant limitation in Brown & Levinson's universal politeness model, and something that makes eastern languages with honorifics distinct from languages without. However, this thesis rejects *wakimae* as "not a sufficient principle to define any specific feature of Japanese politeness" (as demonstrated by Pizziconi 2011). As Strycharz (2012: 62) argues "while *wakimae* (and other strictly socio-demographic factors) can help us in understanding the general rules governing the ideologies concerning honorification in Japanese society, it is not sufficient to provide explanations for actual use of honorific forms in interaction"

Japanese polite speech has traditionally been approached in a prescriptive manner, relying heavily on large-scale sociolinguistic surveys and interviews (see: Ogino 1986, Ogino, Misono & Fukushima 1985; Ide et al. 1986; Hori 1986). Many studies have focused on specific linguistic forms (i.e., honorifics), rather than on the underlying factors which are marked by linguistic forms. Studying politeness using surveys is problematic because the surveys reflect what speakers think they ought to produce, rather than what they actually produce in the outside world. These studies have drawn conclusions based on native speaker intuitions and self-reported data. While this thesis also incorporates data from elicitations and interviews, naturally occurring discursive data is also analyzed and make up a significant portion of this study's findings.

3.5.4 Discursive approach to politeness

Watts elaborated on Bourdieu's Theory of Social Practice (1990, 1991) and his concept of "habitus". Habitus can be described as the "physical embodiment of cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1990), or in other words, the deeply ingrained habits, skills, and tastes that we acquire via our life experiences. Our habitus is what allows us to move smoothly through certain types of social environments which we are accustomed to. Watts states that to study politeness, it is necessary to place it in a theory of social practice, or, in other words, politeness should be observed in "instances of ongoing social interaction amongst individuals" (Watts 2003: 148). Watts describes habitus as "the set predispositions to act in certain ways, which generates cognitive and bodily practices in the individual" (Watts 2003: 149).

This new approach situates politeness in social action (i.e., social practice in the sense of Bourdieu 1990, 1991). In other words, rather than examining politeness on the utterance level out of context, politeness should be studied in natural interactions and context (Eelen 2001 145-147). In these approaches, linguists were no longer satisfied to attempt to analyze politeness on the utterance/sentence-level and became more focused on issues of communication context.

Another emerging concept in the post-modern approach to politeness is the "discursive dispute". The discursive dispute explores what it means to participants to be (im)polite. It is defined as "the discursive structuring and reproduction of forms of behavior and their potential assessments by individual participants" (Locher & Watts 2005:16). The concept of the "discursive dispute" embodies two of the main points of the post-modern approach to politeness. First, the idea that politeness is a property not inherently coded in any specific utterance or linguistic device (not even specialized forms such as honorifics), but rather emerges through interaction over stretches of discourse (Locher 2012: 55). The second point is that individuals will vary in their interpretation of

what is polite, as they "evaluate certain utterances as polite against the background of their own habitus, or, to put it in another way, against the structures of expectation evoked within the frame of the interaction." (Locher & Watts 2005: 29). This second point is very important because it allows for variation, and even states that variation is the norm, in contrast to prior theoretical frameworks which had been unable to account for variation. This is known as the Discursive Approach (as called by Locher 2006: 250). In this Discursive Approach (im)politeness is a matter of negotiation between participants in social interactions; the effect of this is that participants' judgments of what counts as (im)polite behavior are subjective (Holmes 2005: 717).

The Discursive Approach focuses on both the speaker *and* the listener, and depends on the participants' shared norms. Both listeners and speakers draw on these shared norms to make judgments and assessments of the interpersonal effects of the language in use. As Locher & Watts put it, (im)politeness is "a discursive concept arising out of interactants' perceptions and judgments of their own and others' verbal behaviours" (2005: 10). Therefore, politeness is not a set of norms which all speakers perform and draw on identically, but rather as an "object of social dispute" (Pizziconi 2006: 682), which allows for variability (something previous frameworks had been unable to explain). We can think of politeness norms as "discursive argumentative social tools" which means that politeness involves condemnation or approval of behavior (Eelen 2001: 237). These norms allow people to place themselves and others "in the world in general", and this is known as "social positioning" (Eelen 2001: 236-237).

3.5.5 Indexical approach to honorifics

Indexicality was first introduced by Silverstein (1976) and was elaborated on by Agha (2007). According to Agha, semiotic signs "index" social relations along two axes. First, the denotation axis (referring to the object or thing presented), and secondly

the interaction axis (which negotiates the "text" with "co-text" and "context"). In other words, signs (such as lexical honorifics) cannot be interpreted alone (i.e., in isolation) as expressing respect. Rather, we must interpret signs (e.g., honorifics) along with co-occurring signs (such as gesture, tone of voice, etc.). According to Agha's framework, honorifics alone can not index politeness. However, they can stereotypically index politeness, in certain situations where the context or interactional variable and co-occurring signs allow:

> The effects of co-occurring signs may be consistent with the text-defaults indexed by the register token, augmenting its force; or, the sign's co-text may yield partially contrary effects, leading to various types of partial cancellation, defeasibility, hybridity or ironic play (Agha 2007:148)

Once signs have developed their meanings and become institutionalized, social meanings become "naturalized" and "enregistered". As the connection between a sign and its meaning is established & ritualized, this sign becomes socially enregistered, whereby it indexes a given social identity. This relates to Amami because as speakers have lost the ability to use Amami polite registers, the Amami honorifics may have to be enregistered to index something else, such as indexing the speakers' identities as local islanders/Amamians.

In response to this binary division of languages suggested Ide (1989), Matsumoto (1988, 1989), Hill et al. (1986), Pizziconi (2011) tested the claim that complex honorific systems of Eastern languages (which include Japanese and also Amami in this sense) require different theoretical analyses of the phenomenon of linguistic politeness, and came to the conclusion that in fact, using an indexical approach is equally applicable to honorific-poor and rich languages. Pizziconi argues that deference is not directly coded in the honorific forms themselves (which has been assumed in previous studies) and that honorifics can be used to convey a broad range of meanings (as opposed to Ide's assertion). If we presume that honorifics automatically code deference, then we have no

way to explain cases where honorifics are used, for example, to veil aggression (as in the example from Agha 2007: 82). Agha 2007's indexical approach: allows one to appreciate the function of politeness markers as indices of speakerhood- in other words, we are approaching this study from a speaker-centered approach, where honorifics are deictic forms and the central person is the speaker.

Rather than just automatically coding deference, humbleness, or politeness, honorifics can also be used to code anger, irony, flattery, annoyance, formality, and "hypocritical politeness", among others. Furthermore, whilst it has been assumed that honorifics are generally used to code vertical distance (e.g., lower-ranked speaker to higher-ranked interlocuter), honorifics can also be used to code horizontal distance (using honorifics with someone you do not know well; someone not in your inner circle). With all of these different meanings thus observed by researchers of Japanese, it would be interesting to see if speakers of Amami use honorifics to code these same effects (likely), or others. For the Amami speakers who still have the Amami honorific registers, the stereotypical effects (i.e., meanings) of honorifics (in the sense of Agha 2007) are likely what will/are remaining the longest, as these are the most straight-forward (see Chapter 5 on Amami speakers' stereotypical meanings of honorifics). From this research, this thesis takes an indexical view of honorifics used by Amami speakers, meaning that this thesis does not assume honorific use to inherently equal politeness. Rather, this thesis relies on context and interpret the honorifics along with additional co-occurring signs to construe what speakers mean.

Agha describes honorific registers as "reflexive model(s) of pragmatic behavior that selectively associates specific behaviors with stereotypes of honor or respect". However, in line with the discursive framework, honorific registers should be viewed as reflexive models and the use of honorifics alone is insufficient and unnecessary to express

politeness (Agha 2007: 301). Agha gives an example (2007: 302), where the use of honorifics can be used in an utterance in an act of "veiled aggression". In contrast, respect can be expressed without the use of honorifics. In both of these examples, co-occurring signs are what make the difference in meaning. Respect (or lack thereof) is independent of honorific-use and rather dependent on text-level indexicality

Based on evidence from Pizziconi 2011 & Agha 2007, an indexical view of honorifics is best because it gives a unified account of how honorifics are used and their effects.

3.6 Honorifics classifications

Ide separates honorifics into two categories (1982): First, honorifics which affect nominal referents (e.g., address forms, such as professional ranks, personal pronouns, etc. and o-/go- noun prefixes) and secondly, honorifics which affect predicative elements. This thesis will not be tackling honorifics which affect nominal referent change, but rather will be addressing the second type, those that affect predicative change (see Chapter 5).

Honorifics which affect predicative elements can be further divided as *referent-controlled honorifics* and *addressee-controlled honorifics* (terms are taken from Shibatani 1990). Referent honorifics are used to *refer* to someone. These honorifics in Japanese are called *kenjougo* ("humble") and *sonkeigo* ("respectful"). Humble (*kenjougo*) honorifics are used to lower the status of the referent (usually the speaker or a member of their group), and respectful (*sonkeigo*) raises the status of the referent. In contrast, addressee honorifics (known as *teineigo* or "polite"). are used to *address* someone (i.e., the listener).

(1)

   Plain (non-honorific)   Polite (*teineigo*)   Respectful (*sonkeigo*)   Humble (*kenjougo*)

        taberu   tabemasu   meshiagaru   itadaku

3.6.1 Referent honorifics

Referent subject honorification marks the verb which describes the action of the subject, who is the referent. These honorifics are sometimes described as "respectful" (e.g., *sonkeigo*) and "humble" (e.g., *kenjougo*). are prescriptively used to refer to those who the speaker is expected to "show great respect" (Ide & Yoshida1999: 450), such as superiors or customers. Respectful honorifics are not used to describe oneself. Respectful honorifics in Japanese are often used in customer-service situations, to refer to clients or customers. These honorifics are generally (prescriptively) used when the speaker is showing respect towards the referent, but can also occur when speaking about the referent's in-group/family, possessions, etc. (e.g., Huszcza 2006). In other words, respectful honorifics are used to "honor" (Loveday 1986) or respect anyone or anything that belongs to the referent.

(2)

> Ota-san wa 11 ji ni **irasshaimasu**.
> Mr./Ms. Ota **will come** at 11:00.

The honorific respectful verb for "to come" is *irassharu*, and its use raises the status of the referent, Mr./Mrs. Ota. Whilst respectful referent honorifics are used to refer to out-group individuals, referent object honorifics (*kenjougo*/ "humble") are used to refer to oneself or one's own actions, or to refer to the members and actions of the speaker's in-group (Wetzel 1984; Shibatani 1990) These honorifics have been referred to as humbling language/humbling expressions (e.g., Coulmas 1992; Wetzel 2004), because their

prescriptive use is to show deference towards the utterance referent and "lower" (humble) the speaker. For example:

(3)

Watakushi wa 11 ji ni **mairimasu**.
I **will come** at 11:00.

In this case, the verb *mairimasu* lowers the status of the referent (who is the speaker). So, as we have seen, referent honorifics index respect towards the person being referred to in the utterance in two ways. In the case of referent subject honorification (respectful), the subject is "raised" and shown respect. In the case of referent object honorification, the verb that describes the actions of the speaker is marked and respect is shown by humbling the speaker.

3.6.2 Addressee honorifics

Addressee honorifics (*teineigo*) or "polite language" (e.g., Alfonso 1989), index the relationship between the participants by conveying the speaker's respect towards the addressee/hearer (Miller 1967; Ide 1982; Shibatani 1990). In Japanese, teineigo is characterized by utterance-final *desu* or verbs ending in *-masu*. Normatively, addressee honorifics can index a general level of politeness between non-intimate participants. One significant difference between addressee honorifics and referent honorifics is that addressee honorifics tend to "index general politeness" (Strycharz, 2011: 30).

3.6.3 Influence from Japanese in Amami honorifics

As speakers are bilingual, there is undoubtedly influence from Japanese in Amami speakers' ideologies and use of Amami honorifics. In Setouchi, there is a minimum of two varieties being spoken by the community which is in contact and both have honorific systems (Amami and Standard Japanese, plus the Amami dialect of Japanese). In this study, the Amami variety is endangered and language shift has created a shift to Japanese honorifics being used in many settings where Amami honorifics were probably originally

utilized. This thesis works with this framework based on Standard Japanese from Strycharz (2011: 31).
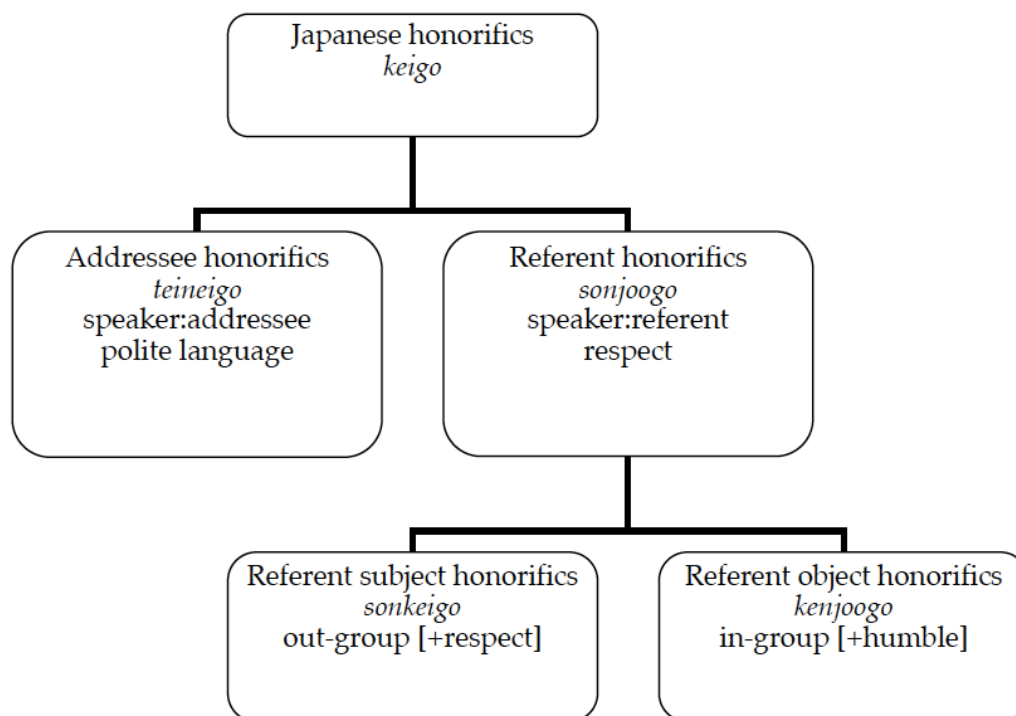
Figure 5: General division of predicative honorification in Japanese (Strycharz 2011: 31)

3.7 How this study fits in with politeness studies

As expected, speakers of varying ages or statuses in communicative interactions use linguistic devices to respect social rank (not necessarily honorifics per se), realized by exhibiting deference and respect to others' social status (in the sense of Held 1992). Social rank according to age is very important in Amami society. This is known as the *kohai*/*senpai* ("junior"/ "senior") dynamic in Japanese, and it is a driving force in interactions between speakers. Although all fluent speakers of Amami are now elderly, even a small age difference has effects on the relationship dynamic between speakers (at least for Japanese speakers). Additionally, in the small rural community of Setouchi, many of the speakers have known one another since their school days, a setting in which the *senpai/kohai* social dynamics are very strong. Once this hierarchy is established between two individuals, it will remain in place even after the speakers have reached old

age. When speaking to one's *senpai*, you would expect a speaker to use honorific forms to either raise the status of the hearer or humble forms, to lower their own status. This is how Japanese works, and how participants reported that Amami honorifics work as well, though, in the collected data, it was revealed that what people think they do (i.e., what they report in interviews) and what people do in natural discourse conflict.

Like Japanese, Amami has "true honorifics"; honorification and politeness are encoded in grammatical or morphosyntactic linguistic forms (Shigeno 2010a). Matsumoto (1988: 213) asserts that Japanese speakers use honorifics (pragmatically obligatory lexical forms) according to the position of the referent and the discourse context. Besides vertical distance (expressing social rank), honorifics can also express horizontal distance (e.g., using honorifics with someone you do not know very well) (Pizziconi 2011: 21). Additionally, many other meanings encoded in honorifics in Japanese and other East Asian languages have been observed, such as anger, irony, flattery, annoyance, or formality (Pizziconi 2011: 21). Thus, as previously discussed, honorific forms alone should not be interpreted as automatically coding deference. Therefore, an indexical approach (drawing on Agha 2007, Pizziconi 2011) is taken in this study regarding honorifics and politeness, where honorifics' meanings must be read in tandem with co-occurring signs (such as gesture, tone of voice, etc.).

Unfortunately, due to attrition and register reduction, honorifics are now rarely used (and speakers' knowledge of them is also reduced) and Japanese has likely replaced Amami in cases where speakers would have traditionally drawn on Amami honorific forms. As mentioned in Section 4.19 the Japanese forms and code-switching are nevertheless included in the corpus as a method of politeness utilized by (bilingual) Amami speakers.

4. Methodology & Methods

This chapter will cover the data collection methods I utilized for this project. I applied a linguistic fieldwork methodology to gather data, which entails collecting and analyzing linguistic data gathered by the researcher in the field (see: Bowern 2008, Crowley 2007, Chelliah and de Reuse 2011). This project is the first of its kind in topic and language variety (Setouchi), so qualitative methods were utilized to gather and analyze primary interactional data, most of which were spontaneous conversational and non-elicited. Qualitative analysis was chosen deliberately over quantitative, due to the endangered status of the language, and my expectations that I would not be able to engage enough speakers for a thorough quantitative analysis via surveys and questionnaires, as have been conducted throughout the Ryukyus in some areas (see Heinrich 2007; Motonaga 1994), though not in Setouchi Town. By utilizing qualitative methods over quantitative, this study can provide a micro-interactional perspective on Setouchi Amami language use by collecting and interpreting naturalistic conversational data. This approach allows a "more objective micro-interactional perspective on the detail of language use, which can only be captured by analyzing accurate transcripts of audio recordings of natural conversation." (Anderson 2009: 19), which enabled me to "document the characteristics of their individual language use to a level of detail that is impossible to realize via large-scale, statistical analyses." (Anderson 2009: 19)

For this project, I conducted fieldwork during a three-month field trip (January-March 2018) to Setouchi Town on Amami Ōshima and an additional, shorter four-week field trip in April 2019. During these field trips, I lived with host families within the Setouchi community and made every effort to completely immerse myself within the Amami community and culture. This allowed me to collect as much data as possible, and also learn Amami Ōshima, as well as I could, given the time constraints and dearth of Amami teaching materials available which would have assisted me in improving my

Amami before arrival. Staying in the community with host families also helped me do better analyses following the standard procedure for this kind of fieldwork with endangered language speakers.

This chapter will be laid out as follows: general methods regarding language documentation (Section 4.1) and sociolinguistic documentation methods (Section 4.2), including collaborative methods and participant observations (Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2), as well as interviews (Sections 4.3) and elicitations (Section 4.4). Use of secondary materials in this thesis is discussed in Section 4.5. Data collection equipment, processing software and translations are laid out in Sections 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 respectively. Finally, information about the field site, Setouchi Town is described in Section 4.9, and detailed metadata on the participants is detailed in Section 4.10.

4.1 Language documentation methods

Language Documentation is the preservation, creation, annotation, and dissemination of transparent records of a language (as defined by Woodbury 2003). Woodbury (2003) put forth suggestions for language documentation, as well as issues to consider, such as how to navigate differing agendas and collaboration with communities who speak the languages in question. Also, many linguists have all put forth recommendations for language documentation (see: Himmelmann 1998, 2006a; Bowern 2008; Lüpke 2010; Austin 2006; Austin & Grenoble 2007; Woodbury 2007), and in 2011, The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages (Austin & Sallabank) was published, which addresses the causes of language endangerment, language endangerment profiles, language documentation best practices and challenges, and community issues.

This project can be classified as a language documentation project (in the sense of Lüpke 2009, Austin 2006, Austin and Grenoble 2007, Himmelmann 1998, 2006a, Woodbury 2003), with the majority of the findings being based on spontaneous unelicited

data collected in context. This project was conducted through exploratory qualitative research, focusing on the embedded social meaning of honorifics expressed through interactions of Southern Amami Ōshima speakers. The data studied in this project is very contextually dependent. This project aimed to record instances and knowledge about the actual linguistic practices of the Setouchi speech community, in the sense of Hymes (1972: 54), who defines it as, "a community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech", which will be useful to a wide range of disciplines. In other words, this research focused on investigating how speakers are actually using honorifics and performing politeness, not just what they describe as proper usage. Findings are based on 60 hours of collected data. Data was collected by me (the primary investigator) and by Setouchi community members in the field.

This project was conducted under the assumption that it is both useful and possible to collect, analyze, and accurately represent the linguistic practices characteristic for a given speech community (Himmelman 1998). To this aim, I compiled a corpus created from a "battery of methods aimed at elucidating different aspects of linguistic structure and knowledge" (Lüpke 2010:3) and integrated analysis, built with the intention of being representative and varied according to the linguistic politeness practices of the speech community. As Lüpke (2010) points out, a corpus built for language documentation and description cannot merely reflect observed linguistic behavior but must also include data based on metalinguistic knowledge. Data collected by this project includes as many instances of communicative events as possible, compiled through a variety of methods drawing on semi-structured techniques, including participant observations, individual interviews, and elicitation activities. The communicative events which were collected due to their relevance regarding speakers' use of politeness were events between speakers of different ages, social ranks, and formal and public domains. The elicitation activities include grammaticality judgments made by speakers. Elicitation

sessions were used to check data and probe metalinguistic knowledge, and fill gaps left from interviews and participant observations.

Chelliah (2001) writes that corpus building through a variety of methods enables a better representation of "what is out there". This corpus has drawn from the range of methods previously outlined. Metalinguistic discussion is also included to give a fuller picture of the forms and functions collected (Section 5.10). As Woodbury (2003) asserts, the corpus and analytical apparatus are connected, as each feeds into the other. A useful corpus will be grammatically analyzed via transcription, lexical presentation, etc., and in turn, the grammatical and lexical elicitation will be built into the corpus. This will ensure that the corpus is useful not only to the project at hand but also to future research.

Following Woodbury's (2003) recommendations, the corpus aims to be as diverse as possible (around the focus of honorifics)- diverse in situations, participants (e.g., gender, social role, social status), and genres.

Labov's (1975: 40) four guiding principles to assess linguistic facts are adhered to, which are stated as the following:

1. *The consensus principle*:
   If there is no reason to think otherwise, assume that the judgments of any native speaker are characteristic of all speakers of the language.
2. *The experimenter principle:*
   If there is any disagreement on introspective judgments, the judgments of those who are familiar with the theoretical issues may not be counted as evidence.
3. *The clear case principle:*
   Disputed judgments should be shown to include at least one consistent pattern in the speech community or be abandoned. If differing judgments are said to represent different dialects, enough investigation of each dialect should be carried out to show that each judgment is a clear case in that dialect.
4. *The principle of validity:*
   When the use of language is shown to be more consistent than introspective judgments, a valid description of the language will agree with that use rather than with intuitions.

In addition to these four principles, the following five principles from Lüpke (2010: 96) are observed in this project's data collection:

5. *Principle of Explicitness. Analytical choices and decisions should be made explicit, i.e., the reasons for selecting a particular data collection method, including or excluding a particular set of data, and working with a specific (group of) consultant(s) should be documented in metadata descriptions and annotations of primary data;*
6. *Principle of Transparency. Abbreviations, symbols, labels, meanings of tiers used in transcriptions and annotations, numeric variables in spreadsheets, etc., should be explained in metadata and annotations of primary data;*
7. *Principle of Salience. For the analysis of a particular research question, the most salient method for collection and analysis should be selected. For instance, descriptions of visual scenes rather than translation equivalents should serve as the basis for the analysis of spatial language;*
8. *Principle of Triangulation. Wherever possible, analysis should be verified through triangulation, i.e., through different methods of data collection, data from more than one consultant, different types of analysis, and comparison of data with those collected by other researchers, etc., whenever possible;*
9. *Principle of Longevity. Efforts should be made to make data valid beyond the scope of the particular research by not just seeking the data necessary to answer specific research questions or relating to one particular area of language use. So, for instance, when collecting data on the encoding of topological relation, researchers should not limit themselves to stimulus-based data collected with TRPS but complement these data with OCEs containing spatial descriptions, etc.*

4.2 Sociolinguistic documentation & ethnography

While utilizing the language documentation methods, I also aimed to go beyond traditional language documentation by making this project an "ethnographically informed language documentation", advocating "the inclusion of ethnographic methods ... a restored balance between structuralist concerns and attention to the cultural content of speech" (Harrison 2005:22). I felt that to include an ethnographic approach to this project was necessary for it to be culturally sensitive and collaborative and to capture a fuller picture of the Setouchi community's language practices. As Harrison (2005) writes, language data cannot be understood fully without context, such as everyday speech references to the local environment. This aim is in addition to traditional language documentation, which has focused on a single "ancestral code", viewing multilingualism as a problem (Childs, Good, & Mitchell 2014).

Conducting a sociolinguistic documentation means that my goal was to document not only the lexico-grammatical codes but also the sociolinguistic context in which the lexico-grammatical codes are being used by speakers. Doing a sociolinguistic documentation project meant that it involved the following:

- emphasized conversational data and data in context
- documented "naturally occurring conversation" (Childs, Good & Mitchell 2014) focusing on the "range of contexts reflecting important social features of a community". By considering context, this project created a more accurate and reliable account of language use within the Setouchi community.
- involved teamwork and collaboration (see collaboration, Section 4.2.1)
- included code-mixing and code-switching (i.e., "placing particular emphasis on the dynamics holding among multiple languages in a given environment" Childs, Good, & Mitchell 2014: 169). This means that the project illustrates speakers' full linguistic ranges (repertoires) rather than focusing on one linguistic code.

Rather than focusing on putting a language "through its paces" (Woodbury 2011:177), via dictionary and grammar creation, sociolinguistic documentation aims to create a more in-depth examination of the intersectionality of language and culture. This approach, which includes all linguistic varieties present in the community, is much more useful to address research questions such as, "what factors govern language choice amongst multilingual speakers?" and "how do language ideologies impact language maintenance patterns?" (Childs, Good, & Mitchell 2014).

This project also takes the language-as-a-practice approach, to documentation, rather than language-as-a-system (Wright 2007), which means drawing on spontaneous interactional data, particularly from communication between generations, as suggested by Sugita (2007). Treating languages as objects are further problematic because it means documentation may add to "fossilization" (Sugita 2007), which does not support communities who are already using the language in different evolved and changed ways. Traditionally, documenting multi-generational interaction has not been a focus of language documentation. Instead, linguists have sought to record "ideal" fluent speakers

exclusively. Documenting language as a practice -admitting that "new forms of language are constantly developing in increasingly complex social and cultural relations" (Patrick 2007: 125). This approach allows this study to include Amami-substrate, code-switching, and code-mixing in the documentation. It also enables focus to shift on the everyday linguistic "habits" of the Setouchi community, and not only fluent speakers. Including data from less-fluent speakers is important as these speakers still influence and make up a large portion of the Amami speech community. By drawing on data from multi-generational interactions, we can see a fuller picture of the speech community, which encompasses more than the "perfect, monolingual speaker" or an "ideal speaker" who regales researchers with story-telling and elicited data. Varying levels of fluency within the Setouchi community are loosely tied to generations, where younger speakers are generally less fluent, and older speakers more fluent. What the younger (less fluent) speakers are doing matters and deserves attention because their language practices affect the "complex social and cultural relations". By taking this approach, we can therefore draw on this data to discern speakers' (across generations) language attitudes and approaches to politeness in natural settings where speakers need to draw on their linguistic repertoire to be polite. Also, including younger (semi) speakers and documenting intergenerational communication promotes intergenerational activities that may lead to increased language transmission (e.g., Fishman 1991) and language awareness.

4.2.1 Collaboration: Data collection by community members

For this project, whenever research was conducted with the community, rather than the traditional framework of a researcher doing work "on" or "for" the community (Grinevald 2007b), I made every effort to ensure that the community's agendas were respected, and data disseminated in alignment with the individuals' wishes and consent.

All data collection was carried out ethically, and data ownership will be protected indefinitely.

In terms of collaboration, local community members (younger semi-speakers) were trained in using recording equipment and data collection. Collaboration with the community has allowed for more data collection and has improved the quality of data by increasing the amount of everyday conversational data (allowing me to collect data on how Amami honorifics are used in daily life) and reducing the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972). Members of the community were also able to gather better data from their wide range of contacts, (e.g., family elders, mentors, etc.), which I did not always have time or access to record. This enabled not only more naturalistic (i.e., spontaneously generated or naturally occurring) data to be collected, but also data from a wider range of events where only community members would normally be present (i.e., not the researcher). Speaker-made recordings were particularly useful for answering the question, "how do Amami bilinguals perform politeness?" because semi-speakers who worked with elderly fluent speakers were able to record themselves interacting with the older speakers in conversational contexts while they were going about their normal workday.

Consent forms signed by all participants (see Appendix A) were collected and will be archived under user setting "S" (subscriber) in the Endangered Languages Archive. The reason for archiving these consent forms under "S" rather than open access ("U" setting), is that not all participants wish for their full names to available openly within the archive. To protect participants' wishes and privacy therefore, these consent forms will be closed to the public, though still archived for posterity and to protect against data loss.

4.2.2 Observed communicative events

This project is particularly observation-based (drawing on Hymes 1972, 1976; Lüpke 2010; Austin 2006; Austin & Grenoble 2007; Himmelmann 1998, 2006a; Woodbury 2003). Observed Communicative Events (or OCEs) are categorized according

to Hymes' (1972) Ethnography of Speaking framework. Following this framework, OCEs will be characterized according to the subsequent parameters: its Setting, Participants, End or purpose, Act sequence, Key or tone, Instrumentalities or channels, Norms of interaction and interpretation, and Genre.

Participant Observations, which connect "knowledge production directly to the development of social relationships across difference" (Dobrin & Schwartz 2016), allowed for the collection of as much "naturalistic" data as possible. The following types of Observed Communication Events were collected; directive (e.g., instructions), conversational, (e.g., chats, discussions, interviews), monological (e.g., narratives and description speech), and ritual (e.g., apologies) (Lüpke 2010). Speech events with primarily one speaker are classified as monological types, as true monologues are uncommon (Lüpke 2010: 67). The two types of monologues collected are stories, such as traditional folktales, which would have been passed down from speakers' elders during a period where Amami was more widely spoken, as well as personal historical accounts (narratives). Certain speech act types, such as requests and apologies (which can be expected to exhibit honorific and humble speech forms) were given particular attention. Observed Communication Events are valuable not only for producing identifiable patterns in polite speech but also for illuminating the pragmatics behind polite and casual forms. As previously stated, a variety of genres were gathered, with specific attention to low-frequency (i.e., less commonly used) registers, as politeness was often expressed in these registers.

Many of the recordings I collected were group recordings, of myself plus several (two or more) speakers. As I was looking for honorific use in day-to-day conversation, I had to make very long recordings at times (not knowing when honorifics might occur). These recordings included interactions of:

- families (grandparents-grandchildren, parents-children, husband-wife)

- friends (same age and differing ages)
- acquaintances
- hobby group members (*hachigatsu odori* dance members; Maneki Salon members)
- co-workers
- staff and clients

Group recordings allowed me to collect many unelicited interactions between speakers of the same and different generations, social ranks, fluency, and genders. I could also collect recordings on varied topics, contexts, and locations/settings (all potential factors influencing honorific use).

It is widely acknowledged that Japanese speakers frequently use both positive and negative politeness practices (in the sense of Brown & Levinson 1978, 1987) in everyday communication (e.g., Ide 2005; Okamoto 1999). As politeness and honorifics are so deeply entrenched in the Japanese language in everyday conversation, I hypothesized that Amami speakers would likely also rely on a strong intrinsic politeness framework, making Observed Communicative Events a rich resource for gathering data on politeness expression in Amami.

4.3 Semi-structured interviews

To gain better insight into the language ideology of speakers regarding Amami honorifics and politeness, I conducted semi-structured interviews, which were conducted one-on-one between myself and the speaker, in Japanese. These interviews cannot provide information on actual variable use of honorific forms in daily conversation, but rather gives insight on speakers' language ideologies regarding the use of honorifics and speakers' self-reported use of honorifics and Amami language in all registers. Interviews provided information on when they thought honorifics should be used, not on when speakers actually used honorifics. These prescriptive accounts of honorific use informed research question one, allowing this project to speculate what the normative uses of Amami honorifics once were. Interviews do not represent actual language use, but rather

what people think about language. As noted by Agha (1993), self-reported data does not always align with actual use. Although interviews and self-reported data do not represent how speakers actually use their language, it is a valuable method for understanding linguistic ideologies and how speakers feel about their language and prescribed use.

Several sessions contain speakers' interviews, using unstructured (unplanned) and semi-structured methods. These initial unstructured interviews were to get to know the speakers, as well as to collect data to be analyzed. Semi-structured interviews consisted of speakers being given a prompt, such as, "tell me about your childhood" or "tell me a story your grandparents used to tell you as a child". This prompted speakers to produce historical and/or personal narratives, as well as traditional stories. These interviews (between researcher and speaker) were not aimed to provide polite speech data (it was unnatural for an elderly Amami speaker to use polite Amami with a younger foreigner), but rather to learn about speakers' ideologies and to test assumptions.

4.3.1 Interview questions

The interview questions are outlined below, many of which are drawn from Fishman's 1965 "Who Speaks What Language to Who and Why?" publication. These interviews gathered data on the speakers' views of Amami registers and Amami honorific use (reported use), who speakers reported using these forms with, and their evaluation of other generations, competence, and use of Amami and Amami polite registers. The term *teineigo* ("polite speech") used in the interview questions was chosen for the questions because it is the term the community members themselves use when referring to honorifics. I first encountered the term being used on my first week in Amami when asking about Amami use in the community. I was told by a speaker that Amami is very interesting because it has so many different pronouns, which young people these days cannot use because "their Amami is terrible" and "they have no idea about Amami

teineigo". While *teineigo* is a Japanese term, as it is the accepted terminology in the

community, I also used it for this project.

Interview Question in Japanese	English Translation
1. お名前は何ですか？	What is your name?
2. 出身はどこですか？	What is your hometown?
3. 島口を使ったことがありますか？短い言葉やフレーズなどでも。	Do you use Amami? Even short phrases or words?
4. 誰と島口を話しますか？例えば、家族と、友達と、子供たちと？	With whom do you use Amami? For example, family, friends, children, etc.?
5. いつ島口を話しますか？例えば、家の中で 、電話するとき。。。	When do you use Amami? For example, in the house, on the phone…
6. 1日にどれくらい島口を話しますか？	How often do you use Amami each day (in your daily life)?
7. あなたは島口を話す人を知っていますか？その人は何歳ですか？	Do you know people who use Amami? How old are they?
8. あなたの両親は島口を話しましたか？祖父母も話しましたか？	Do your parents use Amami? Grandparents? (skipped this one depending on the age of speaker)
9. あなたの子供 は島口を話しますか？あなたの孫も島口を話しますか？	Do your children speak Amami? How about grandchildren?
10.　　　子供に島口でしゃべりますか？	Do you speak Amami to your children?
11.　　　まごに島口でしゃべりますか？	Do you speak Amami to your grandchildren?
12.　　　子供があなたに島口でしゃべりますか？	Do your children speak Amami to you?
13.　　　まごがあなたに島口でしゃべりますか？	Do your grandchildren speak Amami to you?
14.　　　瀬戸内　で　わかい　ひとたち　は　ひょうじゅん語　と　島口　を　いっしょに　まぜって使っています　か?	In Setouchi, do young people tend to mix standard language (Japanese) with Amami?

15. 丁寧な 島口 の 言い方 に 興味が あります。例えば、何々たぼれとか、何々 〜しんしょれ とか すいかまやうがみ しょうらん…何か ほかに 島口の 丁寧語 を しっていますか? 教えて ください。

I am interested in polite Amami speech. For example, tabore, shin shore, suikamayaugami shouran… can you tell me something else about Amami polite speech (other forms)?

16. あなた は 島口 の 丁寧語 つかってますか。

Do you use Amami polite speech?

17. あなた の 子供 は 島口 の 丁寧語 を つかってますか。みじかい 言葉 や ぶんしょう などでも。

Do your children use Amami polite forms? Even short words or phrases?

18. あなた の まご は 島口 の 丁寧語 を つかってますか。みじかい 言葉 や ぶんしょう などでも。

Do your grandchildren use Amami polite forms? Even short words or phrases?

19. 最近, 島口 の 丁寧語 を 聞きました か?

These days, do you ever hear Amami polite speech?

20. 島口の 丁寧語 が だんだん つかわれ なくなって いく のを ざんねん と 思います か。

Amami polite speech is gradually disappearing... it's a pity, isn't it?

20. 誰に奄美の敬語を使うべきですか？

To whom should Amami honorifics be used?

21. どんな時に奄美の敬語を使うべきですか？

When should you use Amami honorifics?

