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# **The utility of linguistic diversity**

*A study on the economic value of  
the Ryukyuan languages*

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## 要旨

琉球列島は南九州と台湾の間に 1000 キロぐらい伸びている。自然と言語の多様性に恵まれている島々であるが、その多くが消滅の危機にあるという現実は疑わない。ユネスコの消滅の危機にある世界の言語地図は 2009 年から琉球諸語の 6 の言語を含むようになったし、その 6 の言語の内的な多様性と変動も高く、社会言語学者によると 700 の方言まで数えることができる。

日本では近代化が進んでいた時代、琉球諸島は日本からの長距離や歴史的な理由でほかの都道府県より産業化されなかったため、地方の有限な資源や輸入に依存する。そこで、その琉球の言語的多様性はその有益な資源の一つとして見なせることは可能なのだろうか。もちろん、文化は言語を通じて伝達されるので、琉球の文化的アイデンティティを取り戻すのに継承言語の維持は重要だ。しかし、継承言語の維持という段階から活性化や実用へ進展するため、その言語の日常生活の適用は必要だ。

本稿は学際的アプローチにより琉球諸語の価値を評価することを目的とする。第一章では琉球諸語の言語社会実態や言語活性化の提案を分析し、そういう力作の弱点とその弱点を補う方法もある程度表面化する。しまくとぅばともいう琉球のことばの使用に関する県民意識調査と普及推進計画の概要を通じて琉球諸語の普及の背景と現状を紹介する。

第二章では言語と経済の関わりに触れ、経済学とエコ言語学の立場から琉球諸語の市場価値と非市場価値を紹介する。沖縄県の文化観光スポーツ部と沖縄県の教育委員会の施策を解説し、効果的な琉球諸語の普及に努める方法の一つとして、教育課程での正式導入について述べる。

第三章は沖縄の那覇市に位置する平和通り商店街でマーケティングストラテジーとして琉球諸語の使用について事例研究である。沖縄県で生産されている製品や農生物のネーミングで地域の言葉を使うことによって売り上げや人気度への影響について調べる。

第四章では同上の商店街と近所のエリアで行われた音景観の事例研究の結果を紹介する。地元民と観光客、両方に人気のある平和通り商店街あたりで多言語コミュニケーションを観察することができる。日本語、韓国語や英語のほかに、琉球の言葉もよく聞こえる。その音景観に映る各言語の位置と機能を理解し、話者の立場から言語の価値と効用を推測する。

最後に、第五章では結論をまとめる。

## INTRODUCTION

Ryukyu archipelago, stretching for about 1000 kilometres between southern Kyushu and Taiwan, is home to incredible natural and linguistic diversity, with many endangered species and linguistic varieties. UNESCO Atlas of the World's languages in danger currently includes 6 Ryukyuan languages, but there is a high level of internal diversity as well, and sociolinguists count more than 700 local dialects.

During the modernization of Japan, Ryukyuan islands have not been heavily industrialized due to their distance from the mainland and other historical reasons, thus they rely on limited local resources and imports. But what if their linguistic diversity was just another resource to gain concrete benefits from? It is unquestionable that the maintenance and revitalization of heritage languages is important to retrieve one's cultural identity, as language is the main instrument of transmission of such culture. However, it is also true that there is need of practical use of the language in different spheres of life so that it can move from "conservation" to "revitalization" and to being used in everyday life.

My research takes an interdisciplinary approach to find out how the value of the Ryukyuan languages to the community be assessed. Firstly, current sociolinguistic situation and language revitalization initiatives will be analysed, and the gaps in such efforts will surface, as well as possible ways to fill them. The background and current situation of the promotion of Ryukyuan languages will be introduced through surveys on the attitudes to and use of local languages, and through prefectural plan on Ryukyuan languages spread and promotion.

In the next part, market and non-market values of Ryukyuan languages will be discussed from economic and ecolinguistic points of view. An analysis of the policies on local languages by both the Department on Culture, Tourism and Sports and by the prefectural Board of Education will shed light on the peculiarities of the Ryukyuan

situation, and the official introducing of local languages into prefectural school curriculum will be presented as a possibly efficient way of promoting their use.

Then, practical examples of Ryukyuan languages as part of product marketing in the Heiwa Dōri shopping street in Naha city will be presented. A research on local languages' use in naming of industrial and agricultural products and its effect on sales and popularity will follow.

Lastly, the linguistic soundscape, carried out in Heiwa-dōri and nearby shopping streets, will offer a cross section of the spoken linguistic background of Naha city, which is at the centre of major Prefectural initiatives and the point of departure for the majority of tourists visiting Okinawa islands. Final overview and interdependence of the topics brought up previously will conclude the research.

What could become an implication for further research is the study of the extent to which the economic exploitation of Ryukyuan languages has a positive effect on their revitalization.



## I

# THE PRESENT SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF THE RYUKYUAN LANGUAGES

## 1.1 Introduction and history overview

Ryukyuan languages are a group of unroofed vernacular languages<sup>1</sup> spoken on the Ryukyu archipelago, that stretches for about 900 kilometres southwest between Kyushu and Taiwan and administratively belongs to Kagoshima and Okinawa prefectures of Japan. Ryukyuan have common roots with Japanese language, from which they split somewhere before 7<sup>th</sup> century as they exhibit many archaic features not present in Middle or even Old Japanese<sup>2</sup>. There are different theories about the exact time they separated, some claiming that it could have happened as soon as 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE, or as late as 996 CE, but there is not enough data to back up the method used to determine both theories<sup>3</sup>. Thus, Ryukyuan languages are not intelligible with Japanese or any other mainland variety, and often even among each other. In fact, the percentage of shared basic vocabulary cognates between Shuri variety in Naha and Tokyo is 66 percent, and that of Miyako and Tokyo is even less<sup>4</sup>. Considering the level of intelligibility, phonetical and grammatical differences, Ryukyuan can be divided into Northern comprising Amami, Kunigami and Okinawan, and Southern comprising Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni<sup>5</sup>. The physical distance between the two groups and the fact that the presence of both Jōmōn and Yayoi culture was not confirmed on Miyako,

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Language planning and language ideology in the Ryūkyū Islands." *Language policy* 3.2,153-179, 2004, p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas PELLARD, "The Linguistic archeology of the Ryukyu Islands", in HEINRICH P., MIYARA S., and SHIMOJI M. (eds.) *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages: History, Structure, and Use*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, pp. 22-23.

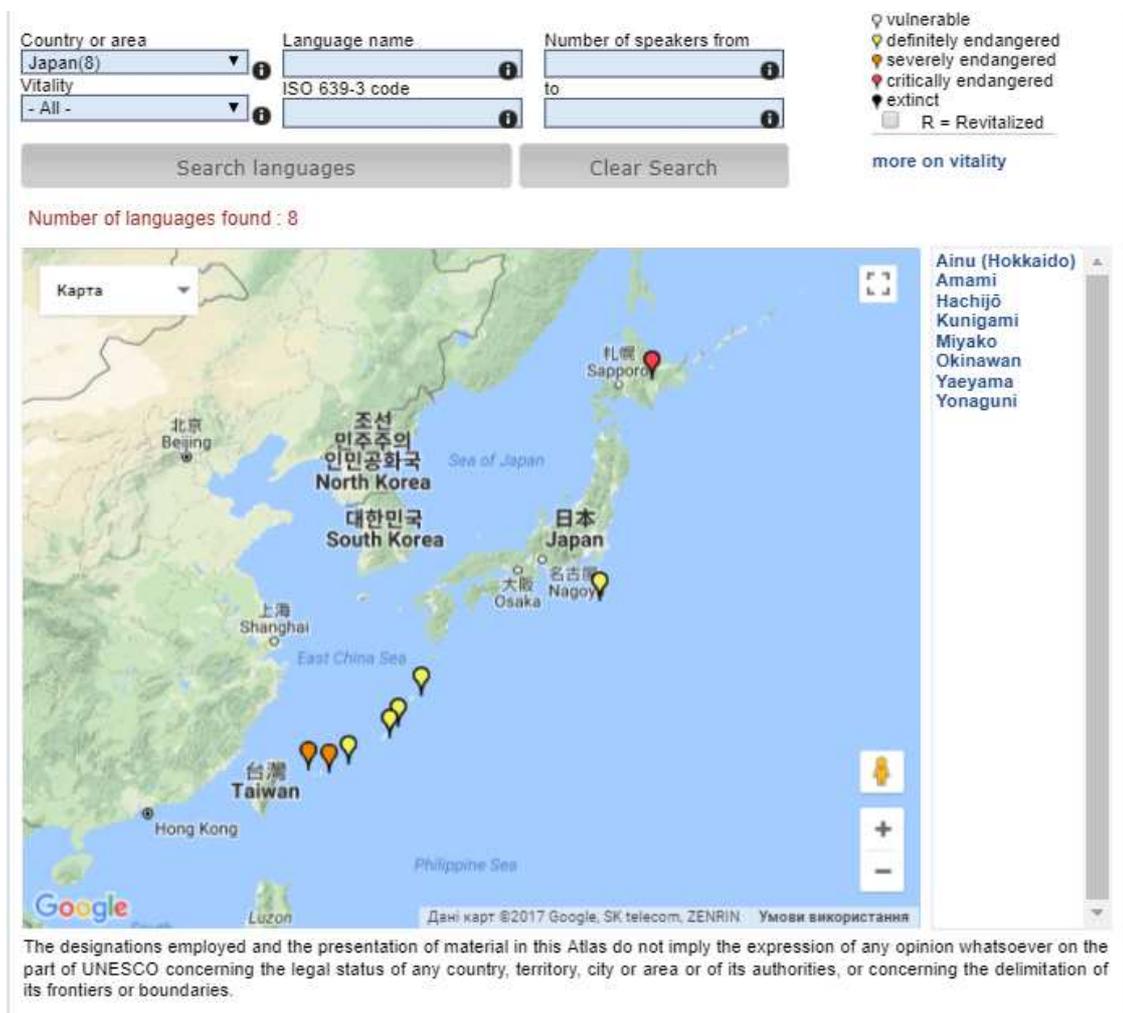
<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Language loss and revitalization in the Ryukyu Islands." *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*, 2005, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Shigehisa KARIMATA, "Ryukyuan languages: A grammar overview", in HEINRICH P., MIYARA S., and SHIMOJI M. (eds.) *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages: History, Structure, and Use*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 115.

Yaeyama and Yonaguni until the 11/12<sup>th</sup> century make the linguistic and cultural differences between the two groups especially noticeable<sup>6</sup>.

Amami is spoken on Amami island and nearby islands, Kunigami is spoken in northern Okinawa, Okinawan is spoken in central and southern Okinawa, Miyako is spoken on Miyako island, Yaeyama – on Yaeyama island and Yonaguni – on Yonaguni island. All 6 were included in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger in 2009: Amami, Kunigami, Okinawan and Miyako as definitely endangered, while Yaeyama and Yonaguni as severely endangered (Figure 1).



**Figure 1** – Map of languages of Japan (Moseley, Christopher (ed.). 2010. Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger, 3rd edn. Paris, UNESCO Publishing. Online version: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas>).

<sup>6</sup> Thomas PELLARD, "The Linguistic archeology of the Ryukyu...", p. 27.

Moreover, linguists count nearly 700 local varieties spoken thorough the archipelago<sup>7</sup> and often a single island or a single village has its own variety. It goes without saying that if the Ryukyuan languages are endangered, the local varieties' situation is hardly better.

Once spoken by all Ryukyuan people, these languages have started to shift under the nationalistic ideology of Meiji Japan. Ryukyu islands were formally annexed to Japan in 1879, and Okinawa prefecture was established, administrated mainly by Japanese-speaking officials from the mainland<sup>8</sup>. Thus, the first wave of language shift has started taking place in the overwhelmingly Japanese-speaking administrative domain. Later, the compulsory education and the media and literature, which were not so developed on the Ryukyu islands, were also gradually occupied by the Japanese language, making it the standard for communication in these public domains, as well as the standard language for writing. As a result, "...the complete coherence between Ryukyuan culture and language was lost"<sup>9</sup> because new realities were being described in Japanese, not Ryukyuan. And many of those realities, like the new scientific techniques and theories, could not be rendered in Ryukyuan as it did not have specific terminology, and it is logical because the ethnocultures change all the time, and the languages "may actually come to be less attuned to many of the most recent changes that have occurred than are their competitors"<sup>10</sup>. At this point, an extensive corpus planning was necessary to modernize Ryukyuan languages so they could be used in all spheres, including formal and public ones.

However, it was not in the plans of the Meiji government to modernize the Ryukyuan languages, which it did not acknowledge as such. Indeed, it seems that Ryukyuan languages were considered as dialects during the annexation of the Ryukyu

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<sup>7</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Language loss and revitalization...", p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Language shift" in HEINRICH P., MIYARA S., and SHIMOJI M. (eds.) *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages: History, Structure, and Use*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 616.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 618-619.

<sup>10</sup> Joshua A. FISHMAN, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Multilingual Matters, 1997, p. 22.

Kingdom to highlight its similarities to Japan, though no proper research has been carried out to confirm the dialect theory at the time. Later, Chamberlain's study of Ryukyuan languages in 1893 confirmed that there is a common ancestor language between them and the Japanese language, and that they are mutually related. However, for political reasons, Chamberlain's study was used as a basis for the dialect theory - the one claiming that Ryukyuan languages are no more than "great dialects of Japanese"<sup>11</sup>, something obsolete and outdated, something that needs to be "corrected" in order to turn Ryukyuan people into Japanese citizens. To close the communicational gap and to "modernize" the Ryukyus, an assimilation process started to take place, especially in the field of education. Suppression of the Ryukyu languages, ban of the "dialect" at school in 1907<sup>12</sup>, and the establishment of *Hyōjungo reikō undō* – movement for the enforcing of the standard language, that is to say Tokyo Japanese, all contributed greatly to the decline in the use of Ryukyuan in public as well as in private domain, and to the interruption of its intergenerational transmission, which was completed in the 50s<sup>13</sup>. This means that from 50s onwards, Ryukyuan languages ceased to be passed down to children in Ryukyuan families.

After the WWII, Ryukyu islands were occupied by American military forces, and remained under their control until 1972. American military encouraged the use and study of Ryukyuan culture and languages, but it found opposition in the Ryukyuan associations and administration<sup>14</sup>. To escape the American occupation and the horrible living conditions that characterized the post-war Okinawa, a new movement of "return to the motherland" started to spread, and a deliberate Japanese language education was established to demonstrate the similarities of the Ryukyus with mainland Japan. Thus,

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<sup>11</sup> Fija BAIRON, Matthias BREZNINGER, and Patrick HEINRICH, "The Ryukyus and the New, But Endangered, Languages of Japan." *The Asia Pacific Journal*, 7-19-2, 2009, p. 2. Internet resource: <http://apjif.org/-Patrick-Heinrich/3138/article.html> (accessed on 10/12/2017).

<sup>12</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Language planning and language ideology...", p. 158.

<sup>13</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Language shift" in HEINRICH P., MIYARA S., and SHIMOJI M. (eds.) *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages: History, Structure, and Use*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, p. 622.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, "Japanese language spread" in HEINRICH P., MIYARA S., and SHIMOJI M. (eds.) *Handbook of the Ryukyuan Languages: History, Structure, and Use*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015, pp. 602-603.

while the first suppressions of the Ryukyuan languages were coming from “outsiders”, this time it was Okinawans who choose to pursue Japanese language education.

Nowadays, Ryukyu languages face a real threat of being extinct by 2050 or so<sup>15</sup>, when the last proficient speakers will disappear and with them the possibility to reverse the process of language shift from the Ryukyu languages to Japanese. And it would not be the language alone to disappear, but all of the cultural heritage, indigenous knowledge, and traditions embedded in the language that would be neglected and eventually forgotten.