4.4 Elicitations

The first research aim of exploration of honorific verbal predicates relied heavily on elicitations. Elicitations took the form of paradigms, grammaticality, and acceptability judgments from four key fluent speakers (see speaker profile Section 4.10.5). These four fluent speakers were the only speakers who agreed to do elicitations with me, as many participants were happy enough to be recorded speaking with others or to be

interviewed, but did not feel comfortable doing elicitation sessions. Elicitations provided samples of polite and non-polite Amami forms. One challenge regarding honorifics was collecting "natural" utterances. Few speakers (who I could find or who wanted to share) have knowledge of the Amami polite registers, and most speakers in the small community know one another well. Amami has become the language of solidarity to be used with close friends, not with those of higher status or in settings where politeness is needed (this is where Japanese has overtaken Amami). This has made Amami polite registers "low-frequency", and therefore, (OCE) produced some but not enough desired data. Therefore, I implemented elicitation as another method. These measures were called on to fill the gaps left in the corpus and allowed for an inventory of forms to be created. This method supplied both data on the pragmatic (normative) functions of polite Amami, and the forms themselves. Data was tested by creating utterances of the researcher's own construction and by asking speakers to do grammaticality and usage judgments. As Amami has likely undergone attrition due to the dominance of Japanese, several methods were utilized to try to collect as much data as possible.

Despite the commonness of elicitation in language description, it is a controversial method with admitted shortcomings. As Himmelmann (2006a: 23) asserts:

> [...] with regard to the usual way of obtaining negative evidence (i.e., asking one or two speakers whether examples x, y, z are "okay"), it is doubtful whether this really makes a difference in quality compared to evidence provided by the fact that the structure in question is not attested in a large corpus.

Due to these obvious shortcomings, elicitation was used in conjunction with other methods within this project, but due to limited knowledge and frequencies within spontaneous interactional data, it was a very useful method, particularly for building the inventory of honorific predicates.

4.5 Secondary sources

Secondary sources were used to supplement the primary data gathered for this project. The *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* teaching materials created by Tatsuro Maeda (2013a) were used as a secondary source of data, specifically for research aim 2, which sought to explore how speakers express politeness given limited remaining Amami forms. I selected these written teaching materials for three reasons. First, they were the only teaching materials available which were created specifically for the Setouchi community, as most Amami teaching materials focus on the northern varieties. Second, these materials were made using data from many of the same speakers as those who I worked with within my project. Therefore, I hoped that there would be some consistency in the Amami I was collecting and the teaching materials. Third, as these written teaching materials were created for and with the Setouchi community, they served as a good example for the accepted Amami writing conventions, which I used for this study as well (although a Romanized version). These materials contained two key role-play scripts that represented scenarios where speakers would be expected to draw on politeness (relevant to research aim 2), such as situations between different aged speakers, different social positions, and formal settings.

4.6 Data collection equipment

All electrical audio and video equipment were chosen based on the recommendations from technical staff at ELAR and the SOAS Linguistics Department. I also consulted PhD students at SOAS who had previously conducted successful fieldwork for their suggestions on equipment and quantities. Data collection equipment included video and audio recording equipment and a camera for photos. Specifically, I used a Zoom H4n Handy Recorder (audio recorder), a Canon HG10 camcorder (video recorder), and a Canon Powershot G16 (camera). Two microphones were also used, specifically a Rode NTG-2 Hypercardioid Microphone (shotgun microphone) and an Audio-Technica

803b Lavalier Microphone. The Rode NTG-2 Hypercardioid Microphone is ideal for producing high quality recordings in indoor and outdoor static recording situations. This microphone was essential to record conversations between multiple speakers where the lavalier microphone would not be optimal. A Rode windjammer was also used to reduce wind noise during outdoor recording sessions, and a microphone stand was used to reduce handling noise. Three recording watches were used by the community members to record themselves in their daily routines. These recorders were used not to collect high-quality recordings for phonetic analysis (as the recorders were too weak for this), but rather to collect data regarding whom and when speakers used Amami and Amami polite speech, and when they do not. The Canon HG10 camcorder is ideal because it is more robust than other models and will be able to easily meet the needs of fieldwork. It can be connected to the XLR leads and external microphones and headphones. A tripod was utilized to hold the camcorder steady and enable video recordings with minimal camera shake. The Amami Islands are very humid and have many rainy months, so protecting my equipment from water and humidity was very important. For this purpose, silica gel and watertight bags were essential and used daily to carry equipment between field locations.

4.7 Data processing: Archiving of data & analysis tools

Audio recordings primarily consist of elicitation sessions, conversations, discussions, and interviews/monologues. Video recording was used to capture events such as festivals, informal gatherings, family parties, art performances, traditional dance practices, and traditional folk songs. Video recordings were essential to capture non-verbal information, such as dance, gestures, and postural interaction between speakers (e.g., bowing). Metadata is qualitatively annotated using the Arbil metadata tool, according to Hymes' (1974) SPEAKING model (parameters which are included in the IMDI metadata set). Metadata for this project was created using the CMDI Maker HTML5 web app (University of Cologne) and the Arbil Metadata Editor tool (The

Language Archive at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics). Transcriptions and translations were made using the ELAN tool (The Language Archive at the Max Planck Institute). Processed data and corresponding metadata is now being deposited and will be available at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR) with open access where agreed to by speakers, but under embargo until the completion of my Ph.D. in 2021. Recorded sessions are indicated with session names, e.g., Session Shimaguchi001, and these names are consistent with archived data file names at the Endangered Languages Archive. Regarding the naming conventions for sessions and files, the convention of "session" + "language name" is the preferred file naming system at the Endangered Languages Archive. The deposit at ELAR is titled Documentation and Description of Southern Amami Oshima, and is primarily open access for users who sign up for a free "User" account at the archive.

Data from this project aims to be usable "by the philologist 500 years from now" (Woodbury 2003: 47). By this, it is meant that the corpus will be transparent and therefore properly annotated and translated where possible. Also, it will be preservable and portable (in the sense of Bird & Simons 2002). Data will be archived with complete IMDI metadata in formats that are non-proprietary and long-lasting, and possible to migrate as technologies develop.

4.8 Transcriptions & translations

In Amami, there is a community-accepted orthography using the hiragana script (which was utilized for teaching materials, *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* or "Language of Setouchi" (Maeda 2013a). I used the Romanized Hepburn transcriptions, which is a community-accepted script for this project, as I wanted the community to have access to my transcriptions (the community can read Romanized scripts). Using the hiragana script (as Maeda does), would have rendered the data illegible to readers without Japanese knowledge.

This project aimed to build a corpus consisting of both audio and video recordings. Archived data will be available with time-aligned glosses and free translations in English and Japanese at the phrasal level, and where necessary and as possible (depending on the level at which politeness is expressed), at the word level (i.e., word-by-word glossing).

The data was analyzed drawing on speakers' judgments and my own understanding of the Amami language. In other words, translations and transcriptions drew heavily on assistance from bilingual Japanese/Amami speakers. All English translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

The following translation recommendations from Matthewson (2004: 388) are observed:

- ask for translations of complete sentences only
- try to make the source string a grammatical sentence
- assume that the result string is a grammatical sentence
- provide the discourse context of the utterance
- use non-verbal cues (if relevant and appropriate)

4.9 Field site: Setouchi Town

Setouchi Town encompasses the southern half of Amami Ōshima ("Big Island") and includes numerous islands including Kakeroma, Uke, and Yoro islands. The bulk of the data comes from speakers on Amami Ōshima, and limited data from the other islands which make up Setouchi Town (Kakeromajima, Yoroshima, Ukeshima) are also included. Administratively, Amami Ōshima belongs to Kagoshima Prefecture of Kyushu, Japan. However, culturally Amami Ōshima is more akin to Okinawa Prefecture, as both Amami and Okinawa Prefecture belonged to the Ryukyu Kingdom (separate from Japan) until Amami Ōshima was invaded by the Satsuma Domain from Japan in the 1600s. Today, Setouchi is home to approximately 9,379 inhabitants, but the number of Setouchi Amami speakers is unknown.

Setouchi Town was chosen for this project's main field site for two key reasons. Firstly, because of the lack of documentation and research in the area (see Sections 2.5-2.8 on documentation of other Amami varieties). Secondly, the decision to work in Setouchi was partly born out of opportunity, as I had met an advantageous contact in Setouchi who introduced me to several community members and helped endorse me before arriving on-site.

In Setouchi and other parts of Amami, the language is locally referred to as *Shimaguchi* ("island speech") or *hōgen* ("dialect"), which reflects the local ideology that Amami is not acknowledged as a separate language from Japanese (see Section 2). The language has definitely entered the "moribund phase" (Krauss, 1992) of language shift, which is characterized by the birth of non-acquirers of Amami. The language is still used in the community in a daily manner, but the intergenerational transmission link has long been severed.

Main Amami exports include black sugar, which has been cultivated since ancient times and historically has been a source of great suffering for the Amami people and is tied to the colonization of the Amami Islands (and resulting language shift- see Section 2.3 for more details). In addition to black sugar, the Setouchi area also produces *shochu* (traditional hard liquor). Locally famous goods include cloth dyed using traditional *tsumugi* mud dyeing techniques, papayas, bananas, and foods made with hibiscus flowers (such as jams). The Amami Islands also have their own distinct local cuisine, which includes chicken *keihan* (similar to Korean bibimbap covered in broth) and chicken *nanban* (a fried chicken dish with a citrus sauce). The islands are home to several rare animals and plants, including the *Amamino kuro usagi* (Amami wild black rabbit), an endangered rabbit that only lives on Amami Ōshima and neighboring island Tokunoshima. Traditional arts and culinary traditions are also a source of Amami

language knowledge, and Amami lexical items are still passed down through these intangible cultural heritage traditions.

This project is focused on the village of Koniya and immediately surrounding villages (all on the main island). Koniya village is the largest village in Setouchi Town. According to the 2017 Setouchi Census, there are approximately 3,992 inhabitants in Koniya Village. In terms of the local island economy, there are several restaurants and bars in Koniya, all of which might hold variable hours and could be closed at any time because the owner is out fishing for more stock from one of the difficult-to-access beaches in the village. There is a two-story building known as *umi no eki* ("seaside station"), where local food and souvenirs are sold. There is one brand-name convenience store, Family Mart, and one medium-sized grocery store, A-Coop, and a drug store, Midori Drug. There are many abandoned and long-closed diving shops. There are a couple of smaller, locally owned grocers and convenience stores as well as a jewelry store called "Amami Pearl", which sells jewelry made from the farmed pearls that are artificially grown off the coast (there are no natural pearls in Amami's waters according to Mr. Fukushima, the patriarch of my host family, who was a pearl farmer before retiring). There are a few cafés and a local library. There are limited economic opportunities on the Amami Islands in general, but especially in Koniya, and many young Amamians go to the main islands of Japan (usually Kyushu, the closest main island) for university and even high school, if possible (see Figure 6, below). This means that there are many older people, middle-aged adults, and children, but far fewer young adults in the area.
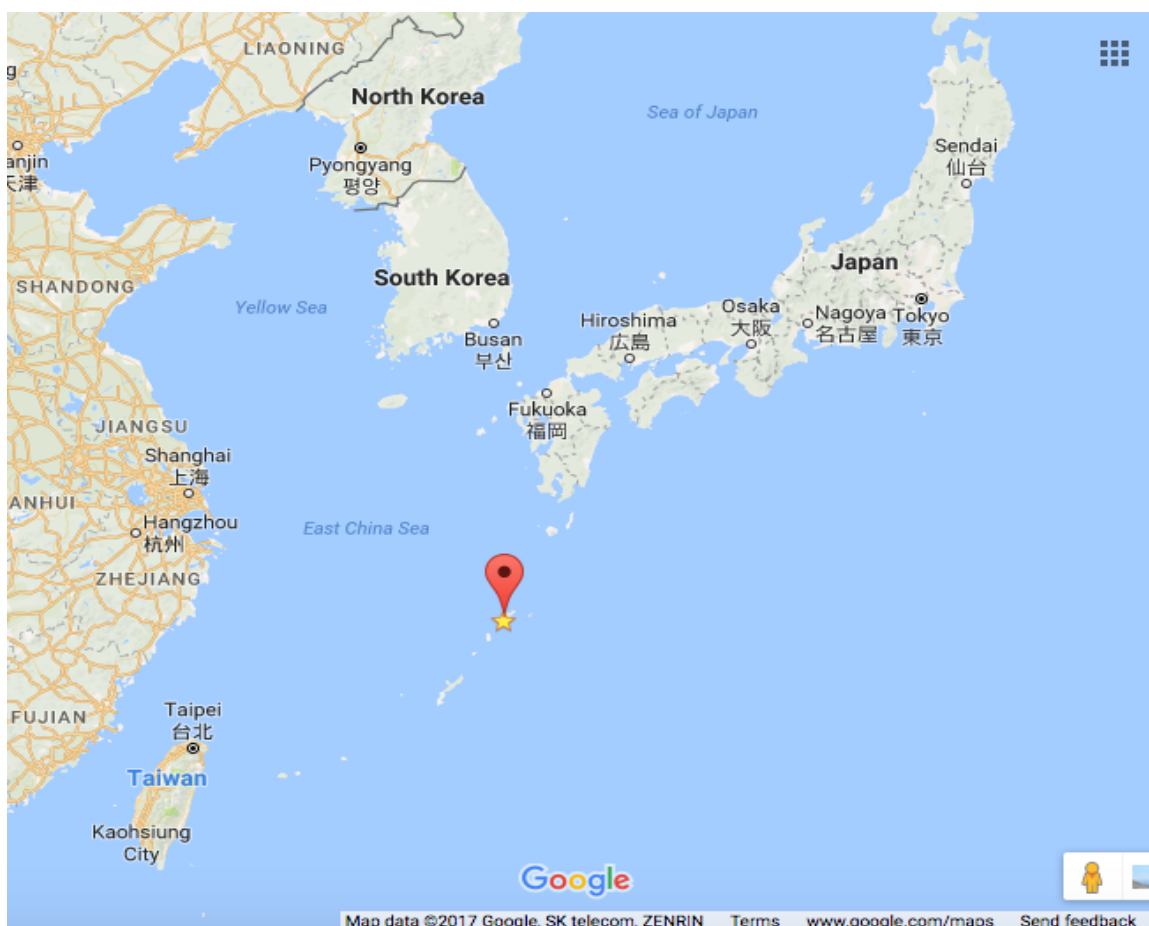
Figure 6: Map displaying Amami Ōshima (starred) in relation to mainland Japan

Within Setouchi, there were several specific sites which garnered data for this project. One of these key sites was Maneki Salon, which is located in Sesui Village, just over a twenty-minute walk from Koniya Village. Maneki Salon is a meeting place for local elders to gather once a week on Fridays and socialize, make crafts and drink tea. I was lucky enough to be invited to attend the salon to conduct recordings. Approximately seven elderly speakers (in their 80s and 90s) regularly attend these weekly sessions, as well as a couple of younger semi-speakers (in their 60s), who join to help out and prepare refreshments for the elders during the hours they spend at the salon. Most of the unelicited data I collected came from Maneki Salon, as the speakers were not at all shy about being recorded and didn't seem to even notice the recording equipment. Issues with these sessions were that there were so many speakers that the recordings are very chaotic and sometimes impossible to transcribe. The "salon" is also essentially a beach shack

with three walls (no door) and a road on one side and the ocean on the other, so occasionally you can hear some traffic on the recordings. For these sessions, I used an omnidirectional microphone to pick up the speakers' voices (see Section 4.6 on equipment). I tried being the first one to arrive at the salon to catch the first few elders conversing before everyone arrived, but the recordings descend into transcription chaos since the speakers just kept showing up earlier and earlier. Recording quality aside, from an ethnographic standpoint, these sessions were an excellent opportunity to learn Amami in a natural setting and hear how younger and older speakers interact with one another (both to their peers and with people of differing ages). Data from Maneki Salon is detailed in this thesis in Sections 7.2 and 7.3).

Another key data collection site was the K Beauty Salon, which provided recordings between the owner, W-sensei, who is a fluent Amami speaker, and her customers, who are also fluent speakers. These recordings also included W-sensei's daughter (age 45), who is a semi-speaker. K Beauty Salon is a sort of local "watering hole", which has existed for several decades and where customers have typically been coming for many years. It is located in the heart of Koniya Village, close to the village's high street.

The third key locale for recordings were the retirement homes. These retirement homes were located in Koniya and Kakeroma Island and were where most of the community member-collected recordings originated from. My fieldwork coincided with influenza season where outside visitors were discouraged, so most of these recordings were collected directly by speakers working at the homes.

4.10 Information about participants

This next section will give information about the study participants, including how I found participants and the steps I took to obtain informed consent. There is also a section on my own positionality as the researcher.

4.10.1 Finding participants

After arriving in the field, I took a week to introduce myself to the community and began creating social networks. My aim for this project was to work with willing volunteers, not recruits, so I tried not to pressure people to participate. While working with volunteers who are already inclined towards language work and have an interest in Amami may skew the findings of this project, not recruiting participants meant that I was able to work with people who were interested in the research, willing to participate, and had the time to do so. I utilized Milroy's "friend of a friend" or "snowball" method, which worked very well in such a tight-knit community where everyone knows everyone. Often people who were interested in participating and wanted to share their stories and their language would seek me out. Additionally, as Setouchi is very small and has hardly any foreigners (except for a few English language teachers), I was easily recognizable and commonly approached on the street to come meet people and do recordings. I was very fortunate, as I did not have to "convince" participants to take part, and people were generally very happy that I was there and flattered that I had come from faraway London to learn about their language.

Aikhenvald (2015:13) writes that "Most anthropological reports nowadays specify how long the author spent in the field, but they do not always indicate how much of that time was actually spent in daily contact with the people studied and how much elsewhere - for example in a near-by city." In Amami, I was told by other scholars in the Ryukyus that it is very unusual to stay with a host family, and one scholar who works on Amami Ōshima suggested I stay in the larger city of Naze (also known as Amami-shi) and commute into Setouchi daily by car. My interpretation of this advice after speaking with other scholars (including local Ryukyuan scholars), is that it's common practice for Japanese researchers to stay in a hotel or *minshuku* (bed-and-breakfast) in the city of Naze because there are few accommodation options in Setouchi. The trip from Naze would

have taken me over two hours each day round-trip, required that I procure a vehicle, and stay in an expensive hotel. Those are not ideal conditions, so I was fortunate to find local host families (whom I compensated for room and board). Making special efforts to live within the small village community of Setouchi allowed me to fully immerse myself in the project, see how the language is used first-hand, increase my opportunities to assimilate into the community, learn the local language (thus increasing my abilities to analyze the data), and build contacts. Through my contacts in Amami, I was able to make arrangements for two "home-stay" accommodations where I rented a spare room from local families.

My host families were both well-known and well-liked in the communities, so living with them (and being introduced to others as "family") quickly ingratiated me to potential participants. These two host families (who were themselves friends) were vital in introducing me to the community and using their contacts to find participants for my study. By recording self-selected participants, I was able to build relationships and trust with speakers. I also recorded speakers multiple times, which allowed me to build an understanding of social meanings and relationships between speakers (who were friends and family of one another), and also better understand intra-speaker variation, which would be much more difficult had I only had one opportunity to record each speaker. For this reason, on the second field trip in 2019, I worked with the same speakers, rather than with new participants for the shorter follow-up field trip. It was much easier for speakers to have "natural conversations" as they could more easily fall into their habitual speech patterns (e.g., Blom and Gumperz 1972). Once I met participants, I was able to begin data collection and description using recordings and elicitation methods described in section 4.4, while working according to the study's principles and methodology.

During this period, I was also able to train members of the community in basic linguistic software and recording techniques, so that many recordings (for example the recordings at the beauty salon and nursing homes (Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2) took place without me.

4.10.2 Informed consent from participants & ethics

Following the examples of Wolfram (1998), and Cameron et al. (1992), who all emphasize that researchers should "give back" to the communities they work with, this project took into account the speakers' interests and priorities. During the initial planning phases (before going into the field), I contacted younger (semi-speaker) community members to get guidance on a research topic and see if there was a desire and interest among the community to document honorifics in Amami. I also consulted with Tatsuro Maeda, a sociolinguist who had a long-standing relationship working in Setouchi and had produced several teaching materials for revitalization purposes. Both the community members I spoke to (introduced by Shannon Grippando) and Professor Tatsuro Maeda said that honorifics were a worthy topic of study and documentation (though I must admit that Tatsuro Maeda said that it would be "difficult to piece together, as people do not use honorifics so much these days"). Undeterred by this and encouraged by the community's positive response, I carried on with my project plan.

Consent forms are not always appropriate in every documentation project. For example, some communities may be distrustful or uneasy towards written consent forms if they do not have a culture of signing things or are distrustful of written official documents (DiPersio 2014). In the Ryukyuan context, consent forms were both appropriate and useful to ensure that speakers a) understood the general purpose of the research and for what purpose their data would be used for and b) understood that they were fully within their rights to withdraw their consent (and data) at any time, even after the form had been signed and recordings had been made. A copy of the consent form I

used is available in Appendix A, adapted from Bowern (2008). An English translation of the consent form is also included in the appendix.

I adhered to all the SOAS Research Ethics Policy requirements, and received approval for this project before my research commenced from the SOAS Research and Enterprise Committee. More information about the SOAS Research Ethics Policy can be found online at: https://www.soas.ac.uk/research/ethics/.

4.10.3 Dividing speakers based on different generations & fluency

I, the researcher, adhered to Sankoff's (1980) outline of the decisions to be considered and covered to establish a sufficient sample for this project's research:

-A. Defining the sampling universe

-B. Assessing the dimensions of variation in the given community

-C. Determining the sample size

The "sampling universe" for this project is Setouchi Town, which in 2004 was estimated to have 1800 speakers (Moseley 2016). I conveniently stayed in Setouchi Town during fieldwork, which is where I collected my sample using the friend-of-a-friend method, starting with contacts I had already made in Amami Ōshima. As Japanese is the language of daily discourse in Amami, finding speakers who are fluent in the contact language (Japanese) was not an issue. Setouchi dialect is generally accepted among the community as being its own distinct dialect, separate from the varieties spoken outside of Setouchi in the Northern parts of the main Amami Island.

The dimensions of variation in the given community included gender (I gathered data from both men and women), age, social networks, and other contexts (such as class and hometown). Several scholars working on Japanese have noted that women tend to use more honorifics than men (see Palter & Horiuchi 1995; SturtzSreetharan 2008), so having both genders was crucial for this project. Age is important because it likely that younger speakers will have less use and access to Amami honorifics. Additionally, other studies

have noted that Japanese speakers use fewer honorifics in Japanese (e.g., Okamoto1997; Ogino 1986), and this may be influencing younger bilingual Amami speakers.

Speakers' fluency was determined by a combination of their own self-assessment and community assessment (I was often referred to as "good speakers" by others). Fluency also roughly aligns with speaker age groups (though there are of course exceptions to this rule). This study divides speakers into "full speakers" (i.e., fluent speakers who have the most stable linguistic repertoires), "semi-speakers", and non-speakers (Japanese monolinguals; most Amamians under 40 years old). "Fluent native speakers" (in the sense of Craig 1992a) or "full speakers" of Amami are all elderly. Working with elderly speakers meant they had more free time than younger people and spent more time regularly gathering for social activities with other elder speakers (i.e., retirees). However, they were at risk of falling into poor health, and in fact, this was an issue in this project. During the field trip, it was influenza season, and some speakers fell ill during this time. Also, the nursing homes where many participants lived did not allow unnecessary outside visitors in February (when influenza season is at its height). I tried to diversify the participants (i.e., speakers of various backgrounds such as social status, gender, educational background, and age) as much as possible, not only to gather more diversified data representing a fuller picture of the Setouchi speech community, but also to safeguard against a participant losing interest or no longer being able to participate and not having them be the only source of data. Having as many participants as I could find/record also had the benefit of improved data quality, as the project is not based on only one or a few speakers' particular speech patterns. Therefore, I sought out participants who were "ideal consultants" because they possessed the "sole absolutely necessary criterion: enthusiasm" (Bowern 2008: 131)

Samples for linguistic studies tend to be smaller than studies which involve other types of surveys (Milroy & Gordon 2003). Labov (1966: 180) suggested that linguistic

usage is more homogenous than other social variables, such as dietary or parenting preferences. Sankoff suggested that a sample size of more than 150 speakers is redundant because members of a given speech community need to understand each other with a "high degree of efficiency", thus limiting the possible variation and imposing regularity to ensure effective communication (1980: 51-52). To put this study into context with notable linguistic survey studies, Labov's study of speakers in New York city department stores had a sample size of 88 speakers (1966). Trudgill's sociolinguistic study of speakers in Norwich, England was based on 60 speakers (1974). Determining the sample size for this project was influenced by practical considerations, such as my time and energy limitations in the field. This project had slightly more volunteers than recordings from this project due to a lack of time, and in some cases, the participants, initially agreed and then lost interest or changed their minds about participating.

Findings from this study are based on collected data from 60 speakers within the Setouchi Community, located on the Southern part of Amami Ōshima Island (Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan). Participants' ages ranged from 27 to 104. I worked with both male and female speakers, belonging to a wide range of current and former occupations (retirees), who were all from Setouchi, and had not lived outside the island for more than a few years (e.g., to go to University), with the exception of two fluent speakers; W-sensei who had moved away from Amami for 10 years as a teenager, eventually returning as a young adult, and Inori-san, who was born in Taiwan to Amamian parents, but returned to Amami during his childhood after moving around Asia during his early years (see Section 4.10.5 on Speaker Profiles for more information on these speakers).

4.10.4 Genders of speakers

This project aimed to be as inclusive and representative as possible, though future opportunities to collect data from more speakers on subsequent field trips would undoubtedly improve the quality of the corpus sample. Also, though the data collected is

from both male and female participants, this project drew much more data from female participants (26 total) than male (only 15 total), thus the majority of data is predominantly based on the speech of elderly women. This is likely because I, the researcher (being female), had greater access to women group activities. The male participants had to be visited in their homes, for the most part, to be recorded, because I was never invited to nor had access to any male group settings. The aspect of survival rate may be linked to my access and opportunity to record female speakers over male speakers as well, since women tend to live slightly longer than men (Human Development Report 2019 Team 2020) and this study worked with many elderly people.

It is worth noting that many languages, including related-language Japanese (Strycharz 2012), are known for exhibiting different speech patterns based on gender. In Japanese, these differences are noticeable in areas of personal pronouns, where men and women often use completely different first and second-person pronouns. When looking at discourse produced by speakers of Japanese, which has notably expressed gender differences (e.g., Ide 1982, Strycharz 2012), we should be mindful that the speakers in this study may also be sensitive to gendered speech variations.

4.10.5 Speaker profiles

This section outlines the speakers who contributed to this research. All speakers are from Setouchi Town, which is divided into several villages. The below table (Table 1) gives a general overview of all speakers who contributed recordings to this project.

Table 1: Project Participants

	Name	**Fluency**	**Age**	**Village**	**Gender**
1.	YG-san	fluent	98	Sesui	female
2.	Inori-san	fluent	89	Hyou (Kakeroma)	male

	Name	Fluency	Age	Village	Gender
3.	T Sensei	fluent	74	Yoro Island, Koniya	male
4.	Kiyofumi-san	fluent	73	Katetsu	male
5.	OK-san	fluent	64	Yui	male
6.	W-sensei	fluent	64	Tean	female
7.	Noriyo Fukuzawa	fluent	85	Seisui	female
8.	Hideko Higashihara	fluent	81	Okayama; Seisui	female
9.	Setsuko Higashihara	fluent	85	Shokazu Village on Kakeroma (Setouchi); moved to Seisui 38 years prior	female
10.	Misako Kamada	fluent	87	Seisui	female
11.	Takako Kiyoshi	fluent	75	Seisui	female
12.	Yasue Maneki	fluent	89	Seisui	female
13.	Koito Sakae	fluent	95	Seisui	female
14.	Reiko Ukeshima	fluent	77	Seisui	female
15.	Customer A	fluent	84	Koniya	female

	Name	Fluency	Age	Village	Gender
16.	Customer B	fluent	66	Koniya	female
17.	Customer C	fluent	66	Koniya	male
18.	OH-san	fluent	94	Nishikomi	female
19.	IM-san	fluent	82	Aminoko	female
20.	IM2-san	fluent	95	Nishikomi	female
21.	TF1-san	fluent	93	Nishikomi	female
22.	MN-san	fluent	68	Nishikomi	male
23.	CH-san	fluent	87	Nishikomi	female
24.	Sato-san	fluent	95	Sesui	male
25.	Y-san	fluent	63	Koniya	male
26.	B-san	fluent	79	Yui	male
27.	C-san	fluent	94	Shiba	female
28.	D-san	fluent	82	Agina	female
29.	E-san	fluent	84	Agina	female
30.	Tokura-san ---T-san	semi-speaker	54	Koniya	male
31.	Fumika Yamakura	semi-speaker	40	Akakina, Koniya	female

	Name	Fluency	Age	Village	Gender
32.	Yamakura-san	semi-speaker	42	Koniya	male
33.	Aco Okano	semi-speaker	36	Koniya	female
34.	Daisuke Okano	semi-speaker	37	Koniya	male
35.	Tanka-san	semi-speaker	45	Koniya	female
36.	HS-san	semi-speaker	45	Katetsu	female
37.	Ikeda Teppei	semi-speaker	35	Koniya	male
38.	Tomoki Sato	semi-speaker	28	Koniya	male
39.	Akemi-san	semi-speaker	65	Koniya	female
40.	Hidemi-san	semi-speaker	65	Seisui	female

	Name	Fluency	Age	Village	Gender
41.	Hideto-san	semi-speaker	52	Ukeijima, Koniya	male
42.	Ken -K-san	non-speaker	45	Kobe (mainland Japan)	male
43.	Jun	non-speaker	65	Fukuoka (mainland Japan)	male

Out of the 43 participants involved (from Table 1), there were 22 speakers who I worked with most heavily and consistently, and they are discussed in the following sections. The following speakers below represent this project's most fluent speakers who also had a high level of metalinguistic awareness and whom I relied on heavily during this project for grammaticality judgements. Four of these speakers, Inori-san, W-Sensei, T-sensei, and Kiyofumi-san were instrumental for the data discussed in Chapter 5.

Inori-san (age 89)

Inori-san is a fluent speaker of Amami. He was born in Taiwan (to Amamian parents) and moved around a lot for most of his early childhood (including China for elementary school). However, his parents were from Hyou (Kakeroma Island), and they transmitted Amami to him. He is a very strong speaker. He has collaborated on other linguistic projects, including Maeda's (2013a) *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* project to create teaching materials for Amami language revitalization. His wife is also from Hyou (she is a native Amami speaker). He was a teacher before retiring, and he is very well-traveled. He also speaks a bit of English (in addition to Chinese and Russian). He a has very high-level metalinguistic awareness and is very proud of his Amamian heritage and language.

<u>T-Sensei (age 74)</u>

T Sensei is from Yoro Island (Setouchi Town), but he has lived in Koniya (Setouchi) since 2004. He was a school principal before retiring and is widely regarded as a very skilled and fluent Amami speaker. He cares deeply about revitalizing Amami and has also participated in Maeda's *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* teaching material project (2013a). He has championed revitalization efforts such as the Shimaguchi speech contest, which was organized and held at local schools in Koniya Village (Setouchi).

<u>Kiyofumi-san (age 73)</u>

Kiyofumi-san is a fluent speaker of Amami from Katetsu, Setouchi Town. He grew up speaking Amami with his parents and other family members. His daughter, HS-san (age 45), is a semi-speaker who also took part in this project. He has lived on Amami Ōshima Island continuously his entire life.

<u>OK-san (age 64)</u>

OK-san is a fluent speaker from Setouchi. He lives in Yui (Setouchi) and is married to another Amami speaker. He has a very positive language attitude and tries to teach Amami to his grandchildren (aged 0-4). His children (in their late thirties) also have positive language attitudes and speak better than most of their peers. Okano-san is known locally for being a skilled *shimauta* singer and *shamisen* (banjo) player. His family are known as pillars of the community and well-respected for their language and traditional art capabilities.

<u>W-Sensei (age 64)</u>

W-Sensei is a fluent Amami speaker, aged 64 in 2018. She was born in Setouchi and grew up speaking Amami as a first language with her parents until she was a teenager, at which point she moved to Tokyo to attend high school and stayed for about 10 years before returning to Setouchi (Amami) as a young adult. She is a very skilled

hachigatsu odori ("August dance") teacher, and she has studied and taught *hachigatsu odori* songs and dance in the community for several decades. She accredits her strong Amami to having studied the traditional Amami arts and also to her beauty salon which she owns and operates with her adult daughter. The beauty salon is a local establishment that serves mostly elderly clientele in the neighborhood. The sessions in Section 6.2.2 were all recorded by W-sensei with her clients speaking Amami in day-to-day conversation.

Her language ideology is that Shimaguchi is a "treasure" and should be valued, protected, and passed on to the younger generations. This ideology is at odds with Maeda's (2014) findings of Amamians who migrated to the mainland, experienced marginalization, and then returned to Amami. Maeda found that Amamians who had suffered stigmatization in mainland Japan "brought back [this experience], and it contributed to the fervor with which the Amamian language was suppressed and stigmatized in schools" (2014: 249).

YG-san (age 98)

YG-san is a friend and neighbor of the Ota family (my host family). She is a fluent speaker of Amami, which she learned from her family growing up. She is from Amurogama (Setouchi) and now lives in Kunetsu Village.

Maneki Salon Elders:

These speakers are a group of 12 female fluent Amami Speakers aged 80-92. They provided much of the data collected for participant observations. They were not interested in participating in elicitations, interviews, or any other sort of recording, but were very happy to be recorded during their weekly meetings at Maneki Salon.

Noriyo Fukuzawa

Fukuzawa Noriyo is one of the elders who meet weekly at Maneki Salon. She is from Sesui (Setouchi) and has lived there all her life. She is 85 years old.

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Hideko Higashihara

Higashihara Hideko-san is one of the elders who meet weekly at Maneki Salon. She is from Okayama, but has lived in Setouchi since about 1975. She is 81 years old.

Setsuko Higashihara

Setsuko Higashihara is 85 years old and one of the elders who meet weekly at Maneki Salon. She is from Shokazu Village on Kakeroma (Setouchi), but moved to Seisui about 38 years ago.

Misako Kamada

87 years old. Misako is from Sesui (Setouchi). She is one of the elders who gather at Maneki Salon weekly.

Takako Kiyoshi (age 75)

Kiyoshi Takako is one of the elders who gather weekly at Maneki Salon in Sesui. She is from Koniya. She is friends with the Fujii's. She is married to another fluent speaker.

Yasue Maneki

One of the elders who meet weekly at Maneki Salon. She is 89 years old. She is from Seisui (Setouchi) and has lived there all her life.

Koito Sakae

Sakae Koito is one of the elders who meet weekly at Maneki Salon. She is from Sesui and has lived there her entire life. She is the oldest of the women who gather at the salon at 95 years old.

Reiko Ukeshima

Ukeshima Reiko is one of the elders who meet weekly at Maneki Salon. She is from Nagasaki, but moved to Sesui in 1975 (showa 50).

<u>Middle-Aged Semi-Speakers</u>

This section will give information about the speakers who consulted on this project who fall into the category of "semi-speaker". The determination of whether someone was a semi-speaker came from the speaker's own assessment of their language abilities, in conjunction with other community members and my own judgment. Semi-speakers of Amami included in this project generally fell into their 50's and 40's. Most speakers learned Amami from their older family members, such as parents or grandparents.

<u>Fumika-san (age 40)</u>

Fumika (age 40) is a semi-speaker. She is married to another semi-speaker, Yamakura-san. Fumika also speaks English fluently and has studied abroad. She currently works as an English teacher in Koniya. In the session below, Fumika describes her and her husband's language acquisition, and this conversation exemplifies how many younger speakers have acquired the Amami language they have to draw on. I include this session in Fumika's speaker profile because it is so emblematic of her relationship with her heritage language. It is also representative of other speakers in Fumika's generation.

<u>Session Shimaguchi107:</u>

Martha: Can you tell me about where you learned Shimaguchi [Amami]?

Fumika (age 40): I have the experience of learning Shimaguchi naturally. I was brought up at Kasari. I have never lived with my grandparents, but my father's elderly relatives had lived near my house before I was born. They took care of me and my sister like their granddaughters. I also liked spending time with them and their friends, having some tea and watching TV. I didn't talk with them using Shimaguchi, but I heard them speaking Shimaguchi, and I understood what they were talking about. Probably now I still understand Shimaguchi about 90%. We didn't have classes learning about Shimaguchi when we were students. However, we had a few classes learning to sing *shimauta*, to play *shamisen* and drum. And you know *hachigatsu odori*. But in my opinion, these kinds of short experiences were not useful or helpful ways of learning and understanding Shimaguchi. As you know, living closely with native Shimaguchi speakers is the best way [laughs]. My husband learned Shimaguchi from his maternal grandparents at Ukenson. He sometimes visits them. In the conversation between them, he tried to

understand or guess the meaning. They talked to him with some words he knew. Also, with their gestures, the situation, and so on…

Tokura-san (age 54)

Tokura-san works at J. Roujin Home. He is from Koniya and has lived in Koniya all his life except for four years in Kagoshima during university. He is a semi-speaker of Amami. Which he learned from his parents and grandparents.

Fukushima Ken (age 60)

Ken works at the Koniya library and is an illustrator. He is a semi-speaker of Amami, and he learned his Amami from his parents, who are full speakers and used to own a souvenir shop on the island. He is from Koniya and has lived there his entire life.

Akemi (age 65)

Akemi manages the group of elders who meet at Maneki Salon every week in Sesui Village. She speaks Amami well compared to others in her age group, which she learned from her mother (who is one of the Maneki Salon elders). She is from Koniya Village.

Hidemi (age 65)

Hidemi is from Sesui, she is one of the younger women who help out at Maneki Salon weekly when the elders gather. She is a good friend of Akemi, and they are the same age, which is significant for honorific use (see Section 5.10). She is an Amami semi-speaker.

Yamakura-san (age 42)

Works at Tsumugi Retirement Home. His wife is a member of the Koniya English Club (*eikaiwa*), which is how I met him. He is a semi-speaker of Amami, which he learned from his grandparents.

HS-san is an Amami semi-speaker, daughter of Kiyofumi-san. She learned her Amami from her fluent father, and via her close connection to her grandmother, who is also a fluent speaker of Amami. HS-san also speaks English fluently. She grew up in Amami and studied abroad after university. She now works in online English Japanese translation.

Speakers under 40 were generally monolingual Japanese speakers (i.e., Amami non-speakers), with two exceptions. Teppei (age 35) and Tomoki (age 28) were very young Amami semi-speakers and well above average proficiency for their age. Both Teppei and Tomoki had been brought up by and still have regular contact with elders who had a positive language ideology towards Amami and had passed on the language even though it was considered somewhat unusual. Now that the language ideology in the community has shifted and Amami revitalization is more on the public consciousness, both speakers are considered very skilled and their language fluency is viewed positively and favorably by the community as a whole, not only by elders. In the case of Tomoki, he was raised by his practically monolingual Amami speaking grandfather and had been taught *shimauta* and *shamisen*, two traditional Amami arts. Teppei now works at a local food truck where he cooks and sells meals to local elders on Kakeroma Island, which is more isolated than Amami Island and reportedly has a higher population of speakers (and elders). Teppei's job gives him a daily opportunity to use Amami with his customers.

Non-speakers

There are two non-speakers who are included in this project, because recordings were collected where Amami speakers used Amami with these community members, despite them not being *shimanchu* ("islanders"). Both Ken (age 45) and Jun (age 65) have lived in Amami for decades. In Ken's case, he has lived in Setouchi for over twenty years, though he is originally from Kobe, Japan. Jun has lived in Setouchi for over forty years,

though he grew up in mainland Japan in Fukuoka Prefecture. Both are well integrated into the community.

4.10.6 Positionality of the researcher

This section will reflect on my positionality (i.e., my worldview and my stance in relation to the community I worked with) in relation to this thesis's research. Discussing my positionality is critical for two key reasons. First, no one can be completely objective, so I must be transparent about my background, which may include my biases, values, and experiences and how that may influence my interpretation of the data. Second, the interactional nature of my project, including the ethnographic methods I employed, means that my presence influenced the participants and the data in a way that is impossible to account for.

I am a Japanese American who grew up in a close-knit multi-generational family, which included bilingual paternal grandparents, who spoke Japanese and English. As is common with Japanese American families, the intergenerational link was broken between my *nisei* (second-generation) grandparents and *sansei* (third generation) father, who did not acquire Japanese, despite growing up in a multi-generational household which included his monolingual Japanese grandmother and bilingual grandfather. My grandparents (and great grandparents) were incarcerated during WWII in internment camps (a term sometimes contested- but I use it here as I feel that "war relocation camp" does not correctly describe the position of Japanese and Japanese Americans who endured the forced removal from their homes and conditions at the camps where they resided for years). My grandmother and her family were sent to Jerome War Relocation Center in Arkansas, and my grandfather and his family were sent to the Poston War Relocation Center in Arizona. The experience of living in camps during the war has resulted in long-lasting generational trauma within the Japanese American community, including my own family. During this time, my family's allegiance and loyalty were questioned and they

were treated as the enemy in the only home my grandparents had ever had. As a result, following their incarceration and during their adolescence and early adulthood, many felt that they had to work harder to prove themselves and their American-ness. These efforts to assimilate fully in American culture included adopting English and not transmitting Japanese as a means of communication, or even Japanese names, to their children.

Subsequently, I consider myself and my siblings as heritage speakers of Japanese, as we only acquired passive knowledge as children in our home domain. By the time I was born in 1990, public American opinion had shifted, and being Japanese American was something to take pride in within our community. I was raised to take pride in my Japanese heritage, but the intergenerational transmission link for the language had already been broken with my father. As a result, my siblings and I were raised as monolingual English speakers.

At university as a Linguistics major, I took formal Japanese language courses and then moved to Tokushima Prefecture on Shikoku Island in Japan following my undergraduate graduation. I lived in Tokushima for three years (2012-2015), where I improved my Japanese language skills. For this project, I used Japanese as a contact language while working with speakers in the field. Little to no teaching materials are currently available to learn Southern Amami Ōshima, but I learned some in the field and continue to study on my own using my data.

The experience of living in Japan gave me two important realizations that eventually led me to do language documentation in the Ryukyus. Firstly, I became aware and was confronted with the prejudice against local varieties and the people who speak them in Japan. I was told in Japan not to use words and phrases I had learned at home from my grandparents, who are descendants of farmers in the rural Japanese countryside of Wakayama Prefecture. I was told this is because the varieties spoken in the rural areas of Japan are considered "country bumpkin" or "not sophisticated". I also realized how

much of an outsider I was in Japanese society, although I had been raised to feel deeply connected and proud of my Japanese roots. Once I was actually living in Japan and participating in Japanese society, I realized that my cultural thinking was at odds with my Japanese colleagues' expectations. Additionally, as an ethnically half Japanese person, I often faced exclusion or exotification for my appearance. People with one ethnically Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent are referred to as *ha-fu* (from the English word for "half") in Japan. Although more half and mixed Japanese people are living in Japan than ever before, *ha-fu* people continue to experience both prejudice (such as bullying in school) as well as exotification and objectification (this is particularly true for women).

The second thing that sparked my research interest was the language shift in my own family. My own missed opportunity to acquire Japanese made me interested in language shift and language loss. Furthermore, the discrimination I experienced first-hand and witnessed (from the outside) being thrust upon other minorities in Japan brought my attention to minorities living within Japan, including Ryukyuans. Once I was in Japan, I had the opportunity to visit the Ryukyus on holiday and meet people living there. I also became friends with another ex-pat, Shannon Grippando, who lived in Amami and ultimately introduced me to the community I would end up working with.

I should also use this section to acknowledge one aspect of my positionality which I anticipated being potentially problematic to working within the Setouchi community. That is, as an American, the Ryukyus and the U.S. have had a difficult relationship following WWII. Following the end of WWII, the Amami Islands were under American control from 1946-1953, and the rest of the Ryukyus (particularly Okinawa) were under American control from 1945-1972. Today, the majority of U.S. military bases in Japan are located in Okinawa Prefecture, and anti-base sentiments held by some Okinawans are

very strong throughout the region. The reasons for these sentiments are complex and well-founded but are not within the scope of this thesis to address.

Zlazli (2019: 24) asserts that Ryukyuan communities tend to perceive a boundary between insiders and outsiders, although community members generally do not show discrimination directly towards those they deem "outsiders". However, although I am American and always presented myself as such during my fieldwork, I did not detect that people ever felt uncomfortable with my presence/research or that I was unwelcome in the community. I was coming to Amami from the U.K., I lived in the U.K., I had not lived in the U.S. for many years when I took my first field trip, and I was married to an Englishman. The introductory gifts (*omiyage*), which are preferable as a traditional practice in the Ryukyus and Japan, were all UK-themed, and I think all of these aspects helped people associate me more with the UK than with the US.

Finally, some Ryukyuan people, particularly those who do not speak English or have much experience with foreigners, or non-white friends who speak English as an additional language, tend to have internalized self-orientalism (in the sense of Fishman & Garcia 2010). This has been observed in other parts of the Ryukyus as well, particularly by Hammine (2020) where she defines self-orientalism as "a phenomenon where individuals subconsciously devalue their own language in comparison to the dominant language here, Japanese" (Hammine 2020: 85). Therefore, there may have been a possibility of a power dynamic between the participants and I in this sense of self-orientalism, particularly as a native English speaker.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter covered the methods which were used in tandem to gather informative and diverse data to represent how politeness is expressed in the Setouchi speech community. Diverse methods were implemented in order to piece together the fullest picture possible of the language use of honorifics within the Setouchi community.

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Naturally, the data gathered from this project was influenced by factors governing what speakers I had access to (e.g., more women than men in the sample). My own positionality also undoubtedly influenced the data. Further research working with different speakers and by researchers with dissimilar positionalities would add to the project's findings.

5. Description of Amami honorifics in verbal predicates

In this chapter I describe and discuss the reconstruction of honorific verbal predicates in Southern Amami Ōshima (see Section 1.2.1). The reconstruction of the system is incomplete, as knowledge of Amami honorifics has become limited and even the most proficient Setouchi speakers (that is, those with the largest and most stable repertoires) have increasingly fewer opportunities to use Amami honorifics. Thus, these speakers have become increasingly rusty in their language abilities. This is particularly the case for humble (non-subject referent) forms. As mentioned in the methodology (Chapter 4), this data was collected and analysed via fieldwork based primarily on elicitations and written surveys, as well as grammaticality judgments, which demonstrate honorifics normative usage (see Section 3.5.2 on normative factors affecting honorifics). Honorifics from spontaneous interactional data collected during fieldwork also make up a significant portion of the data discussed in this chapter. Further data on normative functions of honorifics was also collected via interviews, which give insight into speakers' ideologies on honorific usage.

While this chapter will discuss the Amami honorifics (specifically verbal predicates), and special attention will be given to imperative auxiliary forms (*shore*, *tabore*, *kuriri*). Particular attention is paid to auxiliaries because these forms are abundant in the data collected via fieldwork. This chapter places Amami honorifics into a taxonomy (see Section 5.1). This chapter presents an inventory of honorifics elicited from Amami speakers and situate these honorifics within the taxonomy. A smaller inventory of honorifics in Northern Amami (Ura variety) was completed by Shigeno (2010b) albeit based only on two speakers. Speakers' judgements regarding proper Amami honorific use will also be discussed. In other words, the question "To or with whom should honorifics be used?" will be addressed. Following the description of the honorifics collected

(Sections 5.1-5.7), normative (or stereotypical) readings of Amami honorifics are explored here because, as discussed in the literature review (Section 3.5.4), once honorifics are established as part of a "recognizable register (a type of normalized discourse under certain contextual variables)" (Pizziconi 2011: 67), they become a form of social capital, and can inform reflexive models of social behavior, facilitate explicit metapragmatic reasoning and discourse of appropriateness (Pizziconi 2011:70). Furthermore, as mentioned in Section 3.5.5, collecting data on stereotypical readings of Amami honorifics may be useful for future language teaching materials, and future studies in language ideology in endangered language studies. While this chapter focuses on the prescribed readings of Amami honorifics, exploration of Amami honorifics' other readings based on actual spontaneous and unelicited language use will be described in Chapter 7. Finally, in Section 5.8-5.9, Amami speakers' variation in honorific use (likely due to language attrition) will be discussed, as well as which forms are most resistant to loss and why this might be.

5.1 Taxonomy & terms

This taxonomy model (shown in Figure 7) draws upon categories put forth in related Northern Ryukyuan language Okinoerabu by van der Lubbe & Tokunaga (2015) and van der Lubbe, Tsutsui & Heinrich (2021). Following the collection of forms, forms were situated into the taxonomy with the help of four key consultants, W-Sensei, T-Sensei, Inori-san, and Kiyofumi-san. These speakers represent four of this project's most fluent speakers who also had a high level of metalinguistic awareness and on whom I relied heavily during this project for grammaticality judgements (see speaker profiles Section 5.2.5). These four speakers were the only people I could find who were able to offer their expertise in organizing collected forms into the taxonomy. The reason only four speakers could place honorifics into the taxonomy is likely due to the language attrition laid out in more detail in Section 5.9 of this chapter. W-Sensei and T-Sensei

sometimes used the Japanese terms *sonkeigo* ("respectful language"), *kenjōgo* ("humble language"), and *teineigo* ("polite language") when categorizing Amami honorifics, but the Setouchi community as a whole (including less fluent speakers) tends to refer to honorifics under the umbrella-term *keigo* ("honorific language"). When discussing honorifics with consultants, the term *keigo* was vastly preferred by both semi and fluent speakers over the Amami nomenclature for "politeness" or "polite speech," *yawarasa*. The use of Japanese categories to express Amami honorifics is not surprising considering the Amami speech community's bilingualism. However, just because Japanese and Amami are related languages does not mean that their politeness systems function in exactly the same way. Therefore, this thesis will not be using these terms to categorize Amami honorifics, despite the fact other linguists working in the Amami Islands have done so. For example, Shigeno (2010b) does actually use the Japanese categories of *sonkeigo*, *kenjōgo*, and *teineigo*, but I believe that using the Japanese labels to describe Amami honorifics does not leave space for differences between the Amami language and Japanese. On the other hand, using the Japanese taxonomy and terms would have the advantage that they are easily understood by the bilingual Amami speech community. In contrast, the plain (i.e., non-honorific) forms described in this thesis were not given a term by speakers. Potentially because plain forms have become the default register for Amami language use, speakers do not use a specific term for this speech register and simply refer to it as *Shimaguchi* ("community speech") or *hōgen* ("dialect"). The ideological implications of lack of taxonomical terms for plain forms might be connected to Amamian language attitudes where Amami is regarded as a "dialect" rather than a full language. This would align with the fact that speakers commonly refer to their variety as *hōgen* ("dialect"). Generally, speakers do not recognize their Amami variety as a distinct language from Japanese, which is not surprising given the historical background (described in Section 2.1).

Rather than relying on the Japanese terms, this thesis divides Amami honorifics into two categories: "referent honorifics" and "addressee honorifics" or referent-controlled honorification and addressee-controlled honorification in Shibatani (1990) (see Sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.2). Addressee honorifics index the speaker-hearer relationship, and normatively express the speaker's deference towards the hearer or addressee (e.g., Ide 1982; Shibatani 1990). Meanwhile, referent honorifics grammatically index deference towards the referent (some other) of the utterance (Comrie 1976). Niinaga (2010) documented two types of Amami referent honorifics: subject honorifics (respectful forms which raise the status of the referent in the subject argument) and non-subject honorifics (humble forms which lower the referent's status). I found the situation in Setouchi to align with that of other documented Amami varieties (see: Shigeno 2015 on Ura variety of Northern Amami and Niinaga on Yuwan variety of Northern Amami,). In the case of non-subject honorifics (humble) forms, the referent in the subject position is the speaker or someone in the speaker's in-group (e.g., family, friends). In contrast, subject honorifics (respectful) refer to the speaker's out-group (e.g., strangers, superiors). These factors were established through interview sessions with speakers discussing when each kind of honorific should be used (see a deeper discussion of this in Section 5.10). Due to language contact and speakers' bilingualism, it is likely that Japanese categories have been adapted for metapragmatic accounts of Amami, and this is most likely reinforced by the fact that these speakers regard their variety as part of the Japanese language.
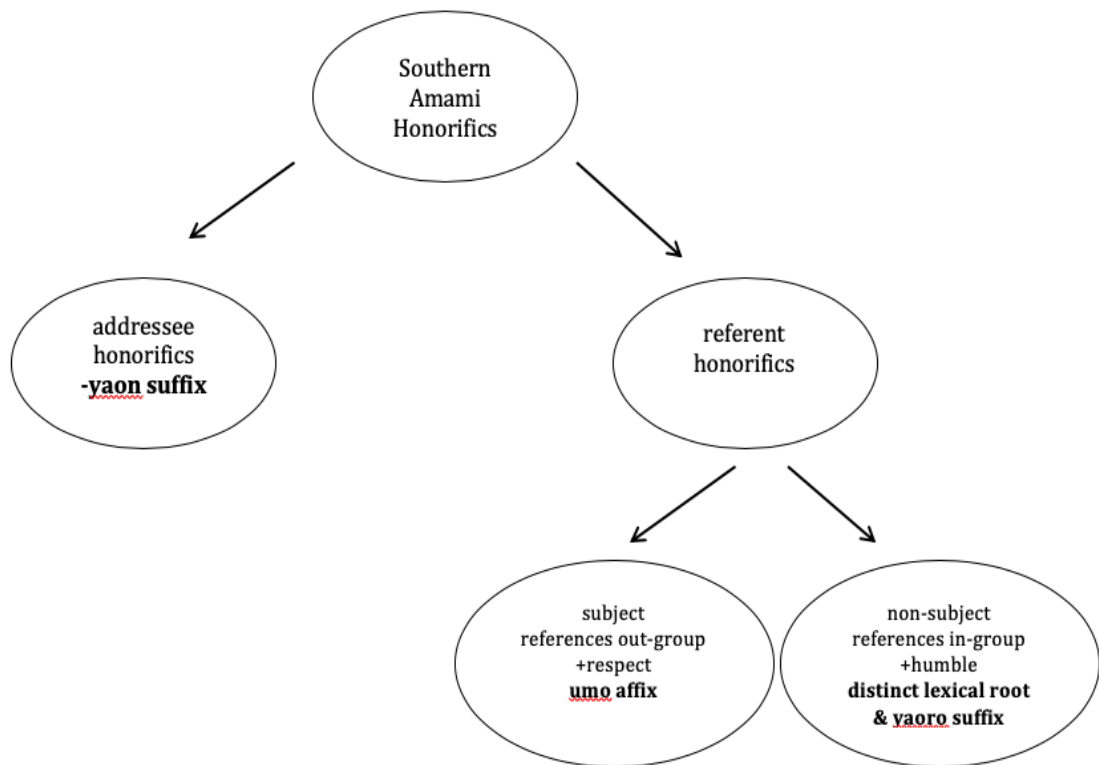
Figure 7: Southern Amami Honorifics Taxonomy

5.2 Inventory based on elicitations

The forms in the inventory described in this section are based on elicitations, grammaticality judgements, and spontaneous interactional data from 60 speakers (see Section 5.2.5 on speakers). Following the collection of honorifics, four fluent speakers assisted this project by assigning honorific forms by honorific type to categories (e.g., plain, addressee honorific, referent honorifics). These speakers are aged 69 to 89: Inori-san (age 89), W-Sensei (age 69), T-Sensei (age 74), and Kiyofumi-san (age 73).

Speaker judgements describe referent honorifics as being most polite, addressee honorifics as middling in politeness level, and plain forms as *futsū* or "regular." By "middling", I mean "moderately polite", i.e., that addressee honorifics are normatively considered more polite than plain forms, but less polite than referent honorifics. Generally, addressee honorifics index a general level of politeness between non-intimate speakers (Strycharz 2012).

These 59 forms (Table 2) were organized by politeness level after many forms had been collected throughout the speech community. Following that collection, the four main speakers assigned them to particular honorific categories. This organization of forms was achieved through many sessions talking about Amami language and politeness practices (sessions shimaguchi053, shimaguchi054, shimaguchi058, shimaguchi070a-c, shimaguchi086, shimaguchi091). "Regular" (*futsū*) forms represent the default form for speakers today and will be referred to as "plain" in this thesis. These plain forms are grammatically non-honorific, meaning that these forms have no linguistic element which mark honorification, and are normatively used to address or refer to the speaker's peers (social equals) or intimates with whom honorification is not deemed appropriate or necessary. The normative levels of politeness for each form can be visualized as seen below in Figure 8:
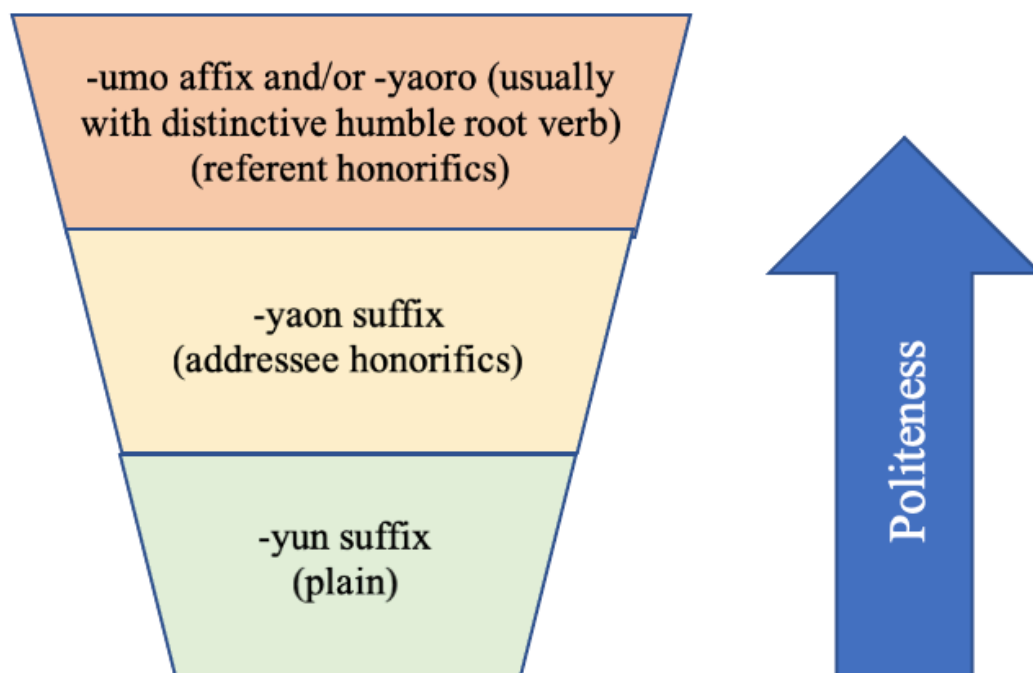
Figure 8: normative levels of politeness in Amami verbs

From the table below (Table 2), we can see that the plain -*yun* forms were most easily elicited from speakers, and all 21 verb forms were collected as Amami verbs for the -*yun* forms. The next column represents elicited -*yaon* addressee honorifics, of which 17/21 forms were collected. The referent honorifics were most difficult to elicit, and only 11/21 forms were collected for referent subject honorifics (*umo*), and 10/21 for referent non-subject honorifics (-*yaoro*). Since the Meiji period (1868 to 1912) (discussed in Section 2.1), Amami has not been used in the workplace or education (Maeda, 2014), due to social stigma and Japan's efforts to unite its territories under a common language (Maeda, 2014). At work and education settings, where there is a clear social hierarchy in place (e.g., superior-subordinate, student-teacher, etc.), we can expect that polite language would be used in communication between these speakers to index speaker-hearer position. Amami's absence from workplace and public domains in the last several decades is reflected in the fact that collecting certain honorifics proved more difficult because few speakers use or remember them. This attrition is reflected in the gaps in the inventory, which is seen below in Table 2.

Table 2: Amami verbs in plain and honorific forms

verb	Amami plain form (-yun)	Amami addressee honorifics: (-yaon)	Amami referent subject honorifics: (umo)	Amami referent non-subject honorifics: (-iyaoro)
go	ikyun	ikyaon	ijiumore / umore	chinkamoryaoro
come	kyun	kyaon	umore /umoyun	ikkyaoro
be (animate)	un	uryaon	umore	x
be (inanimate)	an	aryaon	x	x
see	miryun	miryaon	michiiumore	miryaoro
do	shun	shiryaon	shiiumore	shinkamoryaoraro
know	shicchyun	shicchyaon	shicchiumore	shicchuryauoro
understand	wakayun/ kiriyun	wakaryaon	x	wakaryaoro
give	nyaayun	nyaryaon	x	ueshaoro
say	iyun	iyaon	umoyun	shirareryouro
eat	kamyun	kamyaon	x	kamyaoro
drink	numyun	x	x	x
wake up	fiyun	ufuyuon	x	udoomyaorou
wear	kiryun	kiiryaon	kichiumore	x
read	yumu	yudooryaon	yutiumore	x
sleep	neiburyun	yasumiryaon (rest)	yasutiumore	x
write	kakyun	kakyaon	kachiumore	x
give	kuriyun	kuriryaon	x	x
borrow	karyun	x	x	x
lend	karashun	x	x	x
forms	21/21	17/21	11 of 21	10 of 21

5.3 Plain forms

Plain (i.e., non-honorific) verbal predicates are the most commonly heard, and consequently also the most collected, forms in Amami and they have been retained most saliently by the community. Given the endangered language context and the low prestige of Amami, it is predictable that less formal verbs are best preserved, as Amami has been eradicated from the high domains. These forms normatively belong to more casual speech registers: for example, speaking with those of equal social status (friends) and subordinates (e.g., by older speakers towards younger speakers). During my fieldwork, I found that speakers could most easily produce plain forms. Plain forms are also the most

frequently documented in the literature (see: Maeda 2013a; Niinaga 2015; Shigeno 2010b).

Although plain forms are generally characterized by the *-yun* suffix, there are two irregular verbs found in the data. The Amami verbs *an* ("be/exist") and *yumu* ("to read") do not follow the *-yun* pattern (see below, Example 4).

(4)
ikyun (go)
kyun (come)
un (be/exist- animate)
an (be/exist- inanimate)
miyun (see)
yumu (read)

In contrast to irregular *yumu* (read) and *an* (be/exist), we can see that generally Amami plain verbs end in the *-yun* suffix as seen in Example 2 (below), elicited from W-Sensei (aged 70). The plain form in Example 2 shows that *-yun* verbs can be used to talk about the actions of members of the speaker's in-group (such as close friends, or in this case, family members).

(5)

anyo	ya	heriishi	kagoshima	kara	ikyun
Brother	topic marker	ferry	Kagoshima	from	go

My brother will go to Kagoshima by ferry.

5.4 Addressee honorifics

During data collection, addressee honorifics were most commonly manifested with the *-yaon* suffix. Based on forms used in elicitations and in interviews, *-yaon* is the second most well-known form, after the plain form (*-yun*). Honorifics with *-yaon* do not index the highest level of politeness, and they appear to have retained their place in speaker knowledge (if not actual usage) among speakers (though the use has decreased

more than that of the plain form verbs). According to two consultants, this form most closely corresponds to the *desu/-masu* form in Standard Japanese and can be used in most situations where the plain form would be too casual. If these honorifics do correspond to the *desu/masu* Japanese forms, then that may further indicate that these forms index general politeness, rather than politeness towards an individual (as referent honorifics do).

(6)

verb	non-past affirmative polite	non-past affirmative plain
go	*ikya(o)n*	*ikyun*
come	*kyaon*	*kyun*
be/exist (animate)	*uryaon*	*un*
be/exist (inanimate)	*aryaon*	*an*
see	*miryaon*	*miyun*

The word final *-n* makes the verb non-past affirmative whilst *-an* creates non-past negative forms. (Example 7)

(7)

ikyao.   *ddo*

non-past affirmative   emphatic polite

go!

ikyan.   *do*

non-past negative   emphatic polite

do not go!

Though most commonly collected with the *-yaon* suffix, honorifics at this level can also be conjugated to end in *-yaoddo*. The *-do* ending adds emphasis to an utterance, for example, *ikyaoddo* ('go!') or *aryaoddo* ('be!'). According to fluent speakers W-Sensei and T-Sensei, this form can be used in most situations where the plain form would be considered too casual. In the chart below, we can see a comparison between *-yaon* and the emphatic *-yaoddo* verbs:

(8)

<u>verb</u>	<u>non-past affirmative polite</u>	<u>non-past affirmative emphatic polite</u>
go	*ikya(o)n*	*ikyaoddo*
come	*kyaon*	*kyaoddo*
be/exist	*uryaon*	*uryaoddo*
be/exist (inanimate)	*aryaon*	*aryaoddo*
see	*miryaon*	*miryaoddo*

5.5 Subject referent honorifics

Referent subject honorifics are characterized by the *umo* affix. Normatively, respectful forms are used in the same situations as humble forms. Thus, a conversation

between a speaker and their superior might include the subordinate speaker using both types of referent honorifics, humble and respectful language. For example, before Amami was lost in the public domains, when serving a customer, you would expect to hear employees using these honorifics. If the shopkeeper is the speaker, they would use humble forms when referring to their own actions or themselves (thus lowering themselves), and the respectful forms when referring to the customer and the customer's actions (thus raising the customer's status). These forms are not used to speak about oneself or something one has done themselves. Fluent speakers state that referent honorifics are used to refer to elders or with people you do not know well (outgroup members) or with superiors. Today, a commonly used phrase in Amami is *umore*, said by shopkeepers and restaurant staff to greet customers.

In Amami, the verbs "go"," "come," and "exist" are all expressed simply by the auxiliary verb (*umore*). This form was potentially once used with a verbal stem (i.e., original stem + *umore*) , but today only the auxiliary verb is used. On the other hand, other Amamiverbs still retain the regular stem. For example, "to see" is expressed with *michii.umore* (verb stem of "see" + honorific/respectful auxiliary verb).

(9)
    umore (go/come/be)
    ijiumore /umore (go)
    michiiumore (see)
    shiimore (do)

5.6 Non-subject referent honorifics

In addition to subject honorifics, the second type of referent honorifics are non-subject honorifics, or "humble speech." These humble honorifics are characterized by the *yaoro* suffix attached to the verb (Example 10). These honorifics are used to describe one's actions, or the actions of a person in an in-group to others of a higher social status. For example, an employee would use humble language whilst speaking to a customer

when referring to themselves or their actions. In Standard Japanese, humble language implies that the speaker's actions are to assist or benefit someone else (Mori 1993; Matsumoto 1997), and fluent speakers attest that this holds true for bilingual Setouchi speakers as well. These forms have been much more difficult to find within the Setouchi community, both in elicited and unelicited speech. Based on the collected data, they are scantily used outside of a few commonly used lexical chunks (see Section 8.2 on lexical touchstones in Setouchi), such as *arigassama ryoota* ("thank you") and *kyaryoo* ("hello"), fall into this honorific category.

(10)

> *mir-yaoro* (see)
> *shirarer-yooro* (say)
> *ue-shaoro* (give)
> *udoum-yaoro* (wake up)
> *chinkamor-yaoro* (go)

Amami humble honorifics can have a distinct lexical root verbs from addressee or polite honorifics (see Examples 11 and 12, below). The fact that some humble verbs have distinct roots but not all (see Examples 13 and 14 below) may represent either irregularities in the system, or it may be representative of language loss, i.e., as knowledge of forms has decreased, the distinct lexical roots have been lost and replaced by the root used in other categories.

(11)

Amami plain form (go)	Amami addressee honorifics: (go)	Amami referent non-subject honorifics: (go)
ikyun	ikyaon	chinkamoryaoro

(12)

Amami plain form (give)	Amami addressee honorifics: (give)	Amami referent non-subject honorifics: (give)
nyaayun	nyaryaon	ueshaoro

(13)

Amami plain form (see)	Amami addressee honorifics: (see)	Amami referent subject honorifics: (see)	Amami referent non-subject honorifics: (see)
miryun	miryaon	michiiumore	miryaoro

(14)

Amami plain form (know)	Amami addressee honorifics: (know)	Amami referent subject honorifics: (know)	Amami referent non-subject honorifics: (know)
shicchyun	shicchyaon	shicchiumore	shicchuryauoro

Referent non-subject honorifics were most frequently collected in the context of making requests or asking permission for the referent to do something (see below Examples 15-22).

(15)

chikamoryaoran   nya?
go-humble   question particle
Can I go there?

(16)

mishochin   kamoryaoran   nya
eat   may/can   question particle
May I eat (it/something)?

(17)

shin   kamoryaoran   nya
do   may/can   question particle
May I do (it/something)?

(18)

morotin   kamoryaoran   nya
recieve   may/can   question particle
May I get (it/something)?

(19)

    kichi   *kamoryaoran*   *nya*

    wear   may/can   question particle

    May I wear (it/something)?

(20)

    yudimuu   *iccharyaon*   *nya*

    read   may/can   question particle

    May I read (it/something)?

(21)

    yasuimochi   *iccharyaon*   *nya*

    do   may/can   question particle

    May I rest?

(22)

    kakyaoti   *iccharyaon*   *nya*

    do   may/can   question particle

    May I write (it/something)?

In these examples, the referent is either the speaker or a member of the speaker's in-group, and the listener is either someone in the speaker's out-group, or a superior. In Japanese, the sentence structure is akin to "verb + *mo ii desu ka*", or in English: "May I (humbly) + verb". Additionally, fluent speakers reported that this form should be used in formal situations, such as during traditional ceremonies. Most likely, they are remembering traditional ceremonies from the past, traditional ceremonies today primarily use Japanese (see Section 6.2.3 for more data on language choice in Amami at ceremonies).

5.7 Honorific imperatives

The imperative mood is utilized to make a request or command. To make a verb imperative mood, an auxiliary verb can be added to another verb. The verbal stem alone (without an auxiliary) can also be used as an imperative with the addition of an imperative suffix (see Example 23 and 24). This form (without an auxiliary) is considered the most casual by speakers. As previously mentioned, imperatives were an obvious choice for research because they showed up often in the data and appear to be quite salient within the Setouchi speech community.

(23)

Session Shimaguchi076 with Inori-san "please lend me"

karachi tabore (most polite)

karachi kurinshore (rather polite)

karachi kuriri (plain)

karachi (casual)

(24)

Session Shimaguchi076 with Inori-san "please do it"

shii tabore (most polite)

shin shore (rather polite)

shii kuriri (plain)

shirii (casual)

Amami imperatives using these auxiliaries can be divided into three categories, plain (using auxiliary *kurerii*), *shore* honorifics, and *tabore* honorifics. Both *shore* and *tabore* are auxiliaries, and speakers generally agree unanimously that both are honorifics and normatively index deference beyond the plain *kurerii* form. The example below (25), elicited from Inori-san (age 89), is one utterance in three variations, ordering the forms from most polite to least polite.

(25)

<u>Session Shimaguchi052</u>

mishochii tabore (most polite)
mishorinshore (rather polite)
mishore (polite)

This example above shows the phrase *mishore* ("please eat") in three forms with varying politeness levels. Fluent speakers assert that it is most polite to use *tabore*; *nshore* can be used for middling politeness; and *shore* alone is still polite, but less formal than the other two utterances.

(26)

<u>Session Shimaguchi038 & 45f</u>

     1. tabore: used towards superiors, this is considered the most polite form
     2. -nshore: used towards superiors (e.g., *minshore*)
     3. shore: used towards superiors, customer (e.g., *mishore*)
     4. shite kurerii: used to inferiors

(27)

<u>Session Shimaguchi040</u>
     1. tabore: use to superiors (*sempai*) (considered slightly more polite than *shore*)
     2. shore: use to sempai/superiors
     3. suri or kurerii: use towards inferiors (*kohai*)

Session Shimaguchi038 (Example 26) with Sato-san (age 95) demonstrates that the auxiliary can be affixed to a Japanese verb, as in the case of *shite kurerii* ("do it!"). This form was collected in spontaneous interactional data of Sato-san (age 95) speaking to his grandson (age 28), who is a good speaker of Amami for his age, but still considers himself a semi-speaker. Sato-san using an Amami auxiliary with a Japanese verb shows language mixing and suggests that the *kurerii* is present in the Amami-substrate Japanese spoken on the island. Session Shimaguchi040 with <u>W Sensei (age 69) shows similar data, where *tabore* is the politest, *shore* is of middling politeness, and </u> the *kurerii* is appropriate

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for use with those of lower status. The table below represents four fluent speakers'

organization of the imperative forms collected from 60 speakers:

Table 3: Inventory of imperatives

Japanese plain form (futsū)	Amami plain IMP suffix: (kurerii)	Amami honorific IMP suffix: (-nshore)	Amami (most) honorific form IMP suffix: (tabore)
行く go	iji kurerii	ikinshore /umorinshore	x
来る come	chii kurerii	kinshore・umorinshore	umochi tabore
いる be (animate)	uti kurerii	umorinshore	x
ある be (inanimate)	ati kurerii	x	ati tabore
見る see	michii kurerii	mirinshore /minshore	michii tabore
する do	shii kurerii	shinshore	shii tabore
知る・知っている know	shicchii kurerii	wakarinshore	wakati tabore
あげる・やる give	nyati kurerii	x	uesuiti tabore
もらう receive	moroti kurerii	murenshore	mooroti tabore ・ muroti tabore
言い say	ichii kurerii	iinshore ・umorinshore	ichii tabore
知る・思う think	shicchii kurerii	shirinshore /wakarinshore	wakati tabore
飲む drink	nudi kurerii	x	nuudi tabore
食べる eat	kadi kurerii	mishorinshore	mishochii tabore
起きる get up	x	finshore/ udoominshore	udoodi tabore
着る wear	kichii kurerii	kinshore	kichi tabore
読む read	yudi kurerii	yuminshore	yudi tabore
寝る sleep	neti kurerii	yasuminshore	yasumuiti tabore
書く write	kachi kurerii	kakinshore	kachi tabore
くれる give	kurerii	kurinshore	kurit tabore
借りる borrow	kati kurerii	x	kati tabore
貸す lend	karachi kurerii	x	karachi tabore
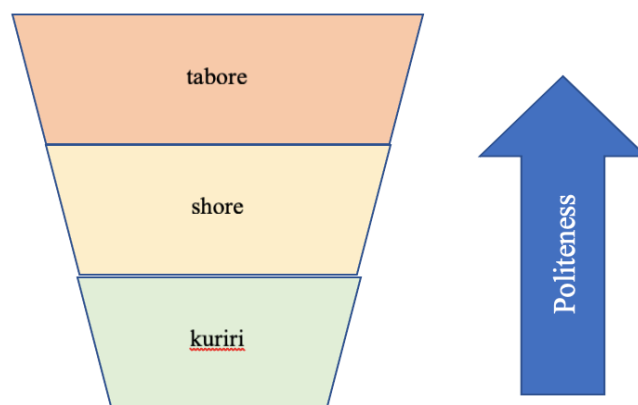
Figure 9: Normative level of politeness for Amami imperatives

kurerii and *tabore* are recognized and produced by all fluent speakers asked in this thesis, and there is some disagreement about *shore* forms (see Section 5.8). The hierarchy of politeness level can be visualized in the figure below:

(28)   kibati
               try hard-plain
               Do your best

(29)   kibarin   shore
               try hard   IMP.POL
               Please do your best

(30)   kibati   tabore
               try hard   IMP.HON
               I hope you will do your best

According to fluent Amami speaker Inori-san (age 89), the auxiliary *tabore* implies "hope", as in "I hope you will…", making the utterance more indirect (and thus more polite in Amami). On the other hand, *shore* added to a verb forms a request. Inori-san also suggested an additional form, *tamore*, which he asserted expresses the highest level of politeness, but is not used today. I was unable to elicit the *tamore* form or collect it in spontaneous interactional data from any other speakers. Inori-san provided the form in two examples (below), but also did not produce it spontaneously.