## **1.2 Sociolinguistic situation of the Ryukyuan languages and status of the Ryukyus**

According to Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) by J. Fishman, which measures sociolinguistic disruption of languages, Ryukyu languages can be positioned at grade 7<sup>16</sup>. From 1 to 8, the higher the grade, the more threatened is the generational transmission of a language. This means that Ryukyuan is indeed in a very dangerous position, characterized by speakers who are elderly and beyond child-bearing age, but who are still integrated in the society and participate to the life of the community<sup>17</sup>. In this case, they become a useful resource for people engaged in activities aimed at reversing language shift as they can interact with the community and pass on their knowledge of the language. For Fishman, the transmission of the language from generation to generation in a family is the indicator of its risk of extinction, but it is also the key to saving it. The aim of reversing language shift movements at this stage is that of creating young second-language users of Ryukyu languages, so that they can pass them down to their children who, at that point, would become native speakers.

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<sup>15</sup> Fija BAIRON, Matthias BRENZINGER, and Patrick HENRICH, “The Ryukyus and the New...”, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, Fija BAIRON, “Wanne Uchinanchu – I am Okinawan.” Japan, the US and Okinawan Endangered Languages.”, *The Asia Pacific Journal*, 5-11, 2007, p. 3. Internet resource: <http://apjif.org/-Patrick-Heinrich/2586/article.html> (accessed on 11/12/2017).

<sup>17</sup> Joshua A. FISHMAN, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Multilingual Matters, 1997, pp. 89-91.

This task is not simple though, because the language shift starts from inequality<sup>18</sup>, from diminishing other languages for not being “modern” and “elevated” enough to be used in all domains, including the public and formal ones, and this perspective should be changed to achieve long-term results in language revitalization.

As of today, Ryukyu have not been recognized as indigenous minority, in contrast to the Ainu population of Hokkaido. Up until 2001 Japanese government has been promoting the image of Japan as “homogenous nation”, as “one state, one language (and) one people”<sup>19</sup>. However, one step was taken forward in 2007, when Japan voted in favour of adoption of the Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples (DRIP) by United Nations<sup>20</sup>, and recognized Ainu as Indigenous Peoples in a 2008 resolution. Periodic reviews show that the measures that Japan takes to “redress the historic marginalization of the Ainu are still incomplete”<sup>21</sup>, but, slow as it may be, it is an important step for the rights of the Ainu people.

McGrogan identifies four internal and external pressures to the Tokyo government that made it change its long-standing position in 2007: “unconscious acculturation”, or the perception that one should conform to the social and legal norms of other advanced countries; continuous pressure by UN treaty bodies; geopolitical and national security, as Ainu claims to their land may be an asset in negotiating for the return of Kuriles to Japan; and lastly – self-identification of Ainu as indigenous people.<sup>22</sup> What does Okinawa lack in this perspective? The first two conditions are satisfied, even though Ryukyus receive much less attention from the international bodies than Ainu do. The problem is the geopolitical situation, as the majority of the American bases are positioned in

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<sup>18</sup> John WENDEL, and Patrick HEINRICH, “A Framework for Language Endangerment Dynamics: the Effects of Contact and Social Change on Language Ecologies and Language Diversity.” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 145-166, 2012, pp. 159-160. Internet resource: <https://www.researchgate.net/> (accessed on 11/12/2017).

<sup>19</sup> David MCGROGAN, “A Shift in Japan’s Stance on Indigenous Rights, and Its Implications.” *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights*. 17.2, 355-373, 2010, p. 355.

<sup>20</sup> United Nations Press Release, *General Assembly Adopts Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, 2007. Internet resource: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2007/ga10612.doc.htm> (accessed on 11/12/2017).

<sup>21</sup> Cultural Survival, *Observations on the State of Indigenous Human Rights in Japan*, 2017. Internet resource: <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/sites/default/files/JapanUPRR2017.pdf> (accessed on 11/12/2017).

<sup>22</sup> David MCGROGAN, “A Shift in Japan’s Stance on ...”, pp. 360-365.

Okinawa. If Ryukyuan people were to be recognized as indigenous, they would have more power over their land and resources, including the bases, and it would threaten the American presence. At this moment, this would be very uncomfortable for the Japanese government for political reasons, because “for Japan, the importance of the US presence in the islands outweighs that of Okinawan rights”<sup>23</sup>.

As for the fourth condition, that of self-identification as indigenous group, Ryukyu people do not define themselves as indigenous, even if they have a strong sense of identity as opposed to the rest of Japan. In 2016, Okinawan newspaper *Ryukyu Shinpō* surveyed residents of Okinawa prefecture about their self-perception. When asked “do you take pride in being Okinawan?”, nearly 90% answered positively<sup>24</sup>, and statistics show that people show positive attitudes towards Ryukyuan languages even without being able to speak them.

### 1.3 *Shimakutuba* and some statistics

The past events of language suppression and assimilation have had such a strong influence on the Ryukyu languages that more than often they are referred to as “dialects” by Okinawans themselves, and no image-creating and promoting initiatives by the prefecture or by other associations succeeded in changing it. It should be said that the word “dialect” in this case does not retain the derogative or humiliating connotation it had in the pre-war period of promotion of the standard, “correct” Japanese language. People that experienced it first-hand, especially the older generation, are so used to their language being called dialect that it unconsciously sticks with them to this day.

Okinawa prefecture, that has been setting up special meetings and movements on promotion of Ryukyuan as heritage languages, cannot possibly use the same term

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<sup>23</sup> David MCGROGAN, “A Shift in Japan's Stance on ...”, pp. 366-372.

<sup>24</sup> “Jichiken kyōka 35% nozomu. Genkō dōri hansū waru. Ryūkyū shinpō kemnin ishiki chōsa” (35% want more rights for local governments, more than half are satisfied by the current state of affairs. Survey by the Ryukyu Shinpō), *Ryukyu Shinpō*, 1/01/2017. Internet resource: <http://www.ntt-i.net/kariyushi/shinpo-chousa20170101.html> (accessed on 22/12/2017).

that was used in their suppression, nor is it as emancipated as to use the word “languages” while referring to Ryukyuan in its public initiatives and statements. It was decided to adopt the term *shimakutuba* – Language of the Islands, or also Community Language as *shima* means “island” but also “village”, “one’s native place”, and has a familiar, close feeling to it, confirmed also by the fact that term *mijika* (close, familiar) is one of the most associated with *shimakutuba* by Okinawans<sup>25</sup>. By using the term *shimakutuba*, it is possible to refer to different varieties in their entirety, without specifying every single one.

Okinawa prefecture periodically carries out surveys on the use of *shimakutuba*. The last survey, which refers to 2016, confirms the general tendency of Ryukyu languages being used less and less in everyday life and being rarely passed on to children<sup>26</sup>. Compared to the 2014 one, the 2016 survey results showed that both the percentage of those who stated to be familiar with *shimakutuba* and those claiming to be able to understand it fell by a few percent<sup>27</sup>.

Those who mainly speak in *shimakutuba* or use both *shimakutuba* and Japanese with nearly the same frequency when communicating with other people were 35% in 2014, but much less - 27% - in 2016. If we compare the charts of frequency of *shimakutuba* use in 2014 (Figure 2) and 2016 (Figure 3) organized by age, we can notice that this decreasing trend persists in all age groups and is reflected in the changes in the levels of understanding of *shimakutuba*. In particular, in 2014 almost 40% of those in their fifties stated that they could understand *shimakutuba* very well, while in 2016 only 16% said so. It is also true that the perception of what means “to understand very well” and to “understand to some extent” vary from person to person and may also vary in time due to external factors.

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<sup>25</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Shimakutuba survey*, 2017. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/kenminishiki.pdf> (accessed on 13/12/2017).

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Shimakutuba survey*, 2015. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/kenminisikityousah25.pdf> (accessed on 13/12/2017).

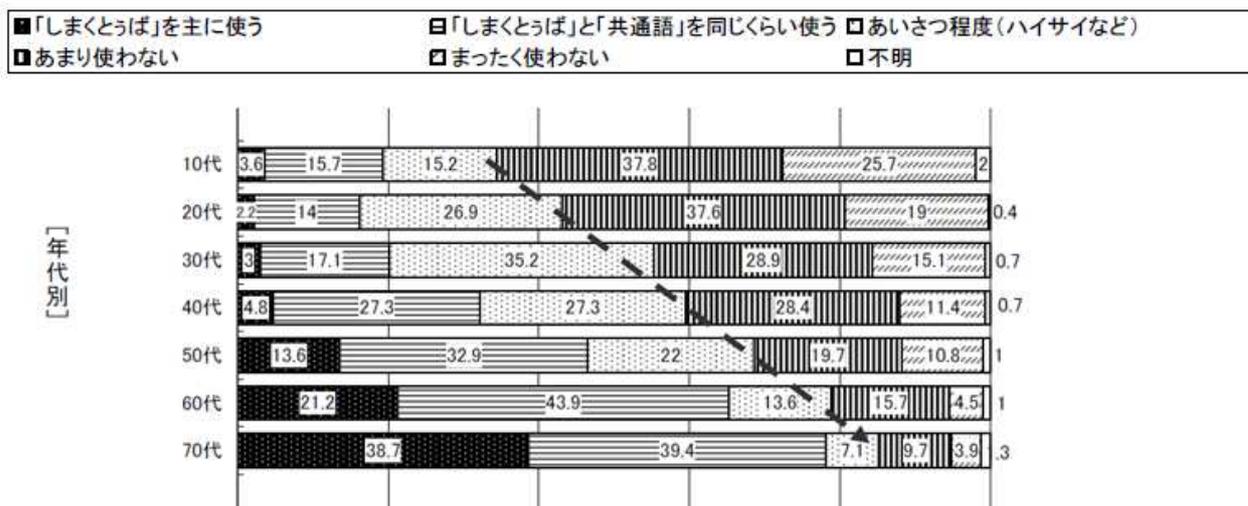


Figure 2 - Frequency of use of *shimakutuba* by age, 2014. (Okinawa prefecture *Shimakutuba* survey, 2015, source: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/kenminnisikityousah25.pdf>).



Figure 3 - Frequency of use of *shimakutuba* by age, 2016. (Okinawa prefecture *Shimakutuba* survey, 2017, source: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/kenminishiki.pdf>).

Many elderly people are actively engaged in various promoting activities and *shimakutuba* classes, as organizers or participants, but the surveys' statistics show that, among all age groups, people in their sixties, seventies and older are also the most inclined to use *shimakutuba* when talking to children, which confirms the position of the Ryukyuan languages on Fishman's GIDS, and proves to be an important factor in trying to reverse language shift. Still, the percentage for this data is very low, only 19% of people in their sixties and 31% of people aged seventy and older speak with children in

*shimakutuba*, and it is clearly not enough to create a generation of proficient second-language speakers, especially when parents of those children are not proficient in *shimakutuba* or simply choose to speak in Japanese and, moreover, the children are not exposed to active use of *shimakutuba* outside the family.

Some patterns can be identified in the geographical distribution of the data collected in the surveys by Okinawa prefecture. For example, Miyako island area ranks first in number of people who have a very good understanding of *shimakutuba*, those who attend the *shimakutuba* promotion events and those who mainly use *shimakutuba* when communicating. However, they also tend less than other areas to use *shimakutuba* with children (only about 5%), to consider using *shimakutuba* in business or public domain and, together with Yaeyama island area, the less inclined to wish that children would speak *shimakutuba*. On the contrary, the northern part of Okinawa island is first in rank by number of people who understand *shimakutuba* (considering both the percentage of people who mainly use *shimakutuba* and of people who use it as often as they use Japanese) as well as by number of people who speak *shimakutuba* with children. They are the most positive towards using *shimakutuba* in business and public spaces, have the highest rates for all activities believed to be necessary for the spread of *shimakutuba* (enforcement of: study during school's general study hour, language classes, use in public offices, use in private companies, use of mass-media, speech contest and certified language exam), which can indicate concern and more positive and active attitude versus those initiatives. Almost the totality of surveyed from northern Okinawa island want children to become able to use *shimakutuba*.

These differences in statistics reflect today's sociolinguistic situation in different areas of Okinawa prefecture: a fragmented puzzle of languages with diverse levels of endangerment, with different speakers' attitudes and levels of proficiency. They can be an important clue when identifying the weak point in each area where revitalization activities take place and decide the most suitable means for each one.

The attitudes, together with tendencies, shown through the *shimakutuba* surveys, are part of personal cultural systems which, according to Smolicz, are formed from the

shared meanings or group systems of cultural values (with language among them)<sup>28</sup>. An attitude differs from a tendency in that the latter refers to the ability of a person to construct a personal cultural system in another language and activate it by using in some domains. The attitudes “indicate the situation where personal linguistic systems have been constructed, but which are not being activated; i.e. when they exist, for the time at least, at attitudinal level only, until circumstances change so that they may be activated into tendencies.”<sup>29</sup> There are positive attitudes towards the revitalization of *shimakutuba* in different domains that have not been sufficiently considered, such as business or administration, but it requires a huge effort to turn those attitudes into tendencies.

## 1.4 Revitalization efforts

Until 2012, the basic plans drawn by each prefecture, in the case of Okinawa prefecture was under exclusive right of the Tokyo government and known as Okinawa Development plan<sup>30</sup>. From 2012, this right was returned to Okinawa prefecture, and the *21 seiki bijon kihon keikaku* (21<sup>st</sup> Century Vision Master Plan) was formulated for the period of 2012-2021. To enforce the measures set out in the Plan, the Okinawa 21<sup>st</sup> Century Vision Implementation Plan was drawn in the same year.

The 2012 Vision Master Plan included, for the first time, a section on the promotion, spread and inheritance of *shimakutuba*, after a series of surveys in the previous years showed negative trend in the use of and familiarity with local languages by the citizens<sup>31</sup>. Furthermore, it can be linked to the recognition of Ryukyu languages as endangered by UNESCO in 2009, as it has triggered linguistic awareness and interest towards the

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<sup>28</sup> Jerzy J. SMOLICZ, “Minority Languages as Core Values of Ethnic Cultures” in Willem FASE, Koen JASPAERT, and Sjaak KROON (eds.), *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages*, Philadelphia, J. Benjamins, 1992, pp. 280-281.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>30</sup> ARARAKI Tomoko, SHIMABUKURO Jun, *Ryūkyū shogo fukkō no tame no gengo keikaku: gengoken wo meguru kokusaiteki dōkō to genjō* (Ryukyuan Language Policies and Planning: Asserting Linguistic Rights in Contemporary International Contexts), *Okinawa Christian University Review* (13), 37-46, 2017, p. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *21<sup>st</sup> Century Vision Master Plan*, 2012. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/kikaku/chosei/keikaku/documents/21kihonkeikaku.pdf> (accessed on 18/12/2017).

concept of Japan as a multilingual country. In fact, Araraki Tomoko points out three important moments that *Asahi Shinbun* brought into light with its article of 20 February 2009<sup>32</sup>, published right after UNESCO launched its online Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger: readers were faced with the fact that multiple languages are being spoken in Japan, that those languages are in danger of extinction, and lastly, that almost half of the world's languages are in danger<sup>33</sup>.

In answer to this reality, in 2013 the *Shimakutuba fukyū suishin keikaku* (Plan of Spread and Promotion of *Shimakutuba*) for years 2013-2022 was formulated under the competence of prefectural Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports. Drawing on the problematics defined in the 21<sup>st</sup> century Vision Master Plan's section on Okinawan Culture Inheritance, it commits to promote and spread *shimakutuba*, which is in danger of extinction, in a strategic and effective way in order to pass it down to future generations as the fundamental element of the Okinawan culture<sup>34</sup>. The Plan is optimistic and ambitious: in the first stage the citizens would become familiar with *shimakutuba*, next the *Shimakutuba* Promotion Movement would be spread to all municipalities and lastly, a proactive use (that is to say 88% of speakers, regardless of fluency level) of *shimakutuba* would be attained by 2022 (Figure 4). It should be noted that the target percentages are decided one-sidedly by the Prefectural Government, without deliberation by the local Assembly, as is the case in other prefectures, and the numerical values are often criticized for not being a product of analysis by scholars and public opinion<sup>35</sup>. For this reason, they might not be realistic, at least considering the current situation.

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<sup>32</sup> "Hachijōgo? Sekai 2500 gengo, shōmetsu kiki. Nihon ha hachigo taishō, hōgen mo dokuritsu gengo UNESCO" (Hachijō language? 2500 world languages in danger of extinction. In Japan - 8 languages, dialect is also an independent language UNESCO), *Asahi Shinbun*, 2009. Internet resource: <http://www.asahi.com/shimbun/nie/kiji/kiji/20090302.html> (accessed on 18/12/2017).

<sup>33</sup> Okinawa Daigaku Chiiki Kenkyūjo. *Ryūkyū shogo no fukkō* (Revitalization of the Ryukyu languages), Tokyo, Fuyō Shobō Shuppan, 2013, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Plan on Spread and Promotion of Shimakutuba*, 2012. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/hukyusuisinkeikaku.pdf> (accessed on 19/12/2017).

<sup>35</sup> ARARAKI Tomoko, SHIMABUKURO Jun, *Ryūkyū shogo fukkō no tame no gengo...*, pp. 38-39.



**Figure 4** - Target percentage of *shimakutuba* users by 2022 (Okinawa prefecture, *Shimakutuba fukyū suishin keikaku*, 2013. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/hukyusuisinkeikaku.pdf> ).

Indeed, by now the target of 61% for the year 2016 was not reached, as the last *shimakutuba* survey featured a little over 54% of active *shimakutuba* users. Moreover, instead of increasing, the number of speakers dropped by 4%, in only 3 years, which means that measures taken did not have effect or were not sufficient, considering that the dynamics of the reducing *shimakutuba* usage were more powerful than its countermeasures.

The Plan of Promotion and Spread of *Shimakutuba* itself does not contain indications on concrete methods and means that should be employed to reach its goals, leaving this task to the three more detailed plans, drawn each for a period of three years.

The current 3-year period plan (2015-2018) brings focus on the importance of contributions from all elements of the society – the prefecture itself, municipalities, educational institutions, other promoting associations and organizations, businesses, mass-media, scholars and researchers, families – and on the creation of a network of cooperation and coordination between them and the recently established *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre<sup>36</sup>.

The activities expected from each subject for the current period state in the plan are as follows<sup>37</sup>:

<sup>36</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Midterm Shimakutuba Spread and Promotion Action Plan*, 2015. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/koudoukeikaku28.pdf> (accessed on 19/12/2017).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

Prefecture:

- a) Training of personnel and other activities: collaboration with Okinawa Culture Society, Educational Board, NPOs; creation of compilations with dialogues featuring the differences and characteristics of the 5 languages recognized by UNESCO as endangered (languages of Kunigami, southern and central Okinawa, Miyako, Yaeyama and Yonaguni) to be used for teaching and staff training, dispatching of trained staff to schools for “reading aloud” activities and study groups, creation of a *Shimakutuba* Reading book (*Shimakutuba dokuhon*) and supplementary Reading book (*Shimakutuba fukudokuhon*).
- b) Establish the *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre, responsible for: training of staff to be employed in activities of *shimakutuba* promotion, creation of the “bank of talents” and coordination of initiatives, organization of symposiums and lectures, creation of tools for diffusion of *shimakutuba*, suitable for use in all geographical areas and at workplace, cooperation and coordination of actions with other subjects, installing a contact point facility for information, advice, communications and advertisements.
- c) Implementation of events aimed at promoting and spreading *shimakutuba*: 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Shimakutuba* Day, a worldwide *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai* (*Shimakutuba* Speech Contest) to be held in 2016, *Shimakutuba kenmin taikai*, symposiums (3 per year), award ceremonies for people who have contributed greatly to the spread of *shimakutuba*.
- d) Communications and advertisements: enforce public announcements in *shimakutuba*, appoint *shimakutuba* ambassadors, promote active use of logo and theme song, create and distribute posters, brochures and other tools, promote use of *shimakutuba* in announcements, create and use the character for *shimakutuba* promotion, promote *shimakutuba* through television and such.
- e) Enforce use of *shimakutuba* during official greetings at events, in business, and use of e-learning material.
- f) Carry out surveys on the use of *shimakutuba*: survey of prefectural citizens to measure the effect of promotion activities, and survey of other subjects to

understand the actual state of their initiatives, survey about opinions on *shimakutuba* written representation.

- g) Hold special meetings on *shimakutuba* promotion and spread.
- h) Cooperation with every active subject: encourage use of *shimakutuba* by municipalities and Prefectural Board of Education; support *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai* and nongovernmental organizations; establish a model school by cooperating with educational institutions; establish network and forum for scholars, researchers and public organizations.
- i) Initiatives by the Prefectural museum: use of folk tale database, digitalize recordings of folk tales from different areas, providing free access through museum's website.
- j) Initiatives by the Prefectural Arts University: collaboration with the university of Hawaii, learn the initiatives on Hawaiian language promotion and use them as a model for promotion of *shimakutuba*.

### Municipalities

- a) Communications and advertisement: proactive use of the logo and theme song of *Shimakutuba* Promotion Movement, creation and use of posters, leaflets and other print communication tools, use of *shimakutuba* in announces and advertisements.
- b) Use of *shimakutuba* for greetings and such during events and in business settings.
- c) Promotion of activities originated in different areas of the prefecture: expand the "Declaration of Promotion of *Shimakutuba*" in all municipalities, create the *Shimakutuba* Reading book and such, train human resources in location-specific features and knowledge.
- d) Organize promoting events: *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai*, *shimakutuba* lectures, symposiums.
- e) Initiatives in cooperation with *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre.

### Educational institutions

- a) Educational activities: invite *shimakutuba* speakers to lessons, lectures and reading sessions in 5 prefectural schools as a model for other schools; enrich study programs for preschool children and offer lifelong education opportunities; teach preschool children about *Shimakutuba* Day and the importance of *shimakutuba* in Okinawan culture; use the *Shimakutuba* Reading book for 5<sup>th</sup> year of elementary and 2<sup>nd</sup> year of middle school; use the supplementary *Shimakutuba* Reading book in high school; promote the arranging of opportunities to study during school lessons and extra-curricular activities (study groups, special classes, conversation, events); increase opportunities to use *shimakutuba* (greetings, ordering food, readings, broadcasting on school grounds) and encourage participation in *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai*.
- b) Initiatives in kindergartens, day nurseries, afterschool care: increase use of *shimakutuba* during meals and greetings; invite teachers to use *shimakutuba* in conversation; cooperate with local promotion organizations; use *shimakutuba* for illustrated stories and readings.
- c) Organize *shimakutuba* classes for teaching staff; create opportunities to exchange ideas on school's initiatives to promote *shimakutuba*; carry out surveys on school's activities once a year.
- d) Activities in cooperation with *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre.

### Promoting associations/organizations

- a) Organize *shimakutuba* classes, strengthen common knowledge through web tools and such, promote proactive use of *shimakutuba* while taking into consideration regional differences.
- b) Organize events such as *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai* and symposiums.
- c) Activities in cooperation with *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre.

### Private businesses

- a) Use *shimakutuba* in greetings, internal announces, notice boards; use the practical *Shimakutuba* Manual (supplied by the prefecture).
- b) Use *shimakutuba* in products' names, webpages, CMs.
- c) Activities in cooperation with *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre.

### Mass media

- a) Use *shimakutuba* in greetings in TV programmes and news.
- b) Use *shimakutuba* on webpages and in articles.
- c) Create TV programmes aimed at promoting *shimakutuba*.
- d) Actively use *shimakutuba* in variety shows for large public.

### Researchers and scholars

- a) Advise the prefecture about ideas on *shimakutuba* writing system.
- b) Create learning material, such as technical books and other publications about *shimakutuba*.
- c) Share the research results obtained through networking.
- d) Activities in cooperation with *Shimakutuba* Promotion Centre.

### Families

- a) Use *shimakutuba* with family members.
- b) Create opportunities to converse in *shimakutuba* with parents and grandparents.
- c) Encourage participation in *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai* and in *shimakutuba* classes.

Some of the major tasks self-assigned by the Okinawa prefecture were, for the most part, successfully carried out for the year 2016, according to 2017 PDCA (Plan-Do-Check-Action) self-evaluation<sup>38</sup>:

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<sup>38</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *PDCA Examination of the Main Measures by the Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports*, 2017. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/pdca/documents/1-4-a.pdf> (accessed on 17/12/2017).

- Networks with scholars and cultural associations were created by holding two special meetings on *shimakutuba* promotion and spread, and by participating at events such as the Worldwide Uchinanchu Rally and the Yoron Summit on Endangered Languages and Dialects. The 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Shimakutuba* Day, *Shimakutuba kenmin taikai* and *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai* (1120 participants in total) were organized.
- Opportunities to experience *shimakutuba* were created: the already mentioned 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of *Shimakutuba* Day, *Shimakutuba kenmin taikai* and *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai*, and 5 events on *shimakutuba* promoting initiatives. Personnel training courses in *shimakutuba* were organized in 10 different areas, with a total of 322 attendees.
- Undertakings related to promotion, spread and inheritance of *shimakutuba*, in music, dance and traditional performing arts fields were given support by the prefecture.
- A total of 3 symposiums about each area's traditional festivals and performing arts were held, with a total of 274 attendees), as well as a cultural seminar (100 attendees) and an opinion exchanging meeting (65 attendees). Okinawan performing arts shows were organized, with participants from all areas of Okinawa prefecture.

Educational institutions faced difficulties in inviting *shimakutuba* speakers and organizing supporting lectures and seminars aimed at bringing students closer to the local languages. The *Shimakutuba* Reading book was used in schools, on the occasions described in the plan, but there is no binding obligation to use it and no minimum study time assigned. This measure was criticized because sometimes the teaching staff, that was supposed to teach *shimakutuba* using the Reading book, could not speak *shimakutuba* or had only limited knowledge<sup>39</sup>, even if the prefecture did set up special

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<sup>39</sup> “Oshieru gawa ga hanasenai... Shimakutuba dokuhon dōnyū san nen, gaibu jinzai haken de taiou kentō” (Teaching but not speaking... Shimakutuba Reading book is introduced from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, employment of outside personnel is being considered), *Okinawa Times*, 2017. Internet resource: <http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/articles/-/166792> (accessed on 20/12/2017).

courses on the use of the material.

As for the promoting associations and organizations, cultural associations and NGOs, many take initiative and organize lectures, events, symposiums on their own, but usually the prefecture or municipalities join in. For example, in December 2017, an opinion exchange meeting was organized by *Shimakutuba* Liason Council in Kadena<sup>40</sup> with a total of 13 municipal cultural associations and NGOs met to discuss the problematics concerning the promoting of *shimakutuba* to revive it as mother tongue for future generations, opening the path to further developments.

Among the cultural associations, the Naha city one is very active in organizing events and lectures on Okinawa culture and traditional performing arts, often using the *Hiyamikachi machigwaa kan* (Hiyamikachi municipal marketplace, Figure 5) public space near the Makishi public market as location. This is currently the case for the series of Uchinaaguchi (language spoken in the southern and central part of Okinawa island) lectures on performing arts, aimed at producing a final performance in Uchinaaguchi with participants as actors. In a total of 20 lectures, the participants are expected to familiarize themselves with basic words used in everyday life and a few traditional songs



Figure 5 – *Hiyamikachi Machigwaa kan* sign in Heiwa dōri shopping street, Naha city (photo taken in November 2017).

<sup>40</sup> *Shimakutuba fukyū dantai gai ken kōkan*, 2017, in <http://topiapro.com/shimakutuba> (accessed on 20/12/2017).

under the guidance of famous actors of traditional theatre genres and guests from other organizations, and then to rehearse for the final presentation.

There is no age limit, but when I attended the sixth lecture of the 2017-2018 edition on the 5<sup>th</sup> of November, the participants were people aged over 60, with an exception of one child accompanied by mother, and three university students, who were attending mostly to learn about such initiatives and to produce a short documentary for a university assignment and had only basic understanding of Uchinaaguchi. Professor Nakamine Shin'ei, in charge of the sixth lecture, spoke prevalently in Uchinaaguchi, though there are no linguistic requirements to join the course, this resulting in some participants, mostly younger ones, not understanding the details of the lecture.

Comparably to Uchinaaguchi lectures, the *Katati ichabirana shimakutuba* courses (Figure 6), organized by Okinawa prefecture and prefectural Cultural Association in Naha city, are for people who understand and speak *shimakutuba*, at least to some extent, and this may discourage participation by those who have only basic understanding of *shimakutuba*, for example young people or children. When I attended three lessons out of a series of *Katati ichabirana shimakutuba* courses during my stay in Okinawa in October and November, in two cases (21<sup>st</sup> of October and on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November) the participants were mostly “forgetters”<sup>41</sup> aged over 50: people that once knew the language well but gradually forgot it because of lack of use. In contrast, those who attended the lesson on 29<sup>th</sup> of October were aged from 30 years on, as well as 6 children, especially encouraged to attend as the lesson included a show in the nearby Planetarium to give a more immediate experience, along the main lesson on the natural phenomena and their reflection in the Ryukyu languages. The teachers for *Katati ichabirana shimakutuba* are usually professors invited from the university of the Ryukyus, Okinawa International university, and other public figures from the local organizations and prefectural offices. As for the locations, the lessons usually take place in the Prefectural Museum or Prefectural Library, and sometimes in community centres. This suggests active

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<sup>41</sup> TSUNODA Tasaku, *Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization*, Berlin, de Gruyter Mouton, 2012, p. 118.

involvement with local public spaces resulting in more publicity, and collaboration with scholars as well as NGOs towards the same goal.

平成 29 年度しまくとぅば普及人材養成講座

# 語ていちゃびらなしまくとぅば

あなたから、「しまくとぅば」の<sup>ちみづくる</sup>肝心を伝えましょう。  
豊かな表現に触れてみませんか

那覇市開催 (全 4 回) 10:00 ~ 12:00

	日時	内容	講師	会場
1	11月18日(土)	島嶼の心とウチナーグチ	豊見城中央公民館長 前原 信喜	沖縄県立図書館
2	11月25日(土)	しまくとぅばとわらべ歌の世界	民族音楽研究家 比嘉 悦子	沖縄県立博物館・美術館
3	12月9日(土)	使命持っつ浮世渡らな	沖縄ハンズオン NPO 岸本 タルガニー	沖縄県立博物館・美術館
4	12月17日(日)	琉球文学にみる美しいしまくとぅばの表現	しまくとぅば普及センター長 波照間 永吉	沖縄県立博物館・美術館

会場：沖縄県立図書館 ☎ 098-834-7916 (那覇市奇宮 1-2-16)  
 沖縄県立博物館・美術館 ☎ 098-941-8200 (那覇市おもろまち 3-1-1)  
 (駐車場に限りがありますので、公共交通機関か近隣有料駐車場をご利用ください)

定員：定員 30 名 (先着順) 受講料：無 料  
 対象：しまくとぅばをある程度理解できる方  
 しまくとぅばに関心のある方、全 4 回受講できる方

お申込み：沖縄県文化協会 ☎ 098-867-4746  
 受付期間：11 月 2 日 (木) ~ 11 月 13 日 (月)  
 平日午前 9 時 ~ 午後 5 時 電話受付のみ

主催：沖縄県・沖縄県文化協会 共催：沖縄県立図書館  
 お問い合わせ：沖縄県文化協会 ☎ 900-8570 那覇市泉崎 1-2-2 文化振興課内 ☎ 867-4746

Figure 6 – brochure of *Katati ichabirana shimakutuba* courses with arguments treated in each lesson, cycle from 18/11/2017 to 17/12/2017 (photo taken in November 2017).

Other organizations are offering courses to train human resources employed for *shimakutuba* promotion: cultural associations of Urasoe city, Kin town, Miyako island, Uruma city and Nakagusuku town, as well as Nanjo city Okinawa language association and Okinawa Hands-On NPO as part of the prefectural plan on fostering professionals and strengthen *shimakutuba* knowledge among school teachers. These lectures usually include theoretical parts on Okinawan history, culture, and practical lessons in *shimakutuba*. Some choose to focus on one theme, such as the Kin town Cultural Association that organized lectures on *Momotarō* reading in Kinjo linguistic variety, others start from the basic conversations in *shimakutuba*. Uchinaaguchi lectures on performing arts, *Katati ichabirana shimakutuba*, human resources training and other courses are held in different locations, and it is logical that the language taught varies from place to place. Moreover, the language one participant refers to as *shimakutuba*,

may not have the same meaning for other participants, because some may come from other areas of Okinawa. As much as one word can create problems for the instructors - because of its different meaning in another variety or its intelligibility - it can also create dialogue and erase the imagined hierarchy of local varieties. For example, participants of the *Katati ichabirana shimakutuba* and Uchinaaguchi lectures on performing arts would often actively suggest alternatives in their own variety and try to learn those of other participants.