(31) Can I ride (in the car)?
       nurin shore
       nusit tabore
       nusitti tamore

(32)

This way, please.

kanshi	shin	shore
this way	do	IMP.POL

kanshi	shi	tabore
this way	do	IMP.HON

kanshi	shi	tamore
this way	do	IMP.HON

These two elicited examples (22 and 23) demonstrate three ways a speaker might make a request depending on the speaker's relationship with the hearer. The honorific imperatives index the speaker-hearer relationship, and indicate whether, for example, the speaker is asking a friend (*nurin shore*), their boss (*nusit tabore*), or a member of nobility (*nusitti tamore*).

5.7.1 *kurerii* imperative

This is most commonly used form to make requests in Amami. The auxiliary verb *kurerii* is often added to the *tee* form of the verb to ask for something for yourself (or for someone in your in-group) (see Examples 33-35 below). This form corresponds to the standard Japanese *shite yo* form ("do it!"). Prescriptively, this form is said to be used when speaking towards one's children and described as more of a command, rather than a request. As the Amami language has become limited to the home domain, it may not be surprising that this form was often collected in spontaneous interactional data and easily produced in elicitations. One speaker suggested that these forms may be still present in the community's vernacular because speakers remember their parents and grandparents speaking down to them using these imperatives (Session shimaguchi089). In contrast, more polite imperatives (*shore* and *tabore*) are somewhat more difficult to collect. The auxiliary *kurerii* was collected in combination with another verb and was not collected added to nouns or as stand-alone utterances. W-Sensei and Inori-san assert that it comes from the Amami plain verb "give" *kuriyun* (or *kuriyuddo* to express emphasis) (Session Shimaguchi070d**,** Shimaguchi064).

(33)

        iji.kurerii

        go.IMP

        go!

(34)

        yudi.kurerii

        read.IMP

        read!

(35)

        kachikurerii

        write.IMP

        write!

Normatively, this *kurerii* imperative indexes familiarity and in-groupness, or that the speaker is of a superior position to the addressee (e.g., an older person speaking to their grandchild).

5.7.2 *shore* imperative

This form is more commonly used than the *tabore* form, and also generally understood by the community. This form is characterized by ending in *nshore*, although some speakers omit the *n*. Auxiliaries *-nshore* and *shore* are not recognized by all speakers as distinct. Some speakers recognize and produce both, others only one or the other. The forms may be in the process of merging.

(36)

shin.shore (please do)
iin.shore (please say/speak)
mishorin.shore (please eat)

(37)

Session Shimaguchi026 (Tokunaga-sensei)

suwarin-shore
sit-IMP.POL
'please sit'

(38)

Elicitation Session Shimaguchi034 with Yuriko Hisae (age 98)
1. *tabore*: appropriate with superiors (vertical distance)
2. *shinshore*: appropriate for acquaintances (horizontal distance)
3. *shore*: appropriate for inferiors and friends
4. *kurerii*: used with inferiors

In the session above (Example 30), Yuriko Hisae shared that to offer something to

a younger guest, she would use *mishore* ("please eat"/ "bon appétit", but to an older guest,

she would say *mishorin shore*. Despite what she actually does in practice, it is interesting

that this speaker asserts that *-nshore* is more polite than just *shore* alone. A similar

distinction was acknowledged by Sato-san in Session Shimaguchi038 (Example 39)

(39)
Session Shimaguchi038 & 45f with Sato-san (age 95)

1. tabore: used towards superiors, this is considered the most polite form
2. -nshore: used towards superiors (e.g., *minshore*)
3. shore: used towards superiors, customer (e.g., *mishore*)
4. shite kurerii: used to inferiors

5.7.3 *tabore* imperative

This form is reportedly far less commonly used today, although generally Setouchi

speakers (full and semi speakers) know that it is used to form requests (similar meaning

to *shore*, but more polite). This form is still preserved and used in *shimauta* ("island

songs") and *hachigatsu odori* (traditional island dance). It was more difficult to collect in

spontaneous interactional data than the other imperative honorifics. Out of all speakers

participating in this project, the oldest and most fluent consultants seem to agree that

tabore expresses the highest level of politeness with *shore* being slightly less formal than

tabore.

(40)

umochi tabore (please come)
michii tabore (please look)
shii tabore (please do)

5.8 Attrition & loss of distinction

This section will explore attrition regarding honorifics and discuss why some forms, such as imperatives and addressee honorifics are surviving better than others, such as referent honorifics. A significant finding of this study are the gaps in the inventory (Table 2). Forms which could not be collected indicate what honorifics have undergone the most significant attrition, to the point where they cannot be collected from speakers in everyday discourse or elicitation. As can be seen in the inventory, referent humble forms (non-subject referent honorifics) are now very difficult to elicit from even fluent speakers (i.e., many speakers are unable to recall these forms at all, so I had to ask many more speakers to find these forms than other forms). Additionally, the distinction between the honorific imperatives *tabore* and *shore* is found to be lost among most speakers (see Figure 10, below).

Besides variation in speakers' actual language use, fluent speakers' opinions on the meaning of honorifics are also varied. Interview data shows that less-fluent speakers do not differentiate between the imperative forms *shore* and *tabore*. This could be due to imperfect acquisition of these forms (in the sense of Palosaari and Campbell 2011: 111). Meanwhile, most elderly and fluent speakers are aware that *tabore* is the politest imperative form. However, many speakers (even elderly fluent speakers) did not distinguish the two forms and stated that they could be used interchangeably. Potentially, the auxiliary verbs (e.g., *tabore*) are being re-grammaticalized, which is reflected in that younger speakers use *tabore* with their equals and inferiors. This use of *tabore* is at odds with the prescribed use collected from fluent speakers, who stated *tabore* should be used towards elders and superiors. Older speakers who may have once distinguished the forms

have adapted to the new usage and also consider the *shore* and *tabore* forms as equivalent these days. Because Amami is an endangered language, speakers may be adapting remaining forms in their repertoire to be used in a new context. There is also data that suggests that imperative forms *tabore* and *shore* are merging in the process of language loss. For example, speakers from Maneki Salon (age 65-89) report that *shiitabore* and *shichitabore* ("please do", or *shite kudasai* in Standard Japanese) may be used interchangeably while Maeda, a specialist of the Setouchi variety, and other more fluent speakers (such as those consulted in this project) assert that *tabore* is the politest form.

For the oldest speakers (W-Sensei, T-Sensei, Inori-san), the original complex hierarchical structures of the Amami honorific system still carry clear distinctions. However, in the rest of the speech community, the lines between forms have eroded to some extent (probably due to linguistic attrition or stylistic shrinkage). In actual usage data, this has led to an almost equal function and meaning in *shore* and *tabore*. Younger speakers (who aren't as competent) now report that *tabore* should be used with superiors (*sempai*) and *shore* with inferiors and younger people (*kohai*). This is at odds with what elder speakers the reported, who stated that both *shore* and *tabore* were inappropriate to use with inferior or younger speakers. Younger speakers also do not tend to use Amami with those younger than them (i.e., monolingual Japanese speakers), so even though they say that *shore* is appropriate for inferiors and younger people, data does not show them practicing what they prescribe. Thus, this could be re-grammaticalization to fit the speakers' purposes.

The *shore* forms have been "tokenized" and seem to have lasted (more so than *tabore*) because speakers know and use them more. *Shore* forms are found more frequently in not only spoken data, but also in the linguistic landscape (see Section 8.1).

As discussed in the literature review, when using honorifics variability is the norm (Agha 2007, Pizziconi 2011), speakers in viable languages use honorifics with variability

(e.g., Takekuro 2005: 6). We need to consider that honorifics are not inherently polite and have many "secondary" meanings. This means that there will be some variation. Additionally, in the endangered language context, honorifics may not be used as they are in healthy languages. In the case of Amami, we can expect that there will still be these secondary meanings, but some variation could be due to speakers' limited knowledge or access to the honorific forms. Therefore, lack of standardization may be manifesting in Amami speakers' use of honorifics. The Setouchi speech community exhibits variation regarding imperative honorifics, which can be visualized in the below Figure 10:
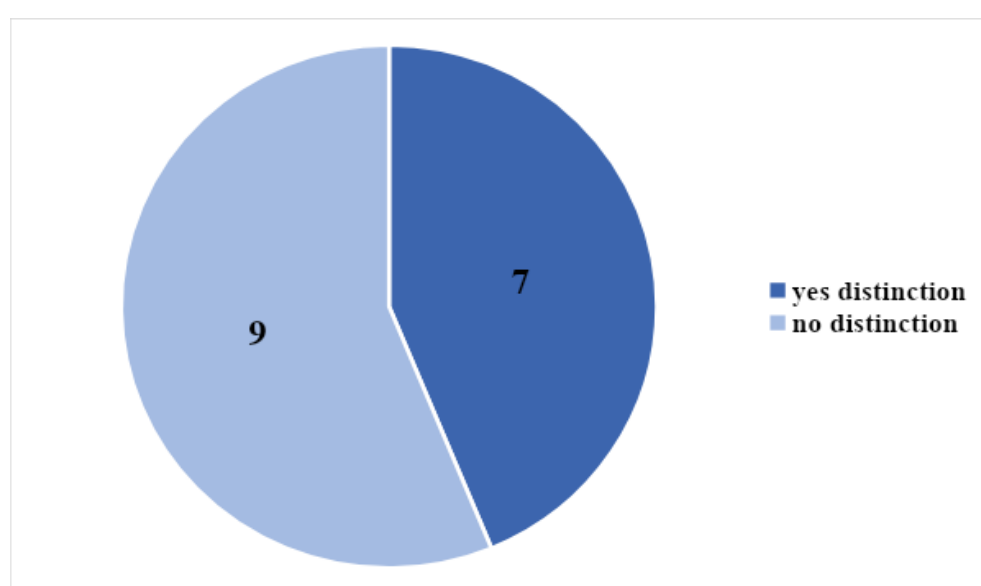
Figure 10: shore and tabore distinction survey

As we can see from this figure, opinions on whether *shore* and *tabore* forms are distinct vary. Furthermore, this difference is not clear cut across generations. Speakers who asserted that there is a distinction tended to be older and were aged 60, 69, 71, 74, 76, 89, and 90. On the other hand, speakers who said there was no distinction between imperative forms were both older and younger, aged 35, 37, 65, 65, 74, 78, 86, 90 and 98. In other words, it is not the case that younger speakers have a consistent opinion within their age group that varies with the prescribed usage according to older speakers. While the younger speakers' lack of distinction could be due to learning Amami imperfectly, this

does not explain why some older speakers also equate the two forms. Naturally, healthy languages also undergo change, sometimes according to different generations where different aged speakers use language differently. For example, the taboo loading of swear words changes over time; what is shocking to one generation may be an everyday utterance to another (usually younger) generation (e.g., Schellenberg 1996).

It is possible that there is some re-grammaticalization of auxiliary verbs (e.g., *tabore*) occurring, where speakers use *tabore* with their equals and their inferiors, rather than reserving it for elders and superiors, though this is likely the original usage, based on stories and songs (Session Shimaguchi057, T-Sensei). This shows that endangered language speakers may be adapting forms for new contexts, instead of forms just fading away once Japanese has taken root in the original situations where Amami honorifics were once used.

5.9 Imperatives resistance to loss

As discussed in Section 5.7, this project collected significant data on Amami polite imperatives. The analysis so far has shown that imperative *shore* is the most commonly known polite form imperative. Imperative *tabore* is less used than *shore*. There is also *kurerii*, the imperative plain form which is also well-known (but not honorific).

(41)

  Session Shimaguchi024a (CH-san):

otoire	o	kannat	tabore
bathroom	direct object particle	borrow	IMP.HON

  Please lend me your bathroom.

Example 41 is from a participant observation, the utterance's speaker is CH-san, a female speaker (age 87), addressing her long-time friend and neighbor Mr. Miyahara (age 68), asking permission to use the restroom in his home. This use of honorific imperative

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is significant because Mr. Miyahara is nearly 20 years younger than CH-san, yet she still uses the *tabore* imperative, rather than the *shore* imperative, which would normally be expected in this situation. Other examples of imperatives collected in spontaneous interactional data can be found in Chapter 7.

These findings are in line with those of Tsunoda (2006:104), who observed that imperative forms seemed to be the most resistant to loss. He notes that although imperative forms' resilience against morphological attrition is not well-documented, it seemed to be the case in the Buluguyban language**.** Similarly, Aikhenvald (2010) writes:

> Command words and imperatives are among the first forms acquired by children in the Kaluli-speaking area of New Guinea (Schieffelin 1985), and by the Ku Waru in the Eastern Highlands Province (Rumsey 2003). The reason is simple: their care-takers, including mothers and older children, use directives and imperatives more often than any other forms to address them. This is consistent with patterns all over the world (see Berman 1985, and a summary in Chapter 9 of Aikhenvald 2010). A typical command for a child to listen to what the care-taker says is:
>
> [ñən awuk] [harim tok ada]
> you.fem impv+listen listen speech

This suggests that in endangered language situations, the imperative forms of verbs disappear last and is consistent with the findings in speakers of Southern Amami, where polite forms have been significantly lost, but are still expressed in imperative verbs. This aligns with the language reported use data, specifically from one speaker, Hideto-san (age 52, Session Shimaguchi089), who describes Amami as "convenient" for talking to his kids and telling them to do chores.

5.10 Factors normatively influencing use of honorifics in Amami

This section is based on fluent speakers' rationalizations on how Amami honorifics ought to be used. In other words, this section explores the normative functions of Amami honorifics. When I designed my project proposal, I speculated that Japanese may influence Amami speakers prescribed meanings of honorifics, not only because of the genetic relation between both languages, but because Amami speakers also speak

Japanese. It should be noted, however, that Japanese is a viable language with millions of fluent speakers, which is not undergoing language loss, and has full utility of public and private domains. Amami speakers may manifest these factors differently due to language loss. For example, the fluency or confidence of speakers and listeners (or the perceived ability of the listener by the speaker) may influence speakers' choices whether to use honorific forms or not.

As mentioned in Section 5.10, this study aimed to investigate what factors influence Amami honorific prescriptive use (actual use is explored in Sections 7.1-7.5). Unlike other scholars who have investigated factors influencing honorific use in Standard Japanese (see Ide,1982 and Martin, 1964), I did not rank these factors by "most important or influential" to "least important or influential". This is because I was not looking at these factors in real-world interaction, but rather assessing whether fluent speakers prescribe these factors to be influential when considering prescribed honorific use.

- Relative age
- Social rank
- Familiarity
- Social setting
- Gender of speaker

This data is based on interviews and grammaticality judgements from fluent Amami speakers (ages 69 to 89). In other words, this section describes normative honorific use or what speakers think they "should" do rather than how they actually use Amami honorifics in daily communication. On the Amami Islands, Japanese is considered the "high variety" and Amami is the local, low-status variety, and these language attitudes influence actual use of honorifics. Therefore, we can speculate that Amami in everyday discourse is not going to be used in the ways prescribed by speakers in this section, due to its historical perception as being "low-brow" (this will be further explored in Chapter 6).

5.10.1 Interview Responses

Interviews garnered a smaller portion of data for this project (see methodology Section 4.3. on interviews). These interview responses therefore represent minimal data that must be interpreted with caution. Further research in the future is necessary.

Session Shimaguchi086

> Martha: When are honorifics used?
> Inori-san (age 89): In the old days, polite speech (*keigo*) was used with older people and superiors (*senpai*)… or to your boss. Sometimes with strangers. Definitely with guests and customers. I do not use honorific speech (*keigo*) now because I'm the oldest. You should not use *keigo* when you're talking about yourself, or your close family members, like your child or your siblings. You might use toward your in-laws.

Session Shimaguchi094

> Martha: When are honorifics used?
> Sonae Shigeko (age 84): Polite speech (*keigo*) should be used with customers (*okyakusan*). Phrases such as *umore* (*irrashiamase* [in standard Japanese]) were heard in the old days to welcome customers into shops and things.

Session Shimaguchi081

> Martha: Do your parents use Amami?
> Ken (age 60): Yeah, my parents used to have a shop and they would speak Amami with the customers. They use Amami polite speech (*keigo*) to our neighbors who are older [than them]. Sometimes the neighbors will help them, since they're older now.

Session Shimaguchi078

> Martha: Would you use Amami polite speech (*keigo*) with strangers?
> W-Sensei (age 69): Hmmm, well with strangers I would use regular Amami unless the person was older than me. Then I would use polite Amami.

Further on in this interview, W-Sensei confirms that age, social rank, and setting are all important for the "correct" use of Amami polite speech. She says that when she is giving a speech at retirement homes (to her elders) she will use polite speech. She reports that she also uses polite speech with her clients at her beauty salon.

Session Shimaguchi084

> Martha: With whom should Amami polite speech be used?

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> Kaname-san (age 60): Amami polite speech (*keigo*) should be used with older people (*toshi-ue*), superiors (*senpai*), and *shiriai* (acquaintances or people you do not know that well).

Session Shimaguchi098

> Tomishima-san Jr (age 68): You should use Amami polite speech with superiors (*senpai*). With people who are the same age as me, I will use Amami but not polite speech because using polite speech creates a distance between people. Using plain (*futsū*) Amami is better to express closeness.

5.10.2 Relative age

From these interviews, we can see that relative age of the referent or addressee to the speaker is a relevant factor to whether Amami honorifics should be used. This is expected as Ide (1982) as well as Martin (1964) list age as the second most indicative factor of honorific use towards referents (in Standard Japanese).

For use of Amami addressee or referent honorifics, speakers report that honorifics should be used with and toward elders, and plain form should be used with same-aged peers, friends, and younger people. Below is an elicited example including the honorific pronoun *nankya* and polite verb *tikiryaotan* ("made"). In this sentence, there is honorification of the addressee (via the honorific pronoun) and the referent (the addressee's grandmother). The plain version of this utterance can be seen in Examples 43 and 44, where the referent is the speaker themselves (Example 43), and their child, who is a member of the speaker's in-group (Example 44). Example 42 (below) shows the polite version.

(42)

kurrya	nankya	anma	ga	tikiryaotan	mun	daryou	do
this	2SG.HON	grandmother	subject marker	made.POL	thing	COP	EMP

Your grandmother made this.

(43)

kurrya	wan	douu	tikita	do
this	1SG	particle	made	EMP

I made this.

(44)

waa.kya	kuwaa	ga	kuri	ba	tikita	mun	daryou	do
1SG.POSS	child	subject marker	this	direct obj marker	made.PST	thing	COP	EMP

My child made this.

5.10.3 Social rank

According to the interviews, speakers believe that honorific and humble speech should be used with those of higher social rank. Speakers universally agreed that honorifics should be used to speak to someone of higher social rank than them. Again, however, in day-to-day interactions, this might be less relevant when speakers are choosing whether to use Amami honorifics or not. Tomishima-san Jr (age 68) (Session Shimaguchi098) says in his interview that using Amami honorifics "creates a distance between people", so it is better to not use honorifics if you are using Amami. What he might actually mean, is that in situations where Amami is still appropriate, honorifics might seem strange as Japanese is the *de facto* variety for most domains outside the home.

Below, Example 45 shows an elicitation where the addressee is the speaker's social superior, such as a boss or manager.

(45)

nanmya	acha	umo.ryun	nya
2SG-HON	tomorrow	HON.go	question particle

Are you going tomorrow?

In Example 46, we see the plain equivalent of the sentence, where the referent is one's social equal (a colleague of same social rank). In Example 46, plain forms are reflected in the pronoun (second person pronoun *ura*) and noun (*kyun*).

(46)

ura   ya   acha   ikyun   nya?

2SG   TOP   tomorrow   come   question particle

Are you going tomorrow?

These two examples show how the utterance can be said with an honorific verb and

pronoun (Example 45), or alternatively without the honorification with a plain pronoun

and plain verb (Example 46).

5.10.4 Social setting

Several linguists list formality as an important factor determining honorific use

(Martin 1964; Ide 1982). Strycharz (2012) notes that in formal situations honorific use

may be required from all speakers, "regardless of whether or not speakers would use

honorifics in a different setting" (2012: 37):

> …Otherwise intimate co-workers, who on a daily basis use plain forms to one
> another, will (theoretically, at least) use honorifics when in a formal meeting
> or a conference. The formality of a situation is far more context-dependent
> than all the other previously mentioned factors, and as such is not permanent.

In Setouchi, speakers asserted that in formal settings honorifics should be used,

and in casual settings, plain forms should be used. However, in actual practice, this has

probably changed somewhat in light of language endangerment because Japanese is likely

the expected language in public or formal settings outside of the traditional Amami arts

(such as island songs or dances).

When speakers were asked "These days, do you ever hear Amami honorifics?"

many speakers responded with anecdotes of Amami honorifics used at celebrations,

funerals, and festivals, particularly for opening or closing ceremonies, and in pre-prepared

speeches. Makino and Tsutsui (2013: 44) also write that that Japanese honorifics are

"used at such occasions as ceremonies, public speeches and public announcements." This

relates to Section 6.2.3 on speeches, where speakers will use Amami in formal settings to

open a speech. One community member, Satoko, asserted that "people will try to use *shimaguchi* [Amami] at festivals".

5.10.5 Familiarity: *Uchi & soto*

Uchi ("in-group") and *soto* ("out-group") are two concepts in Japanese society which divide all people speakers interact with into two groups based on their relationship to the speaker (see Doi 1973; Lebra 1976, 2005; Bachnik 1992; Bachnik & Quinn 1994). Those who belong to the *uchi* category are on the "inside" and connected to the "self" including one's family, friends, co-workers, etc. Those who are on the "outside" include strangers, clients, etc. When speaking to an out-group person in Japanese, it is necessary to raise the status of the listener (using honorific speech) and lower one's own status (or the status of one's in-group) with humble language. This concept of *uchi* and *soto* has become inherently connected to the prescriptive use of honorifics in Japanese studies (e.g., Hinds 1978; Ikuta 1983; Jorden & Noda 1987; Shibatani 1990; Tokunaga 1992; Wetzel 1994; Sukle 1994; Strycharz 2012; Makino & Tsutsui 2013).

As mentioned in the literature review (Section 3.5.2), the *uchi-soto* distinction is dynamic and is not irrevocably fixed by social structure, but rather by varying situations (Lebra 1976:112). *Uchi-soto* denotes familiarity, as Strycharz argues (2012).

In interviews, the cases where speakers suggested that Amami honorifics should be used with customers and guests (e.g., sessions shimaguchi078, shimaguchi081, shimaguchi094) indicate that speakers believe that people in the out-group should be addressed with honorifics. In practice, however, this does not seem to be the case. In fact, evidence suggests that Amami honorifics may be expressing the opposite and are now used to indicate familiarity and localness (more on this later in Section 8.3).

5.10.6 Gender

According to several studies on Japanese linguistics, women tend to use honorifics more than men (see: Jorden & Noda 1987; Niyekawa 1990). According to shimaguchi052

(interview) session, elder women will use Amami polite forms (*teineigo*) with anyone, but elderly men do not use Amami polite forms with younger people. Elder men will use the *shikuriri* (plain) forms, where elder women will use *tabore/shore* (polite or respectful) to younger (and older) people. These reported differences may not only be due to gender specifically, but also to the gender inequality which is manifested in the different social position women might have in society (Strycharz 2012:49; Hori 1986). Women (particularly older women interviewed for this study, aged over 60) tended to stay at home with children and not work outside the house with little economic control of their own, lowering their social rank in comparison to their working husbands. It should be noted that participant observation data did not conclusively support the theory that women in Amami use honorifics more than men do. This stereotype that women are inherently more polite than men (Strycharz 2012) may be reflected in reported use in the session described above.

5.11 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, we have seen that Amami honorifics can be divided into two types: addressee and referent. Referent honorifics have undergone significant attrition within the Amami speech community, while addressee honorifics are comparatively more common, though still less prevalent than the plain (non-honorific) forms. Amami honorifics are also present in imperative forms, with two honorific forms: *shore* and *tabore*. Again, due to language loss and attrition, the distinction between imperative forms is diminishing, with only the most fluent speakers still able to distinguish the differences between the two forms in meaning and prescribed usage. Along with evidence for diminished usage, there is evidence to suggest that some Amami honorific forms are merging, as we saw in Figure 10. Regarding factors which call for honorific use, based on the interview data we have seen that speakers consider age, formality, social rank and familiarity to determine honorific use. Despite the stylistic shrinkage reducing most

speakers' ability to draw on honorifics, and the fact that the distinction between

imperative forms is deteriorating, imperative honorifics are still frequently found in the

data. This finding aligns with previous studies of endangered languages, suggesting that

imperative forms may be resistant to language loss.

6. How do Amami bilinguals perform politeness given limited forms?

This chapter investigates the second research aim which is to examine how Amami bilinguals express politeness against the backdrop of the language endangerment context, where the Amami community is undergoing language shift from the minority language (Amami) to the majority language (Japanese). In the literature review chapter (Chapter 3), I explained my adoption of Anderson's (2009: 25) "receptive bilingual" speaker definition for the term "bilingual". This definition of bilingual encompasses most speakers of Amami, including younger speakers, who have less fluency compared to the most fluent bilingual speakers who are aging and decreasing in number. As discussed in Chapter 2, the Setouchi community has been undergoing language shift for several generations. However, the effects of this language shift on speakers' politeness strategies (i.e., how speakers perform politeness) is thus far unclear and will be explored in this chapter. Furthermore, there are several speakers who have a more complete command of polite registers than other younger speakers (as seen in Chapter 5), so this chapter will examine whether these fluent speakers draw on their knowledge of Amami honorifics in situations which call for polite speech.

In contrast to the first research aim, which explored the reconstruction of Amami honorifics (i.e., the linguistic forms), it should be noted that the aim addressed in this chapter is focused on politeness, rather than honorifics specifically. Hence, this chapter will first examine how speakers think they (prescriptively) should perform politeness, by examining sample dialogues from the *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* (Maeda 2013a) teaching materials which position speakers in contexts where polite speech is expected (Section 6.1.2). Following this, the study will look at examples of how politeness is actually performed by speakers in spontaneous day-to-day conversations (Section 6.2). This spontaneous data came from two workplace settings, that of a retirement home and a

beauty salon. The prescribed usage from the teaching materials will be contrasted with the spontaneous conversational data in Section 6.2.

6.1 How speakers think they should perform politeness

Firstly, this chapter will examine how Amami speakers think politeness should be expressed. To explore this concept, I examined two sources. The first source is a prepared (written) greeting by W-sensei, a fluent Amami speaker. W-sensei was hosting an event at a retirement home, where the audience would mainly be elderly fluent speakers who live at the home. The second source is *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* ("Language of Setouchi"), a teaching materials book created by Maeda (2013a), with heavy community involvement. The teaching materials resource was created from elicitations from fluent speakers. Teaching materials provide good insight into how speakers remember Amami being used as a dominant language present in all domains and registers. Thus, *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* (Maeda 2013a) represents what is considered the appropriate or unmarked speech by the Setouchi community who were involved with the resource's creation.

6.1.1. Welcome greeting for retirement home residents

W-Sensei, a locally famous *hachigatsu odori* ("August Dance") teacher occasionally visits retirement homes in Setouchi where she brings traditional Amamian dance to the residents to enjoy. These residents are very elderly (mid-80s to early 100s). Residents are typically local islanders and very fluent Amami speakers. W-Sensei had prepared a short welcome greeting for her next visit to the retirement home and shared it with me in written and audio format (Session Shimaguchi097d). The welcome greeting was intended to precede the traditional dance performance. W-sensei is a fluent speaker who uses Amami in her day-to-day life (Section 6.2.2), particularly with her older customers at her beauty salon, so she does not need to write down the welcome greeting in order to remember the words. Rather, she produced the written greeting in order to assist me as the visit was to take place after I had left Setouchi, so I was unable to witness

and record W-sensei's delivery of the speech in real time. Below, I have included the Japanese hiragana text, as that is what W-sensei actually wrote down in addition to the Amami text. The Romanized Hepburn text represents both the transcription from the recording W-sensei made of herself reading her own words, and her own notes which she included with the Japanese translation. Honorifics in this prepared greeting are indicated in grey highlight.

Transcript (in Amami):

1. Amami nuu sono hachii umoyun chuunkya kyuuya ugaminshouran!!!
   奄美(あまみ)ぬぅ園(その) はちぃ うもゆん ちゅうんきゃ きゅうや うがみんしょうらん！！！
   Hello [today]!! Everyone at Amami no Sono [Retirement Home]
   Japanese: あらー、奄美(あまみ)ぬぅ園(その)に いらっしゃる方達 こんにちは！！

2. Kashiishii kyuuya kumahachii kiaotanban,
   かあしぃしぃ きゅうや くまはちぃ きぁおたんばん、
   I came here like this today.
   Japanese:このようにして 今日は こちらに 来ましたが

3. Hage- naakyanuu tashha shaon yousuibaa ugadi,
   ハゲー、 なあきゃぬぅ たっしゃしゃおん ようすぃばあ うがでぃ、
   Wow, seeing the situation that you are all well (literally "doing well")
   Japanese: まぁー あなた方のお元気にされている 様子を 拝見出来て

4. hage- nya wannaa, muutu-chii
   ハゲー にゃ わんなぁ、むぅとぅーちぃ
   Wow, I'm very happy.
   Japanese: もう ほんとに私は とーってもうれしすぎて たまりませんよ！！

5. Houra shati ooshii kiryaondou!
   ほぅらしゃてぃ おおしぃ きりゃんどぉ！！
   Surprisingly you look so fine!!
   Japanese: まぁ、おげんきそうですねぇ！！

6. itigadimuu tassha shaoti
   いてぃが でぃむぅ たっしゃ しゃおてぃ
   I hope you'll stay healthy
   Japanese: いつまでも お達者に されて

7. gaashishi nagaiki shishoriiyo.

   and I hope [you'll] live forever

   があしぃしぃ　長生き(ながいき＝長く生きる事) しんしょりぃよ。

   Japanese:このように 長生き されて下さいよ。

8. Kuuriikara, waakye ga, shakou dansu tou nihon buyou ba udoutari,

   くぅりぃから、わあきゃが、社交(しゃこう)ダンスとぅ　日本(にほん)舞踊(ぶよう)ば うどぅたり、

   From now we are going to dance ballroom and show classical Japanese dance.

   Japanese: これから 私達が、社交ダンスと 日本舞踊を 踊ったり、

9. tittaa kyougen udouri bashii,

   てぃったあ　興言(きょうげん＝即興で楽しませる事)きょうぎん うどぅり　ばしぃ、

   and the next, well entertain you with an improvisational theatre.

   Japanese: 1つは 興言(即興で 面白い)踊りをして

10. saigoya,

    最後(さいご)や、

    At the end,

    Japanese: 最後は、

11. naakya.tou majin

    なぁきゃとぅ　まじん

    You [all] together

    Japanese: あなた方と一緒に

12. hachiigatsuudouri tu rokuchou ba shaoroyaa

    八月踊り(はちがつおどり) はちぃがっうどぅり　とぅ 六調(ろくちょう)ば しゃおろやぁ！！

    Shall we do hachigatsu odori and Rokueyo together?

    Japanese: 八月踊りと六調を しましょうね！！

13. gaashishi tanoshimui shaoro!!

    があしぃしぃ 楽 (たの)しむぃ しゃおろ！！

    Let's have fun!

    Japanese: このようにして 楽しみを しましょう！！

14. Douka tanmyaosuka.

    どうか たんみゃおすか。

    Thank you very much!

    Japanese: どうか よろしくお願いします

This welcome greeting demonstrates what fluent speaker W-sensei views as the correct and appropriate way to use Amami polite speech when addressing other fluent speakers in a formal (performance) setting. We can see that the welcome greeting is entirely in Amami (no code-switching) and honorifics are used and are the unmarked language choice for the welcome greeting. The two factors from Section 3.5.2 in the literature review which are at play here are "age" and "formality of situation". While the audience is mostly comprised of speakers in their 80s and older, W-sensei, in her late 60s, is at least 20 years younger than the residents. Thus, W-sensei draws on the honorifics to demonstrate deference to the residents as both her esteemed audience, and also her elders. She is aware that the residents are mainly fluent Amami speakers, and thus using the correct honorifics is important (Section 6.4.2). The formality of the situation is another factor. This speech is intended to precede a *hachigatsu odori* performance, which is considered a formal situation (Session Shimaguchi097a). The retirement home setting could also be considered slightly formal and semi-public, while although it is the older residents' home, for the purpose of the *hachigatsu odori* performance the location is temporarily acting as a theater.

There are three kinds of forms that W-sensei uses in this speech, humble non-subject referent forms (*shaon*; *shaoro*) when referring to her own actions. Honorific forms (*ugadi*) when referring to the actions of the audience, and finally honorific second person plural pronoun (*naakya.tou*) to address the elderly Amami speakers and audience. W-sensei also uses the phrase *tanmyaosuka* to end her greeting and thank the audience. This form roughly corresponds to *tanomimasu* in Japanese and is appropriate for a lower status person (W-sensei) to use when addressing higher status listeners (the audience).

6.1.2 *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* teaching material book

The next source I examined was the *Setouchi no Shimaguchi* teaching materials resource created by Maeda Tatsuro (2013a) for and with the Setouchi community. This teaching material is based on the Setouchi dialect of Amami, and therefore is a very good resource for demonstrating what speakers consider the most "correct" version of how Setouchi Amami should be used, because teaching materials often represent and promote the prescribed norms of the community (Block 2002).

Figure 11: Photo of Setouchi no Shimaguchi teaching materials resource created by Tatsuro Maeda.

This teaching material is also pertinent to this study because it was informed by several of the same speakers I worked with for this project (most notably Inori-san, T-sensei, Tomoki Sato, and Hakari-san). This resource includes two role play scripts which depict two service encounters, which are scenarios where politeness is expected (Onishi 2003). The first role play 1-1 (Maeda 2013a: 4-7) portrays a scenario of a shopkeeper (Speaker A in dialogue below) and a customer (Speaker B). In the accompanying DVD, the speakers playing these roles are both male, and appear to have no significant age difference. The variety spoken in this role play is that of Shinokawa Village (Setouchi Town). Honorifics are indicated in grey highlight. English and Japanese translations follow the Amami.

Setouchi no Shimaguchi (Maeda 2013a) 1-1 みてぅ うてぃたぼれ (Please sell me three):

A-1 **:** kyaoro ugamin shouran.
    May I come in? Hello.
    こんにちは。

B-1: ugamin shouran.
    Hello. Welcome.
    こんにちは。いっらしゃい。

A-2: kyuuya ii tenki jyasu ka.
    There is nice weather today, isn't there?
    今日は、いい 天気 だ ね。

B-2: funto ya. jou tenki ja. dukusan nya?
    Yes, it really is nice weather. How are you?
    本当に。いい天気だね。調子はどう？

A-3. arigeteisamado. ukagesamashi iccharyauoddo
    Thanks. Thanks to you, I am fine.
    ありがとう。おかげさまで、いいですよ。

B-3: unaba icharoosuka. kyuuya, nuugashaon?
    That's good. How are you doing today?

それならよかった。今日は、何にしますか？

A-4: yaseenu aryauorukai?
　　　Do you have vegetables?
　　野菜はありますか？

B-4. yaseyaaddo. ure unnan de-kunichiba ne-jin nasubi.
　　　There are vegetables! Look, here; daikon, carrots, eggplant.
　　野菜はありますよ。　ほら、そこに、大根、人参、なす。

A-5: urinhara tupu arukai?
　　　Then, do you have tofu?
　　それから、豆腐はありますか？

B-5: Hage- kyuya tupyanumu.
　　　Ah, today there is no tofu.
　　あぁ、今日は豆腐はないね。

A-6: sitaya arikai?
　　　Is there black sugar?
　　黒糖はある？

B-6: sitaya addo. umanan addo.   ure mandi addo.
　　　There is black sugar! Over there! Look, there is a lot (of black sugar).
　　黒糖はあるよ。そこにあるよ。ほら、たくさん あるよ。

A-7: ikkyasasha- uorikai?
　　　How much is it?
　　いくらですか？

B-7: tisshi ssanbyakuen.
　　　One is 300 yen.
　　ひとつ３００円。

A-8: gannaba mitu utitabore
　　　Well, please sell me three.
　　じゃあ、みっつ売って下さい。

B-8: kurya kunnan ucchukkoe.
　　　Look, I will put them here.
　　ほら、ここに置きますね。

A-9: douka.

Thanks.

どうも。

B-9: nya fukannya.

Is there anything else you need?

ほかには、いりませんか？

A-10: annan jimamitu mingurunue-danan a-muna nu-nkai?

What's in between the peanuts and the jellyfish?

そこの落花生ときくらげの間にあるものはなんだろう？

B:10: e- kurya kyuu icchanbashannarido.

Oh, that is bananas that came in today.

ああ、あれは、今日入ったバナナです。

A-11: hage ma-chagesaya. kyurasamaarushi.

They look delicious, don't they? Pretty.

あれ、おいしそうだね。きれいだね。

A-12: urrya ko-shakaya?

Are those east mountain yams?

それはやまいもですか？

B-12: arando. kurya hanusu do.

No, they're sweet potatoes.

ちがいます。これはさつまいもです。

A-13: gannaba arigetisamaaryouota.

Well then, thank you.

それでは、ありがとうございます。

B-12: gannaba mata kyauosuka.

Please come again. Thank you.

またきます。ありがとうございます。

B-13: arigetisamaaryouota.

Thank you.