One feature that is common for these courses is the presence of elements of Okinawan culture, be it folk songs, natural phenomena influence in language, local festivals or performing arts. This shows how deep the connection between Ryukyu culture and *shimakutuba* is. Often cultural elements are incorporated into language lessons to make them more entertaining, while in the case of Okinawa, common culture and traditions seem to function as a link and the most plausible setting to use *shimakutuba*.

Among the NPOs, Okinawa Hands-On is one of the most active organizations (Figure 7). Established first to offer English language support to middle and high school



**Figure 7** - Children dancing and singing in *shimakutuba* at an event organized by Okinawa Hands-On, with participation of a delegation from Hawaii and Ukwanshin Kabudan, Urasoe city (photo taken in November 2017 and used with their permission).

students, in the years it changed its main focus to promoting and teaching Okinawan culture, history and language through children and youth clubs. Hands-on employs the educational entertainment method to teach through entertainment, incorporating events, excursions, stage performances and such. They also host two radio programs on FM Koza, in which speakers of Okinawa language tell stories about Okinawan traditions, history and culture, and promote Okinawan language through encouraging communication between people of different ages and in three languages: *shimakutuba*, English and Japanese, while FM Ginowan hosts *shimakutuba* news corner<sup>42</sup>. Okinawa Hands-on also has ties with Hawaiian diaspora through close contact with Ukwanshin Kabudan, a performing arts troupe founded to preserve Ryukyuan traditions and promote cultural awareness.

Compared to initiatives in public domains, such as the use (no matter how limited) of *shimakutuba* in events and formal greetings, the use of local languages in less institutionalized situations is difficult to enforce and quite impossible to control. Indeed, the last *shimakutuba* survey by the prefecture showed a very low propensity to use *shimakutuba* with children at home and to participate in *shimakutuba*-related events (out of 2630 surveyed only 178 has ever attended such events<sup>43</sup>), no matter how much the prefecture recommended both. The same goes for business settings, in which the use of *shimakutuba* depends on the level of social involvement of single companies.

In the mass-media field, there are TV programmes for the study of *shimakutuba*, such as the mini TV programme for children called *Shimakutuba de asobo* (Let's play in *shimakutuba*), featuring cartoon-style characters and teaching basic expressions in *shimakutuba*<sup>44</sup>, and the *ShimakutuBANGBANG* variety TV programme, consisting of short videos and commercials aimed at both children and adults. Both programs'

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<sup>42</sup> Okinawa Hands-On NPO website. Internet resource: <http://www.h-on.org/> (accessed on 23/12/2017).

<sup>43</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Shimakutuba survey*, 2017. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/kenminishiki.pdf> (accessed on 20/12/2017).

<sup>44</sup> Shimakutuba de asobo website. Internet resource: <http://www.shimakotoba.jp/> (accessed on 21/12/2017).

episodes can be viewed on their respective websites anytime. Okinawa has also a 24-hour broadcasting station that uses only *shimakutuba*.

All these activities address Okinawans, or scholars and researchers interested in the Ryukyu languages. They might also attract tourists, for example in the field of traditional performing art or music, as the “cultural” part of their trip to Okinawa. Otherwise, with the exception of shops and markets, people from outside have almost no contact with local languages and may not even know about their distinctiveness. Nowadays, when everything changes so fast and what was valuable yesterday becomes outdated today, the opinions and reactions of outsiders might be useful in reevaluating one’s own culture and language.

## 1.5 Ryukyuan language education at school

Since 1880, when the Japanese language education was introduced in Okinawa, Ryukyu languages were being gradually moved into the background<sup>45</sup>. Bilingual textbooks on conversation, then all-Japanese reading and writing textbooks certified by the Japanese government, and later a special book for teaching Japanese in Okinawa were the start of the change of perception of both Japanese and Ryukyuan: one entering the classroom as the “correct” national language and the other shifting to the “lower”, dialectal position.

Some scholars agree that it is necessary to follow the same method to reverse language shift in the Ryukyus, that is to say, to start from the school language education and from changing the elements of Japan’s nationalistic ideology that continue to persist

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<sup>45</sup> KAWASAKI Sayaka, “*Japanese as a Foreign Language?*”, in Ina HEIN and Isabelle PROCHASKA-MEYER (eds.) *40 Years Since Reversion. Negotiating the Okinawan Difference in Japan Today*, University of Vienna, 2015, pp.124-128.

today<sup>46</sup> – first of all, the definition of being Japanese<sup>47</sup>. School is indeed the place where children form their “formal language” awareness and learn that certain languages, which might be the language they speak at home, do not have the privilege to be written in textbooks or studied as an independent school subject.

According to the information provided to me by the prefectural Department of Compulsory Education, nowadays *shimakutuba* is studied in the 5<sup>th</sup> year of primary and 5<sup>th</sup> year of middle school, as well as in the high school. In primary and middle school, students have opportunity to study *shimakutuba* during Japanese language lessons and the *sōgō gakushū* (general study hours, study on a variety of topics, often chosen by students) and to have occasions to speak or hear it at school festivals and recitals, at *eisaa* school clubs and such. Moreover, initiatives continue to be introduced in everyday activities, such as morning and lunch greetings, exercises with radio keep-fit program and others.

The contents of the lessons are defined in the Guidelines for Courses of Study defined by the Ministry of Education, under the section on national language. In reality, in the Guideline for primary school, the above section mentions only the understanding of the differences between Japanese language and its dialects<sup>48</sup>, while the one for middle school includes understanding of the role of Japanese language and that of the dialects<sup>49</sup>. Meanwhile, the section on the general study hours for middle school also includes fostering knowledge on traditions and culture of the local area<sup>50</sup>, while the one for middle school mentions only the possibility to discuss and study themes that take into

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<sup>46</sup> Patrick HEINRICH, “Difficulties of establishing heritage language education in Uchinaa” in Patrick HEINRICH, Christian GALAN (eds.) *Language Life in Japan: Transformations and Prospects - Routledge Contemporary Japan Series*, Routledge, 2010, pp. 46-48.

<sup>47</sup> Ningen Bunka Kenkyū Kikō Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo, *Nihon No Hōgen No Tayōsei o Mamoru Tameni: Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyūjo Dai 3kai Kokusai Gakujutsu Fōramu* (Protecting the diversity of Japanese dialects: the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Academic Forum of the National Language Research Institute.), Tachikawa, 2011, pp. 59-60.

<sup>48</sup> MEXT, *Guidelines for Courses of Study for Primary School*, 2017. Internet resource: [http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a\\_menu/education/micro\\_detail/\\_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/05/12/1384661\\_4\\_2.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/micro_detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/05/12/1384661_4_2.pdf) (accessed on 24/12/2017).

<sup>49</sup> MEXT, *Guidelines for Courses of Study for Middle School*, 2017. Internet resource: [http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a\\_menu/education/micro\\_detail/\\_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/06/21/1384661\\_5.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/micro_detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/06/21/1384661_5.pdf) (accessed on 24/12/2017).

<sup>50</sup> MEXT, *Guidelines for Courses of Study for Primary School...*

consideration the local characteristics of different regions<sup>51</sup>. The result is, *shimakutuba* is being put on the same level as any other local “dialect”, which is not surprising considering the position of central government but is limiting the field of action by the prefecture.

Formally, Okinawa Prefecture 21<sup>st</sup> Century Vision Master Plan announces the clear intention to foster attachment to, preserve, spread and pass *shimakutuba* on to the next generation by creating a study environment complete with adequate study programs and lifelong education opportunities for students, as well as opportunities to familiarize with *shimakutuba*<sup>52</sup>. Nevertheless, those efforts have had little success, as the core activities planned by the prefecture itself are still being delayed for various reasons, as follows.

Some of the highlights of Okinawa Board of Education PDCA for 2016<sup>53</sup>:

- It was planned to dispatch *shimakutuba* speakers to high schools 30 times in total since 2012, but because of the high linguistic diversity and unclear position inside the school’s curriculum, this measure is in significant delay. In an attempt to save the situation, 77 high schools received *Shimakutuba dokuhon* textbooks to study *shimakutuba* under the guidance of teachers who would have received training at specially organized workshops. In 2014, the reason for delay was the inability to secure budget, and the same countermeasure was adopted to make up for the lack of *shimakutuba*-related initiatives in schools<sup>54</sup>.
- Lessons and lectures on *shimakutuba*-related topics in 15 schools were planned, with participation of local human resources, but did not take place and no concrete reason was given. To catch up, it was decided to incorporate the use of *shimakutuba* into school events, clubs and such, and to continue distributing and

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<sup>51</sup> MEXT, *Guidelines for Courses of Study for Middle School...*

<sup>52</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *21<sup>st</sup> Century Vision Master Plan*, 2012, p. 22. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/kikaku/chosei/keikaku/documents/21kihonkeikaku.pdf> (accessed on 22/12/2017).

<sup>53</sup> Okinawa prefecture Board of Education, *PDCA Examination of the Bureau of Education*, 2017. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/edu/somu/edu/edu/documents/1-1-0.pdf> (accessed on 20/12/2017).

<sup>54</sup> ARARAKI Tomoko, SHIMABUKURO Jun, *Ryūkyū shōgo fukkō no tame no gengo...*, p. 40.

encouraging the use of *Shimakutuba dokuhon*, now adopted in fifth year of elementary school (84% of schools according to the survey on the use of *Shimakutuba dokuhon*) and second year of middle school (77%, according to the same survey). Special lectures were organized to train teachers in the use of *Shimakutuba dokuhon*, the attendees were 50 persons in total for year 2016.

Tokyo government has been receiving pressures from various international organizations, such as International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and United Nations Human Rights Committee, who, since 2008, have been advising Tokyo to recognize Okinawan people as indigenous and to guarantee sufficient coverage of Okinawan culture, history and languages in the school curriculum<sup>55</sup>. The requests were all ignored, including the one to include Ryukyuan languages into official school curriculum as a separate lesson, denying this way the language rights to Okinawan people<sup>56</sup>. Tokyo's unwillingness to grant proper Ryukyuan language education in Okinawan schools seems particularly disheartening against the background of English language education measures. Special teacher training programs, meetings, conferences, recommendations to increase use of English during lessons and to leave more time for students to express themselves in English, and many others are formulated in the Plan to Improve English Language Education in Okinawa Prefecture, updated every year.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, in 2017 the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) announced its plan to increase the teaching hours of English language and to start English language education from third year of the primary school from 2020 onwards. During the transition period of 2018-2019, English education will already be anticipated to the third year of primary school, and third through sixth years of the primary school will each increase teaching hours of English language by 15

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<sup>55</sup> "Okinawa no hitobito o senjūminzoku to mitomeru yōni" kokuren ga kankoku, seifu "Ainu igai ni sonzai shinai" (International organizations ask to recognize Okinawan people as indigenous, government insists that the Ainu are the only ones), *The Huffington Post*, 2016. Internet resource: [http://www.huffingtonpost.jp/2016/04/27/united-nation-okinawa-native\\_n\\_9791804.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.jp/2016/04/27/united-nation-okinawa-native_n_9791804.html) (accessed on 23/12/2017).

<sup>56</sup> ARARAKI Tomoko, SHIMABUKURO Jun, *Ryūkyū shogo fukkō no tame no gengo...*, p. 39.

<sup>57</sup> MEXT, *Plan on Improving English Language Education in Okinawa Prefecture*, 2017. Internet resource: [http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a\\_menu/education/detail/\\_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/07/06/1386990\\_047.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/07/06/1386990_047.pdf) (accessed on 23/12/2017).

hours. To secure the necessary hours, it was decided to use the time allotted for general study, and to increase school hours for the fifth and sixth years by 35<sup>58</sup>. Not only the school hours were to increase to accommodate new English language program, but the general study hours were to be reduced. This may not be a big setback for other Japanese prefectures, but to Okinawa this means that the already limited time that allowed for study of *shimakutuba* was to be further cut to make space for foreign language education.

It can be said that Tokyo government does not consider, even remotely, the right to education in Ryukyuan languages as its prerogative and does not plan to do so in the years to come, leaving Okinawan government, activists and organizations with their hands tied.

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<sup>58</sup> “Shōgakkō no eigo, 18 nendo kara jikanzō. 3, 4 nensei wa maedaoshi” (English teaching hours in primary school will increase from 2018, and English language education will be anticipated to 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> years), *Asahi Shinbun*, 2017. Internet resource: <https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASK5V5G7DK5VUTIL02N.html> (accessed on 23/12/2017).



## II

## ECONOMIC DISCOURSE

## 2.1 Language and economics

Although language seems to be quite a different and distant sphere from that of economics, there are many ways in which they are interconnected, summed by the term “economics of language”. Grin defines it as “an interdisciplinary field of investigation which explores the mutual effect of language-related and economic variables; in addition, it includes the study of language-related issues where economic variables have little or no part, but which can nevertheless be examined with the concepts and methods of neo-classical economics”<sup>59</sup>. While economics of language is yet to be established as a separate field of research, many scholars have attempted to define its purposes and boundaries. In particular Grin<sup>60</sup>, Vaillancourt<sup>61</sup> and Zhang and Grenier<sup>62</sup> give an overview of its developments and major currents of study. They and other scholars consider Marschak to be the precursor of the economics of language, as he was the first to suggest in 1965 that languages, too, have economic characteristics: value, utility, costs, and benefits<sup>63</sup>. From that point onwards, the development of the economics of language follows the establishment of nation-states and the choices of national languages of ex-colonies and other countries. The major advancement can be seen in the process of establishing official languages in Canada and language choices in the United States, later followed by thorough research in European multilingual countries such as

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<sup>59</sup> François GRIN, “The economics of language: match or mismatch?” *International Political Science Review* 15.1 (1994): 25-42, p. 26. Internet resource: [http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601229?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1601229?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents) (accessed on 07/01/2017).

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> François VAILLANCOURT, “The Economics of Language and Language Planning”, *Language Problems and Language Planning*, 7 (2), 162-78.” *International Library of Critical Writings in Economics*. 150 (2002): 9-24.

<sup>62</sup> Zhang, WEIGUO, and Gilles GRENIER, “How Can Language Be Linked to Economics? : a Survey of Two Strands of Research.” *Language Problems and Language Planning*. 37.3 (2013): 203-226.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

Switzerland, Spain and others<sup>64</sup>. Language was first considered only as an ethnic attribute, and later also as human capital determining the socio-economic situation of its speakers. The research in language economics was mainly concerned with the relationship between language and income of its speakers, while nowadays the categories addressed by the economics of language include wider range of issues and can be divided into three currents: language and earnings, dynamic development of languages, and language policy and planning<sup>65</sup>.

The ways in which language and economics relate to each other are the following: first, economic factors (or variables) affect the languages at the micro and macro level through consumer decisions and international trade; second, language affects economic variables and patterns at both micro and macro level through earning differentials and dimension of language communities; third, economic concepts of drawbacks and benefits can be used in situations of language conflict<sup>66</sup>. The latter sphere of contact can be used in advocating in favour of or against maintenance and revitalization of minority languages.

The economics of language has been often described using the market analogy, in which language shift and decline is just the result of natural competition. However, it is known that there can be market failures, or situations in which “market mechanisms do not lead to the economically efficient outcome”<sup>67</sup>. These situations can be linked to the fact that, depending on circumstances, the costs and benefits can be of implicit, non-material, or non-market typology, and thus lead to unexpected outcomes.