ありがとうございます。

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In this dialogue below from Setouchi no Shimaguchi (Maeda 2013a), we see honorifics used for three purposes. Firstly, honorifics are used in greetings by both speakers (e.g., lines A-1: *kyaoro ugamin shouran* and B-1: *ugamin shouran*). Secondly, honorifics are manifested in the form of requests in this dialogue (line A-8). Speaker A, the customer uses an imperative honorific to make a request of the shop keeper (A-8: *gannaba mitu utitabore*; "Well, please sell me three [black sugar]"). Thirdly, honorifics are used to express thanks by both speakers (A-13 and B-13: *arigetisamaaryouota*). All of these honorifics fall into what this thesis calls "lexical touchstones", which are further discussed in Section 7.2.

Tatsuro Maeda's metapragmatic comments (2013b) on this roleplay (my own translation):
The scene of shopping at the grocery store. The aim here is the acquisition of ordinals and demonstratives. I included sentences including noun sentences and interrogatives. We set up a daily scene of shopping at a "Yorozu-ya" store, one of which is in every village. As it was the first filming / production in all the programs, there were problems to be solved such as sound problems, balance of length and quantity. I was able to shoot with the cooperation of the local store. Cast; Ministry of Finance (Editorial Committee), Takanori. (Hakuho Foundation, 2013)

Setouchi no Shimaguchi (Maeda 2013a) 5-1 かりゆんことうが　でけりょうぉるんにゃ？(Can I Borrow?)

In this role play in the teaching materials book, the variety featured is that of Koniya Village (Setouchi Town). The scenario portrayed is a service encounter between Speaker A (a middle school student) and Speaker B (library staff worker). Thus, this depiction of Setouchi Amami represents speech between speakers of both differing status and age. The setting is the public library in Koniya. In the role-play, the student is looking for a book to borrow, and makes several requests of the library clerk. The library clerk is in his place of work (as a civil servant no less), so under social conventions he would be expected to be polite. The student is a child, so they should also be speaking politely to clerk, who is an adult. Therefore, the two prescribed factors at play in this situation are

age (the age difference between the student, Speaker A and the library clerk, Speaker B), and formality of situation (workplace setting), and possibly status, as it is a service encounter.

A-1: ugaminshora.
 Hello.

B-1: ugaminshora.
 Hello.

A-2: yoshiitimoreboshyan koto ga aryo o suka? Setouchi nu kotoba kachiyan hon ba tomii toriiuosuka? Nu-kaicchyan hon ga aryouon.
 May I ask you something? I am looking for a book about Setouchi. Do you have a good book?

B-2: ikya shanmun nu hon ga iccharukaya-?
 What kind of books do you like?

A-3: mun ga tari nu aryouon nya?
 Do you have any novels?

B-3: shimao toshio ya shuchyun nya? Anta nan nensei na?
 Do you know Shimao Toshio? What grade are you in?

A-4: chuugakkou ninen dariyouoru. Naya kichyan kotou ya aryouosu ga yudan kotou aryououoran.
 Middle school second grade. I have heard the name, but I've never read.

B-4: shimao toshio ga nuga Kakeroma ni utan kotou shicchyunna?
 Do you know why Shimao Toshio was in Kakeroma?

A-5: ikusan atantokin omoyutanchi kichyankutou ga aryouoru.
 Only I have heard that he stayed [in Setouchi] during the last war.

B-5: ugashi. Jyankanan Setouchi nan tishan kotou ga ikusanumun ga tarininattoru.
 That's right. So, it's a war novel set in Setouchi.

A-6: nansatsu aryouoru kaya?
 How many [books] do you have?

Like the first role play, this script also uses honorifics for greetings (*ugaminshora*) and requests (*yoshiitimoreboshyan*; "may I ask you something?"). This role play differs from

the first in that both speakers are not fluent Amami speakers, due to their age. This is commented on by Maeda in his commentary on the scene (below).

Tatsuro Maeda's metapragmatic comments (2013b) on this roleplay (my own translation):
"Can I borrow it?" This content which emphasizes the setting in Koniya. We devised devices such as bringing a character with a deep relationship to the well-known place of the library, Toshio Shimao and Chitose Hajime. In addition, I thought about bringing closer the distance between the children and Shimaguchi by making the active junior high school students appear. Mr. Yoshinaga, who plays the role of library clerk, is a generation who can not do traditional Shimaguchi, but he practiced in advance. Cast; Suzuna, Masaru Yoshinaga (Hakuho Foundation, 2013).

In both the welcome greeting and the teaching material book, we can see how speakers think politeness ought to be performed in Amami. In both role-plays, none of the speakers code-switch (the entire dialogues are in Amami only), and speakers utilize several honorifics, particularly when expressing greetings (*ugaminshora* or "hello"), and making requests (*yoshiitimoreboshyan* or "may I ask you something"; *utitabore* "please sell [them] to me"), and expressing thanks (*arigetisamaaryouota* or "thank you very much"). The next section will examine spontaneous interactional data recorded in context of speakers acting out politeness.

We can deduce that both Setouchi no Shimaguchi (Maeda 2013a) role plays demonstrate clear examples of what is considered normative usage for politeness within the community, as teaching materials usually serve to promote the normative usage of the language. While these materials were created drawing on several fluent speakers' expertise, in contrast, the welcome greeting (Section 6.1.1) draws on what one speaker considers normative and appropriate for the communicative event.

6.2 Recordings from the workplace

These instances from the textbook recommend service encounters and show what the community consider idealized and normative versions of Amami. To compare, I collected data from spontaneous day-to-day interactions of similar situations, i.e., where

one or more speaker would normally be expected to use polite language. Interactions were recorded in two main workplaces- a beauty salon and a retirement home facility. Data collected for reconstructing the honorific system of Amami (Chapter 5) indicated that speakers think politeness (perhaps expressed via honorifics) should be used to address customers and clients; thus, based on this observation I chose to collect data from workplace interactions between Amami speakers. The data in the following Sections demonstrates to what extent what is taught is the same or different to what people actually do. When examining this data, we should remember that the scenarios in the teaching materials cannot ever be exactly the same in real life- for example in the library role play, one speaker is a child, and there are virtually no child speakers of Amami. Nevertheless, these materials still perpetuate what is considered "correct" by the community.

6.2.1 Workplace interactions at retirement homes

I collected data from a local retirement home, J. Roujin Home, in Setouchi Town. Semi-speaker staff members Yamakura and Tokura (Amami speakers aged 42-58) recorded themselves with retirement home residents (elderly fluent speakers). In the workplace setting, the employees would generally be expected to use polite speech, as the listeners are not only the employees' elders, but also they are in their place of work and the residents are considered "clients" or "customers" at the retirement home. Retirement home workers were asked to record themselves going about their daily activities with the retirement home residents, and they were also informed that they could speak as they would normally to residents, and that I was not looking for "pure" (*junsui*) Amami. Typical daily interactions that the employees have with the residents include washing, feeding and meal preparation, helping residents with getting dressed and routine hygiene, etc. However, it was too inconvenient for the employees to record during these times when they are very busy. However, the employees are also encouraged and even expected

to spend time chatting with the residents. These slower times of the day were the easiest and most convenient times for employees to record themselves with the residents.

In Session Shimaguchi002, retirement home worker Tokura-san (aged 54 in 2018) recorded himself speaking to residents Ogawa Haru (aged 94 in 2018) and Ikeda Masako (aged 82 in 2018), who are two female speakers (fluent Amami speakers). Tokura-san is asking the two women about their lives and he is using polite Japanese (indicated in **bold**), despite the fact that he is an Amami semi-speaker and could theoretically speak some Amami to the two women if he chose to.

Session Shimaguchi002:

Tokura: umare ha doko **desu** ka?
     Where were you born?

Ogawa: umare ha nishikomi.
     I was born in Nishikomi (village).

Tokura: Nishikomi?
     Nishikomi?

Ogawa: hai.
     Yes.

Tokura: sono ato?
     And after that?

Ogawa: sono ato ha mo naichi.
     After that (I was on) the mainland.

Tokura: **danna-san** ga Shinokawa de?
     Your husband is from Shinokawa?

Ogawa: Hai.
     Yes.

In this session we can clearly see that Tokura-san is using only Japanese without Amami code-switching or insertions. Furthermore, Tokura-san uses some polite (though not honorific) Japanese during this session. When I inquired about the relationship between these two speakers and Tokura-san, he said that they have been at the retirement home for some months, but compared to the speakers in the next session (Session Shimaguchi009), he is not particularly close to them and has a professional working relationship with them. Tokura-san uses the *desu/masu* form (polite form) when he asks Ogawa-san where she was born; when he asks about her husband's hometown, he also uses the polite suffix *-san* to refer to her husband in Japanese. Perhaps this is not surprisingly given the interview data on how younger speakers feel about using Amami with their elders, due to their lack of confidence and reported lack of expertise regarding Amami honorifics (see Section 6.4.2).

In this following session, shimaguchi009, Tokura-san interviews two women who live at J. Roujin Home: Toyama Fukue (age 93) and Ikehata Matsuno (age 95). They are both from Nishikomi Village in Setouchi. Again, in this conversation, we see Tokura-san using Japanese exclusively except for one Amami honorific insertion (marked in grey highlight) rather than Amami to speak to the two women. The context for this conversation is that Tokura-san had recently been trained in making recordings and instructed to record himself with the residents (who had given informed consent) during his daily activities as a care worker at the facility. Tokura-san was informed that he could record himself speaking to the residents in any language about any topic, to try to remove the pressure of producing "pure Amami". My aim here was to capture how he naturally communicates with the residents, and record not only the utterances but also his language choice.

Session Shimaguchi009:

Tokura-san: Mukashi ha, nankya, donna asobi shiyote? Chichai toki ha…

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In the old days, what did you do for fun? When you were small…

Ikehata-san: Umi nu suginagara.
   We went and swam in the sea

Tokura-san: Toyama-san ha?
   What about Toyama-san?

Toyama-san: Nani?
   What?

Tokura-san: Chiisai toki ha, don- doko de asobiyoute?
   When you were small wh-where would you go play?

Toyama-san: gannaba … oyogu
   Well.. we would go swimming

Tokura-san: Mukashi ha Nishokomi ni gakko ga atta, ne?
   In the old days, wasn't there a school in Nishikomi [village]?

Toyama-san: sou yo.
   Yes, that's right.

Tokura-san: Mo, ima nai ne.
   But now there isn't one.

Toyama-san: Ano… chugakko kara kou-koukou mitai
   Well, from Jr. high school to high- like a high school.

Tokura-san: chugakko made?
   Up to Jr. high school?

Toyama-san: Un.
   Yeah.

In this session, Tokura-san is speaking to the two women in primarily Japanese, except for one word, *nankya*, which is the polite plural second person pronoun in Amami. Besides this, he uses only Japanese (though not polite Japanese). The speakers also reply primarily in Japanese except for one Amami insertion from Toyama-san, *gannaba*, which means "well". When I asked Tokura-san about this session, he said that he knows these

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speakers very well, and they are more like his friends, so sometimes he will use a bit of Amami with them. With residents he does not know as well, or who are new, he will always use Standard Japanese, because he lacks confidence to use Amami with people who are not familiar. When I spoke to him about this session, he literally said he feels "shy" (*hazukashii*) to use Amami with new residents or unfamiliar elders. This is further evidenced in other sessions Tokura-san recorded, such as Session Shimaguchi002, where his language choice also favored Japanese.

However, when he is speaking to his peers, he reports using Amami (Session Shimaguchi082, Session Shimaguchi074). This indicates that Tokura-san is using the Amami honorific *nankya* not only to express politeness, but to index his close relationship with the hearers.

shimaguchi075

Tokura-san: shusshin ha doko **desu** ka?
 Where is your hometown?

Ikehata-san: Nishikomi.
 Nishikomi [village].

Tokura-san: Nishikomi?
 Nishikomi [village]?

Ikehata-san: Setouchi-cho, Nishikomi.
 Setouchi Town, Nishikomi [village].

Tokura-san: mukashi ha, Mukashi kara Setouchi-cho Nishikomi?
 Have you lived in Setouchi Town, Nishikomi [village] since the old days?

Ikehata-san: mukashi ha… chigau….
 No, not in the old days

Tokura-san: kyoudai ha nanme?
 How many siblings do you have?

Ikehata-san: kyoudai…rokume.

> *Siblings…six people.*

Tokura-san: rokume. Rokume no nanban me?
> *Six people. What number are you?*

Ikehata-san: saigo.
> *The youngest.*

Tokura-san: chotto matte ne.
> *Hold on a moment, please.*

This session is a very short recording collected by Tokura-san while he was at work speaking to resident Ikehata-san (age 95). He turned off the recorder suddenly after asking Ikehata-san to wait a moment, likely being called away for some work-related task. What is significant about this short session is Tokura-san's language choice is again of Standard Japanese to speak to Ikehata-san, despite the fact that they are both Amami speakers and based on ability, could at a minimum code-switch between Japanese and Amami.

Later, I observed Tokura-san asking an elderly resident to take the time to read and sign my consent form. Generally, speakers were very happy to be recorded, but some didn't see the need for consent forms because they felt that if they gave verbal permission, that should be sufficient, and that to take the time and energy to read and complete a form was unnecessary trouble. However, once I explained that the forms were needed in part because of the nature of SOAS ethical requirements, people were happy to read and sign the consent forms. In one instance, I witnessed Tokura-san using Amami honorifics with a speaker to ask her to sign the form. In this utterance, Tokura-san said *kachi tabore* ("please write"), using the most polite imperative form *tabore*, as opposed to the less polite imperative *shore*, or plain *kuriri* form (see Chapter 5). When I asked Tokura-san later about this exchange, he said that that particular speaker was very close to him, and that he had known her for many years, so it was more natural for him to use a bit

of Amami with her. He said in general, he speaks mostly Japanese to that speaker, but sometimes he uses a little Amami because he is comfortable with her. This ethnographic participant observation suggests that Amami is the language to express affinity, closeness, and familiarity. In this particular case, I think Tokura-san drew on his Amami to build rapport with the speaker because he was asking her to do something (sign the consent form), which she had initially said she didn't think was necessary.

In these sessions, we can observe that the younger care-takers tend to use Japanese to speak to the elderly residents, despite being semi-speakers of Amami. The younger care-takers polite utterances draw on the Japanese *desu*/*masu* forms (e.g., *shusshin ha doko desu ka?* "Where is your hometown?"), and their forms of address also use the Japanese *-san* suffix, which indexes respect. Based on my experience talking to speakers, I feel the root of this hesitation is lack of confidence (detailed in Section 6.4.1 and 6.4.2), and also perhaps an internalized ideology that Amami is not the appropriate choice for the workplace (see Section 6.4.3). These younger speakers code-switch more with their same-aged peers and friends outside of work, but during their work hours with the elderly more fluent speakers, they tend to use Japanese, almost exclusively.

6.2.2 Service encounters in the beauty salon

W-sensei (age 69) owns a beauty salon, K Beauty Salon, in Koniya Village (Setouchi Town). She is well-known as a very good speaker of Amami. She recorded herself speaking to clients at her beauty salon. These sessions are a good example of a customer service situation, where the stylist (W-sensei) would normally be expected to use polite speech. The highest driver of politeness in this context is the customer-service interaction, where the customer should always be spoken to using politeness. Additionally, there is also the age difference, where speakers of higher age (as all the customers are) are normatively addressed using honorifics. In the first session (Session Shimaguchi097b), below, the client, C-san, is an 84 year old local female islander.

Besides W-sensei and the client C-san, there is also T-san (age 45), who is W-sensei's daughter and also works at the beauty salon. T-san is an Amami semi-speaker.

Session Shimaguchi097b
Informal Standard Japanese

1.	C	Konnichiwaa	Hello
2.	W	Agu- umorii, uganminshouran!	Ohh- welcome, hello!
3.		(laughter)	（laughter）
4.	C	shaoreta to?	Are you doing?
5.	W	Hagee ichunasan	Ohh, busy
6.	T	Ichuna…	Busy…
7.	W	Uganminshouran	Welcome
8.	W	Agee huma hai	Ohh, here please.
9.	T	Minna de hanashi shite	You can talk all together.
10.	C	Haai wakattayo munii, heeku deree	Okay, understood, as if understood, get out quickly
11.	W	Aishe, agee, chura munii shii	Ohh, you talk so beautifully
12.		(laughter)	
13.	W	Chura muni suranba, yee	You should talk nicely, hey
14.	C	Chura hage Watashi no kao nanka michin…	Beautiful face, if you look at for example my face
15.	W	michinzene	Looking, yeah
16.	C	ye	Yeah
17.	W	Nye keeramun doo ichunasa,	_____ busy
18.	C	Ure waka…	Look
19.	W	Ure, ure, ure [inaudible]	Look, look, look
20.	T	[inaudible] kore kara [inaudible]	From here
21.	W	Churamun kai…	To beautiful one
22.		(laughter)	
23.		Age omotta gaine [inaudible]	Well it's interesting…
24.	C	Age Kaketooshi watashi haga …	My teeth are missing
25.	W	Haga kakete	Your teeth are missing
26.	T	Haa wasurete ittatte	She went, forgetting her denture
27.	W	Haa waasurete	You forgot your denture
28.		(laughter)	

29.	W	Haa wasriti, age yakkunaamunu, duumunu kattaamun naraamunu	You forgot your denture, ohh, that's bothersome. It's your own thing ___
30.		(laughter)	
31.	C	Haburashi keitai sonomama	Toothbrush, mobile phone, as they are.
32.	W	Aa sooka	Oh, I see.
33.	C	…ga nai karanee	Because __ is missing.
34.	W	Un	Yeah
35.	C	shita ga naikara	The lower part is missing.
36.	W	Un un un	Yeah, yeah
37.	T	heee	Oh, really…
38.	C	Nande anna konna are ni natte …	I wonder why like this
39.	W	Honto ne.	Yeah, true.
40.	C	un	
41.	W	Docchi ka cchuyieba aruhoo nanoni ne	If we are to choose one, you are the one who "have".
42.	T	fuun	I see.
43.	W	Ure, massaaji shii, kamachi, kamachee nyaari gwaai	So, we'll do massage. Head… head how do you like…
44.	C	[inaudible]	
45.	W	Wakattaganaba uree, uree	Okay, I understood. Look, look
46.	T	Shitsurei shimaasu	Excuse me (a fixed expression when you start a procedure at a hair salon)
47.	C	Age hagee kimochi icchawa	Oh, I feel so good!
48.		(laughter)	
49.	T	hada ga kirei [inaudible]	Your skin is beautiful
50.	W	Honto ni.	Yeah true.
51.	C	haa wasuretekadaki	I forgot my denture.
52.	W	Aa yappari hokano hitomo sonnaa yuuteta yoo	Ahh, other people also said so.
53.	T	Un un un	Yeah
54.	W	Amaa kumaa sadorachii, gasshiishiini atoya nuduminu kada mo naaran kayaa cchi	They looked here and there, but couldn't even found a trace
55.	C	[inaudible]	

56.		(laughter)	
57.	W	tashikani	certainly
58.	C	[inaudible] Chanto oitearukara	___ are properly stored there.
59.	W	Un, Yii yii, ganshinaa, aa	Yeah yeah such as *ganshinaa*
60.	T	[inaudible]no naka ni…	____ inside ___
61.	W	Souiu toko ireteokeba ii to omou nee	It would be good to store them in such a place.
62.	C	soukka	I see
63.	W	Un un un	yeah
64.	C	[inaudible] ucchanaa kaadiga noon neen[inaudible]	___ is missing ___
65.		(laughter)	
66.	W	Noon neen[inaudible]	Missing ___
67.		(laughter)	
68.	W	Arandoo, naama, naama muuru [inaudible]	No, now everything ____
69.		(laughter)	
70.	W	Hontooda demoo wakaiyoo	True, but you are young
71.	T	Wakaiyo, honto	You are young, true
72.	W	Ecchan neesan hachijuu ikutsu ni narimashita ka	Ecchan-older-sister, you are still eighty-something years old
73.	T	Uchi no chibi nanka ga "haa?" Cchi yiiyotta yone	Such as our little one said "haa?" didn't (s)he?
74.	W	Yii, yiyotta yoo	Yeah, (s)he said that.
75.	T	Yappari hokano,	Even another [continues]
76.	W	Un	yeah
77.	T	konoaidamo isshoni natta ko mo "he?" tte	[continued] child who we were with last time said "what?!"
78.	W	Sonna iuteta ne	(s)he said so, yeah.
79.	T	Ano obachan sonna ni naru	"Is that auntie that old?!"
80.	W	un yuuteta yuuteta.	Yeah said so, said so.
81.	T	Tte ittekara "wakaai"	said (s)he. "Young!"
82.	W	Daraka uchino chibi nanka, Ecchan-san daisuki de, Ecchan-obachan daisuki de.	So, such as our little one is fond of Ecchan-san, fond of Ecchan-auntie.
83.		(laughter)	

84.	W	Mama to onnaji gurai tte iibasha	Same degree as his/her mum, (s)he said
85.		(laughter)	
86.	W	Iiya konnani yone ttsutta. Sonna ni naru no cchi iibasha. hagee wakai cchi. demo mukashiaa are daroga, Ecchan [inaudible] sinchouya	No, to this degree, isn't it, I said. "Oh, she's become so old?!" said (s)he. "Ohh, so young". But in the past, Ecchan's hight was
87.	T	Aruu nee	Tall, weren't you?
88.	W	aruhoude takasan hou yataroga	You were rather tall, weren't you?
89.	C	Shinchoo wa ya	Yeah my height was.
90.	T	mmm	Yeah
91.	C	Ohayoo gozaimasu!	Good morning!
92.	W	Ara! Age! Uganminshouran. Hagee!	Ohhh! Oh! Welcome, ohh!
93.	C	Age?	Oh?
94.		[inaudible]	
95.	W	Y-chan mo. Gaashi arigateesama… Ure ure ure ure …	Y-chan too? Thank you… Look, look, look, look…
96.	C	Ancheeheenaa, mimiga kituute kayagu	I have hearing problem (due to senile deafness)
97.		(laughter)	
98.	T	kikiga…	Hearing …
99.		(laughter) [people are talking but inaudible]	
100.	W	agee	ohhh
101.	C	Hiraabichin tooi	Cannot hear ordinary talking
102.	W	Yashi [inaudible] siinyaa bijin nasabayan yaa	Yeah, ____ beautiful person
103.	C	[inaudible]gaha kireini sitekureru houga ii	Regard to ___, I prefer being made beautiful.
104.		(laughter)	
105.	C	Ure, rajio fuun	Look, radio style
106.	W	aa	aah
107.	C	wanabaa ga	There is
108.	W	Wanabaa, wanabaa ga,	Yeah, there is
109.	C	Naa diga. Ano mijikaku mijikkyasan	What do you say? Short (Japanese). Short (Amami).

110.	W	Mijikkyasan gaarunshiya	Want you cut short right?
111.	C	Mijikkyasan gutu anoo	Because short ummm…
112.	W	Un un un	Yeah, yeah, yeah
113.		[people are talking but inaudible]	
114.	C	Shigoto nesshin yasarugutu	So hardworking
115.	W	Siiya sunga siiya gassuro gassuro wa nabanya nya churamuni suranba uree. Hagee choodo wannu sukina Ecchan-neesan to H-san gane majin narubasha hagee	_____ Ahh, my favorite Ecchan-older-sister and H-san happened to be together. Ohh…

In this session, there is a clear boundary between T-san (the youngest speaker) and other older speakers, most likely due to age hierarchy. T-san uses primarily Japanese, in contrast to the other (older) speakers who draw more extensively on not only Japanese but also Amami. We can ascertain this hierarchy from T-san's choices not to speak up too often and not sharing her own views and communicating very submissively. T-san tends to merely repeat or support others' comments by agreeing or repeating what the older speakers have said (e.g., lines 6, 26, 37). W-sensei also draws a clear boundary by steering the conversation and contents of her comments while creating an informal atmosphere within the beauty salon. There is much code-switching between Japanese and Amami, but few honorifics, except for her greetings (*umorii* and *uganminshouran*). W-sensei's polite speech primarily is Amami for example her greetings and asking about the client. W-sensei's Japanese utterances are not overly polite and she does not use Japanese honorifics too much in this excerpt. When examining this excerpt, we ought to consider that the relationship between W-sensei and her customers is both a client-patron relationship, but also W-sensei's clients are her close community members- her friends and her neighbors who she has known and who have patronized her shop for many years (in this case, decades). Which is a way of expressing respect and closeness from the speaker. Furthermore, the Japanese utterances between W-sensei and the client include

many informal phrases, such as lines 83-95, where this close relationship is further evidenced by the way W-sensei refers to the client as *ecchan neesan* or "older sister" in informal Japanese. The -*neesan*: a suffix can be added to a woman older than the speaker, but still in the rage of sisterhood in terms of age. In contrast to W-sensei, T-san uses a Japanese honorific phrase when she begins treating C-san, the client when she uses the phrase *shitsurei shimaasu* ("Excuse me" in Japanese). This phrase is commonly used in beauty salons when the employee begins their work on the client.

The next session is also between W-sensei and another client, M-san, at the salon. This client is also a local islander but is younger than W-sensei (66 years old), and male.

Session Shimaguchi097b:
Informal Standard Japanese

1.	M	Konnichiyoro	Hello
2.	W	Age, M-san desu ka. Umore, ure, ure, humaa haachi, humaa haachi suwareba, [inaudible] humaa haachi, kyuuyashaa hagee gaashi nagaku naturubaa. At.. Atama kiyumuna? naarya	Oh, M-san. Come in and sit. Welcome. Today, oh your hair has grown so much. Hea… head hair cutting?
3.	M	Kamaachi kirubayaa	Are you going to cut my head?!
4.	W	Un	Yeah
5.	M	Kamaachi kirubaya, kamaachi kirubaya wannaa chaa suru ga yaa	If you cut my head, what should I do?
6.		(laughter)	
7.	M	[inaudible]	
8.	W	Warawachan sukaa.	You are making me laugh
9.	M	[inaudible]	
10.	W	Kamaachi, kamaachi nya ryuutagayaa sukkiri suranba yaa	If you lose your head, you'd look refreshing/neat.
11.	M	unna kee kiraamun ji maa wingayaa	Where do such barbers exist?

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12.	W	Wingayaa cchi	You wonder where they exist
13.	M	Wingayaa cchuryo	Do they exist
14.	W	Kiraanu seechi	Barber ___
15.	M	Kiraanu suuyee	Barber ___
16.		(laughter)	
17.	M	Kiraanu seei kiritaboreyoo	Barber please cut.
18.	W	Seikei sitonna sha [inaudible]	Have you done cosmetic surgery?
19.	M	Seikei sii	doing cosmetic surgery
20.	W	Ya suroo ya, nano baitoomaa maatuyaa massaajinun kyaashi suranbayaa, massaajinun kee … sii nyaari gwaa yashaa, kakkoyoku suranbasha, kiranuse seranba	we should do massage … I should make you look handsome
21.	M	[inaudible]	
22.		(laughter)	
23.	W	Kaashamo furubasha, ura nuu shichiisha	what did you do?
24.	W	Aran darooga. Mimi akaa shi, ikkasan, hagii shi acchicchi	No way. If you go with your ears red
25.		(laughter)	
26.	M	[inaudible]	
27.	W	[inaudible] kamaachi …munyaadi noo assaa. yakkeenaa	___ head …that's bothersome.
28.	M	Nifuu tennki nu warutan kyant [inaudible]	___ the weather is bad ___
29.	W	Tenki nu wassagayaa, gogwaashi tenkinu wassaagawa. Nanto choodo Minori-san no atamano hato issho aranna? Kamachi nu haa tu.	The weather is bad indeed. Just same as your head's ___, isn't it? As your head's ___.
30.	M	Noo haa kamachi tu?	as my head?
31.	W	Sou	yeah
32.	M	[inaudible]	
33.		(laughter)	
34.	W	Hai hai	Yeah, yeah
35.	M	Nuuga warayeeshin	What makes you laugh?

36.	W	Uraashia [inaudible]	You (emphasis) ___.
37.	M	[inaudible]	
38.		(laughter)	
39.	W	Ure icchaada agaadu eduusha hiyarigwaa arutsuii nashaa atamayaa chi nu kayuuti naasha [sound of massage]	your head's blood circulation is not well
40.	M	Naa massaaji shin [inaudible]	Now doing massage ___
41.	W	Arando sokkoodo. Sugudo sugu. Ure ure ure ure	No, (it works) immediately. Immediately, it's immediately. Look, look, look, look.
42.	M	[inaudible]	
43.	W	ure ure ure ure ure ure ure ure ya.	look, look, look, look, look, look, look, look.
44.	M	(laughter)	
45.	W	korede saen wake yo. Yakkunaamun doo nya	That's why you are dull. That's bothersome.
46.	M	Noottibaa uyan iyaaran kai.	Because I can't say anything to my parents.
47.	W	Koo yatte	Like this
48.		Kaachan ni iyaaran kai	I can't say anything to my mother (or wife).
49.	W	kaachan ni iikusatte hagee. Mutuu mutu noo ya wassandoo. Wassadoo gaashi nya	Can't say anything to your mother (or wife). Ohh, it is bad. Very bad.
50.	M	Uyaa daka utaa mun, gwaashi chuun[inaudible]cchi tumarande	Parents _____ very ____ does not stop.
51.	W	"[inaudible] Minoruu" cchi kaachanga nakyuun kamo yaa. ganaba gannaba nyaaryuuga kakkoyoku shii, gaashi shii, nyaddya mirarun gurainsi suranba yaa. dugai moosanshi	"_____ Minoru" your mother (or wife) might cry. If so, I should make you look handsome.

			Very handsome so that you can at least look alright.
52.	M	Dudai moorachi nkashi ukyakusanga [inaudible] kyaguha bashi mukashi	_____ in the past customers were the ___.
53.	W	Hagee hontoo. Kyakuya kamisama yaryaoya. Gaashi gaashi	Ohhh true. Customers were the gods (to obey). really
54.	M	Kyaku moterun	By having customers
55.	W	Naritachimu yaa	You can establish your business
56.	M	[inaudible] naritachimu gaashi	you can establish your business, really
57.	W	Matomona ikenba ga shikkari shiruba, yappari dokojaba.	I have to do things properly.

Again in this excerpt, we see code-switching between Japanese (including some informal Japanese), and Amami. Most likely, W-sensei adjusts her speech according to her hairdresser-customer relationship as well as their membership allocations in the community (W-sensei and M-san are both embedded in the same small community). Like in the previous session, W-sensei again uses the Amami honorific *umore* ("welcome") to greet M-san (line 2) as he enters the beauty salon. There is also evidence in this transcript that they are well-known to each other, as evidenced by the joking in lines 3-6, where the customer asks if W-sensei is going to cut his head and she answers affirmatively.

In both sessions, we see W-sensei at her beauty salon, speaking to *shimanchu* (local) customers, one older female customer and one younger male customer. W-sensei speaks some Amami with them and uses a few Amami honorifics, but not the full system. This is one case where Amami honorifics show up where they are expected (at work, in a customer/client service situation), but the full system is still absent, so these honorifics might be indexing something else, such as familiarity. She also speaks Standard Japanese

(or Japanese dialect) with her customers as well. We need to consider also that the relationship with customers is not fixed, and that in the small Koniya Setouchi community, W-sensei and her customers do not only have a professional-client relationship, but they are also neighbors. With both customers, W-sensei used the polite Amami greetings *umore* and *ugaminshore* to welcome the clients into the salon, and then code-switched using both Japanese and Amami. W-sensei did several elicitation sessions where she produced Amami honorifics, and she also asserted that Amami honorific speech should be used with customers (see Section 5.10.3). Interestingly, here we see that her actual language use conflicts with her language ideology. There could be several explanations for why W-sensei does not use the Amami honorifics in the way that she prescribed herself in her interviews. Firstly, it could be that the social norms render Amami honorific speech marked. W-sensei and her clients, though they are clients, are also people she has known for many years and feels close to, so her use of Amami may be indexing that. Even if the customers (who are local people), perhaps do not have W-sensei's level of fluency, she still could use Japanese honorifics if she wanted to express politeness, which is the approach that younger semi-speakers might take, as we have seen in Section 6.2.1 from the retirement homes. The Amami honorifics in these sessions seem to be used in token ways, where they can be inserted into non-honorific speech styles.

6.2.3 Amami at formal community events

While the conclusion Section (6.5) suggested that Japanese has become the default language choice for formal communication settings, it is also true that Amami insertions are found at formal events in Setouchi. For example, at school opening ceremonies (*nyugakushiki*) and graduation ceremonies (*sotsugyōshiki*). During these ceremonies, school principals, representative from the local Boards of Education, or the local mayor (*shichō*) will use polite Japanese for their address, but often open with a Amami honorific greeting phrase as an insertion, such as *uganminshouran* ("welcome"). These speakers are

generally too young to be fluent speakers (in their late 50's or early 60's), and the audience of Amamian parents and school children are too young to speak Amami. Therefore, due to language loss, since so few people can use and understand the Amami honorific registers, there are even fewer domains where it can be occupied. So, Amami honorifics are basically the marked choice, and Japanese has become the unmarked choice which is most widely understood by the community.

During my participant observations, I attended two school opening ceremonies where formal speeches were given. In both of these, Amami was used in the opening greetings. The two common phrases I heard in these speeches were *uganminshouran* ("welcome") and *arigassamaryouta* ("thank you very much"). This is significant because it is Amami in a school environment, which is the public domain and at odds with the historical discouragement of Amami (indicating a shift in language attitudes). Also, schools are community hubs so using Amami in this context is a way bring people together and express Amami identity. This further strengthens the interpretation of the data collected in this thesis, because while the opening greeting is in Amami (indicating localness and we-code), the rest of the speech is in Japanese, the language considered most appropriate for formal settings.

Amami honorific insertions were reported by a few other community members in addition to my own observations. For example, several speakers at Maneki Salon reported that at funerals and memorial ceremonies (*hōji* or *hōyō*), specific honorifics are heard (e.g., *muioshore*). This indicates that specific honorifics are being maintained for ceremonial purposes. A younger speaker, Teppei (age 35), reported that at big celebrations, Amamians use honorifics *mishore* or *mishotabore*, right before everyone begins eating. Teppei then said that these honorifics are not often heard in daily life, but generally only at large gatherings. This statement that these honorifics are only used in times of celebrations is not actually reflected in real language use data- I have collected

these honorifics several times in daily life during participant observations. However, it shows an ideology that Amami honorifics are for special occasions and are considered inappropriate in regular day-to-day occurrences. Another speaker, Hideto-san (age 52), also said that a local politician (議員 or *giin-san*) will open his speeches with an honorific *uganmuidouusarui*, which expresses the greeting "long time no see" or *hisashiburi* in Japanese. This politician reportedly uses these honorifics in isolation, with the rest of his speech in Japanese. Outside of this context, Hideto-san said that he does not hear this *uganmuidouusarui* honorific regularly used.

This data shows that Amami honorifics are used in a "token" way to open speeches, or during special occasions, such as large family or community gatherings. Session Shimaguchi098 (5.10.3) also indicates that Amami is used to express familiarity and "closeness". Tomishima-san Jr's comment that Amami polite speech should be avoided, because it creates a distance between people, is noteworthy because it further implies that Amami is the code for familiars. It is possible that the honorifics commonly used today have become so ubiquitous that they are no longer recognized by most speakers as coding deference and politeness.

6.3 Interviews on Amami language use & politeness

At this point, we have examined data demonstrating the prescribed use of Amami to express politeness (Section 5.10) as well as data representing what speakers actually do when they need to show politeness. Additionally, I also conducted several interviews where I asked speakers about their language practices, paying close attention to scenarios which normally call for polite speech. The fact that speakers report that they use Amami with people who are the same age as them (*dōkyūsei*), but not with their elders (to whom they would normally use polite speech), is significant because it suggests that Amami and politeness do not currently align. Also, the fact that Amami is reportedly rarely used at the

workplace (which has already been demonstrated by the retirement home data in the previous section), and more common in casual/familiar domains where polite speech is not needed, is also notable. In Amami (and in Japanese), having full command of honorifics is essential in order to participate in society (Wang 2020). In the Japanese context, using honorific forms are considered mandatory for certain situations. For example, if you cannot or do not perform the honorific registers (*keigo*) properly at a new job, you might find it difficult to find a job or be dismissed (Session Shimaguchi102f). This value of fluency in honorific registers is also relevant for Amami speakers. If speakers do not have knowledge of or confidence in their Amami polite speech (Table 7), when they need to draw on polite speech forms, then they may draw on their Japanese (a language they have full command of), rather than use Amami (Table 6). Therefore, it makes sense that semi-speakers generally reported using Amami primarily with their "inner circle" (friends, family, peers), to whom they do not need polite speech (Table 4):

Table 4: Question 1

	Question 1: 誰と島口を話しますか。例えば、家族と、友達と、子供たちと。。。 *With whom do you speak Amami? For example, family, friends, children?*
Tomoki, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi087)	I speak Shimaguchi to my family… my grandparents too. Sometimes if I'm doing a work trip to Yoro or Ukejima [one of the other islands of the town], I will use Shimaguchi with the elders there.
Daichi, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi100)	Parents and grandparents. Not to my kids, not really with my wife.
Teppei, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi085)	I use Shimaguchi with some of my elderly customers…sometimes they give me gifts at work so I thank them in Shimaguchi…
Seki-san Jr, age 50 (Session Shimaguchi023)	With friends, same-age friends and siblings My wife is from Kagoshima [Prefecture], so not with her.
Takuya, age 55 (Session Shimaguchi092)	Lately only to friends and grandparents…my wife is from Naze, so not with her. With my peers, too.