In his guide for the development of Language Education Policies, Grin distinguishes market and non-market values of language, the first being connected to market prices or other economic indicators (mostly returns on earnings), while the second

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<sup>64</sup> Zhang, WEIGUO, and Gilles GRENIER, "How Can Language Be Linked to Economics?...", pp. 3-5.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>66</sup> Grin, François GRIN. "Language planning and economics." *Current issues in language planning* 4.1 (2003): 1-66, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, and Richard DAMANIA, *Economic Costs and Benefits of Australian Indigenous Languages: Discussion Paper*, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Services (ATSIS), 2008-02-07, p. 7.

being more vague and individual, and thus more difficult to assess<sup>68</sup>. The market value is usually considered to be low for minority languages, as they are the less-spoken ones and their market is very limited, which means that their value is mostly of non-market type<sup>69</sup>. As people usually tend to choose the option which entails more concrete benefits, this creates a negative vicious circle for lesser spoken languages as they are abandoned in favour of more widespread languages. This also explains why scholars such as Grin<sup>70</sup> and Mühlhäusler<sup>71</sup>, highlight the necessity of official institutional intervention to promote minority languages – because the non-market value of languages is seldom taken into consideration, this leads to market failures mentioned above, and also because “the legal protection of market values is “incommensurably stronger” than the protection of non-market values.”<sup>72</sup>

From this perspective, there are many similarities between the Ryukyus and Australia, whose situation was described by Mühlhäusler<sup>73</sup>. The view of their language markets is flawed because of similar issues. Firstly, both the Ryukyans and Australian indigenous people has suffered assimilation policies, and their effects are not taken into consideration when discussing market forces, or so-called natural selection of languages, on their language markets. Secondly, language is not the only factor that explains economic disadvantages of both regions, as the fact that indigenous Australians now speak English, and Ryukyans speak Japanese does not mean that they have the same economic and social advantages as white Australians or mainland Japanese<sup>74</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, and Richard DAMANIA, *Economic Costs and Benefits of...*, p. 20-21.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>70</sup> François GRIN, "Language planning and economics." *Current issues in...*, p. 21.

<sup>71</sup> Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, and Richard DAMANIA, *Economic Costs and Benefits of Australian Indigenous Languages...*, p. 5 and p. 36.

<sup>72</sup> Tove SKUTNABB-KANGAS, and Robert PHILLIPSON, "The Global Politics of Language: Markets, Maintenance, Marginalization, or Murder?" in Nikolas COUPLAND, *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2010, 77-100, p. 89.

<sup>73</sup> Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, and Richard DAMANIA, *Economic Costs and Benefits of...*, pp. 18-20.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

## 2.2 Non-market value of language

Based on the current research, the non-market value of language is difficult to define, and the difference between market and non-market value itself is, in some cases, far from being clear. This brings us to two approaches: the strictly economic approach and the ecological approach, which includes a wider range of issues that can help describe the value of a language<sup>75</sup>. Ecological approach to language is relatively new, and it aims to examine the interrelationships between language and environment. There are many analogies between the ecological and linguistic spheres: some ecolinguists link the environmental decay and the extinction of species to the death of languages, highlighting their mutual influence; others find similarities between regions with high biodiversity and high number of languages<sup>76</sup>. The correlation of environmental decay and language extinction is not exclusive, as many other factors are responsible for both, but this approach gives an insight as to what extent can different spheres like language and ecology be related and influence each other.

The Ryukyuan archipelago is home both to threatened (although still high) endemic biodiversity and to a great number of linguistic varieties in danger of extinction. The extent to which these tendencies are interrelated is unknown, but Ryukyuan languages present evidence of a very close contact with the surrounding environment. For example, Uchinaaguchi contains very accurate and distinct terms for natural phenomena linked to seasons and their characteristics: *urizun* (also *urijin*) is the time of the year that coincides with third month of the lunar calendar, before the summer heat but after the winter chill, and is named after the *urizun* bean; *suumanboosuu* is the rainy season taking its name after the positions of sun in the sky at its beginning and its end; *fusaagi* is the “wind in April preceding a sudden deterioration of weather into a typhoon

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<sup>75</sup> Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, and Richard DAMANIA, *Economic Costs and Benefits of...*, p. 8.

<sup>76</sup>Peter AUSTIN and Julia SALLABAN, *The Cambridge Handbook of Endangered Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, p. 8.

with high waves”<sup>77</sup>. The frequent wind is also reflected in the presence of extensive vocabulary to express its intensity: *fuukaa*, *ichi*, *sujoosan*, *kajoosan*, *kajibaabaa*, *kajibanban* (also *kajibuubuu*) are terms to indicate the gradual strength of the wind, *fuukaa* being the absence of wind and *kajibanban* being the real typhoon. Shaped by centuries of careful observation and linguistic adaptation, these constitute examples of indigenous knowledge, the “unique, traditional, local knowledge existing within and developed around the specific conditions of women and men indigenous to a particular geographic area”<sup>78</sup>. The knowledge contained in indigenous languages is a useful resource for the local as well as external communities: “much of the knowledge about how to maintain biodiversity is encoded in the small languages of indigenous and local peoples” and killing them equals killing the prerequisites for maintaining biodiversity<sup>79</sup>. This includes plants used in traditional medicine and nutrition, classification of local flora and fauna, use of specific species in water and soil conservation, indigenous methods in agriculture, local crafts and tools and so on<sup>80</sup>. Indigenous knowledge also refers to perspectives, learning systems, methods for environmental management, common-property management practices, traditional decision-making processes, practices for resolution of conflicts<sup>81</sup>. Indigenous communities around the world, including the Ryukyus, are struggling to pass down this kind of traditional knowledge for a variety of reasons, among which the non-maintenance and death of indigenous languages – main channel for transmission of such knowledge.

While indigenous knowledge can be also monetarized at some point or be useful to avoid disrupting the surrounding environment with management methods that are not suitable for certain areas, other characteristics of language are typically non-material.

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<sup>77</sup> SAKIHARA Mitsugu, STEWART Curry, LEON A. Serafim, and SHIGEHISA Karimata, *Okinawan-English Wordbook: a Short Lexicon of the Okinawan Language with English Definitions and Japanese Cognates*, Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006, p. 45.

<sup>78</sup> Louise GRENIER, *Working with Indigenous Knowledge: A Guide for Researchers*, Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 1998, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Tove SKUTNABB-KANGAS, and Robert PHILLIPSON "The Global Politics of Language....", p. 89.

<sup>80</sup> Louise GRENIER, *Working with Indigenous Knowledge....*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

These include the sense of identity acquired through language, especially important in the era of globalization. In the case of the Ryukyus, the sense of identity is very strong in the case of Okinawan diaspora, for example the Okinawans of Hawaii<sup>82</sup>, as well as in the prefecture itself where, according to a survey, 90% of Okinawans are proud of their identity regardless of generation<sup>83</sup>. The question of identity is directly related to sense of belonging to a community that has its own cultural heritage, encompassing traditions, cuisine, history, arts. In the Ryukyus, the language plays a crucial role in the traditional performing arts, such as Okinawan theatre (*Okinawa shibai*), as they are based on the stories in local language and are performed in these languages, perpetuating their transmission in this sphere and conveying concepts, lifestyles and humour of the past. Without proper *shimakutuba* revitalization, Ryukyuan cuisine would lose its distinctiveness and the local language terms would be stripped of their original meaning and become just exotic names. Traditional crafts as well, would see their terminology in techniques and materials lose the indigenous knowledge they contain, ceasing to be the “fossilized memories of experience” they are according to Mühlhäusler<sup>84</sup>, and would end up being commodified, concept to which I will return in the next chapter.

Another factor to take into consideration is what Grin calls “future cost of unilingualism”, or the impossibility to choose to speak Ryukyuan by future generations as it will not be available by that time. Examples of Spain, Hawaii, Switzerland show that “policies designed to impose monolingualism in a range of societies have had considerable costs and negative externalities and that, conversely, societies more tolerant of linguistic diversity appear not to have suffered such cost”<sup>85</sup>.

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<sup>82</sup> Wesley I. UEUNTEN, *The Okinawan Revival in Hawaii: Contextualizing Culture and Identity Over Diasporic Time and Space*, 2007, pp. 145-148. Internet resource: <https://search.proquest.com/docview/304900015/abstract/CE35C2C74CAE4A23PQ/1?accountid=17274> (accessed on 12/01/2018).

<sup>83</sup> YUKO Sugita, “The Discovery of Okinawa-substrate Japanese as a “We-code”: The Language of Okinawan Youth in the 1980s and its Impact” in ANDERSON, Mark, and HEINRICH Patrick, *Language Crisis in the Ryukyus*, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2014, p. 197.

<sup>84</sup> Peter MÜHLHÄUSLER, and Richard DAMANIA, *Economic Costs and Benefits of...*, p. 26.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

### 2.3 *Shimakutuba*-related policies

Due to the difficulty in assessing the non-market value of minority languages, Grin suggests focusing on the economic analysis of policies in their favour, in particular on policies in the field of education, which “emerges as not necessarily the most cost-effective type of policy in terms of ultimate creation of minority language *use*; however, education represents an absolute *condition* for the language to be used at all, ...”<sup>86</sup>.

In the case of the Ryukyus, this task becomes very difficult. The two policies concerning *shimakutuba* education in Okinawa, briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, have been the only initiatives by the Okinawa Board of Education in the field of local language education. They were planned in 2013 but have never been implemented because of difficulty in training staff in a variety of different *shimakutuba* and ambiguous position in the school curriculum, as well as impossibility to secure budget. Instead, it was decided to fill the gap producing learning material and organizing courses to improve teachers’ ability to speak *shimakutuba* and promote teaching of *shimakutuba* during general study hour and Japanese language classes. The last measure may actually reflect the wish of Okinawan people, considering that both surveys on *shimakutuba* (carried out in 2013 and in 2016) reveal that around 70% of respondents consider the teaching of *shimakutuba* during general hours and such as a necessary step for its spread. However, it is important to notice that the introducing of *shimakutuba* as a separate subject at school was not among the possible choices in that section of the survey. Among the free opinions on the spread of *shimakutuba*, many respondents wrote that they wished for *shimakutuba* to be taught at school: “I want it to be taught at school as compulsory subject” (man, 30s), “It would be nice if there was such a subject at school” (man, 40s), “I wish that it was taught as one of school subjects” (woman, 40s), “I want it to be included in the school curriculum” (man, 50s), “First of all, at school *shimakutuba*

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<sup>86</sup> GRIN François, *Using language economics and education economics in language education policy*, Conseil de l’Europe, 2002, p. 38. Internet resource: <https://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Source/GrinEN.pdf> (accessed on 13/01/2018).

should be given preference before English” (woman, 50s), “It should be a compulsory school subject” (man, 70s)<sup>87</sup>.

Noticeably, the Board of Education is responsible for only two policies in the field of *shimakutuba* conservation, promotion and succession, while the Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports (hereafter referred to as DCTS) is engaged in three such policies. Moreover, the latter has succeeded in implementing them and getting relatively positive responses, even if the attendance rate for the events such as *Shimakutuba kenmin taikai* and *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai*, that constitute the core of *shimakutuba* promotion activities, has fallen consistently in the last two years<sup>88</sup> because of similar

Policies on CONSERVATION AND PASSING DOWN OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND CREATION OF NEW CULTURE	Okinawa Board of Education	Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports
<i>Shimakutuba</i> conservation, promotion and succession	2	3
Transmission and restoration of traditional events	1	3
Appropriate conservation of cultural assets	10	2
Training and securing of successors of traditional culture	2	
Training of personnel for the development of creative arts and culture	2	11
Strengthening of promotion and transmission of domestic and foreign cultural exchange	3	9
Use and enrichment of the footholds of artistic cultural activities		4
Creation of the fundament to support cultural activities by the whole community		3
Total	20	35

**Figure 8** – Policies by Okinawa Board of Education and by Department on Tourism, Culture and Sports (Internet resources: [http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/pdca/h28\\_pdca.html](http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/pdca/h28_pdca.html) and <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/edu/somu/edu/edu/20170920.html> accessed on 15/01/2018).

<sup>87</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Shimakutuba survey*, 2017, pp. 36-55. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/bunka/shinko/simakutuba/documents/kenminishiki.pdf> (accessed on 16/01/2018).

<sup>88</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *PDCA Examination of the Main Measures by the Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports*, years 2015 and 2016. Internet resources: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/kanko/index.html> (accessed on 14/01/2018).

events being organized by other organizations (including NPOs). As can be seen from the Figure 8, the respective roles of the Board of Education and the DCTS may seem ambiguous in regard to some policies. The Okinawa Board of Education has ten policies concerning appropriate conservation of cultural assets, activities one would more immediately attribute to DCTS, whose main duties concern, as it can be deduced by its name, tourism, culture and sports. The website of the Board of Education contains information on its program on conservation and development of culture, featuring mainly courses and learning materials on Okinawan history and cultural assets, but nothing on the community languages. This fact may be attributed to the indecisiveness due to lack of support from the central government. Instead, it is the DCTS that engages actively in activities promoting *shimakutuba* along with other cultural assets.

Considering the lack of thorough planning and implementation of language education policies in Okinawa, the only analysis that can be done is the one concerning other policies on *shimakutuba* under the Culture Revitalization section of the DCTS. *Shimakutuba*-related activities and their budget can be summarized as shown in Figure 9.

Activities in the field of cultural promotion are financed by the special grant for the development of Okinawa for projects based on its special characteristics, called also the “soft” grant. Established in 2012, it is transferred directly by the Cabinet office, without passing through the Ministries.

The financing of *shimakutuba* promotion activities amounts to less than 0,47% of the grant, and considering that activities in the second section that concern supporting cultural organizations is only indirectly related to *shimakutuba*, the percentage falls to less than 0,19% of the total.

Most of the undertakings, such as the personnel training courses, distribution of Shimakutuba Reader Book, and *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai*, are aimed at contrasting

the drastic fall in the number of *shimakutuba* speakers, as stated in the PDCA evaluation by the DCTS<sup>89</sup>.

ACTIVITY	STATISTICAL DATA	GOAL	BUDGET BREAK-DOWN	BUDGET (POST-IMPLEMENTATION)
Implementing announces in <i>shimakutuba</i> on the regular route buses	N/A	Give more exposure to <i>shimakutuba</i>	907	91,690
Support NPOs and other organizations	7 organizations	Support organizations promoting <i>shimakutuba</i>	4,144	
Organize courses to train <i>shimakutuba</i> -speaking personnel	9 areas, 322 persons	Teach and spread <i>shimakutuba</i>	3,374	
Printing of Shimakutuba Reading book	35000 copies	Increase use of the book in schools	10,630	
Creation of networks with researchers and active groups	4 networks	Create network for future references	57,538	
Organizing/participating in events: <i>Shimakutuba taikai</i> , <i>Shimakutuba katayabira taikai</i> , CMs and other <i>shimakutuba</i> -related events	6 events, total of 1200 participants	Create occasions to hear and speak <i>shimakutuba</i>		
<i>Shimakutuba</i> survey	1	Survey on current use of <i>shimakutuba</i>		
Conservation and spread of <i>shimakutuba</i> by supporting cultural projects on training of bearers of sanshin-accompanied songs, on diffusion of Kumi Odori and others (including examinations and surveys)	21 organizations	Maintain and spread <i>shimakutuba</i> through performing arts		133,185
Total grant (2016)				48,400,330

**Figure 9** – Activities to maintain and spread *shimakutuba* implemented by the Culture Revitalization section of the Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports in 2016, budget in thousands of YEN (Okinawa prefecture, internet resources: [http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/pdca/h28\\_pdca.html](http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/pdca/h28_pdca.html) and <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/somu/zaisei/yosan/documents/01-04-00.pdf> accessed on 17/01/2018)

<sup>89</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *PDCA Examination of the Main Measures by the Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports*, 2017. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/pdca/documents/1-4-a.pdf> (accessed on 16/01/2017).

As already seen in the previous chapter, the results of the *shimakutuba* survey carried out by the prefecture in 2017 show a decreasing tendency in the number of Okinawans who speak *shimakutuba*. However, another survey by the *Ryukyu Shinpō* carried out every 5 years since 2001, shows that the decrease in *shimakutuba* speakers (with different levels of proficiency) was not always constant:

2001 – 55,8%

2006 – 52,6% (-3,2% since 2001)

2011 – 44,7% (-7,9% since 2006)

2016 – 41% (-3,7 since 2011)

It is impossible to compare the results of the two surveys as the one by the prefecture was carried out only twice, in 2013 and 2016, and the current results differ by a few percent mainly due to the different segment of respondents<sup>90</sup>.