Fukushima Ken, age 60 (Session Shimaguchi081)	Parents (family) & same-age friends… when same age people get together and drink, we will use Shimaguchi…sometimes people will use Shimaguchi with their lovers.
Mr. Okano, age 64 (Session Shimaguchi028a)	Friends, family, sometimes with my wife but not really.
Taira-san, age 74 (Session Shimaguchi032)	I use with same-aged people and some *senpai* (superiors)… younger people do not understand!

Table 5: Question 2

	Question 2: いつ島口を話しますか？例えば、家の中で、電話するとき。。。*When do you use Amami? For example, in the house, on the phone, etc.....*
Tomoki, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi087):	Sometimes I use it at work if it's with elders I know well… I let them decide what language we use. I also use it at home with my relatives.
Teppei, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi085):	At work with the customers, with neighbors.
Daichi, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi100)	I really only speak Shimaguchi with my parents and grandparents, so really just at their house.
Seki-san Jr, age 50 (Session Shimaguchi023)	With friends, same-age friends and siblings (specifically younger sister). My wife is from Kagoshima, so I do not speak to her [in Amami].
Takuya, age 55 (Session Shimaguchi092)	I use on the phone to my family or friends, or at their houses, or when we're out. Not at work- not with customers. Not even if they're *shimanchu* ("local islanders").
Fukushima Ken, age 60 (Session Shimaguchi081)	Often I use [Amami] at home. My parents are older- and they're really skilled speakers.

Based on the data from these two questions (Table 4 and 5), it is clear that most speakers report using Amami only with friends and family (inner circle), and it is less common for speakers to report using Amami with co-workers or with clients at work. Some speakers do report using Amami with elders, those these are usually family members (such as grandparents), thus, Amami speakers report using Amami with those who are in their inner circle. One speaker, Teppei (age 35), reports using Amami to give

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thanks (*arigassamaryouta*) towards his clients when they give him gifts at his food truck where he sells pork each week. This use of Amami is contradicting my hypothesis that Amami is not used in the workplace. However, by examining the context of Teppei's relationship with his customers whom he sees regularly, and who feel close enough to him to give him presents, we can see that his use of Amami to express thanks is not necessarily indexing only politeness, but also intimacy. Teppei (age 35) is also an extremely young speaker of the Amami community, who is a semi-speaker and cannot use Amami in its full honorific range, so if he needs to draw on honorifics, for example when he is at work interacting with elderly customers, he would do so in Japanese (Session Shimaguchi085). Furthermore, the Amami he reports using is a lexical touchstone which is well-known and drawn on throughout the Amami community. This is further explored in the next chapter regarding lexical touchstones (Section 7.2).

Table 6: Question 3

	Question 3: あなた　は　島口　の　丁寧語 つかってますか。 *Do you use Amami polite speech?*
Tomoki, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi087):	I do not use it.
Teppei, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi085):	I do not use it.
Daichi, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi100)	I do not use it.
Seki-san Jr, age 50 (Session Shimaguchi023)	If I hear it, I can understand it, but I do not speak it myself. At work, I just Kagoshima dialect (Japanese).
Takuya, age 55 (Session Shimaguchi092)	Almost not at all, because it's awkward if I make a mistake and it's rude. If I need to be polite, I will use Standard language [Japanese].
Hideto-san, age 52 (Session Shimaguchi089)	I can't understand Amami polite speech, so if I need to be polite, I will use standard language [Japanese].
Fukushima Ken, age 60 (Session Shimaguchi081)	x

Table 7: Question 4

	Question 4: 高齢者と話す時、島口を利用することについてどう思いますか。自信がありますか。 *How do you feel about using Shimaguchi with older people? Do you have confidence (to use Shimaguchi with older people)?*
Tomoki, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi087)	well… I'm a better speaker than most people my age, so I have confidence.
Daichi, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi100)	Ummm… 50% confidence
Teppei, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi085)	No, I do not really have confidence.
Daisuke, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi065)	Well, I do not have confidence…I'm worried I will make a mistake. This is with all older people, my parents too. My dad, he knows how to use honorifics. But I do not.

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HS-san, age 45 (Session Shimaguchi071)	For me, using Amami with my parents or older people/superiors is the way to get close to them immediately. It's kind of an ice breaker. There is a big gap between myself and older people when talking to them. But once started speaking Shimaguchi [Amami], it is immediately taken away. If I speak Shimaguchi [Amami], older people/superior may think we speak common language. Yes, I have worries when speaking to older people. Because I am not sure whether my Shimaguchi [Amami] is polite enough to use to them or not. Therefore… I use Japanese instead not to make any mistakes.

Table 8: Question 5

	Question 5: 年上の人と話すときは、島口を使いますか。 *When you need to talk to older people, do you use Shimaguchi?*
Tomoki, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi087)	If they use Shimaguchi, then I will.
Daichi, age 28 (Session Shimaguchi100)	If it's with my grandparents, yes. But with older people I do not know, I always use standard language [Japanese].
Teppei, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi085)	Yeah, sometimes.
Daisuke, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi065)	I will always use standard language [Japanese].
Takuya, age 55 (Session Shimaguchi092)	Not really with older people. Mostly just with same-age friends.
Fukushima Ken, age 60 (Session Shimaguchi081)	I will speak to slightly older people or my parents. I make mistakes though.

In the literature review (Section 3.1.3), stylistic shrinkage in endangered languages has already been discussed (see: Dorian 1981). Based on the data collected for this research, it is clear that Amami has also undergone attrition in the more formal domains, leaving speakers with limited access to honorific registers. Decades of negative language attitudes towards Amami as a mere backwater dialect, which was spurred on by Japan's nationalist ideology of *kyōtsū-go*, or a unifying "common language" (Okumura 2016), very similar to the French Revolution's "one language, one country" ideology, has

likely contributed significantly to language shift in the area. Negative language attitudes towards the appropriateness of using local language in formal settings, brought on by language policies which forbade local language use in public and government workplaces and decades of education reform where children and employees were banned from using their local languages in the public sphere (school and workplace), has displaced Amami from these formal domains (Maeda 2014). As a consequence, today, all official business and legislature is conducted in Japanese, and even in local businesses (such as the retirement homes and Takuya's sake shop- Session Shimaguchi092), Japanese is preferred over Amami.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Amami schools had a policy of punishing Amamian students for using local language, and several consultants (Session Shimaguchi004a) could recount vividly their experience with the *hōgen fuda*, or dialect tag, which was used as a punishment to discourage students from using Amami at school. These events clearly can be connected to where speakers have been conditioned to use their language. Though in literature the dialect tags are normally reported to have fallen out of use by the 1960's (Maeda 2014: 239), in my own research I met with a consultant who recalled having been punished as a schoolchild with the dialect tag (Session Shimaguchi086f with HS-san). This speaker at the time of the recording was 45 years old, meaning that *hōgen fuda* ("dialect tags") were still being used to punish Amamian students in the 1970's, potentially even more recently than that (see Section 2.1). These language policies clearly pushed Amami out of the public and professional spheres, confining it to the home registers, or the traditional arts where it has become somewhat preserved in time. Anderson (2014) noticed a similar scenario in speakers of related Ryukyuan language, Uchinaaguchi (Okinawan), where Uchinaaguchi lost formal domains as it became endangered (2014: 112). Due to the described language shift, which has rendered Japanese the default language to express politeness, a significant portion of receptive

bilingual Amami speakers do not have full access to Amami polite registers. In other words, a significant portion of Amami speakers simply do not know how to express themselves politely in Amami (as seen in Table 6). This is especially true of speakers born after the 1950s. This was further indicated in interviews where speakers admitted that they did not know how to use Amami polite registers (Table 6), and in the spontaneous interactional data, where younger speakers could only produce Amami honorifics in isolation (i.e., as single words/phrases) and could not draw on them productively. Language knowledge is not homogeneous within the Amami speech community- there is a significant discrepancy between speakers who can use polite registers (fluent speakers) and speakers who can only use Amami with their peers (with whom polite registers are unnecessary). This is supported in the literature as well, for example Matsumori (1995: 41) also noticed a decrease in honorifics in the case of Okinawan. He wrote that the local language became reserved for informal contexts and casual speech styles, with speakers "gradually [losing] facility in the vernacular polite forms". Anderson (2009) also recorded older Okinawans who reported that they had lost proficiency in their Uchinaaguchi honorifics due to lack of use in everyday life.

Overall, the interview data which suggests that speakers use Amami only with their in-group (family and close friends) and in home domains is probably tied to the fact that speakers do not have access to or confidence in their ability to use Amami polite speech (Table 6 and 7). Two very young speakers, Tomoki (age 28) and Teppei (age 35) do mention using Amami whilst working, but in Table 5 they also say that they do not use Amami polite speech. Takuya (age 55) owns a sake shop in Koniya Village and reports never using Amami at work with customers, even if they are local islanders.

The issue of speakers not having access to the politeness structures is exacerbated by the fact that many speakers lack confidence to use Amami "correctly" in a way that would be seen as polite by their elders. This came up in several interviews with younger

speakers, where they described anxiety about using Amami with their elders or their superiors (Table 7). Situations where politeness is used can be described as "high-stakes" communicative events. In other words, when you are being polite, you really do not want to offend the listener by using the wrong form of honorific. Therefore, a far safer option is to use Japanese, a language you speak fluently, rather than cause offense by incorrectly expressing your request or apology in Amami.

Hiromi Shigeno (2010a) observed from a speaker of Ura (Northern Amami) dialect:

60歳代以下の方言話者は困難を伴う　　状況である。敬語がうまく操れない中年層からは，「方言の敬語はとても難しい。間違った使い方をしてしまい，年配の方からよく怒られる。だから失礼のないよ うに無難な共通語の敬語を使う」

> Honorific words of dialects are very difficult to use. Because if you use them incorrectly, you often get scolded by elderly people. Therefore, you are better off using the easier Standard Japanese honorific words rather than the dialectal honorific words to avoid accidentally being rude [my own translation].

In this study, I asked several speakers about their confidence levels regarding their Amami language abilities. When expressed concern about their Amami competence when asked if they have confidence using Amami (Table 7):

> HS-san, age 45 (Session Shimaguchi071): Yes, I have worries when speaking to older people. Because I am not sure whether my Shimaguchi [Amami] is polite enough to use to them or not. Therefore… I use Japanese instead not to make any mistakes

> Daisuke, age 35 (Session Shimaguchi065): Well, I do not have confidence…I'm worried I will make a mistake. This is with all older people, my parents too. My dad, he knows how to use honorifics. But I do not.

In interviews with younger speakers (mid 30's, 40's and 50's), a common feeling amongst them was that they lacked confidence to use Amami with their elders, so they would fall back on their Japanese in these cases. These speakers acquired Amami imperfectly from their grandparents (or parents), and as they only used Amami within the home and with their peers, they did not feel that they had the competence to use the honorifics correctly. Most younger speakers reported that they often used Japanese to

speak to their older family members, so they now have only passive knowledge of the Amami language. Some speakers report that their grandparents will speak Amami to them and they reply in Japanese because they do not feel confident trying to use Amami with elders who are more proficient than they are (Session Shimaguchi071 with HS-san; Section 7.6). These same speakers however will use Amami with their peers, with whom they feel more comfortable and confident and where the stakes are not so high to "speak Amami correctly" (Session Shimaguchi071 with HS-san; Section 7.6). This situation where semi-speakers will use Amami with peers but not with elders is seen in the retirement home sessions as well (Section 6.2.1). Younger speakers' lack of confidence is likely tied to the need to treat older and/or superior speakers politely. Sometimes the speakers would explicitly say that they lacked confidence using Amami because they could not use honorifics or polite speech (in the case of sessions shimaguchi071, shimaguchi065, shimaguchi089, and shimaguchi092). There are several interviews which illustrate the use of Japanese with elders and superiors rather than Amami (Table 8).

Most speakers reported using Amami in domestic spheres (at home, on the phone, with friends and family), but not in the professional sphere (Table 5), where polite speech is necessary. The majority of speakers also reported not using Amami at work or with colleagues, with their bosses, or with clients/customers. Participants reported that they would use Amami with elders they were close to (e.g., HS-san in Session Shimaguchi071, Tomoki in Session Shimaguchi038), but not with elders they did not know well (to whom they would need to speak politely), as shown in Table 6. All this indicates that Amami is not used in the workplace, or in formal contexts. Rather, it has become a home language to be used with friends and family, where honorific registers are rarely necessary. This situation is predictable and aligns with other cases of language endangerment where the minority language is pushed to the home domains and stigmatized and reduced in public domains. What is particular about this case, however, is the importance that honorific

speech carries in Amami. Perhaps because Amami's honorifics are reportedly so complicated but also so socially necessary to demonstrate proper respect, this has increased the language shift in the area. Japanese speakers also place high importance on using honorifics correctly, so even semi-speakers and non-speakers (or "token speakers") of Amami are sensitive to this issue that using the appropriate honorific is essential for smooth communication.

In conjunction with recording communication events, younger speakers I worked with in this project interviewed older fluent speakers in their circles about what politeness means to them, to try to ascertain data on the connection between language choice and politeness. This data is very limited and should be interpreted with care in conjunction with other data in this project.

Table 8: Interview responses on politeness

Participant information	「丁寧ではない」こ とは何ですか。 具体 的な例はあります か。 なぜそれは丁寧 ではないのですか。 What is something that is impolite? Are there any concrete examples? Why isn't it polite?	「丁寧さ」は大切ですか？　どうしてそ う思いますか？ Is politeness important? Why?	具体的に言えば「丁寧さ」は あなたにとって何ですか。 Concretely speaking, what do you mean by "politeness"? What does politeness mean to you?
B-san Yui, age 79	It is to be "Te-ge-te-ge (not caring, sloppy, or lack of sincerity)." It is because a person, who is "Te-ge-te-ge," lacks basic human qualities and decency.	[It is] important. .[i.e.,] "Te-i-ne-i-na-hito" (careful or sincere person) → "Mun-goma-sanchu" (in "shima-guchi") 1. A person is someone who gives attention to detail on the way of thinking and who is careful and well thought out 2. A person who could convey and communicate one's opinions and ideas to others accurately 3. A person who takes responsibility on what the person said and follows through them People who fit to the descriptions noted in 1 through 3 are "Te-i-ne-i-na-hito" (careful or sincere person)	It means "to be methodical"

C-san, Shiba, age 94	It is to <u>be unkind.</u> When you asked some questions, the person shows bad attitude saying, "I do not know!!! That is none of my business!!!" It is to talk impolitely using yelling tone	[It is] important. Politeness is being kind to a person and caring. 1. It is because to be kind to a person is very important. 2. It is because if you treat a person kindly, it makes both you and the person feel happy.	It is to listen to what a person is saying and to be able to accept one's way of thinking and opinion.
D-san Agina age 82	It is to be unkind or mean.	Important. It is because if a person uses impolite language and harsh tone to me, it makes me not even want to talk to the person.	It is to be considerate of others when I talk and take action.
E-san Agina age 84	It is one's use of rough manner of speaking and behavior.	Important. It is better to use kind words and gentle talking style.	It means a soft and gentle way of talking. If someone asked me to do something or I made a promise to someone, though I may take my time, it is very important for me to fulfill the request or the promise that I made.
Y-san Koniya age 63	It is to lack kindness, thoughtfulness, and respect.	Important. It is because it won't hurt people's feelings. It is also because it makes me feel good inside and could give people warm feelings.	It is for me to show respect for others.
W-Sensei Tean age 69	Example: "Do …. -> Would you do …?" A tone of command gives me a bad impression and doesn't make me feel willing to do so comfortably.	Having a good communication with the collocutor may help our hearts connect to each other's. Also, when you make something or do something, if you do a careful work, the degree of completion (will be higher), and your such attitude towards work will give a good impression to people who see it.	It indicates language and attitude of such as elegance and tenderness. As the lyrics of Amami's traditional culture "Hachigatsu Odori" also says; "The way you speak could create a bitter feeling", if you make your language and attitude polite or speak politely, it will be one way of having a good communication between people.
T-Sensei, Yoro & Koniya Age 68	The relationship with closely related people is not ていねい. As expected, as it is said *ishindenshin* ("heart-to-heart communication without talking"),	I think we are motivated and grow up by having collocutors. There is a saying "our hardships and learnings with diligence, everything is nothing but for other people after all. That is to say, it may mean that we human being live for other people.	It could be "to accord someone every courtesy; on the other hand, to be patient".

	which is a bad side of Japanese people, preludes or excuses are scarce. In other words, it could be said lacking politeness.	If you think that collocutors are those who give you opportunities and that they are human beings other than you, as expected, you should respect them and treat them politely.	

One interview with Y-san (male, 70s), a fluent Setouchi speaker, stands out particularly. Y-san discusses accurateness and care in communication when asked for his views on politeness (Session Shimaguchi102):

Session Shimaguchi102

Q: Concretely speaking, what do you mean by "politeness"? What does politeness mean to you?

Y-san It means to be methodical.

Q: Is politeness important? And if so, why?

Y-san: It is important.

"Te-i-ne-i-na-hito" (careful or sincere person in Japanese) → "*Mun-goma-sanchu*"

(in *Shimaguchi*)

A person is someone who gives attention to detail on the way of thinking and who is careful and well thought out.

A person who could convey and communicate one's opinions and ideas to others accurately.

A person who takes responsibility on what the person said and follows through with them.

Y-san thus equates politeness to accurateness (or correctness). B-san states that politeness is to be "methodical". Other speakers, such as D-san, said that to be polite is to be considerate. Another speaker, W-sensei, described politeness as having elegance and tenderness. These qualities, politeness and correctness are at odds with speakers' diminished language abilities and linguistic confidence to draw on Setouchi honorific registers when politeness is needed.

6.4. Interpretation: Why Japanese for politeness?

As seen in the data sections of this chapter, younger speakers generally tend to use Japanese, or a mixed language, when speaking to their elders or in situations where they need to draw on honorifics. Older more fluent speakers (such as W-sensei of the beauty salon), may use Amami honorifics with local customers but in this case there is much code-switching and use of honorifics is inconsistent and minimal. In this section I will evaluate the likely causes for the use of Japanese instead of Amami in situations where Amami speakers need to draw on linguistic politeness, other than lack of ability/access to honorifics (which I have already discussed above). Overall, it is difficult to determine if older speakers still have full access to the honorific registers. Based on my research in the Amami community, I would say, however, that it is clear that older speakers (over 75+ years of age) are *more* comfortable using Amami honorifics, and can produce them in combination with original utterances, rather than in isolated formulaic greetings or apologies (or other formulaic phrases).

6.4.1 Lack of language adaptation and modernity

Another reason why Japanese may be the preferred language for politeness is that Amami's development has been somewhat stunted since it began to go into decline following the Meiji Period (1912) and after WWII (1945) when Amamians really began embracing Japanese as a way to align themselves with Japan and to end Allied Occupation and be reunified with the Japanese mainland.

Japanese is now the language for formal and learned topics and settings, and has been since Amami speakers began shifting to Japanese. Amami speakers use Japanese to discuss topics such as politics or modern science, as these topics have always been discussed in Japanese, the lingua franca of the Ryukyus (at least during their lifetimes). Again, we see a parallel situation in Okinawa's Uchinaaguchi from Hokama (2001), where he describes

Uchinaaguchi as inappropriate for discussing academic subjects, politics, economics or issues of modernity and instead these subjects were discussed in Japanese (Hokama 2001: 97).

This sense of lack of modernity suggests that even very fluent Amami speakers would use Japanese in situations where they need to draw on polite registers. In the same vein, fluent speaker Fuji-san asserted that these days, it is out of place to hear Amami polite speech:

Session Shimaguchi019

> Martha: These days, do you hear Amami polite speech?
> Fujii-san: Well… to be honest it is kind of weird (*hen*) to use Amami polite speech (*keigo*) a lot. I use [it] with my elders/superiors (*senpai*). But you know, I do not like when people use polite speech towards me. [It] makes me feel old.

This response may reflect a language ideology that Amami is no longer suitable for situations where higher domains/polite speech are called on.

6.4.2 Elders' low opinion of younger speakers' Amami

In addition to younger speakers being intimidated to use Amami with their elders (at least elders they did not know well), I also collected data from older speakers who vocally lamented the fact that younger speakers these days could not speak properly (Session Shimaguchi078), or "do not understand" (Session Shimaguchi032) Amami, despite younger speakers' reporting that they do understand more than their elders think they do. Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui & Heinrich (2021) write that this is a common feature of Ryukyuan communities in general: "Any student of Ryukyuan linguistics will routinely encounter the opinion of the last speakers of Ryukyuan that Japanese has become the unmarked language choice for inter-generational communication "because younger generations are unable to speak politely". Older speakers' low opinion of younger

speakers' proficiency in Amami is directly tied to politeness, because the Amami speakers expect younger speakers to use polite Amami with them, and if they cannot, then this is considered "bad language". Some older speakers become upset with younger speakers when they cannot use Amami to the elder' standards. This, in turn, creates a cycle where younger speakers are intimidated and afraid to offend older speakers by using Amami honorifics incorrectly; therefore, they take the path of less risk and use Japanese, in which they can use polite forms without risking making mistakes and angering or offending more fluent Amami speakers. This language attitude has been observed in other languages undergoing language shift as well, such as Minderico in Portugal (Ferreira, 2016: 9):

> On the one hand, the older speakers do not accept easily the way the younger generation speaks Minderico, mentioning that they speak a kind of "modern Minderico" and not "pure Minderico", delegitimating at the same time their knowledge of the language by classifying what the young people speak as "invented, artificial language".14 They are very critical above all about the enlargement of Minderico vocabulary to modern contexts of daily life, such as contexts related to new technologies, mainly because for them "authentic Minderico" is connected to a concrete (difficult) period in their lifetime (when they went to the markets to sell the blankets) and characterized by communicative practices with clearly delimited diglossic boundaries. They do not associate Minderico with modern life – for them, this role is played by Portuguese. This attitude obviously influences the way the younger generation uses or decides not to use Minderico. Some of them feel that they are not proficient enough and do not feel confident in using the language in the presence of elders – a fact that sometimes leads to avoiding the language at all.

This "delegitimating" of younger speakers' language by the elderly (more fluent) speakers is also at play in the Amami context and further disabling younger Amami speakers from using their language beyond a limited range of casual contexts.

Ravindranath Abtahian & McDonough Quinn also observed that in an endangered language context, elders' low evaluations of younger speakers' language use "contributes to the linguistic insecurity of young speakers, which may result in even further shift toward the dominant language" (2017: 145). This is likely the same situation in the Amami speech community.

<u>Session Shimaguci078</u>:

> W-sensei (age 69): Older people, like 80 or 90 years old, they get really angry when people can't speak Shimaguchi correctly. They do not use the proper honorifics.

> Martha: What would you recommend for younger speakers who want to speak to older people in Shimaguchi, but do not know how to use polite speech?

> W-sensei: *thinks about it* They should study the traditional arts. Like August Dances and Island songs. Then they can learn the polite ways of speaking and can speak to their elders.

This session with W-sensei is very telling- it demonstrates both elders' frustration and inflexibility regarding younger speakers' Amami use, but also an unrealistic expectation put upon the younger speakers (to learn traditional arts in order to learn Amami to speak to their elders). However, looking back on the interview with HS-san (age 40) in Chapter 1 (Section 1.4), younger speakers do not necessarily find cultural activities as a useful way to learn Amami. Van der Lubbe, Tsutsui & Heinrich (2021) also observed this in the wider Ryukyuan context where he reported that regarding the problem of imperfect polite registers amongst young speakers, "[o]ne possibility is however always absent, and this is the use of imperfect honorific language. Hence, improving imperfect honorific language is neither possible in South-Central Okinawan nor in Okinoerabu Ryukyuan.".

One example of older speakers' dismissal of younger speakers' Amami is Session Shimaguchi038 with Tomoki-kun and Sato-san, where Sato-san said that none of his nine grandchildren speak Amami. Meanwhile, his grandson, Tomoki-kun is simultaneously interviewing him in Amami (providing evidence to evaluate the interaction between the old and the new generation in familiar contexts). This demonstrates the high standards and, perhaps, a purist attitude that Amami elders have with regard to their language. These purist attitudes and high standards are a barrier for younger speakers who would like to use their Amami more with the remaining fluent speakers in their community but

feel intimidated or have had negative experiences due to older speakers' disapproval of their language abilities.

Session Shimaguchi038 with Tomoki and Sato-san:

> Martha: How many grandchildren does Sato-san have?
> Tomoki-kun: Well, me, Arisa, [redacted]…nine, isn't it?
> Martha: Nine? Wow! Can they all speak Shimaguchi [Amami]?
> Sato-san: No, no they can't.
> Martha: Only Tomoki-kun?
> Sato-san: No, none of them can.

What is ironic about this interview is that Tomoki is using Amami the entire conversation, though, he is not using the honorific forms which might be more appropriate if Amami was not being spoken in an endangered language context.

Similarly, Anderson (2009: 162) observed the same sentiments in speakers of Uchinaaguchi on the Okinawa main island:

> 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".

In *Language Crisis in the Ryukyus*, Anderson (2014) elaborates on this situation of Ryukyuan language speakers;

> Some of the rusty speaker participants in my (Anderson 2009) study reported that, during their childhood, they were criticized by their elders for there "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, and avoided using Uchinaaguchi when speaking to older interlocuters for fear of portraying themselves as inferior members of the in-group (2014: 122)

Older speakers' negative attitudes towards younger speakers use of Amami obviously fuels the insecurities of the younger speakers, discouraging them from using Amami with their elders for fear of making a mistake and embarrassing themselves or angering/irritating their elders, a fear Heinrich also observed for Ryukyuan:

> One example of this can be found in an interview with Okinawan second-language speaker Tomoko Arakaki who recalls (Arakaki & Oyakawa, 2014: 329): "[My grandmother] lived to be 100 years old, and never spoke much

Japanese, so I would always have to think before talking to her. I also remember trying to speak directly to her in Uchinaaguchi [Okinawan], but my family stopped me because I couldn't use honorific language." Arakaki's experience is not a particular case. Lack in proficiency of the retreating language strengthens the choice for the replacing language, and in so doing further weakens the use and the proficiency in the retreating language. This is a process that Florey (2004: 9) calls "language shift circle", which she defines as an activation of "puristic attitudes in speech communities among older people who wish to maintain a more conservative form of their language." Hence, proficient speakers no longer use the language to those not speaking it well enough. (Heinrich, unpublished manuscript)

6.4.3 Amami as the low linguistic variety

Nishimura (2006:88-91) describes how Amamians on the main islands have been characterized as being "incommunicable", "lazy" and "indecent", which is likely tied to the stigmatization of local languages and their discouragement from public spaces. One of the main features of being Amamian is the Amami language, and Maeda (2014) writes that many Amamians who had migrated to mainland Japan tried to conceal their Amamian accent when speaking Japanese and discard their language as it was considered "an obstacle when trying to pass as Japanese" (2014:249). In this sense, Amami language can be considered a core value, for both speakers and Amami community members who do not speak Amami but use it symbolically. Maeda also writes that these sentiments regarding the Amami language as something somehow inappropriate were brought back to the Amami Islands, and this increased "the fervor with which the Amamian language was suppressed and stigmatized in schools" (2014: 249). He also notes that "… most [speakers] thought that *hōgen* would not be suitable for school or use in public domains" (Maeda 2014: 250). From these statements, it can be deduced that Amami was at one point blatantly considered inappropriate for settings of officialness or polite company. Maeda writes "the ideology that Amami dialects are 'bad' (*dame*) has impacted on everyone's language attitudes and language choices" (Maeda 2014: 250). All of these factors suggest that Amami might not be considered the proper code for when one is trying to be polite. Furthermore, if we put this into context regarding the relationship

between language and identity, we can understand that there are conflicting forces. On the one hand, Amami being considered "improper", or crude makes it at odds with politeness. These connotations with crudeness and local languages are likely directly tied to the historical factors such as cultural suppression (Section 2.3), which have also been observed in many other endangered language communities. On the opposite end, there is the Ryukyuan movement to reclaim and keep these local Ryukyuan languages alive (e.g., Arakaki & Oyakawa 2014). On a broader more global scale, there is a worldwide/ international movement to revitalize endangered and minority languages, such as those devoted to the language nest schools in New Zealand for Māori and in Hawaii for ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi.

These days, Amami has become more popular and also less stigmatized, as we see it reflected in the linguistic landscape (suggesting increased positivity), and also based on interview data from younger semi-speakers such as Fumika, Aco, Teppei, Tomoki and HS-san (Section 6.7). Amami is a core part of Amamian identity. It should be noted that negative stigma is not necessarily linked to increased or decreased language use (e.g., Irish Gaelic). Based on Amamians apparent shift in language attitudes, it may no longer be the case now that Amami is considered the dialect of "lazy" people. However, effects of these ideologies are difficult to reverse in an endangered language situation (Heinrich & Ishihara 2017; Florey 2004). Stigma often influences language shift which ties into the transmission (or lack of) to new speakers which eventually means even when/if the stigma and negativity associated with Amami lifts (as has done in the last decades as language attitudes have improved), it is too late for the speech community to easily recover lost domains of use (e.g., honorific registers). In regards to stigma, it should be added that stigma is not a death sentence to minority languages; for example, there is no negative stigma is attached to Irish Gaelic, yet there is massive language shift. Contrastingly, there was very negative stigma vis a vis Welsh, yet Welsh language

revitalization is much stronger than Irish. Indeed, at this point, many speakers have not acquired the honorifics, use the language only with peers/friends (with whom politeness is less necessary), or had opportunity to utilize them in any sort of real meaningful way (outside of fixed registers/arts). Thus, Japanese remains the default language to express respect and politeness in Setouchi. From this, we can deduce that rather than being inherently impolite, Amami is now considered casual (but not rude). This explains why Amami is not considered appropriate when speakers need to draw on politeness, but is still found in cases when speakers are in a situation that would be entirely unacceptable to speak rudely (e.g., at the beauty salon or at the retirement home to the residents). At the beauty salon, W-sensei uses Amami to build rapport with her clients, whom she knows very well and who have been coming to see her for many years. In these cases, speakers may be using Amami to build up rapport or express intimacy.

From all that we have seen thus far, it is clear that the Amami Islands do not exemplify a typical case of diglossia, where both varieties are stable (Fishman 1991). This thesis adopts a broader view of diglossia where one language (Japanese) dominates most domains, particularly most public domains because people have limited ability in the minority language. Japanese fulfills the role of H-language (in the sense of Fishman 1967; Ferguson 1959) for formal and official situations, and Amami acts as the L-language as the low variety appropriate for casual topics (though this is shifting and eventually there will be no domains where Amami is used at all). As we've seen, for older speakers, Amami might occur in some of the more formal domains, but only in a very minor way because at this point Amami fulfills more of a symbolic role (e.g., W-sensei speaking with her clients at her beauty salon). In contrast, younger speakers might use Amami in informal domains (such as with peers) where they do not need to worry about using honorifics or expressing politeness. When they do need to do these things, they will fall back on Japanese, their dominant language.

6.5 Conclusion

Based on the data, we can see that language shift is a significant driver of this situation. People who end up in aged care (such as the retirement homes) are the best speakers of the L variety (Amami), and usually care workers would use this language to interact with them, thus maintaining Amami to some degree (e.g., Sami, as reported by Huss & Stångberg 2018). However, because of the issue of honorific registers and their importance, younger semi-speakers are unable or unwilling to use Amami. Probably because the semi-speakers' reduced confidence and ability in honorific registers mean that the L language is not a good option for them to use with most elderly residents. Thus, the situation differs from other endangered language scenarios, because unexpectedly, the nursing homes are not domains conducive to learning and speaking Amami.

The data discussed in this chapter suggests that as Amami has become increasingly endangered, community members have now shifted to speaking Japanese in many domains. With these shifts, knowledge of these traditional politeness strategies has become limited. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that as Amami has become increasingly endangered, the stylistic shrinkage has disabled speakers from using Amami in its full capacity, thus pushing speakers to use Japanese in polite contexts. Therefore, it is likely that speakers may use Japanese in place of Amami polite forms in formal situations where they need to draw on polite registers. This thesis has examined data gathered from domains where speakers would be expected to draw on polite speech (e.g., in the workplace, at formal events) and observed at their language choices in these situations. Possible reasons/factors influencing speakers' language choice were explored:

1. Speakers do not have access to the Amami forms (they simply do not know them, due to language loss), so they use Japanese where contexts demand politeness.
2. Speakers lack the confidence to use the Amami forms correctly, so they use Japanese to avoid making mistakes in contexts where they need to be polite.
3. Standard language practices in the community call for speakers to use Japanese in situations where honorific Amami would normally have been used

because the language has not been adapted to contemporary society and its communicative needs following Japan's education reform and the World War II.

4. Rather than existing in a stable diglossic situation, the Amami community is in danger of further loss where it will not even fulfill the role of the L language, and Japanese will be used for all domains.

Additionally, this interpretation is also supported by anecdotal reports in other Ryukyuan languages, such as Uchinaaguchi (in Okinawa) (Anderson 2014). However, while speakers are clearly not using Amami to express politeness, there is still some use and knowledge of Amami honorifics. Amami speakers' day-to-day conversation still exhibit honorifics (as we saw in the case of the beauty salon), despite Japanese acting as the default variety for public domains (including workplace). However, these honorifics which are still present are being used in an unprescribed and somewhat limited manner, usually in the form of formulaic expressions described in this study as "lexical touchstones" (a term coined by Anderson 2014). In that case, the Amami honorifics are likely expressing something beyond politeness, and this will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

7. Functions of Amami Honorifics

Following the data which shows that Amami honorifics are still present within the speech community, but Japanese is the default code for politeness, this next chapter will determine the pragmatic functions of the Amami honorifics still found and used within the speech community.

In addition to demonstrating the honorifics found in the community, this chapter will also explore the meanings and readings of these remaining honorifics, in light of the fact that politeness is being expressed using Japanese. As explored in the literature review chapter (Section 3.14), the use of honorifics does not automatically render an utterance polite (see: Agha 2007; Pizziconi 2011). Therefore, we cannot unquestioningly assume that speakers' honorifics are expressing politeness, in light of the evidence in the prior chapter demonstrating that speakers are expressing politeness with Japanese (not Amami). Amami honorifics (such as the lexical touchstones identified in Section 7.2). tend to be used in isolation and are inserted into Japanese utterances. Code-switching implies that there is some level of bilingualism among speakers. While this is true of the elders in the speech community, the majority of the community does not have Amami speaking proficiency but do have passive receptive skills, and can use Amami honorifics in limited ways, or when they are "performing" (e.g., songs or traditional arts). Therefore, it could be said that these speakers are using Amami honorifics in a borrowing sense from a language they do not speak. Both borrowing and code-switching fall under the umbrella of "language contact phenomena" and can therefore be difficult to distinguish from one another in a multilingual context (see Matras & Bakker 2003). Myers-Scotton (1992:35) puts forth this definition of code-switching and borrowing:

> [code-switching] is differentiated from [borrowing] in two major ways. First, [matrix language] speakers may be monolingual and still use [borrowing] forms, but those who use [code-switching] forms must show some degree of bilingualism. Second, [borrowing] forms have acquired status as part of the

grammar of the [matrix language] 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 [code-switching] forms.

As per this definition, we can see clearly that code-switching only applies to the most elderly Amami speakers. The majority of Amami speakers do not have any productive proficiency in the substrate language, therefore the incorporation of Amami linguistic features cannot be considered code-switching. Thus, we are looking at Amami honorifics in a borrowing sense. These Amami borrowed insertions are meaningful, because as Heinrich states; "mixed [Ryukyuan] language can no longer be attributed to linguistic imperfection on behalf of the Ryukyuans but in view of high proficiency of Standard Japanese, as a purposeful and thus meaningful choice" (Heinrich 2007:4).

First, we will look at instances of Amami honorifics being used in the linguistic landscape of the community. Linguistic landscape includes multilingual signs, and for this study packaging and media (such as zines or flyers) which are consumed by the Amami public were also analyzed.

7.1 Amami linguistic landscape: Honorifics as expressions of "localness"

Linguistic landscape is defined as the "visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region" (Landry & Bourhis 1997:23). In the Ryukyu context, Heinrich calls linguistic landscape "regimented language" and states that it is "administered and thus less spontaneous and liable to variation and change". Heinrich examined linguistic landscape at Naha Airport (Okinawa), and asserted that "language choices can… be understood as reflecting ideas on the communicative requirements of the passengers at Naha Airport as well as language ideological perceptions of how Okinawa Prefecture, Japan, and its neighboring countries are imagined linguistically" (2010: 344-345). In this way, by looking at the linguistic landscape in the Setouchi context this means we can deduce what Amami forms are well-known throughout the Setouchi community, and also can gather insight into Amamians'

language attitudes (i.e., how they *feel* about their language), when we take into consideration who is making the sign, or in other words, who has ownership of the sign. As discussed in the introductory chapter (Section 2.6), the Amami language does not have the benefit of any official protective policies and is unrecognized. Thus, there is no official language policy directed towards Amami language signage on the islands. For this thesis, the focus of linguistic landscape data will be on public signage, handouts, zines, and packaging featuring Amami honorifics. Packaging includes that on local goods, such as sandals (Figure 21). The next two sections will present the photos of instances of Amami honorific use in the linguistic landscape. These are described in more detail in Table 10, following the presentation of the photos. This project gathered instances of Amami signage within the islands and then categorized them according to their main function and intended audience (i.e., tourists, locals).