Nevertheless, according to *Ryukyu Shinpō*, during the period from 2011 to 2016 the percentage of speakers has fallen by less than in the previous 5 years. Most of the policies in support of *shimakutuba* maintenance and spread that continue today have been introduced in 2012 and 2013. In 2012, in addition to the *Shimakutuba katayabira taikai* that was already in its 20<sup>th</sup> edition, *Shimakutuba kenmin taikai* was first held, and from 2013 onwards many other *shimakutuba*-related events started to be organized and supported by the prefecture, creating opportunities to speak and hear the community languages. Then, the Shimakutuba Reading Book was first launched in 2013 and additional volumes have been published almost every year for both elementary and middle school.

Thus, the policies might have resulted in slower decrease of the number of *shimakutuba* speakers, by encouraging the proficient speakers to continue using it and by increasing occasions where *shimakutuba* could be spoken in public and with public. However, without concrete policies on *shimakutuba* in the education system, it will nevertheless lose proficient speakers without creating new ones. Moreover, by leaving

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<sup>90</sup> Naha City Cultural Association, 20/01/2016. Internet resource: <http://topiapro.com/nahabunka> (accessed on 17/01/2018).

the task of *shimakutuba* promotion outside the sphere of responsibility of the Board of Education, the prefecture sends a specific message to Okinawans: *shimakutuba* is the “smaller language”, used in performing arts, at festivals, at specifically organized events, and at school, but only as complimentary and fun way to learn about language of one’s community.

## 2.4 What to expect from *shimakutuba* classes

The economic model of language use developed by Grin suggests that different factors can play major roles in reversing language shift depending on local characteristics: percentage of minority language speakers, its relative attractiveness and future expectations<sup>91</sup>. The first one is largely overestimated, while not much attention is being paid to the language attractiveness and expectations. Officially introducing *shimakutuba* in school curriculum could address, in part, all three of them.

It would not immediately result in the growing number of its speakers as, first of all, it depends on the number of effective teaching hours. Moreover, the students would need to complete at least a couple of years to be able to express even basic concepts in *shimakutuba* and there are no guaranties that the students would use it outside school, in family or neighbourhood so many other factors need to be taken into consideration. However, having instrumental motivation to learn a language works as an incentive. The teaching of *shimakutuba* would naturally require proficient teachers, and would thus create demand of qualified personnel, and teaching materials would need to be produced as well. The introducing of Shimakutuba Reading Book also demanded that teachers were able to speak and teach *shimakutuba*, but it was not always the case, despite the prefecture organizing specific training courses. Also, the fact that there are no designated teaching hours forces teachers to squeeze *shimakutuba* lessons into Japanese language classes, or to use general study hours, number of which, as seen in the previous chapter, is going to be cut in favour of English classes. Currently, teaching at elementary and

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<sup>91</sup> François GRIN, "Towards a Threshold Theory of Minority Language Survival." *Kyklos*. 45.1 (1992): 69-97, p. 94.

middle school in Okinawa does not require proficiency in *shimakutuba*, and the non-compulsory nature of *shimakutuba* lessons make them a choice of single teachers. Teaching *shimakutuba* as a separate subject can reinforce its image and, combined with other initiatives, as a language studied along Japanese and English, generate positive future expectations.

Another factor that could influence the attractiveness and future outlook of *shimakutuba* are the job-related and business-related incentives to its speakers. Higher pays, preferential treatment of businesses who use *shimakutuba* in work settings and such would add value to community languages and attract also adult learners of *shimakutuba*.

In regard to the costs of minority language policies, they are usually presumed to be high, even if such assumptions are not supported by empirical evidence. In cases where there is such evidence, the costs are “much lower than is commonly assumed”<sup>92</sup>. This is because the cost does not represent only the expenditure, but also the output – the results yielded by the policy, as well as the opportunity cost, or the cost of not implementing that policy<sup>93</sup>. The costs of minority language policies are especially overestimated in the field of minority language education – the costs of educating children in the minority language or choosing a bilingual education is not equal to adding up the entirety of costs related to language education, because even if minority language would not be introduced in schools’ curricula, the children would still need to be educated. An example of the costs can be found in the case of introducing bilingual education in Basque Country, between Spain and France. According to Grin and Vaillancourt<sup>94</sup>, the measures introduced to revitalize Basque language (Euskera) through school education produced an estimated 145,688 bilinguals with additional expenditure per head of EUR

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<sup>92</sup> François GRIN, "On the Costs of Cultural Diversity." *Cultural Diversity Versus Economic Solidarity: Proceedings of the Seventh Francqui Colloquium, Brussels, 28 February-1 March 2003*. (2004): 189, p. 192. Internet resource: <https://cdn.uclouvain.be/public/Exports%20reddot/etes/documents/13.Grin.pdf> (accessed on 15/01/2018).

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 192-193.

<sup>94</sup> François GRIN, and François VAILLANCOURT, *The Cost-Effectiveness Evaluation of Minority Language Policies: Case Studies on Wales, Ireland and the Basque Country*. Flensburg, Germany: European Centre for Minority Issues, 1999, pp. 56-57. Internet resource: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.601.337&rep=rep1&type=pdf> (accessed on 14/01/2018).

166 per year<sup>95</sup>, which is 4% of yearly cost per student<sup>96</sup>. That being said, some of the costs sustained were high only in the first phase of the introduction of Euskera education in schools, such as teacher training and development of teaching materials; those costs will naturally be lower once the education system starts producing bilinguals who will not need additional training in Basque language. The costs vary according to language, type of policy, and other factors, but the albeit little evidence points to the general overestimation of minority language education and other revitalization policies<sup>97</sup>.

## **2.5 Are Italian students interested in Okinawa and Ryukyuan languages?**

Some 10 to 15 years ago, it was almost impossible to study a minority language spoken in another country, but nowadays learning materials for even the lesser spoken languages can be found on the internet. The result is the sparked interest in minority languages and awareness about language diversity, with a growing number of people learning less known languages, contrary to the commonly assumed logic of globalization.

From this perspective, it may be interesting to find out about attitudes of the university students of East-Asian studies in regard to Ryukyuan languages. For this purpose, between 11 and 25 of December I carried out a short survey among students of the department of Asian Studies of the Ca' Foscari university of Venice and the faculty of Modern Languages (Japanese) of the University of Turin, chosen due to the relative ease in gathering information. A total of 132 respondents filled in the survey, which was carried out using google forms.

The first question of the survey concerning the geographical position of the Ryukyu archipelago, showed that out of 132 persons, 13 did not know where the Ryukyus were located on the map. Nevertheless, the rest (except for 1 person), knew about its existence.

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<sup>95</sup> François GRIN, "On the Costs of Cultural Diversity." *Cultural Diversity Versus ...*, pp. 59-62.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., pp. 194-197.

When asked about their associations with Okinawa, the most nominated ones, in order of frequency, were: tropical islands, military bases, long-lived inhabitants, Karate and Okinawan cuisine. The less nominated included, among others, “language” and “dialects”.

As for the Ryukyuan languages, almost 65% of respondents were aware that historically Ryukyuan speakers have spoken languages different from Japanese, but only 11% claimed that they knew the exact number of languages and varieties (6 languages and nearly 700 local varieties).

Next, the question “In your opinion, among the 6 Ryukyuan languages, how many are currently in danger of extinction?” have given disparate results. 25 persons answered with “All 6 of them”, while 46 persons think that at least half of them are in danger of extinction. The results also showed that there is a sort of confusion of the languages with local varieties, and their numbers.

The last section contains questions on attitudes to Ryukyuan languages being taught at the home universities of the respondents. A little more than half of the respondents stated that they would like to know more about Okinawa and Ryukyuan languages, through university lectures or conferences, while around 38% of respondents stated that they would like to do it in the future. The next question was: “Would you appreciate an incorporation of the study of Ryukyuan languages into another, already existent course, or creation of a new course specifically for their study?”. 26% answered “no”, while more than 66% gave a positive response; other 4% suggested optional workshops, specific courses, or units of Japanese linguistics.

When asked “Would you take into consideration going to Okinawa to follow a course on Ryukyuan languages, as part of your academic career or on your own initiative?”, more than 30% answered positively, 21% negatively, while 46% would first consider the costs of the courses. Interestingly, while 26% of respondents were contrary to Ryukyuan languages being taught at their university, only 21% would not consider studying them in Okinawa. Finally, the average sum that respondents would be willing to pay for 1 month of language course is estimated at EUR 360 (based on 38 answers).

This short survey has shown that Italian students have great interest in Okinawa and also in Ryukyuan languages, and many are aware about its linguistic situation. While their major focus would remain at the Japanese, Korean and Chinese languages that are at the centre of their curricula, they might also consider studying Ryukyuan languages, whether at their home institutions or in Okinawa.



## III

**RYUKYUAN LANGUAGES IN THE LOCAL ECONOMY****3.1 Language in product marketing**

Today's trade relies heavily on successful encoding of information about products' characteristics through brand-specific design and language. The brand and the name of a product, that sometimes coincide, convey the most immediate information about what is being sold, and usually are the most visible part on the product's package.

The product's advertising, brand and name, have two purposes: to inform potential consumers about the nature of the product, and to influence consumer's perceptions and associations through symbolic qualities of the product<sup>98</sup>. Brand reflects the values, beliefs, cultural roots of a company, which include its origins and language of communication. According to the accommodation theory by language psychologist Howard Giles, if the effort is being made to accommodate listener by choosing the latter's language for communication, the listener would perceive it favourably as an acknowledgement of his own cultural identity and put effort into accommodating the speaker in return<sup>99</sup>. The role of perceptions of the listener, or, in case of brand, that of the customer, is of great importance as they influence behaviour and are decisive when it comes to customer's choices. Linguistic accommodation in branding and product naming can evoke "positive affective, cognitive and behavioural responses..."<sup>100</sup> as result of communicating with the customers in their language, even more so when the language in question is a minority language: "communication is culturally bound ... and minority languages form part of

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<sup>98</sup> Karjalainen TONI-MATTI, "Strategic design language—transforming brand identity into product design elements." *10th International Product Development Management Conference, June, 2003*, p. 1. Internet resource: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/fca9/5913046e73c2e754b5136798bac49846de73.pdf> (accessed on 24/01/2018).

<sup>99</sup> Scott KOSLOW, Prem N. SHAMDASANI and Ellen E. TOUCHSTONE, "Exploring Language Effects in Ethnic Advertising: a Sociolinguistic Perspective." *Journal of Consumer Research*. 20.4, 1994, 575, p. 576.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 577.

cultural and ethnic identities and impact on marketing communications”<sup>101</sup>. This does not only affect the local purchase trends, but also the international trade because of effect of country of origin and ethnic advertising, both of which exploit the prestige or certain meanings and associations linked to the country or area of production. Choosing certain language in product branding can follow different reasonings, such as: supporting the language, appealing to customers, reflect choices of competitors, use a family name, create brand identity, name after a local landmark and such<sup>102</sup>. The more pragmatic reasons are aimed at giving exposure to a product and securing more customers sensible to ethnic advertising, while real commitment to promoting the language and culturally embedded properties of a product does not necessarily pursue financial objectives. The distinction is often evident from the separation of informative and symbolic parts of a product name: the symbolic part may use local, regional variety or minority language, while the informative part (ingredients, product description and such) is written in the “dominant” or wider-used language, indicating lack of genuine commitment to linguistic diversity<sup>103</sup>.

Regardless of the reason, language is an essential part of the unique selling proposition (USP) that consists of the brand, packaging materials, advertising and such<sup>104</sup> and is at the core of product marketing. The USP distinguishes the product from its competitors, giving it a competitive edge and communicating certain ideas to the customers. Language as part of USP can be used in different ways, such as: “creation of a neologism as the product or brand name (...), or through the use of a word that has specific associations as a brand or product name”<sup>105</sup>. In the case of Okinawa, the prefectural guidelines on regional collective trademarks point out the importance of

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<sup>101</sup> Karen CAMPBELL, Billy BENNETT and Simon STEPHENS, "Utilising a Minority Language to Develop Brand Identity: an Evaluation of Current Practice Using the Irish Language." *Irish Marketing Review*. 20.1, 2009, 67-72, p. 67.

<sup>102</sup> Karen CAMPBELL, Billy BENNETT and Simon STEPHENS, "Utilising a Minority Language to Develop Brand...", p. 69.

<sup>103</sup> Helen KELLY-HOLMES, *Advertising as Multilingual Communication*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, p. 113.

<sup>104</sup> Claire KRAMSCH, and Elizabeth BONER, "Shadows of Discourse: Intercultural Communication in Global Contexts." in COUPLAND, Nikolas, *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford, UK, 2010, pp. 478-479.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 478-479.

association of a product and brand with the area where it is grown or produced but does not mention use of local languages. What seems to weight most in the marketing of Okinawan products is the “country of origin” or, in this case, “area of origin” effect as credits are often given to the location in regard to most marketed properties such as health benefits or distinct taste.

### 3.2 The *shimakutuba* of Heiwa Dōri area

Okinawa prefecture is the only “special economic zone” in Japan featuring preferential taxing and tariff treatment, subsidies, and other incentives<sup>106</sup>. Its major industries include tourism, agriculture and fisheries, civil engineering and construction, petroleum, and wholesale and retail.

The retail sector, in particular, offers many opportunities to come across interesting solutions in product naming, consisting for the most part of mixed use of *shimakutuba* and Japanese. It can be done with use of *shimakutuba* version of the product’s main ingredient, use of cultural aspects expressed in *shimakutuba* (such as names of Okinawan traditional dances, or philosophies) in relation to both food-related products and other items, naming the exclusively local product with its *shimakutuba* name as it does not have an equivalent in Japanese, and naming after a local landmark or area. What follows here is a short analysis of the most recurrent *shimakutuba* featured in products’ names in the Heiwa Dōri shopping street in Naha city, together with their origins and the drive behind their use.

The most encountered *shimakutuba* in Heiwa Dōri refers to food and, considering that near half of all Okinawa souvenir production have always consisted of food items<sup>107</sup>, the use of local languages in their marketing gives great exposure to *shimakutuba*

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<sup>106</sup> Okinawa Industry Promotion Public Corporation website. Internet resource: <http://invest-okinawa.biz/en/charm/> (accessed on 26/01/2018).

<sup>107</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Survey on the actual situation of tourism-related manufacturing in Okinawa prefecture 2015, 2017*. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/documents/1syoun.pdf> (accessed on 29/01/2018).

outside Okinawa and creates association with Okinawa as something different from the rest of Japan.

### **Shiikwaasaa**



Figure 10 – Shiikwaasaa juice sold in Heiwa Dōri (photo taken in October 2017).

*Shiikwaasaa* (Figure 10) is a fruit native to Okinawa, Amami and Taiwan. *Shiikwaasaa* translates to English as citrus depressa, but also shequasar or Taiwan tangerine. It also has a Japanese name, *hirami remon* or *hiramon*, and it was used up until some 20-30 years ago but is rarely seen nowadays. Although too sour to be consumed directly (as can be seen from its name: *shii* means sour, and *kwaasaa* means eating), it's presence as flavouring ingredient is found in tarts, ice-cream, drinks, but also in dressings and salt. It was also traditionally used in the making of *baasaa* cloth as fabric softener. It reached such popularity that a *Shiikwaasaa* Day, held on 22 September, was established to promote its beneficial nutrition properties and *Okinawa Shiikwaasaa* brand was registered among the regional collective trademarks to distinguish locally produced fruit and highlight the bond between local producers and their land<sup>108</sup>. Okinawa is famous for the longevity of its inhabitants and the highest number of people aged over 100 in Japan and one of the highest in the world<sup>109</sup>, and the reason of such longevity is often

<sup>108</sup> “9 gatsu 22 nichi wa ‘Okinawa shiikwaasaa’ no hi koko made wakatta! Kajitsu no kinōsei seibun” (22 of September is ‘Okinawa Shiikwaasaa Day’; What we learnt about the components’ functions of the fruit), *Okinawa Times*, 22/09/2017. Internet resource: <http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/articles/-/146253> (accessed on 27/01/2017).