7.1.1 Amami landscape for tourism

Amami in the linguistic landscape can be divided into two categories: firstly, Amami for locals, and secondly, Amami for tourists. It is not always easy to tell the difference, but there are some signs which are clearly intended for visitors based on their locations, such as signs appearing at airports, or at ferry ports, where visitors frequent. Amami for tourism examples were clearly present outside of Setouchi Town, where the main entry and exit points for tourism lie. While this project is focused on the Setouchi variety of Amami, data was collected by myself and Setouchi community members both within and around Setouchi town (in some cases, on islands off of Amami Oshima). All photos of Amami linguistic landscape were collected in 2018 and 2019. Photos which were not taken by me are indicated in the figure descriptions, as are locations. Cases of Amami linguistic landscape outside of Setouchi were all collected by Setouchi speakers who come into contact with this Amami LL regularly, and is thus included in the data as it interacts with Setouchi community members.

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Figure 12: mensho-ri okinoerabujima he ("Welcome to Okinoerabu Island")

Figure 13: Wooden cut-out: menshori ("welcome") on Okinoerbu Island

Figure 14: Welcome sign at ASJ airport in Kasari-cho, Amami

Figure 15: "Welcome to Amami" at ASJ airport in Kasari-cho, Amami

Figure 16: imore ("welcome") at Hiroba Tourism Information Centre in Naze, Amami

These examples all come from outside of Setouchi Town, in more touristy areas, including Naze (Figure 16) which is the largest city on Amami Island, and Kasaari (Figure 14 and 15), which is where the airport is located and most tourists pass through. Figure 12 is from Okinoerabu, where a ferry travels between Amami Oshima and Okinoerabu Island. This banner (Figure 12) was being held up by local volunteers as people exited the ferry. On this occasion, it was a very busy weekend for tourists because there was a running festival taking place where many visitors from other islands and other parts of Japan were coming to take part. While Figure 12 is an instance of more temporary linguistic landscape as a banner which will likely leave with the volunteers at the end of the day, Figure 13 is a more permanent example of local language in Amami linguistic landscape. Figure 13 depicts a wooden cut-out of Segodon, a famous historical figure in Amami islands, and a *shibainu* dog. Visitors can take photos with this wooden cut-out, and it says *menshori* ("welcome" in Okinoerabu dialect). Both Figure 12 and Figure 13 were collected from the same location on the same day in 2018, at the Okinoerabu ferry port.

Long and Nakai (2014: 8), researched linguistic landscape in the Ryukyus and state that the local community use their minoritized language "as a linguistic tourism resource" in order to resuscitate it. Amamians are potentially using their local language similarly in the landscape for tourism purposes. However, more extensive data found in this project shows several cases where Amami linguistic landscape is present for the locals, where there is little tourism (Section 7.1.2). Setouchi Town is much less touristy than other parts of the island, though there are some tourists who visit for scuba diving and whale watching, though these activities can also be undertaken in other parts of the Amami Islands, and are not exclusive to Setouchi.

7.1.2 Amami landscape: For the locals

The following section will show some examples of Amami language landscape for local people (as opposed to tourists). This makes sense, as most tourism in the Amami Islands is not concentrated in Setouchi. Examples collected included signage at local businesses, one billboard on a local road, and written materials, such as zines. There is also one example from a school. Below, Figure 17 and Figure 18 demonstrate Amami linguistic landscape from Icchamun food shop on Kakeroma Island (Setouchi Town). Both of these figures contain forms of the *shore* honorific in the Amami lexical touchstone, *mishouran* ("please eat/bon appétit").

Figure 17: Sign in Icchamun food shop featuring the phrase mishouran ("please eat/bon appetit") twice. Kakeroma, Setouchi

Figure 18: icchamun mishore ("Please have/eat good things") in Kakeroma, Setouchi

Figure 19: yuukuri hashitte kurinshore ("please drive slowly")

Figure 19 could be considered the most informative sign in the collected linguistic

landscape tokens. This sign is located in Shinokawa Village (Setouchi). It uses the

honorific imperative *shore* and hiragana script to ask drivers to "please drive slowly":

yuukuri hashitte kurinshore. This sign only uses Amami for the imperative, and the rest of

the text is in Japanese, so the sign-maker potentially rendered the meaning understandable

to monolingual Japanese speakers even if they do not know the meaning of *shore* as

imperative. *Kurin* is similar to benefactive Japanese *kureru*, which means "give".

Figure 20: Mishoran Bar (Koniya Village, Setouchi)

Figure 21: imore ("welcome") flip flops at Big II home goods store in Naze

Figure 22: Marshmallow Café kanimo-re ("welcome") in Kasari, Amami

Figure 23: Marshmallow Cafe: sumiyoran ("sorry") closed sign

Figure 24: ugaminshouran argassamaryouta ("please come in" or irrashiamase in Japanese) at Naze market

Figure 25: mata o-rinshore yo ("please come again!") at Yoron ferry port building

Figure 26: asidiimore yuryatikatati ("please gather together chat and play") in Agina Village, Setouchi

Figure 26 was taken at a park in Agina Village, Setouch. The honorific verb is *asidiimore* and the full sign reads *asidiimore yuryatikatati* ("please gather together, chat and play"). This is an instance where the sign is very clearly intended for locals as Agina is quite remote and not a location for any tourist activities. Like Figure 32 (below), this sign is also significant because it is in a place where multiple generations, including children, gather.

Figure 27: page in Mandii magazine featuring umo-re ("welcome") honorific
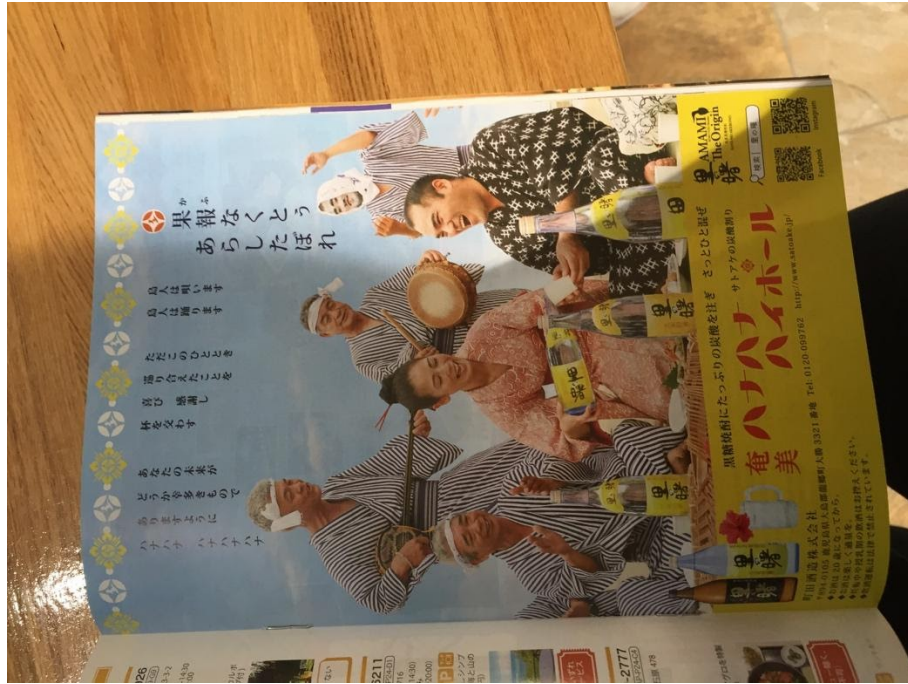
Figure 28: Advertisement for locally-made Amami sake, features imperative honorific tabore (printed in Mishouran Guide)

Figure 29: keihan mishore ("please eat keihan"), printed in Mishouran Guide

Figure 30: Flyer for Mishouran Guide book displayed at Kamitaka restaurant in Koniya, Setouchi

Figure 31: Arigassamryouta ("thank you very much"), printed in Mishouran Guide

Figures 27- 31 are all instances of linguistic landscape in zines and local flyers, particularly Mishouran Gaido, a free guidebook created and published locally, which promotes local restaurants, shops and other businesses on the islands. Mishouran Gaido

contains several examples of Amami, including advertisements where local goods are promoted. For example, Figure 28 is marketing a locally made rice wine, and contains the Amami honorific imperative *tabore* in the phrase *funa kutu arachi tabore* ("I hope you have happiness in your future"). Figure 27 depicts a page from the magazine Mandii (which means "a lot" in Amami). This magazine was a one-time publication which can be bought from many local shops and restaurants all over Amami (not only Setouchi Town). Figure 27 reads *umo-re* which is the honorific for "welcome" in the larger Northern Amami variety. It has been included in this project on Southern Amami because the magazine is sold within Setouchi.

Figure 32: ugaminshouran (youkoso Ikeji he) ("welcome to Ikeji") Sign at Ikeji Elementary School in Ukejima, Setouchi

Figure 32 (above) is significant because it is located at a school where middle-aged semi-speakers work as faculty and staff, and younger non-speaker Amamians attend as students. Particularly in light of the history where Amami was discouraged or even banned from public places such as schools, the fact that there is now Amami linguistic landscape here indicates a shift in language attitudes towards local varieties. This sign features both Japanese *youkoso Ikeji he* ("Welcome to Ikeji") and the Amami phrase above, *ugaminshouran* ("welcome").

Table 9: Chart describing each instance of Amami linguistic landscape

Fig.	text	English translation	Location	Honorific	For tourism?	Permanent?	Script?
12	mensho-ri okinoerabujima he"	"welcome to Okinoerabu Island"	Okinoerabu Port	mensho-ri	Yes	No- this was a banner held up by locals in the port entrance	hiragana
13	mensho-ri ….	"welcome"	Okinoerabu Port building	mensho-ri	Yes	Yes	hiragana
14	imo-re Amami he!	"welcome to Amami!"	Outside arrivals area at ASJ airport (Kasari-cho, Amami)	imo-re	Yes	Yes	hiragana
15	imo-re Amami he!	"welcome to Amami!"	Terminal building at ASJ airport (Kasari-cho, Amami)	imo-re	Yes	Yes	hiragana
16	imo-re	"welcome"	Banner sign outside of Hiroba Tourism Information Centre (Naze, Amami)	imo-re	Yes	Yes	hiragana
17	mishoran	"bon appetit/ please eat"	Icchamun food shop on Kakeroma Island (Setouchi Town)	mishoran	No	Yes	hiragana
18	icchamun mishore	"please have/eat good things"	Icchamun food shop on Kakeroma Island (Setouchi Town)	mishore	No	Yes	hiragana
19	yuukuri hashitte kurinshore	"please drive slowly"	Shinokawa Village (Setouchi)	honorific imperative *shore*	No	Yes	hiragana
20	Mishoran Bar	"Bon Appetite Bar" (name of the business	Koniya Village, Setouchi	mishoran	No	Yes	Roman
21	imore	"welcome"	flip flops with *imore* printed on them for sale at Big II home goods store in Naze	imore	No	Yes	Roman
22	kanimo-re	"welcome"	Sign outside a local café called Marshmallow	imo-re	No	Yes	hiragana

			Café (Kasari, Amami)				
23	Sumiyoran close Bar yoyaku: 070-XXXX-XXXX	"Sorry close reservations : [phone number]"	Outside a local café called Marshmallow Café indicating it is closed (Kasari, Amami)	sumiyouran	No	Yes	hiragana, Roman
24	ugaminshouran argassamaryouta	"please come in, thank you"	Naze market	ugaminshouran argassamaryouta	No	Yes	hiragana
25	mata o-rinshore yo	"please come again"	Yoron ferry port building	o-rinshore	No	Yes	hiragana
26	asidiimore yuryatikatati	"please gather together chat and play"	Agina Village, Setouchi, Amami	iimore	No	Yes	hiragana
27	… umo-re	"welcome …"	Page from Mandi, a locally produced magazine sold locally in Amami.	umo-re	No	No-printed	hiragana
28	ふ（果報）な くとぅ（事）あらちたぼれ 島人は唄います 島人は踊ります ただこのひととき巡り合えたことを喜び、感謝し、杯を交わす	"I hope you have happiness in your future. Islanders sing Islanders dance we exchange Sakazaki (sake) for the joy and thanks to meet each other in this moment."	Advertisement for locally-made Amami sake, (printed in Mishouran Guide, a locally printed magazine featuring local restaurants and businesses)	imperative honorific *tabore*	No	No-printed	hiragana

	あなたの未来がどうか幸多きものでありますように	I/We hope you have a lot of happiness in your future."					
29	Amamishoku no daihyoukaku! Keihan mishore!	"The most representative cuisine of Amami! Please eat keihan!"	From Mishouran Guide, a locally printed magazine featuring local restaurants and businesses	mishore	No	No-printed	hiragana
30	Mishouran Guide	"Mishouran Guide" (name of the magazine being advertised)	Flyer advertising Mishouran Guide, a locally printed magazine featuring local restaurants and businesses	mishoran	No	No-printed	hiragana
31	Arigassamryouta	"thank you very much"	Last page from Mishouran Guide	arigassamryouta	No	No-printed	Roman
32	ugaminshouran (youkoso Ikeiji he)	"welcome (welcome to Ikeji)"	Ikeji Elementary School in Ukejima, Setouchi	ugaminshouran	No	Yes	katakana

All of the instances of honorifics in the Amami landscape are put up by either the locals themselves, or by local, regional government (Shimaguchi134f). Local businesses use Amami honorifics in their names or in their signage (e.g., Figure 16, 13, 12, 20, 22). Also, there are several local businesses which have Amami names (though without any honorifics), such as *Aqua Dive Kohollo* (diving shop), *Yori-yori* inn (Figure 34), *Icchamun Market* in Kakeroma (Figure 18), and *Shimanchu Market* (Figure 33). Long (2010) did a study of the Amami linguistic landscape and stated that Amami is not used for official signs. While this study found at least one example (Figure 19), where Amami is used on a road sign and in the public sphere. This is only a single example of public official Amami signage (besides linguistic landscape for tourism in public buildings such as airports), but it may be an indication of a shifting trend in Amami.

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Figure 33: Shimanchu ("Islander") Market

Figure 34: Yori Yori Inn

Figure 35: Aqua Dive Kohollo (Kohollo
means "heart" in Amami)

When examining the Amami linguistic landscape, we should take into

consideration Spolsky's three conditions (outlined in methodology Section 5.7): Firstly,

that a sign should be written in a known language, secondly the "presumed reader's

condition" which assumes that the sign's target audience can read and understand the

sign, and thirdly the "symbolic value condition", which asserts that it is preferable to

write a sign in your own language or a language you want to be identified with. Looking

at the Amami landscape, the "presumed readers condition" indicates that Amami words

used on signs can be read and understood by the local community. These signs often

feature the "lexical touchstone" honorifics, particularly the imperative forms (e.g.,

Figures 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32).

In terms of the second condition, the "symbolic value condition", these local

businesses are all locally owned and operated, so it could be that Amami is being used to

symbolize localness in this sense. By using Amami signage, businesses are identifying

themselves with the local language. Using Amami in the business name is a way to

indicate to customers that they are local establishments. For example, there is one

national brand of convenience store in the community, Family Mart. A bit further up the

road, however, there is another convenience store called *Shimanchu Market* literally, "island person's market" (Figure 33). *Shimanchu* is what locals who were born in Amami call one another. To be a *shimanchu*, or a local islander of origin, is a source of pride for Amamians, and I collected one session where a community member reported that there is some prejudice against people who are not *shimanchu* (Shimaguchi003f-Minori). In other words, there allegedly is some discrimination against people who did not originate from Amami, but rather came to Amami from the main islands (*naichi*). This indicates that there may be prestige in being local (i.e., being a *shimanchu* is preferable or desirable). Furthermore, Spolsky's "symbolic value condition" also relates to language ownership. During the education reforms (Meiji Period), Ryukyuan languages were banned from the public domain. One community member even told me he remembers seeing public signs prohibiting use of local languages. Knowing this historical context, putting signs up in Amami today could be read as an act of regaining ownership and pride in the Amami language, several decades after the language had originally been banned.

In the case of Figures 14 and 15, both signs at the airport, the signs are written in four languages (Amami, largest and most salient), English, Korean, and Chinese. There is no Standard Japanese equivalent, but perhaps it is obvious because out of the phrase "welcome to Amami!" (in Japanese: *Amami e youkoso!* /奄美へようこそ!), only one word needs to be replaced (*imo-re*), and perhaps it is assumed that monolingual Japanese speakers do not need a translation.

On Okinawa, Heinrich (2010) states that in the case of linguistic landscape in Naha airport, "officially regulated public spaces accessible to all…can play a key role in readjusting and re-evaluating specific behaviors and values." In the Amami context, not only can local language use in public spaces influence behaviors and values, but it also act as a reflection of already-existing attitudes regarding local languages. This is

particularly the case where local languages (e.g., Amami) are being used in public spaces posted by the local speakers themselves (rather than by local government organizations), as in the case of Naha airport, and similarly, Amami Airport, which are "subject to regulation of the local government, which thereby encourages specific behaviors and values and ignores or discourages others" (Heinrich 2010: 344). Heinrich also notes that looking at local language use in public spaces allows for insight into the communicative and societal functions of local Okinawan languages (2010: 344). Therefore, we can assume that the use of Amami (which in most examples given here include honorifics) are demonstrating a positive attitude towards the local language. With the historical background of the Ryukyus, using Amami in the public linguistic landscape (where it was previously strongly discouraged and thought of as totally inappropriate), acts as a way for Amamians to reclaim, broadcast and take pride in their language and their Amami identity.

This concept was observed during my fieldwork when I spoke to community members, including semi-speakers such as Aco (age 36). The following session (below) was collected during an informal chat with Aco about Amami linguistic landscape for local businesses. Aco's family owns a local restaurant in Setouchi which serves traditional Amami island fare and describes herself as a proud *shimanchu* (Amami islander). Her family's restaurant also contained some small instances of printed Amami linguistic landscape, such as carrying Mishoran Gaido guide book (Figures 28-31) and a flyer (Figure 30).

Session Shimaguchi106

> Martha: *icchamun* is the shop name, right? What does it mean?
> Aco: *icchamun* is the shop name meaning "good things". *icchamun mishore* is going to be… "Please have/eat good things"
> Martha: Why do you think some businesses use Shimaguchi in their shop names or signs?
> Aco: I think they now notice they need to protect their Shimaguchi and they think it is cool to use [Shimaguchi]. It's like our identity.

Martha: Oh! Can you say more about that?
Aco: Well, Shimaguchi used to be prohibited to use, even at home, you know. Some *shimanchu* (islanders) hate to be recognized as Kagoshimans even though we are Kagoshima prefecture people. I totally understand that. Amami is sometimes recognized as Kagoshima or Okinawa from the historical background. I think using Shimaguchi is one of the most important way to show you as a *shimanchu* (islander) (different from Kagoshiman or Okinawan). Now, people are proud to be *shimanchu*, not Kagoshiman or Okinawan. Does that make sense?

As a semi-speaker in her 30s, Aco is too young to have actually experienced any mandated prohibition of Amami, but this interview highlights the history of language erasure and stigma in Amami. While there is no official documentation that Amami was officially prohibited from the home (as it was in schools), it is possible that families with school-age children would refrain from using Amami at home, either because parents may have received feedback from teachers etc. that using it at home would disadvantage their children's future or alternatively because they themselves saw the continued use of Amami to children as inhibiting their children's future. There is plenty of evidence for this in many minority and EL situations (e.g., Irish Gaelic).

In Chapter 2 (Section 2.1), Amami's painful past due to exploitation from Kagoshima (Satsuma) was summarized, also that even today the relationship between Kagoshima and Amami has not recovered (Maeda 2014: 237). Therefore, the use of Shimaguchi to differentiate Amamians from Kagoshima may be an act of reclamation against the backdrop of what Maeda (2014) calls a "painful and humiliating history".

Amamians wanting to set themselves apart from Okinawa may be due to the fact that Amamians are often excluded from the Ryukyus, in research and in popular consciousness. Amami is neither Japan nor Okinawa. They are considered not Ryukyuan enough (having been colonized centuries before Okinawa), nor can they seamlessly fit in with Japan. After decades of stigmatization and language shift and years of practices such as *hōgen fuda*, Amamians using their language as a we-code to signal to others that they are Amamian island people, is remarkable.

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Based on collected instances of Amami in the linguistic landscape data in combination with Spolsky's conditions, we can deduce that Amami honorifics (at least when they are incorporated into the linguistic landscape) are expressing localness via language ownership. Use of Amami indicates that a business is locally owned and operated, and not a national company. Being local is a source of pride for Amamians, so branding a business using Amami language as "local" is a strategic marketing move as well. The use of the commonly known (and commonly collected for this project) lexical touchstones (i.e., formulaic phrases) further demonstrates what honorifics are familiar to the community, even as it undergoes language shift and most speakers do not have the confidence or ability to use honorifics in their everyday speech.

Long (2010) also found that Amami is the unmarked choice for certain subjects, in his study he found Amami to be present commonly on linguistic landscape connected to local cuisine. This is significant because it indicates that Japanese is not always the default choice. In this study, we see that Amami may be more natural in places where locals frequent, or where the sign maker wants to emphasize their localness. Long's (2010) study of Amami suggested that Amami linguistic landscape has three functions. Firstly, it promotes local tourism in Amami. Secondly, it conveys pride in local languages, and it helps younger community members to signal their cultural identity. Similarly, this study also ties use of Amami with pride in local languages and pride in identity, but this study is focused on Amami lexical touchstones which are significant for even community members who do not speak Amami.

Based on the linguistic landscape, we see that imperative honorific forms are most common, suggesting readers to do something, either by making a suggestion (e.g., Figures 18, 21, 31: *mishoran* to eat) or giving guidance or direction (e.g., Figure 19: *yuukuri hashitte kurinshore* to "please drive slowly"). The second most commonly found honorific is the respectful subject honorific, featuring the *umo-* auxiliary verb, particularly

for the lexical touchstone *umore* or *imore* ("welcome"), which is most commonly

collected outside local businesses welcoming patrons inside. Once signs have developed

their meanings and have become institutionalized, social meanings become "naturalized"

and "enregistered". As the connection between a sign and its meaning is established and

ritualized, this sign becomes socially enregistered, whereby it indexes a given social

identity. This relates to Amami because as speakers have lost ability to use Amami

honorific registers, the Amami honorifics may have be enregistered to index another

meaning, such as indexing the speakers' identities as Amamians (i.e. *shimanchu* or "local

islanders".

7.1.3 Use of katakana for local languages

In Japan, the katakana script is used for loanwords (*shakuyō-go*), for lexemes with

rarely used Chinese characters (*kanji*), or for emphasis. Heinrich (2010:347) writes:

"parts of speech rendered in katakana are often marked language use. Writing Ryukyuan

languages in katakana thus presents these languages as marked languages, sometime to be

avoided at all costs if languages are to be maintained and revitalized". The script used for

Amami within the community is related to this thesis because script is connected to

language ideology. In Amami, signs were overwhelmingly in the hiragana script (not the

katakana script), or occasionally in Romanized script (e.g., Figure 20, 31). This is

important because it indicates that the Amami language use is "unmarked" according to

Heinrich (2010):

> language choices reflect language attitudes, which are in turn reflections on
> the distribution of power within a given society. These phenomena are thus
> part of language ideology, a field of study which addresses the origin and
> effect of beliefs about language structure and use, as well as the ways in
> which these beliefs are promoted and spread beyond the social groups whose
> interests they serve. (2010: 350)

Heinrich says that limited local language use in Naha airport reflects the perceived status of Okinawan as mere dialects of Japanese. Heinrich also states that as Japanese is "secure", it can "afford" to be "generous" with its language policy and allow for multilingual signage with no threat to Japanese (2010: 352). This is also the case in Amami, where Amami use could be considered "tokenistic" in a sense. Thus, the use of hiragana script for Amami (including Amami lexical touchstones which usually carry honorifics), means that Amami is considered as "unmarked" by speakers. This is significant, as Amami underwent a long period as the "marked variety" when Japanese was considered the only appropriate choice for the public domains.

7.2 Amami honorifics in lexical touchstones

I observed (and recorded) several Amami lexical chunks containing honorifics being used with younger semi-speakers, fluent older speakers, and non-speakers within the Setouchi community. This section lists and explains the most common lexical touchstones (which all contain honorific morphemes) collected. "Well-known 'touchstones'" have also been retained in Uchinaaguchi, the traditional language of Okinawa, Anderson (2009: 167). In Amami, lexical touchstones including honorific morphemes are often used in greetings and other common scenarios and are also familiar to non-speaker (Japanese monolingual) community members. For example, when I came to visit a friend's English school for a Saturday lesson, and I did a short introduction lesson, where I discussed my project in simple English to introduce my work to local children in the community. One of the children, immediately exclaimed- *ugaminshoran* ("welcome" or *yokoso* in Japanese), when I said I was interested in the Amami language. All of the children in the class were born in Amami, but they were much too young to have any proficiency in Amami (i.e., non-speakers). However, the phrase *ugaminshoran* is commonly heard on the local radio stations, said by local hosts in Amami when they

begin their show, and found in the linguistic landscape (as seen in the previous section,

7.1). Other common lexical touchstones with honorifics include the following:

- *mishore* ("bon appetite"): A phrase said when presenting some food or drink to your guests. This was said to me often (and I was always the youngest person in the room), and I collected it being used towards others as well (e.g., Semi-speakers Akemi and Hidemi would often use when they were addressing their elders at Maneki Salon). In the cases where this honorific was used towards me, one could argue that as a western researcher (considered a "professional" by the community) that I would be afforded some respect and that might cause the speaker to use Amami honorifics with me. However, following initial introductions, Amamians tended to use casual Japanese (plain forms, little politeness) with me for the most part. Admitting that I would have never been able to truly integrate into the community as an outsider and foreigner, soon after my arrival I was (as far as I can tell) treated as a sort of "granddaughter" of the community (living with local host families definitely facilitated this feeling amongst community members. In Japan, dropping the respectful suffix -san from one's name indicates that you are very familiar with them, and some of my consultants reached this level of familiarity with me, where they did not feel obliged to refer to me as "Martha-san". Dropping the -san suffix can also be a display of rudeness, but in light of other contexts, such as my relationships with the speakers, I interpreted that these speakers did not seem to be trying to offend in any way. On the contrary, I believe it was a signal of closeness. On the other hand, if there were children around, then adult Amamians would always call me "Martha-san" or "Martha-sensei" (a most prestigious title indeed, reserved for teachers and doctors, but common to foreigners on the island as practically all foreigners on Amami are English teachers). But I believe that this was only due to the children's' presence, whom they wanted to set a good example for. They believed that I was worthy of respect and that the children should refer to me as so, but between me and them, we were familiars. On the other hand, I was a guest, and guests are spoken to using honorifics.
- *minshourin shoure*: This is a variation of *mishore* ("bon appetit"), often said by someone serving food to another. Prescriptively, this form could be used by waiters towards customers at a restaurant. I most often collected this lexical touchstone at Maneki Salon, a local meeting place for elders. Once a week, elderly women (fluent Amami speakers; (aged 75-95) would gather at the salon and be served tea and snacks by two younger semi-speakers, Akemi (age 65), and Hidemi (age 65). Akemi and Hidemi consistently would say *minshourin shoure* to the elderly female speakers after serving each of them their trays of snacks and tea, signalling that everyone could begin eating. (Session Shimaguchi045; Session Shimaguchi021)
- *ugaminshouran* – this is a phrase I collected often and got a few varied responses on its meaning. Fujii-san (Session Shimaguchi019) remarked that this phrase means "long time, no see" (*hisashiburi* in Standard Japanese). It can also mean "welcome" (Session Shimaguchi024a). This form was also present in the linguistic landscape (Figure 13). People use this phrase in welcome, and W-sensei would use this phrase when welcoming customers into her beauty salon, as seen in Chapter 6.

- *umore/imore-* this means "welcome" or "hello", used all over the island (in various dialectal forms). Even printed on t-shirts in souvenir shops, and very common in the linguistic landscape (e.g., Figure 12; 13; 14; 15; 16; 21; 27)
- *sumiyouran-* an apology. Widely known and collected in spontaneous discourse in Session Shimaguchi088 and used on the "closed" sign in front of the Marshmallow Café (Figure 23).
- *kyaoryo-* also used as a greeting. This phrase is used when the speaker is visiting someone. In Amami many people leave their homes unlocked, and when people visit them, they will just walk right in and announce themselves (by saying *kyaoryo*) from the inside porch (*genkan*). This form was not collected in spontaneous data but reported and widely-known by the community.
- *arigassamaryouta-* "thank you very much" in Amami. This phrase can be shortened to *arigassama* ("thanks") to be more casual. This form is still heard between fluent and semi-speakers in the community, and non-speakers recognize it. It is also found in the linguistic landscape (Figure 31).

These lexical touchstones generally consist of formulaic phrases, and often include honorifics. Given the fact that most younger Amamians can only use Amami in these short formulaic insertion expressions, we can see that Amami is between the last two stages of Fishman's GIDS model (1991:87) of language attrition. Fluent speakers are beyond child-bearing age (GIDS level 7), but are not completely confined to the grandparent generation (GIDS level 8). Speakers who do not have the ability to use Amami productively in spontaneous day-to-day interactions can and do still draw on these Amami lexical touchstones when they are communicating in their daily lives. The function of these lexical touchstones is discussed next.

7.3 Amami honorifics as part of a "we-code"

As seen in the literature review (Section 3.3), a we-code is defined by Gumperz (1982a) as "the tendency is for the ethnically specific minority language to be regarded as the 'we code' and become associated with in-group and informal activities, while the majority language serves as the 'they code' associated with the more formal, stiff and less personal out-group relations". Among fluent Amami speakers (who know how to use polite registers), the data presented in this section suggests that the Amami honorifics have been repurposed into an Amamian "we-code", which signals in-groupness and intimacy and familiarity. For the less fluent semi-speakers, who do not have access to the

polite registers, the honorifics are also signaling familiarity and intimacy, but these speakers would not be able to use the honorifics productively, and from these speakers these honorifics were collected being used by speakers in a 'borrowing' sense. In the case where speakers are "borrowing" the Amami honorifics, the honorifics are commonly found as lexical touchstones.

In this section, I will present examples of Amami honorifics being used spontaneously in spoken discourse, grouped by function which are all connected to Amami acting as a we-code. In the participant observations, I collected several instances of Amami honorifics being used spontaneously in spoken discourse between speakers where honorifics did not align with what was described as appropriate use in Chapter 5. When non-speakers use Amami honorifics, they were usually collected as lexical chunks/touchstones, and produced in isolation inserted into a Japanese utterance most of the time as a borrowing. Each example will also have context information about speakers' ages and fluency, for context.

Session Shimaguchi066

In this example, which I collected in participant observation, fluent speaker Yuriko-ba (aged 98) uses the honorific imperative *tabore* to ask Ken (age 45, her close friend and neighbor) to please cut her grass for her. The setting of the utterance is outside of her house, she is speaking from her front porch and Ken is walking by. Yuriko-ba lives alone and cannot manage her own garden herself, so Ken often (and normally without being asked) mows her lawn for her every other week or so. In this occasion, it was the end of March (which is a busy time for Ken's business), and he had not quite gotten around to mowing the grass, which is why Yuriko-ba asked him to do so. I give this context to emphasize that Ken mowing Yuriko-ba's lawn for her was a common occurrence, and she was not asking for an unusual or special favor that might lead one to expect her to draw on extravagant honorifics.

(47)

kusa   wo   katte   tabore

grass   direct object marker   cut   please-IMP.HON

Please mow the lawn.

According to prescribed honorific use, this use of the *tabore* honorific is unusual. Yuriko-ba is much older than Ken, so the expected phrase would be:

(48)

kusa   wo   katte   kurerii

grass   direct object marker   cut   please-IMP.NHON

Please mow the lawn.

According to data collected in Section 5.10, this use of the *tabore* honorific would be considered unusual. For one, Ken is much younger than Yuriko-ba. Ken is in his 40's, and also whilst he has lived on Amami Ōshima Island for nearly two decades, he is from Kobe in mainland Japan and not a born-and-bred Amamian (*shimanchu*). If we consider that Amami honorifics are part of a "we-code", then we could speculate that this use of *tabore* from Yuriko-ba is expressing endearment and closeness with Ken, her dear neighbour who mows her lawn for her because she lives alone and cannot do it herself. This is at odds with the expected and prescribed utterance which would include *kurerii*, the casual form which might have been used in former times before Amami speakers started shifting to Japanese, and Amami honorifics began indexing other things.

Session Shimaguchi101; from a family barbecue (participant observation)

At a family barbecue at the Okano family home, Okano-san (age 66) was feeding his 1-year-old granddaughter at a family barbecue at his home. Whilst he is spoon-feeding her, he tells her *mishore, mishore, mishore* ("*bon appetit, bon appetit, bon appetit*") to coax her to eat her food. This session represents a participant observation, so there is no

transcription or recording of the actual interaction. When asked about this, Okano-san was initially incredulous that he had said that, and then when he considered it a bit longer, he said that he used *mishore* because he wants to "be kind" to his granddaughter and using the phrase expresses that. He said that if he were to speak Japanese to his granddaughter, he would say *tabenasai* or literally "eat!" (no honorific in Japanese). But in Amami, *mishore* "feels right" and natural in that situation. As the grandfather, normative rules (Section 5.10) would indicate that he does not need to use honorifics to be polite to a baby. This session is noteworthy because it implies that the baby register in Amami has disappeared due to stylistic shrinkage. It also implies that Amami honorifics are encoding different meanings besides deference (as it is unexpected to use an honorific to a baby). This situation parallels but also differs to other minority language situations, where the baby register continues to exist because caretakers who have limited knowledge of the minority language in its full capacity want to expose and pass down some of the language they remember (Ishizawa 2004). However, in this case, an older Amami speaker is using an honorific register in lieu of the baby register. Indicating that not only the baby register has been replaced (assuming that it did exist), but also the honorific register has taken on new roles (i.e., is not only acceptable for speaking to superiors, in formal settings, etc.).

So far, what we have seen is that speakers use Amami honorifics in contexts where honorifics are not required to stress their local identity and insider-ness. Thus, Amami (including honorifics) for solidarity overrules linguistic rules (which were described in Chapter 6). Furthermore, the older more fluent speakers do not recognize these new ways of Amami honorifics as "correct" (even when they themselves use honorifics in these ways), which is why they assert that young people these days cannot use Amami honorifics properly (Section 6.4.2).

From Session Shimaguchi024a:

    In this session, the recording took place at MN-san's home. MN-san is a 68-year-old male fluent speaker. Also at the home was CH-san, an 87-year-old fluent female speaker. MN-san and CH-san are long-time friends and have been neighbors for many years and grew up in the same village (Nishikomi), although they were not childhood friends as CH-san is nearly two decades older. Apart from me also present during this interaction were MN-san's wife (also a fluent Amami speaker), and another friend, YM-san (78-year-old male fluent speaker). At the end of the recording session, CH-san asked MN-san if she could use his bathroom before we set out to leave:

(49)

From Session Shimaguchi024a (CH-san):

otoire	o	kannat	tabore
bathroom	direct object particle	borrow	IMP.HON

Please lend me your bathroom.

    According to the prescribed use of the *tabore* honorific, given the context of the situation this use of *tabore* is unexpected if we are looking at the honorific to only express deference. Fluent speakers asserted that *tabore* is for speaking to one's elders or superiors, or in formal settings, but in this example the utterance is being spoken to a younger listener, in a casual setting (home), and between friends.

Session Shimaguchi079

    This session involves several community members. Akemi (semi-speaker; age 65) uses Amami honorifics with the fluent elder speakers she helps at Maneki Salon. These women are all friends of her mother's (her mother is also present at the session). In Session Shimaguchi088 when I asked her about her relationship to these women, she says that they are very close to her and she has known them since her birth. Maneki Salon is

also a very casual meeting place, used by different groups in the community for informal weekly gatherings where elders can catch up, do crafts, and drink tea with snacks. In the below session, Akemi is speaking with one elderly fluent speaker, and Jun, a non-speaker who is a peer of Akemi's and someone she knows very well. While they are speaking, they are sorting plastic bottles and taking the labels off which have been collected throughout the community and will be recycled.

Session Shimaguchi079

1	Hideko	mite mo wakan'naikara, koko wa.	I can't understand here even though I look at it.
2	Noriyo	wake wakaran.	I do not understand at all.
3	Hideko	un	Yeah
4	Noriyo	[inaudible]ireru nda yo.	You should put [inaudible] inside [inaudible]
5	Akemi	un	Okay
6	Hideko	gomen, gomen, hai	Here you are.
7	Jun	Akemii	Akemiii
8	Akemi	hai yō	Yes! [Replying to his call.]
9	Jun	Kore, ichiō mote bu ya shimau?	This one, and just in case, should I carry it?
10	Akemi	un、 arigatō	Yeah, thanks.
11	Jun	yossha	Okay.
12	Hideko	[inaudible]	[speaking to Junichi]
13	Jun	n？	Yes?
14	Hideko	Anta wa wakaru?	Do you understand?
15	Akemi	Atchi ni suwaru ? agē	Do you want to sit down over there? Oops.
16	Jun	[inaudible] Kara, ato de nanite iwa reru ka wakarandō	Because [inaudible], you never know what she's gonna say.
17	Akemi	wa？	What?!
18	Hideko	Agē , orin kō ja ga [laughter]	Ah, you have so well-behaved.
19	Akemi	[laughter]	[laughter]
20	Hideko	Ano, soko o sa, akete koyou ka?	Well, there, should I open it?
21	Akemi	Sumeyouran yā, un, attā	sorry, yeah, there is one [here].