<sup>109</sup> Craig D. WILLCOX, et al., “Genetic Determinants of Exceptional Human Longevity: Insights from the Okinawa Centenarian Study.” *Age* 28.4 (2006): 313–332. *PMC*. Web. 27 Jan. 2018, pp. 314-315. Internet resource:

linked to the traditional belief in the “power of food”. For this reason, many local products are being attributed healing or anti-aging properties (though not always scientifically proven) under the philosophy of “*nuchigusu*” or long-life medicine; *shiikwaasaa* is among these, as it is believed to prevent various diseases and the highest production of *shiikwaasaa* is found in Yanbaru area which has also the highest concentration of centenarians, all of which contributes to its growing popularity among tourists.

### **Gooyaa**



Figure 11 – *Gooyaa chanpuruu* (source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/pelican/868640691>)

Another product believed to bring longevity is bitter melon, or goya, (*gooyaa* in *shimakutuba*). The equivalent in Japanese is *nigauri*, but even in mainland Japan it is often written in *shimakutuba*, especially on the menus of Okinawan restaurants, to highlight the authenticity of cuisine. *Gooyaa* is the fundamental ingredient of Okinawan staple dish called *gooyaa chanpuruu* (Figure 11), and, despite its bitterness, is widely used in desserts, drinks, snacks, teas. All of the shops and kiosks in Heiwa Dōri use the local name *gooyaa*, and its association with Okinawa is so strong that it is being used in the marketing strategy of souvenirs, either in naming or with souvenirs being created in the typical form of this fruit. Since 2003, *gooyaa* has remained among ten most produced agricultural crops according to yearly output<sup>110</sup>. This increase of production is due to its popularity reaching mainland Japan in the same year, after a TV show of TBS television

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[https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3259160/pdf/11357\\_2006\\_Article\\_9020.pdf](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3259160/pdf/11357_2006_Article_9020.pdf) (accessed on 27/01/2018).

<sup>110</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Agriculture-related statistics on Okinawa prefecture*, 2015. Internet resource: [http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/norin/norinkikaku/kikaku/documents/kenkei\\_1.pdf](http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/norin/norinkikaku/kikaku/documents/kenkei_1.pdf) (accessed on 28/01/2018).

“Supa-supu anthropology” referred to it as a dieting product and is started to be known as *gooyaa* instead of *nigauri*<sup>111</sup>.

## Pork meat

The production of pork meat in Okinawa has always been one of the most important sectors in farming, among first four by output at least since 1990s. Its relevance is reflected in the fact that pork-related market products and dishes usually use *shimakutuba* terms to indicate types of pork meat (Figure 12). *Chiragaa* (pig’s face skin), *mimigaa* (pig’s ears), *tebichi* (pig’s trotters) are sold in shops and on the markets under their *shimakutuba* name even if they are perfectly translatable into Japanese (while products such as Okinawan biscuits *chinsukoo* or *saataa andagii* donuts do not have Japanese equivalents). Restaurant menus also feature pork dishes in *shimakutuba*, highlighting their uniqueness and authenticity as part of Okinawan cuisine: the most popular ones, such as *rafutee* or *sooki* are well known in the rest of Japan as well and are considered a must for those who visit Okinawa.



**Figure 12** – Sign outside a shop near Heiwa Dōri informing visitors about *chiragaa* on sale (photo taken in October 2017).

<sup>111</sup> Goya park website. Internet resource: <http://goyapark.com/en/history/> (accessed on 28/01/2018).

## Seaweed

Being an archipelago with more than 100 islands, Okinawa has been producing and trading important quantities of seaweed, widely considered as health foods<sup>112</sup>, whose consume in Japan is one of the highest in the world<sup>113</sup>. The most produced



Figure 13 – Mozuku, umibudō and aasa seaweed sold in Heiwa Dōri (photos taken in October 2017).

seaweed in Okinawa are *mozuku*, *umibudō*, and *aasa* – these are their commonly used names<sup>114</sup> (Figure 13). *Mozuku* is found only<sup>114</sup> in the waters of the Ryukyu archipelago, and its yearly production surpasses largely those of both *umibudō* and *aasa*. *Umibudō*, or “sea grapes” and *aasa* are grown outside Okinawa and Japan as well.

Interestingly, *mozuku*, whose name in *shimakutuba* is *sunui*, is almost always sold under its Japanese name, despite having closest relationship with Okinawan culture and cuisine, while *aasa* – *shimakutuba* name for *aosa* or *aonori* in Japanese - is consumed and grown thorough Japan. In Heiwa Dōri, *aasa* is more than often advertised with its local name implying its Okinawan provenience and giving a hint of exoticism. As for *umibudō* (officially called *kubirezuta*) it does not seem to have an equivalent in

<sup>112</sup> KAKAZU Hiroshi. "Okinawa's Green Technologies and Sustainable Development (draft)", p. 16. Internet resource: [http://www.ces.ndhu.edu.tw/ezfiles/20/1020/attach/83/pta\\_42586\\_4218786\\_80732.pdf](http://www.ces.ndhu.edu.tw/ezfiles/20/1020/attach/83/pta_42586_4218786_80732.pdf) (accessed on 28/01/2018).

<sup>113</sup> Theodore T. ZAVA, and David T. ZAVA. “Assessment of Japanese Iodine Intake Based on Seaweed Consumption in Japan: A Literature-Based Analysis.” *Thyroid Research* 4 (2011): 14. PMC. Web. 28 Jan. 2018, p.1. Internet resource: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3204293/pdf/1756-6614-4-14.pdf> (accessed on 28/01/2018).

<sup>114</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Statistics of Okinawa marine products industry*, 2016. <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/norin/norinkikaku/kenkyu/documents/6okinawanosuisanngyou.pdf> (accessed on 28/01/2018).

*shimakutuba*. *Mozuku* and *umibudō* are very popular both with locals and tourists and can be easily found in the Heiwa Dōri area in a variety of shops as well as places specializing only in these two types of seaweed, while *aasa* is usually sold in shops catering to locals and only occasionally in souvenir and Okinawan food shops.

### ***Jiimaami tōfu***



**Figure 14** – Outside stand of a shop specialising in *jiimaami tōfu*, Heiwa Dōri (photo taken in October 2017)

Another traditional Okinawan food is *jiimaami tōfu* (Figure 14), where *jiimaami* is *shimakutuba* term for peanut. Usually, Japanese translation of the dish is not easily visible or is absent, which leads to increasing cases of anaphylactic shock among unsuspecting tourists with peanut allergy<sup>115</sup>, and prefecture has issued advise to warn customers about peanut presence at the moment of purchase or by adding written information. Despite allergy incidents, *jiimaami tōfu* is a very popular Okinawan dish, and it may have become even more famous since the release of a Japan-Singapore co-produced film called “Jimami Tofu” in 2017, featuring a Singaporean chef who discovers the art of traditional Okinawan food after coming to Okinawa. The film was born out of an invitation from the Okinawan Film Office to a scouting trip to explore film locations in Okinawa, and aside from plenty of local food, features also Okinawan natural scenery. Presented at especially organized “Okinawa Day” in Singapore<sup>116</sup>, the award-winning film sold distribution rights to Korean, Chinese and Taiwanese media institutions.

<sup>115</sup> Pīnatsu to shirazu ‘jiimaami tōfu’ de arerugi Okinawa de kankōkyaku no hansō zōka (Unawareness of peanut presence in *jiimaami tōfu* leads to allergy attack; cases of hospitalization of tourists in Okinawa on the rise), *Okinawa Times*, 7/06/2016. Internet resource: <http://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/articles/-/3857> (accessed on 28/01/2018).

<sup>116</sup> Okinawa prefecture, Department of Culture, Tourism and Sports, *Special Preview of “Jimami Tofu” and Okinawan tourism and products PR events*, 2017. Internet resource: [http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoshinko/yuchi/documents/h\\_28\\_houkokusho3.pdf](http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoshinko/yuchi/documents/h_28_houkokusho3.pdf) (accessed on 28/01/2018).

Considering that in 2016 around 70% of tourism flows originated from these three countries<sup>117</sup>, it can be seen as a measure promoting Okinawa to boost tourism and advertise Okinawan products.

## Fish

Ryukyu archipelago is home to great variety of fishes, usually called with their local names: *abasaa* (porcupinefish), *irabuchaa* (parrotfish), *gaara* (horse mackerel), *gurukun* (double lined fusilier). Even the fish common in the rest of Japan, such as tuna, is sold under its local name *shibi*. All these fish can be found fresh at the Makishi public fish market (Figure 15) in Heiwa Dōri, along with tags in *shimakutuba*, and attract the tourists with their vivid colours and tropical appearance: as a result, the place is usually crowded with locals in the early mornings and with tourists in the later hours. Many fishes, such as the porcupinefish or parrotfish, are not eaten in mainland Japan, and this contributes to the curiosity of trying out something new and exotic, highlighted by its unfamiliar name. Not only the markets, but food stores and supermarkets also use local fish names both for commonly known and for typically Okinawan fish.



Figure 15 – Fish stand in Makishi public market, Heiwa Dōri (photo taken in October 2017).

<sup>117</sup> Okinawa prefecture, *Statistics on tourists visiting Okinawa prefecture in 2016, 2017*, p. 3. Internet resource: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/bunka-sports/kankoseisaku/kikaku/statistics/tourists/documents/h28nenndogaikyou.pdf> (accessed on 29/01/2018).

The “Okinawa - Bringing Asia” website<sup>118</sup> by the Okinawa prefectural government that introduces traditional Okinawan foods, often mentions the health benefits and longevity effects attached to one or another product. These include sayings such as: “The blessing of the ocean secret of longevity is concentrated in *shima tofu*” or “*mozuku* seaweed is a remarkable food that has supported the health and longevity of Okinawa”. It can be said that the beneficial properties attached to traditionally Okinawan foods impact greatly not only their sale in the tourism sphere, but also their export, as Okinawa is known worldwide as the land of centenaries, supported by extensive literature on benefits of Okinawan diet in the era of struggle for “healthy eating”.

Products and brands are not the only ones featuring *shimakutuba* – shop and restaurant names are also often called with local terms (Figure 16). One prominent example is “*paikaji*” - often adopted as restaurant name (only in Naha city there are five, and even Tokyo has two “*paikaji*” restaurants). *Paikaji* stands for “south wind” in Yaeyaman, while in the southern part of Okinawa island it would be *feekaji* – this way *paikaji* sounds unusual both to central Okinawans and to tourists. Other names include *shimakutuba* related to traditionally Okinawan concepts and characteristics such as *urizun* (“third month of the lunar calendar”) or *akagaara* (“red tiles”); while some use *tingaara* (“Milky Way”), *chura* (“beautiful”) *uchinaa* (“Okinawa”) and so on, to attract attention of potential customers by suggesting “authentic” and “local” type of cuisine for those who want to experience the “real Okinawan food”.



**Figure 16** – Okinawan restaurant “Paikaji” on Kokusai Dōri and “Chura chura” shop in Heiwa Dōri (photos taken in October 2017).

<sup>118</sup> Internet resource: <http://www.jpn-okinawa.com/en/> (accessed on 28/01/2018).

The reversion to the local names of food items and such in businesses signalled an increasing interest in Okinawa and may be attributed to the process of rediscovering of Okinawan identity which brought to the so-called “Okinawa boom” in the 2000s. The negative image of Okinawa as war-torn, economically obsolete territory has been gradually changing following the boom in tourism after its return to Japan in 1972, and later the increasing popularity of Okinawan folk, pop and rock music in the 1980s and 1990s<sup>119</sup>, the diffusion of “uchinanchu spirit” in the Okinawan communities of Hawaii and recognition of the uniqueness of Okinawa in Japan in the same period<sup>120</sup>. The Uchinanchu movements in Hawaii brought major exposure to diaspora in Okinawan media, including its views and values that often idealized Okinawan culture, but nevertheless acted as a driver to strengthen confidence and rediscover Okinawan roots and traditions.

### 3.3 Success cases of local products

In this part I will focus on three cases of famous Okinawan products who have firmly established themselves on the market, in the prefecture as well as outside it.

#### ***Kariyushi wear***

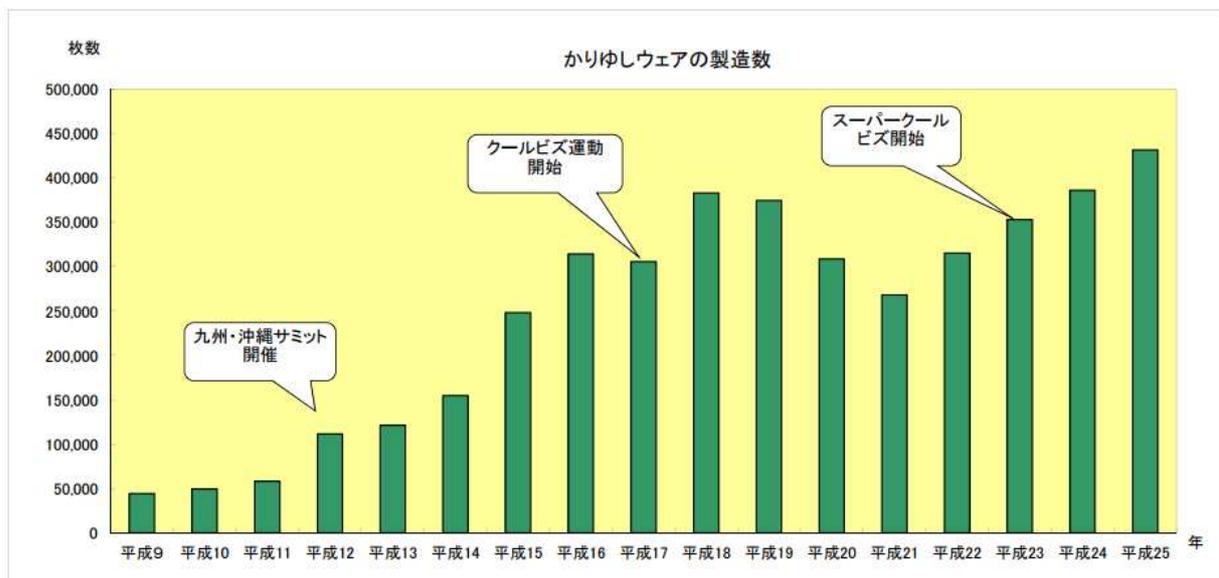
The idea originated with the director of the Okinawa Tourism Association in 1970, who suggested the creation of “Okinawa shirt” that would both be comfortable to wear during hot summers and promote Okinawa by featuring its traditional patterns, such as *bingata* and *kasuri*. Sold initially under the name “Okinawa shirt” and later “Okinawa wear”, in 1990 Okinawans were asked suggestions about a new name, which was

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<sup>119</sup> Oliver E. KÜHNE, "Research Report: Historical Amnesia and the “neo-Imperial Gaze” in the Okinawa Boom." *Journal of the German Institute for Japanese Studies Tokyo*. 24.2, 2012, 213-241, pp. 218-219. Internet resource: <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/cj.2012.24.issue-2/cj-2012-0010/cj-2012-0010.pdf> (accessed on 27/01/2018).

<sup>120</sup> SHIRAMIZU Shigehiko, *Uchinaanchu supiritto no yukue: esunishiti de tsunagaru sekai* (The traces of Uchinaanchu spirit: a world tied by ethnicity), 2006, p. 57. Internet resource: [http://www.tku.ac.jp/kiyou/contents/communication/24/tkujcs24\\_shiramizu.pdf](http://www.tku.ac.jp/kiyou/contents/communication/24/tkujcs24_shiramizu.pdf) (accessed on 27/01/2018).

changed to “*Kariyushi wear*”, with *Kariyushi* meaning “happy”, “auspicious”, “harmony” or also as “cheers” when making a toast. It was expected to become popular against the background of the return of Okinawa to Japan in 1972, but great part of stock remained unsold until 1975, when Okinawa Hotel Association acquired large quantities of *Kariyushi wear* for the National Athletic Meeting. *Kariyushi wear* gained major popularity after it was worn by all head of state participating in G8 summit in Okinawa in 2000 (Figure 17, referring to Heisei 12), and since then it has been worn both in Okinawa and mainland Japan (usually in Okinawa-related companies and in Tokyo Cabinet Office Okinawa Department) as part of cool business and supercool business movement (Figure 17, referring to Heisei 17 and 23). Nowadays *Kariyushi wear* is used by pretty much everyone from office workers and hotel staff to Okinawa airlines staff and salespersons, and continues to diversify its patterns that include various elements associated with Okinawa: *gooyaa*, *shiikwaasaa*, *shiisaa* (Okinawan characteristic guardian lions), temples, *haarii* (dragon boat), local flower and animal patterns. From being casual everyday wear *Kariyushi* became also ceremonial and official type of clothing, used in weddings, meetings and such, and is differentiated by quality and price range accordingly.