22	Hideko	A ttī, umē	Oh! I remember!
23	Akemi	Sumu uchi	Very
24	Jun	Yowaikara	It's weak
25	Hideko	Sumu uchi, ūji ran	It's very hard to do
26	Akemi	Sumu uchi, ūji ran dō.	It's very hard to do [repeating]
27	Hideko	un, ariga	Yeah, thanks
28	Jun	[inaudible]	
29	Akemi	Daijōbu? Isu ageyou ka?	Are you alright? Do you want your seat?
30	Hideko	[inaudible] Ga, kurin sho	Yes please
31	Akemi	Sore ja damedesho, isu age, isu	It doesn't work like that, pull out your seat.
32	Hideko	ara	Oh…
33	Jun	Kyō wa ī. Senaka-kyoku gen de sumu	That's fine for today. I do not have to bend my back.
34	Hideko	un	Okay
35	Noriyo	Daijōbu?	Are you alright?
36	Jun	Yoshi. Futa soto shite, sotchi ni wataseba ī?	Okay. So, is it okay to remove the lid and pass it to you?
37	Akemi	Un, sore demo īshi, raberu hazushite mo īshi.	Yeah, that's fine, or you can also remove the label.
38		[inaudible]	
39	Akemi	ē, dāgā, ro kū ga ro. Mado kumado	Where are you wiping up? The window is here.
40	Hideko	[inaudible] mado kumado	The window is here.
41	Akemi	Mado kumado. E kusu ranba ̄chi.	The window is here. Oh please hurry up.
42	Hideko	Un. E kusu ranbā	Yeah, please hurry up.
43	Akemi	[inaudible] e kusu ranbā yō	Yeah, please hurry up.

44	Jun	Nani ya kore? Oku basho ga nai yo.	What's this? There's no space to put.
45	Akemi	e? aru yo.	What? There is.
46	Jun	[inaudible] Pokarisuetto wa	(The bottle of) Pocari Sweat __
47	Akemi	un, hagoicho	Yeah, [Jun is] impudent.
48	Jun	nē	Yeah, isn't it
49	Akemi	un	Yeah
50	Jun	Pokari sotchi makasou.	I will leave Pocari to you then
51	Akemi	Hā?!	What?!
52		[laughter]	
53	Akemi	A, konnichiwa!	Ah, hello!
54		hagoicho.	Impudent .
55	Jun	[inaudible] Pokari	Pocari_____
56	Hideko	Wan ga sureba, dō urai, sugu dō	If I do it, I can do it right away.
57		[inaudible]	
58	Hideko	Kore wa, nande, mizu ga haitte irukara	How come this one has water inside.
59	Akemi	Un, ano, mizu, irete aru mitai yo	Yeah, it seems like it was left with water inside.
60	Hideko	Ireta no?	Did you put water inside?
61	Akemi	un	Yeah
62	Jun	Shinbunshi ga kaze de toban yō ni.	So the newspaper won't be blown away by wind.
63	Hideko	ā, ā, hai hai hai hai,	Oh, okay, okay
64	Akemi	Hai hai,rashī, chī.	Yeah, seems like that.
65	Hidemi	Sō iu koto.	Yeah, that's how it is.
66	Akemi	Rashī,da aru yo, dōtchi	Seems like it, yeah,
67	Hideko	[inaudible][sir name] [inaudible] N. sensei ttsu	Teacher N. [sir name] _____
68		[laughter]	[laughter]

69	Akemi	ē?	What?
70		[laughter]	[laughter]
71	Hideko	N. sensei tchi mukō e shitotta toko.	Teacher N. has just been doing something over there.
72	Noriyo	[inaudible] Ima dōshiteru ka to omotta, honma ni, mā.	I wondered what he is doing now. [Green highlighted: sounds like Kansai]
73		[laughter]	
74	Akemi	ē, kumadō	Hey, here!
75	Hideko	[inaudible] Haitte chōdai	___ come in!
76	Akemi	un, kumadō, kumadō	Yeah, here, here.
77	Hidemi	Mishore… minasan	Please eat….everyone
78	Akemi	hai	Yeah
79	Misako	Konnichiwa-	Hello
80	Hidemi	Sui teru yō.	Still available [there is still more space]
81	Hidemi	Sui teru yō, Taka-chan.	Still available [more space] たかちゃん
82	Takako	un, daijjōbu.	Yeah, it's alright.
83	Akemi	[humming] Okay, Iyaiya, janai. Are?	Okay, no, no, it's not. Uh? [humming]
84	Takako	[inaudible] Dasa iba nendo nya	If you do not pull out there is nothing [no space] left.
85	Akemi	Hore, Jun. Omae atchi. ichāti, tabore	Hey, Jun. You [go] over there. Please pull [something] out/
86	Jun	hai hai	Okay, okay.
87	Takako	ichāga jaddon. Adda ka, kudda ka, suranbā.	If you think it's correct. Just do it.
88	Hidemi	Are mo sē , kore mo sē.	do this, do that

This recording has much code-switching with Japanese and is a nice example of Amami being used between friends and peers, as well as with older more fluent Amami speakers. Jun, Akemi and Hidemi are all in their mid-sixties and Jun and Akemi are

particularly good friends and *doukyusei* (i.e., they are peers of the same age), who have

known one another for decades. Their close and congenial relationship is particularly

evident in lines 46-55, where Jun is teasing Akemi pretending to not have understood her

directions for what to do with the empty Pocari Sweat bottle, and she responds in turn by

sarcastically referring to him as *hagoicho* or "impudent" to the other participants. In

response to Akemi calling him *hagoicho*, Jun receives the joke and agrees good-naturedly

(line 48).

In line 30, we see elder Hideko-san speaking to Akemi, who is much younger than

Hideko-san. Akemi is helping her get into her seat (Hideko-san has reduced mobility due

to her advanced age and physical condition), and the older woman says *kurin sho*, a

shortened version of *kurin shore*, or "please do [something]". This is the plain imperative

form (see Section 5.7.1). This use of plain imperative aligns with expected normative use,

as it is a senior speaking to a more junior (i.e., younger) speaker.

In contrast to this use of expected Amami, the younger speakers use honorifics

with one another, and the elders. While honorifics towards the elders are not especially

unusual, the use of Amami honorifics popping up in the discourse between the younger

speakers is at odds with what is expected. i.e., it seems a bit strange to use honorifics with

ones equals in this relaxed environment where they are otherwise speaking casually and

joking around. In line 21, Akemi uses the Amami honorific towards one of the older

speakers. Akemi uses *Sumeyouran* when she says *Sumeyouran yā, un, attā* ("sorry, yeah,

there is one [here]."). In line 85, Akemi again uses an Amami honorific, this time towards

Jun, her peer, when she says *Hore, Jun. Omae atchi. ichāti, tabore* ("Hey, Jun. You [go]

over there. Please pull [something] out"). *Tabore* is normatively the most polite

imperative, but this sentence is otherwise not particularly polite. The Japanese word *hore*

(as in *Hore, Jun* or "Hey, Jun"), to get Jun's attention is especially casual. This utterance

also shows code-switching. The first part *Hore, Jun. Omae atchi* ("Hey, Jun. You [go]

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over there") is in Japanese, and only the request *ichāti, tabore* ("please pull [something] out") is with the honorific imperative is in Amami.

Finally, in line 77, Hidemi addresses the group to begin eating with the honorific *mishore* ("please eat"), after the snacks have all been served to the group by the younger speakers (including Hidemi).

Session Shimaguchi088:

Akemi and Hidemi (semi-speakers; same-aged friends, both 65) use an honorific in the phrase *karachi tabore* (*kashite kudasai* in Japanese or "please lend it to me") to one another when they are trying to do a task together at Maneki Salon (i.e., casual setting). This is interesting because the Chapter 5 data indicated that the *tabore* honorific is unexpected to be used among peers or friends who are the same age. In this same session, Akemi also says *sumiyaoran* to Hidemi, to apologize when she gets in her way. This term *sumiyaoran* is humble and according to the data in Section 5.10, is unusual because it is too formal for the context (speaking to a friend of the same age, especially for something as small as bumping into the listener).

Session Shimaguchi046:

This is observed conversational data of three local elders, who are all around the same age (age 78-79) and good friends. I volunteered to drive them to a cooking class they wanted to attend, and they agreed that I could include their conversation in my data whilst we were doing the drive to their class. During this session, I observed the following Amami honorifics:

- *nobotimori* ("please get in [the car]")
  i.e., please get in- they all say this to one another as in "no, no, after you" to urge one another to get into the car before we head off to our destination.
- *mishore* ("bon appetite") context; one of the elders (age 84) said this to me whilst handing me two sweets inside the car while we were en route.
- *mishore* ("bon appetite") K-san (age 88) says this to me as she hands me some mikan oranges at the orange farm where we stopped for a break on the way home.

In this session, the use of honorifics towards same-aged people is in contrast to what fluent speakers in Chapter 5 indicated is normative usage. For example, the honorific phrase *nobotimori* would be *noboti kuriri* in plain Amami, without the honorific suffix *mori*. During this trip, the speakers also used one honorific *mishore* when speaking to me. Since this phrase is well-known in Amami, perhaps they assumed that I would understand it as someone who was spending extended time in Setouchi, even as a non-islander.

Out of all the instances of collected data where speakers have used Amami honorifics in spoken discourse, the honorifics were used in a way contrary to what "good speakers" in Chapter 5 described as "correct" honorific usage. Several instances showed honorifics being used with friends or peers, and in one session (Shimaguchi101) towards a baby. Most of the instances of honorific use took place in casual settings (home or Maneki Salon, which is a local meeting place).

7.4 Amami honorifics in text messages

Besides spoken discourse, Amami honorifics are also found in LINE text messages. Because this is a common and large platform and outlet for Amami language use, this thesis included this form of online communication in this project's analysis along with spoken discourse. This section will look at what younger people are expressing when they use Amami online in mediums such as LINE messaging apps. LINE is a free messaging app (similar to Whatsapp) used for instant communications on smartphones, tablets, and computers. LINE can be used to send texts, images, video and audio messages. One feature of the LINE app is the "sticker shop" where users can purchase "virtual stickers", which are images used to convey different emotions or to add emphasis (similar to GIFs or emojis). Many sets of LINE stickers are available for free, and users can also create original stickers of their own design and add them to the sticker shop, for

other users to download and use on the app. Some of these sticker sets are Amami-themed and have Amami honorifics featured (see Figure 36; below)

Figure 36: LINE stickers from
the set "Amami Grandma"

These stickers in Figure 36 feature "Amami grandma" with the Amami honorifics and Japanese translation for "thanks" (*arigassama*), "welcome"; (*umo-re*) and "sorry" (*sumyouran*). In this LINE set, the Japanese translations for each phrase are in the hiragana script, which indicate that the Japanese is the "unmarked" choice for Heinrich (2010). The Amami phrases, on the other hand, are written in the katakana script, indicating that they are the marked language choice. All of these phrases are included in the list of lexical touchstones, which are well-known throughout the community.

Although Amami as an endangered language, we still see it here being integrated into modern mode of communication (online texting). LINE is an app that is most commonly used on smart phones, and it is therefore used by people in their 60s and younger. This portion of the community who uses smartphones usually have less ability to use Amami productively (as the best speakers tend to be well past retirement and in their 70s, 80s, and 90s). Amami in LINE stickers implies that Amami has some value to

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younger speakers/younger people (who maybe only speak a little or a few words of Amami). It also implies what phrases are known by the community (including non-speakers).

Use of Amami honorifics for online communication may also imply that the function/code for these honorifics has shifted. LINE is used to communicate with friends and family, but it is not a platform for official business or formal communication. In the Okinawan context, Anderson (2014) asserts that Ryukyuan languages now enjoy a greater online presence compared to a decade prior. Increased online presence indicates increased status, and these days, Amami varieties can be found on Facebook groups, radio talk shows and YouTube.

Session Shimaguchi062

This session is an instance of Amami being used between peers, where speaker Teppei (age 35; semi-speaker) is using Amami with his (semi-speaker) peers on the LINE messaging app. Honorific lexical touchstone is indicated in **bold**.
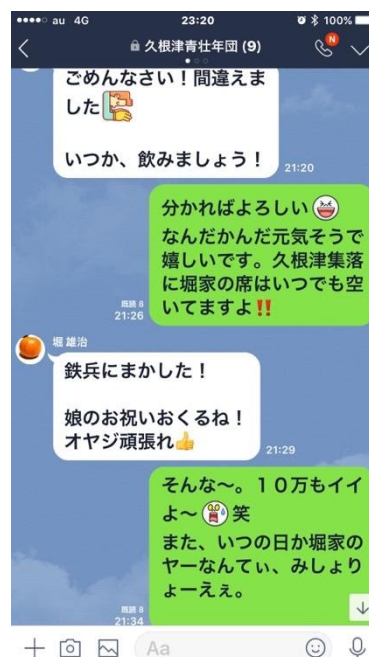
Figure 37: LINE chat screenshot between two semi-speakers

> Friend: I'm so sorry! It was closed! Some time let's eat something together!
> Teppei: Good to know you understand. I'm glad to know you are doing good.
> In Kunetsu-area, your house is always set up!!
> Friend: I rely on Teppei!
> I will send a celebration gift for your daughter!
> Keep up, old guy!
> Teppei: Ohh we do not need 100,000 yen. (Lol)
> I will be looking forward to welcome you and your family someday,
> **mishoreeeee**

Another session (below), included an Amami honorific being spoken towards me from

non-speaker Aco (mid-30's). Both of these sessions with data from the LINE messaging

app shows Amami honorifics being used with friends and in a casual medium (texting).

Figure 38: LINE message

In this session above, Aco (age 36) uses the lexical touchstone *kibarinshoure* ("please do your best") in a LINE message with me after I have asked her if she can get consent from her in-laws to use their photographs for a presentation. Aco became a good friend throughout my fieldwork, particularly because I worked with her family (specifically her in-laws) a lot for this project.

Both of these sessions, while modest data, suggest that the Amami LINE stickers are being used to express affinity or familiarity. In 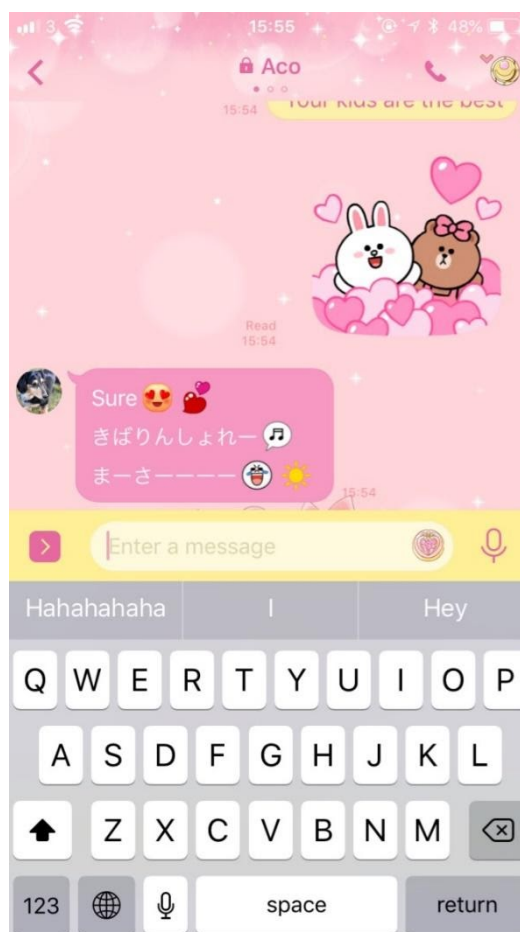Teppei's case, he may be using the Amami insertions to identify himself as an Amamian. The existence of the stickers also suggest that Amami is used online to express pride in their Amamian culture and identity.

7.5 Amami honorifics to express sarcasm

<u>Session Shimaguchi070c:</u>

During this session, semi-speaker HS-san said that the polite form of "go" (*ikyan*) is often used to express sarcasm, for example the phrase *ikyan toro nenbo*. Regarding this phrase, HS-san wrote to me:

> "It means 'you go everywhere/ you have covered every single place'. When you're saying it to someone, you are *not* impressed by their acting power (energy). It is a kind of acid remark (sarcasm)."

7.6 Interview data on honorific use

Interviews also provided data that suggested that Amami speakers now use Amami as a "we-code". Speakers use both casual Amami registers and Amami honorific fragments for this "we-code". In this section, I will illustrate the fact that Amami overall is used for insiders, and the following sessions demonstrate not what speakers actually do in real conversations, but their opinions and ideology regarding when and to whom Amami should be used. When speakers say that they use Amami with their in-group, that implies that it is the insider-code. Other sections (e.g., 7.2) illustrate that honorifics are included in this insider-code.

Session Shimaguchi081:

> Martha: When do you use Shimaguchi?
> Ken: you know… people use Shimaguchi (Amami) with their close familiars… Shimaguchi is used between lovers too, if they're both islanders.

Session Shimaguchi098:

> Tomishima-san Jr: You should use Amami polite speech with superiors (*senpai*). With people who are the same age as me, I will use Amami but not polite speech because using polite speech creates a distance between people. Using plain (*futsū*) Amami is better to express closeness.

This session further Amami to express closeness is important potentially (even though I am showing that even Amami honorifics expresses closeness in actual practice, this interview still is valuable to show an ideological link between Amami and familiarity and intimacy).

Session Shimaguchi071:

> Martha: How do you feel about using Shimaguchi with older people? Do you have confidence (to use Shimaguchi with older people)?
> HS-san (age 45): For me, using Amami with my parents or older people/superiors is the way to get close to them immediately. It's kind of an ice breaker. There is a big gap between myself and older people when talking to them. But once started speaking Shimaguchi [Amami], it is immediately taken away. If I speak Shimaguchi [Amami], older people/superior may think we speak common language. Yes, I have worries when speaking to older people. Because I am not sure whether my Shimaguchi [Amami] is polite enough to use to them or not. Therefore… I use Japanese instead not to make any mistakes.

All three of these interviews show that speakers feel that Amami can be used with insiders/those who are familiar to them. These interviews provide further evidence that Amami can be an "ice breaker" as HS-san (age 45) says when speaking to elders, because it means they have a common language or culture to share. Additionally, despite this ideology that Amami is not suitable/not appropriate for public domains (which we saw in Chapter 7), there has definitely been a shift since the language was stigmatized and community members generally have a positive opinion of the Amami language. Maeda (2014: 251) also writes: "most Amamians love their local language even if it may have

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caused them trouble. Today, there are very few native speakers under the age of 70. Older

people use Amami in private domains with those able to understand it." In my own

research, I did not collect any data that indicated that speakers felt anything other than

fondness for their language, even though they have suffered for it (see Section 7.4.1).

While I must admit that community members with a negative language ideology towards

Amami might be less interested in participating in my project, I also did not experience

any negative feedback or negative language attitudes during my daily routine in Amami,

where I interacted with many community members who I did not collect recordings from.

Indeed, many speakers expressed sadness that many islanders could not speak Amami, or

that they had not transmitted the language to their children.

Shimaguchi111 chat with Aco (age 36)

> Martha: What do you think about Amami honorifics? Do you think the use of Amami honorifics and Shimaguchi everything signals insider-ness? Like an insider-code?

> Aco: Sō kamo ("that's right")! Like identity, right? Yeah I feel that. Sō kamo ("that's right") .Sou ne ("Yeah"). that's why young people are trying to do Shimaguchi. You know, my Shimaguchi is not like 'natural Shimaguchi'. I learned Shimaguchi from, like a, textbook. It is not like I learned in my life. I studied it. Daisuke's Shimaguchi is maybe like, natural Shimaguchi. I know Shimaguchi… I studied by asking like "what's that?" from my grandma. And then she told me. Honto ni wa ("really"), I want to keep my identity, like Amamian identity, so that's why I use Shimaguchi. Muzukashii ne ("difficult, isn't it"), its not natural , dake dō ("but"), we have to do it like that to protect our Shimaguchi. To keep [it]. To keep, continue.

This excerpt from an interview with Aco was in English with some Japanese code-

switching. Aco (age 36) is a *shimanchu* (Amamian), but did not grow up speaking

Amami. Aco considers herself a non-speaker. In this interview, Aco shares how even as a

non-speaker, using Amami even in a limited way (or as she calls it, an unnatural way) is

powerful for her and ties her to her Amamian identity.

To add to this, many speakers expressed positive feelings towards their local

language. Older speakers with fluency expressed pride in their language, for example, W-

Sensei said that Amami is a rich resource of heritage and is "a treasure which contains Amami's history" (Session Shimaguchi078). Another speaker described that when they use Amami they feel *shinkin-kan* ("sense of intimacy") and *natsukashi-kanji* ("nostalgic") (Session Shimaguchi090).

7.7 Conclusion

As we can see in the data, Amami honorifics have become enregistered as lexical touchstones within the community, and now invoke the social identity of "local islander". Because these honorifics index localness, intimacy and familiarity, they have become part of the we-code in the speech community. So, whenever these honorifics/lexical touchstones are produced, they invoke the properties of local islander, insider, and/or familiar person, and the sign (the honorific/lexical touchstone) and the users and the communicative event are placed in a recognizable social and cultural frame. Through enregisterment, Amami honorifics are now part of the social order and co-construct that same social order in a self-feeding loop which continues to reinforce the indexical stereotypes of familiarity and localness.

As we know, historical factors caused speakers to give up their local language and switch to Japanese in the public domain, and that led to the interruption of natural intergenerational language transmission, increasing language endangerment on the Amami Islands. However, the findings in this thesis suggest that language ideologies have changed in the last few generations. Speaking local languages are now regarded as valuable, and using Amami and Amami honorifics, whilst no longer used to express deference as before, are used instead to express positive things, such as localness, intimacy, and familiarity. This reflects a changed perspective on the value of Amami as a language. As there are few speakers left who are still adequate in honorific registers, all data collected here suggests that Amami honorifics have been reconceptualized into a

wider we-code in Amami, for local islanders to draw on to express solidarity, intimacy, familiarity and shared localness in an inclusive manner.

Normative use of honorifics has already been discussed in this thesis (Chapter 5), with speakers agreeing that honorifics should be used when there is vertical (e.g., with superiors or customers) or horizontal (e.g., strangers) distance between speakers. However, in data from participant observations, speakers are not adhering to these prescribed/normative rules for honorific use. I collected several instances of speakers of the same social rank and age using honorifics to one another in casual settings, where honorific-use seemed unnecessary (e.g., Sections 7.2- 7.4), which were outlined and detailed here in this chapter.

The existence of these lexical touchstones remaining in speakers' repertoires is not unique. Mark Anderson has also noticed the existence of these lexical chunks in semi-speaker/non-speakers of Okinawa's Uchinaaguchi (2009), though he did not speculate on why these language chunks remain, or for what function speakers might draw on them.

Amami honorifics may be persisting because speakers are using Amami as a "we-code". A we-code emphasizes the speakers/listeners "we-ness" in contrast to outsiders' "themness". As a "we-code" Amami honorifics act as an expression of speakers' localness (something that is desirable as the stigma against Amami has subsided and a re-evaluation of Ryukyuan identity has emerged. Anderson (2009: 156) also observed this in Uchinaguuchi speakers as a "conveyance of an Okinawan identity in communication between Okinawans themselves, as well as in presenting themselves to outsiders." Similarly, in Okinawa, Sugita (2014) noted Uchinaayamatuguchi being used as a we-code, which differentiated Okinawans together as a "we", emphasized their "we-ness" as opposed to mainlanders them-ness (associated with Standard Japanese). Rather than using Amami honorifics for their "original/prescribed" function to show deference, data presented here suggests that Amami (with its honorifics) is used to express

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inclusivity. This aligns with the data collected in Session Shimaguchi071, when HS-san said she uses Amami to break the ice or to "get closer" to a listener. Also, this interview with HS-san and data collected from Maneki Salon (sessions Shimaguchi061; Shimaguchi079; Shimaguchi045) show data of younger Amami speakers (40s-60s) using Amami with their elders, but only elders they are very close to (e.g., parents and grandparents), not unfamiliar elders they do not know well. Furthermore, positive language ideology is present in the speech community, where some members describe Amami as giving them a sense of "nostalgia" and "intimacy". This positive feeling toward Amami is also apparent in the language landscape (Section 7.1)

Additionally, in at least one instance (Shimaguchi071), an Amami honorific is described to be used to express sarcasm. Additionally, Amami honorifics may be expressing intimacy and familiarity (e.g., Sessions Shimaguchi101, Shimaguchi098, Shimaguchi081). In the case of local businesses using Amami honorifics in their signage, the honorifics seem to code localness.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Thesis findings and contributions summary

This thesis provides a mini documentation of the Amami verbal honorifics in Southern Amami Oshima, Setouchi variety. I have attempted to address the first research aim to document and describe Amami verbal predicates, giving special attention to imperative forms. This thesis divides Amami honorifics into two types: addressee honorifics and referent honorifics. Referent honorifics have undergone attrition within the Amami speech community, while addressee honorifics are more common, though still less prevalent than the plain (non-honorific) forms. The most prevalent Amami honorifics are imperative forms are *shore* and *tabore*. Due to language loss and attrition within the speech community, the distinction between imperative forms is diminishing, and the imperative forms may be merging. In addition to documenting the forms, this thesis also described honorifics and their pragmatic functions. Interview data showed that speakers consider relative age, formality, social rank and familiarity when determining honorific use. Despite the stylistic shrinkage diminishing all but the most fluent speakers' ability to draw on honorifics productively, honorifics are still frequently found in this project's data in both spontaneous day to day conversations, linguistic landscape and elicitations. Regarding the prevalence of imperative forms, this study aligns with at least one other endangered language study (Tsunoda 2006), suggesting that imperative forms may be somewhat resistant to language loss. This is significant because it adds to the collective linguistic knowledge on the process of language obsolescence, i.e., Amami speakers have not lost all their registers at a steady and constant rate, so that now honorific registers are the most diminished. Despite this, some elements, such as imperatives, are more resistant to loss than non-subject referent honorifics.

The second research aim to investigate how Amami bilinguals perform politeness despite restrictions via limited forms. In contrast to prior studies, this project collected data from less proficient generations of speakers, in order to elaborate on the common anecdotal evidence that language shift is affected by formal register loss. This study also sought to address the lack of documentation and research in workplace language in the Ryukyus (Anderson 2019: 383). Data collected from workplaces showed that younger semi-speakers relied almost entirely on Japanese when they needed to perform politeness, likely due to lack of knowledge and lack of confidence to try to use the Amami that they do have when they need to speak politely with older fluent speakers. Interviews and collected data also suggests that Amami speakers rely on Japanese when they are discussing any kind of learned, modern or formal topics or in such settings, such as the workplace, academic settings, or with elders, where speaking and acting politely is crucial. Today, based on the data, the full Amami honorific system is not accessible or present anywhere in spontaneous speech. No speakers use the full system, fluent speakers and semi-speakers alike. Even if these speakers are using Amami, they will use plain Amami and then perhaps use honorifics in the form of the lexical touchstones only. More research in the future into traditional arts with fixed registers, such as *shimauta* songs, folktales and *hachigatsu odori* may reveal more about the full system, but in spontaneous everyday speech, the full honorific system is not used at all beyond short lexical insertions.

These remaining honorific lexical insertions, or lexical touchstones, which are still found in the community, are used in an unprescribed manner which is in contrast to what fluent speakers described in elicitations (see Chapter 6). Thus, this thesis addressed the third research aim by uncovering the functions of Amami honorifics still being used in the speech community, despite Amami having lost the honorific domains. By going beyond

focusing solely on elicitations and narratives, this project could analyze the current role of Amami honorifics in naturally-occurring discourse.

This project determined that the pragmatic functions of Amami honorifics still present have become enregistered as lexical touchstones within the community, and now invoke the social identity of "local islander." This indicates that Amami has become a core value in the speech community, which is at odds with the language shift that has taken place in past generations. Because these Amami honorifics index localness, intimacy and familiarity, they have become part of the we-code in the speech community despite the language attrition and stylistic shrinkage which has resulted in honorific registers being inaccessible to most speakers. While all but the most elderly speakers have become somewhat incapacitated in their heritage language ability due to language shift and language loss, speakers are still producing Amami honorifics in both spoken and online discourse, such as text messages, as well as in the linguistic landscape.

8.2 Limitations and recommendations for future research

This section will bring this thesis to a close by covering some limitations of the study and current findings, and by making some recommendations for avenues of future study.

Firstly, this study was limited by the researcher's positionality as an outsider without fluency in Southern Amami Oshima. This limitation was addressed as thoroughly as possibly by relying heavily on native speakers and my learning as much Amami as possible while in the field and after, with help from the Setouchi community. Beyond not being a native speaker, as a non-community member, the researcher was also limited by a lack of intrinsic cultural and linguistic knowledge.

Secondly, this study was limited by the short time the researcher was able to spend in the field (four months in total) and the limited data collected. More data from a larger number of speakers, particularly interview data, would be useful to corroborate this

thesis's findings. However, since this data is now being archived at the Endangered Languages Archive at SOAS, ideally other researchers, including community member researchers, will be able to build on the data gathered thus far.

Due to the limited scope of this project, only verbal honorifics were investigated, but there is still much to be explored in Amami honorifics and politeness strategies. One example are honorific adjectives and pronouns, such as the honorific second person plural pronoun, *namkya*. Honorific affixes may also be present in nouns, such as honorific *o* (as in *obento* or "lunch box") and *go* (as in *gokazoku* or "family") in Japanese. According to some Setouchi community members, Amami also expresses honorifics with pronouns and kinship terms. This is a topic I did not explore during this project, but it may be affected by the same cultural features and politeness levels as verb morphology, and more investigation on these aspects would illuminate Amami honorific studies.

8.3 Key contributions of this study

This project is significant to the areas of pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and linguistic anthropology by providing a small documentation and pragmatic interpretation of Amami verbal honorifics. This project contributes to the greater understanding of honorifics in endangered languages as communities are undergoing language shift by creating an authentic and accurate record of honorific forms and usage in the Amami community today. Furthermore, this project acts as a case study demonstrating how a language, which has lost all domains where politeness is normally realized, can be re-purposed by its speakers for new functions, if only in limited ways such as lexical touchstones which can represent a tether for Amamians to their identity. More specifically, this study contributed to Ryukyuan Studies by examining an understudied variety of a Ryukyuan language. Since the Amami honorific register was the first to fall out of use, collecting data on this register was more difficult than collecting data from plain registers due to fewer speakers and decreased knowledge among present speakers.

Thus, this project contributes to the current "fragmentary" documentation of Ryukyuan languages, as well as a better understanding of the pragmatic functions and structures of Amami predicates in honorific registers.

Lastly, this project may be useful because data on stereotypical readings of Amami honorifics can inform future language teaching materials, revitalization materials, and future studies in language ideology in endangered language studies. Archived data collected could also contribute knowledge useful to other disciplines examining other aspects of Ryukyuan Studies, such as cultural, historical, ethnobotanical, and ethnomusicological research.

8.4 Future of Setouchi Amami

Based on the findings from this study, the Amami community is clearly utilizing the Amami language they do have albeit in limited ways, particularly semi-speakers and non-speakers who may only have access to Amami via lexical touchstones. This project has shown that Amami has become a core value within the Setouchi Community, even for community members who do not have much access to the Amami productively beyond lexical insertions. However, the shift of Amami becoming a core value has emerged after generations of language shift, to the point that productive bilinguals are now in the grandparent generation and beyond. Ideally, if speakers were still within the child-rearing age, Amami would be in a much stronger position for revitalization. However, it is also true that endangered languages have increased their speakers past the point that Amami is now at, such as ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi and Māori. In these cases, although the only remaining speakers were among the grandparent generation, communities were able to create language nest immersion programs where young children were educated in their local languages by fluent speakers (Wilson & Kamana 2001). In order to recreate this successful model, more support from the Japanese government would likely be needed. At this time, there are no official policies in place supporting local languages in the

Ryukyus, and to undo the active marginalization that Amami has undergone will require outside active intervention and effort (Fishman 1991). Declaring Amami (and other Ryukyuan languages) as official languages would also be beneficial to Amami language revitalization, as it might ease stigmatization and lay the foundation for future improved language attitudes and ideologies (Heinrich 2014).

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Appendix A

Appendix 1: Consent Form

私、（　　名前　　　　　　　　　　　）は（　　　場所・市　　　　　　）で４月
１０日 2019〜5 月 7 日 2019 の期間に（ Martha Tsutsui Billins ）によって実施され
る撮影に協力することに同意します。

このセッションは録音・録画され、そしていかなる時でも、いかなる理由におい
ても録音機器を切ることを要求することができます。

私は、録画による記録に　同意します　／　しません。

私は、このフィールドワークの結果として作成された全ての資料において匿名で
あることを　希望します　／　しません。
匿名であることを選択した場合、全力を尽くしてその意に沿ってもらえるが、完
全なる匿名性が保証され得ないこともあることを理解している。

私は元の資料（現地調査の記録や音声及びビデオの記録など）が公開される事に
同意します　／　しません。

私は、二次的資料（言語を分析した学術論文など）が公開されること、あるいは
インターネットまたは印刷物として出版されることに　同意します　／　しませ
ん。

本人署名：
日付：

研究者署名：
日付：

（証人署名）：
日付：

年齢：
誕生日：
出身地：

Consent form (English translation)

 I, ..., agree to participate in elicitation conducted
by …………………………….... at …………………………. for the period
of …………………………..

I understand that sessions will be recorded, and that I may request that the recorder be
turned off at any time, for any reason.
I do / do not give permission for video recordings to be made.
I do / do not wish to remain anonymous in all materials produced as the result of this
fieldwork. I understand that if I choose to be anonymous, all effort will be made to
respect this wish but complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed.
I do / do not give permission for primary materials (field notes, audio and video
recordings) to be made available to others.
I do / do not give permission for secondary materials (such as academic papers giving
analyses of the language) to be made available to others, or published on the internet or in
print.

Signed by consultant:

Date:

Signed by researcher:

Date:

(Signed by witness:)
Date:

Age:
Date of birth:
Hometown:

Appendix B

Table 10: Table of all collected Amami verbs

verb	Amami plain form suffix -yun	Amami polite form suffix: やおん (-yaon)	Amami respectful suffix: うも (umo)	Amami humble form suffix: いゃおろ (iyaoro)
行く go	ikyun / ikyuddo	ikyaon / ikyaoddo	iji.umore / umochi.umore	chinkamoryaoro
来る come	kyun	kyaon	umoyun / umoyuddoo	ikkyaoro
いる be (animate)	un / uri	uryaon	umoyuddoo	?
ある be (inanimate)	an	aryaon/ ariyaoddo	?	?
見る see	miryun	miryaon	michii.umore	miryaoro
する do	shun / shicchun	siryaon	umoti /shii.umore	shinkamoryaoraro
知っている know	shicchun	shiryaon	shicchi.umore / umoti/ shiiumore	shicchuryauoro
わかる understand	wakayun	wakaryaon	?	wakaryaoro
あげる・やる give	kiriyun・nyayun/nya-yun	kuriryaon/ nyaryaon / kuriryaoddo/ niyaryaoddo	?	ueshaoro
もらう・receive	muurati/murota/murotan	muuryaraoddo/ muuroryaoddo	N/A	morotinkamoryooranna
亡くなる・pass away	shijii/shinjuri	shijyaoti	?imoran naruri / umorangutunaryaotado	kachuueshaoro/ moryoryaoroe
言う say	iyun / ichii/ ii/yuuri/ ichado	iyaon /yaaotado	umoyun/ umochado	shirareryouro
知る・思う・	murroti	wakaryaoddo	shicchiumore	wakaryaoddo
食べる eat	kamyun	kamyaon	?	kamyaoro / kamyaoro mishchankamoryaoranna
飲む drink	numyun	?	?	?
起きる wake up	fiyun	ufuyuon	?	udoomyaorou/ udumyaoroo /uddoomyuddo/ shicchuryaoddo
着る wear	kiryun	kiiryaon	kichi.umore	kichinicchyaryauonnya
読む read	yumu	yudooryaon	yuti.umore	yuidinicchyaryaunya
寝る sleep	neiburyun	yasumiryaon	yasuti.umore	yasumutiiccharyaunnya
書く write	kakyun	kakyaon / kakyaoti/ kakyauotado	kachi.umore	kachinkamoryaunnya
くれる give	kuriyun / kuuriro / kuriyuddo	kuriryaon	?	morotiitabore
借りる borrow	karyun	?	?	?
貸す lend	karashun	?	?	?

Appendix C

Table 11: Table of all collected imperative forms

Japanese plain form	Amami plain benefactive suffix: くれりぃ (kurerii)	Amami honorific benefactive /IMP suffix: -んしょれ (nshore)	Amami (most) honorific form benefactive suffix: -たぼれ (tabore)
行く go	iji kurerii	ikinshore /umorinshore	?
来る come	chii kurerii	kinshore / umorinshore	umochi tabore
いる be (animate)	uti kurerii	umorinshore	?
ある be (inanimate)	ati kurerii	?	ati tabore
見る see	michii kurerii	mirinshore /minshore	michii tabore
する do	shii kurerii	shinshore	shii tabore
知る・知っている know	shicchii kurerii	wakarinshore	wakati tabore
あげる・やる give	nyati kurerii	?	uesuiti tabore
もらう receive	moroti kurerii / kachii kurerii	murenshore	mooroti tabore / muroti tabore
言い say	ichii kurerii	iinshore ・umorinshore	ichii tabore
知る・思う think	?	shirinshore / wakarinshore	wakati tabore
飲む drink	nudi kurerii	?	nuudi tabore
食べる eat	kadi kurerii	mishorinshore	mishochii tabore
起きる get up		finshore / udoominshore	udoodi tabore
着る wear	kichii kurerii	kinshore	kichi tabore
読む read	yudi kurerii	yuminshore	yudi tabore
寝る sleep	neti kurerii	yasuminshore	yasumuiti tabore
書く write	kachi kurerii	kakinshore	kachi tabore
くれる give		kurinshore	kurit tabore
借りる borrow	kati kurerii	?	kati tabore
貸す lend	karachi kurerii	?	karachi tabore