**Figure 17** – Production of *Kariyushi wear* from 1997 to 2013, in number of pieces (Okinawa prefecture, Trends in the amount of *Kariyushi wear* production 2014, source: <http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/shoko/shoko/kogyo/documents/kariyushih25.pdf>).

As can be seen from Figure 17, the popularity of *Kariyushi wear* piqued after the first cool business movement in Heisei 17 (2005) and the supercool business campaign

in Heisei 23 (2011), and continued to grow until the 2013 (later results are not available) as deals with department stores outside Okinawa grew and contributed to increased demand<sup>121</sup>. Different external events contributed to the spread of *Kariyushi wear*, but the base of its USP is, first of all, its association with Okinawa through textile patterns; and second, its design - casual yet appropriate in a variety of occasions. Its name is included as integrating part of the USP, even though it can be said that if the original name “Okinawa wear” were maintained it would still be a successful product, given its practical attractiveness. However, combined with other factors, the *Kariyushi wear* trademark helped in securing the popularity among Okinawans, as “Okinawa wear” is more easily perceived as a brand of a souvenir aimed at tourists, or simply something worn in Okinawa, while *Kariyushi wear* carries more familiar and auspicious association and does not directly distinguish between Okinawa and its historical name Ryukyu.

### ***Sanpin tea***

*Sanpin* tea is a type of jasmine tea widely consumed in Okinawa. It has been brought in from China as result of close trade relationship, where it is known as *xiāng piàn*. *Sanpin* tea is not actually produced in Okinawa, but is brought from China and Taiwan, just as in times of Ryukyu Kingdom when it first started to be consumed<sup>122</sup>. There have been discussions on the name of the tea, because in Japanese *sanpin* is a homophone of low-rank samurai, who received the payment of only one third of the usual amount of rice (“san” – three and “pin” – one) and is used with demeaning significance such as “loser”, “unsuccessful”, “gangster”, evoking negative associations. Nevertheless,

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<sup>121</sup> KOYASHIKI Takumi, “Okinawa bunka” to bunka sangyō no ishiki keitai: shakai chōsa no tame no kyōiku kenkyū hōhō (1) shokubunka to sōshoku dezainhen (“Okinawan culture” and consciousness of cultural industry: methods of educational research for social study (1) volume on food culture and ornamental design), Bulletin of the Faculty of Education of Ryukyu University, 85 (2014): 195-212, p. 211. Internet resource: <http://ir.lib.u-ryukyu.ac.jp/bitstream/20.500.12000/32625/1/No85p195.pdf> (accessed on 30/01/2018).

<sup>122</sup> OTSUKI Yoko, OKAMOTO Hiromichi, MIYAJIMA Junko, *Okinawa ni okeru chabunka chōsa gaiyō to kongo no kadai* (A survey of tea culture in Okinawa and further issues), *Journal of East Asian Cultural Interaction*, 2, 289-311, 2009, p. 305. Internet resource: [https://kuir.jm.kansai-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10112/3242/1/21\\_otsuki.pdf](https://kuir.jm.kansai-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10112/3242/1/21_otsuki.pdf) (accessed on 30/01/2018).

original name was maintained and did not seem to have had negative effect on the popularity of *sanpin* tea.

*Sanpin* tea is presented in the Okinawa prefecture website page on local products, as one of the teas being famous for health-related benefits, together with turmeric, goya, and guava tea. What added to its popularity is the relatively low price: according to Washita-shop Okinawan retail website, while 100 grams of *sanpin* tea cost 540 yen, the same price has to be paid to buy 20 grams of equally famous Okinawan turmeric tea; as well as the distribution strategy that allowed canned and bottled *sanpin* tea to be sold in the vending machines, which are very popular in Japan.

### ***Uminchu* T-shirts**



**Figure 18** – *Uminchu* shop in central Naha (photos taken with company permission in November 2017).

*Uminchu* T-shirts are a product of *Uminchu Kōbō* company based on Ishigaki island in the southern part of Ryukyu archipelago. Their 9 shops can be found on Ishigaki, Miyako and Okinawa islands as well as in Taiwan. The company, founded in 1981, produced T-shirts with stylized print featuring “*uminchu*” which stands for “fisherman” in *shimakutuba*, adapted to kanji (海人). Being a small company, initially the sales were very low, but all changed in 1990s when young sea-lovers from all over Japan started coming to Ishigaki<sup>123</sup>. By word of mouth, the T-shirts begun to gain exposure, and after the diving boom in the middle 1990s *Uminchu* T-shirts became popular as divers could

<sup>123</sup> Okinawa Intellectual Property Strategic Program Promotion Network website. Internet resource: <http://ogb.go.jp/move/okip/pdf/case0108.pdf> (accessed on 30/01/2018).

easily relate to the original print. However, the turning point that resulted in increased sales was the opening of the *Uminchu* shops in the newly built terminal of Naha airport and in central Naha. After gaining popularity, imitations started to appear, and the company had to struggle to secure exclusive rights to the production of *Uminchu* T-shirts<sup>124</sup>. Nowadays company's portfolio includes a wide range of items, such as Ryukyu-themed keyholders, socks, stickers and other goods, clothing items as well as the original T-shirts whose basic design remains identical to the very first ones (Figure 18). The current 38 types of the *Uminchu* T-shirt all feature the characteristic “海人” print with “uminchu” transcription in Latin letters, but no hiragana or katakana, indicating a sort of detachment from Japan. A great part of other cloth items features prints in Latin letters and in English such as “Uminchu”, “summer vacation” and “Okinawa”, while hiragana is found almost exclusively on T-shirts for kids. At the same time, some T-shirts have prints in *shimakutuba*, such as “kijimunā” in both Latin letters and hiragana. In any case, *Uminchu* is something that Japanese, Chinese, Taiwanese, and Okinawan people can all relate to because of the intelligibility of the script, and speakers of languages using Latin script find it easy to read the kanji on the print and associate certain words with Okinawa.

*Uminchu* T-shirts are a popular souvenir as well as casual clothing among young Okinawans. This reflects a difference in attitudes towards *shimakutuba* used in the print, because the “teenagers wear these shirts proudly as a symbol of their cultural identity”, while elder generations seem to dislike the initiative, pointing out that “uminchu” was initially a derogatory term, and are not willing to change their perspectives as yet<sup>125</sup>.

Instead of single items, what is sold is the image of Okinawan culture, commodified and encapsulated in objects and experiences that have been or become associated with Okinawa. This culture is perceived through the three senses of the

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<sup>124</sup> Okinawa Intellectual Property Strategic Program Promotion Network website. Internet resource: <http://ogb.go.jp/move/okip/pdf/case0108.pdf> (accessed on 30/01/2018).

<sup>125</sup> Kevin HEFFERNAN, “Prosodic levelling during language shift: Okinawan approximations of Japanese pitch-accent”, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 10, 641–666, 2006, p. 645. Internet resource: <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2006.00299.x/full> (accessed on 31/01/2018).

customers: visual (traditional Okinawan textile patterns, ceramics, Ryukyu glass, architecture, industrial arts, pictures and photos, souvenirs), auditory (Okinawan folk, rock and pop music; spoken language), gustatory (Okinawa/Ryukyu cuisine, ingredients, alcohol, processed goods), as well as multisensorial experiences (literary, theatrical and physical expression and on-screen performances)<sup>126</sup>. All these elements contribute to diversifying of the products and creation of cultural associations in the minds of the customers. Language plays a relevant role in the first impressions, and in the case of minority language can also be the major driver of purchasing behaviour, as in the case of *Uminchu* T-shirts and *Kariyushi wear* initially targeted at tourists or made especially for tourism-promoting purposes, but worn also by Okinawans associating themselves with the promoted image of Okinawa. Although the two perspectives – those of Okinawans and those of the tourists – differ towards the use of *shimakutuba*, both have positive and negative impacts. There will be Okinawans who do not fancy the idea of *shimakutuba* being used in somewhat random ways, especially if its relevance to a product is very low, but at the same time there will be tourists who will more readily respond to familiar features. These facts notwithstanding, if the accommodating theory as well as examples of other minority language use in marketing (such as Irish<sup>127</sup>) are taken into consideration, there are significant economic and symbolic benefits, contributing both to financial aspect and to cultural and identity appreciation and revaluation of Okinawa through use of its local languages.

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<sup>126</sup>KOYASHIKI Takumi, “Okinawa bunka” to bunka sangyō no ishiki keitai: shakai chōsa no tame no kyōiku kenkyū..., p. 198.

<sup>127</sup> CAMPBELL, K., B. BENNETT, and S. STEPHENS, "Utilising a Minority Language to Develop Brand Identity: an Evaluation of Current Practice Using the Irish Language." *Irish Marketing Review*, 20.1, 67-72, 2009, pp. 69-70.



## IV

### LINGUISTIC SOUNDSCAPE SURVEY IN HEIWA DŌRI AREA, NAHA

#### 4.1 Linguistic soundscape definition and methodology applied

Linguistic soundscaping refers to a type of sociolinguistic survey that focuses on the language produced in a public space, with attention to time of conversation and to individuals that engage in it. This observation-based method offers data that is relatively independent from the perceptions of speakers<sup>128</sup>, as they are not aware of the survey being carried out. Linguistic soundscape survey is similar to the one on linguistic landscape, but while the latter focuses on the written language, linguistic soundscape involves analysing the spoken language to determine patterns in its use.

The peculiarity of this method lays in its focusing on a public place, not influenced by any constraining forces, and in its reflecting of the everyday scenes in which language production takes place. The observation of the use of language in everyday activities gives valuable information on language vitality, especially if the language in question is a minority one. In the last case, the effectiveness of RLS measures can also be assessed, combining linguistic soundscape with landscape analysis. Basically, linguistic soundscape survey addresses questions such as: who, when, where and how produces a conversation, how is the language distributed, what other languages are spoken in the area, what are differences in language use between younger and older individuals and such<sup>129</sup>.

The survey I carried out in the Heiwa Dōri shopping area in October 2017 follows the guidelines offered by Altuna and Basurto in their manual on language use

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<sup>128</sup> Olatz ALTUNA, and Asier BASURTO. "A Guide to Language Use Observation." *Survey Methods*. Soziolinguistika Klusterra, 2013, p. 15.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

observation<sup>130</sup>. The area and the time of survey are chosen, based on a previous observation; then, observation is done as inconspicuously as possible, and the results are written down simultaneously. The information that is gathered concerns: language used by the persons engaged in a conversation, independently of the duration of the latter and without going into detail about its content; age of the individuals; and time and place of the survey.



Figure 19 – Survey area (original map by googlemaps.com).

The following soundscape analysis is based on the information collected in the Heiwa Dōri shopping street, located in central Naha city, as well as nearby areas of Makishi public market, Ichiba Hondōri, Ichiba Chūdōri, Shintenji Dōri and Taihei Dōri which can be imagined forming an itinerary, guiding through touristy spots and arriving at an area that caters mostly to the locals (Figure 19).

<sup>130</sup> Olatz ALTUNA, and Asier BASURTO. "A Guide to Language Use...", p. 20.

### Basic information about the survey

TOTAL TIME	11 days. Actual dates: 8/10-12/10, 22/10-27/10.
DURATION	roughly 30 minutes per session.
WHEN	mornings earliest started at 10.00 and latest finished at 11.35; evenings earliest started at 15.20 (due to typhoon) and latest finished at 18.00.
WHERE	street, shops, restaurants, public market.
HOW	small notes/mobile phone, pre-printed forms to fill in the information.
WHO	people engaged in conversation, independently of the length of the latter.
LANGUAGE	Japanese, <i>shimakutuba</i> , Japanese and <i>shimakutuba</i> used together, <i>shimakutuba</i> use limited to 1-3 words utterance (greetings, thanks etc.), Chinese, Korean, other languages.
AGE GROUPS	0-20, 21-60, 61-over.
FUNCTIONAL DISTINCTION	Economic function (selling, buying, getting a discount), Aesthetic function (beautify sentence, singing), Cognitive function (usually: there is no such term in another language or a concept is better expressed in that language, also: influence audience for a certain purpose), Identity function (usually: being mother language or spoken on most occasions, also: highlight one's identity through language), Courtesy (being considerate of the other, who may not know the language), Other (not recognizable or not sure).
TOTAL CONVERSATIONS	274

### Reasons behind choices relative to the survey

The area was chosen on the basis of being a public space frequently visited by both tourists and locals, while also being one of the few places in Naha city where *shimakutuba* can still be heard spoken on a daily basis. As for the time choice, while the

Makishi public market operates since early morning, the rest of the shops along Heiwa Dōri and other shopping streets open around 10.00 in the morning as it's the time when tourist crowds start to flood the area; the closing time for all the shops is similar, and it follows once again the flow of tourists, which lowers around 18.00 in the evening. The languages that I decided to emphasize include: Japanese, as it's the main language of communication in Okinawa and great part of visitors to the island also come from mainland Japan; *shimakutuba*, frequently used together with Japanese, or used only to stress certain words or emotions more easily shown through expressions in *shimakutuba*; Chinese and Korean as most tourist flows to Okinawa are directed from China and South Korea; other languages, specified when possible.

The assigning of functional distinctions to the use of each language in the conversations deviates somewhat from the original form proposed by Altuna and Basurto, thus it may contain information guided by personal perceptions of the moment in which the observation took place. The distinctions are applied in a multiple way, as the use of one language can follow more than one rationale.

Lastly, as for the number of conversations, general guidelines<sup>131</sup> for sample size calculation were followed and the last available data on Naha city population was taken into consideration:

**Data:**

Population size 319,435 (as of 2015)

Margin of error (confidence interval) 5%

Confidence level 90% (Z-score 1,645)

Standard of deviation 5

$$1) \text{ Size sample} = (Z\text{-score})^2 * \text{StdDev} * (1\text{-StdDev}) / (\text{Margin of Error})^2$$

$$(1,645)^2 * 0,5 * (1 - 0,5) / (0,05)^2$$

$$2,706025 * 0,25 / 0,0025 = 270,60$$

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<sup>131</sup> Survey system website. <https://www.surveysystem.com/sscalc.htm>.

2) Adjusting to population = (Sample size \* Population) / (Sample size + Population - 1)

$$(270,60 * 319435) / (270,60 + 319435 - 1) = 270,37$$

Final sample size is 270. It was decided to use the number of conversations instead of the number of people as reference, because of impossibility to foresee the number of people engaged in each conversation.

## 4.2 Heiwa Dōri area soundscape results

On the basis of the soundscape survey, different patterns were individuated. First of all, the number of conversations that became subject of the survey, differentiated only by language, indicate high prevalence of Japanese and Chinese languages, while Korean, other languages and *shimakutuba* were used notably less, and the latter was most often used together with Japanese. However, comparing the frequency of use of each language by area (Figure 20), one can notice that, apart from Japanese which was the most used language in all areas, the use of Chinese and other languages was often observed in Heiwa Dōri and Makishi market, while the Ichiba Dōri, Shintenji Dōri and Taihei Dōri were areas of frequent *shimakutuba* usage. Heiwa Dōri is located one step away from the central Kokusai Dōri, which is a famous tourist attraction, thus, high usage

	Heiwa Dōri	Makishi market	Ichiba Dōri, Shintenji Dōri, Taihei Dōri	Total	%
Japanese	83	30	57	170	62%
<i>Shimakutuba</i>	11	4	23	38	14%
Chinese	27	11	4	42	15%
Other languages (including Korean)	13	2	9	24	9%
Total	134	47	93	274	

Figure 20 – Observed language use by area.

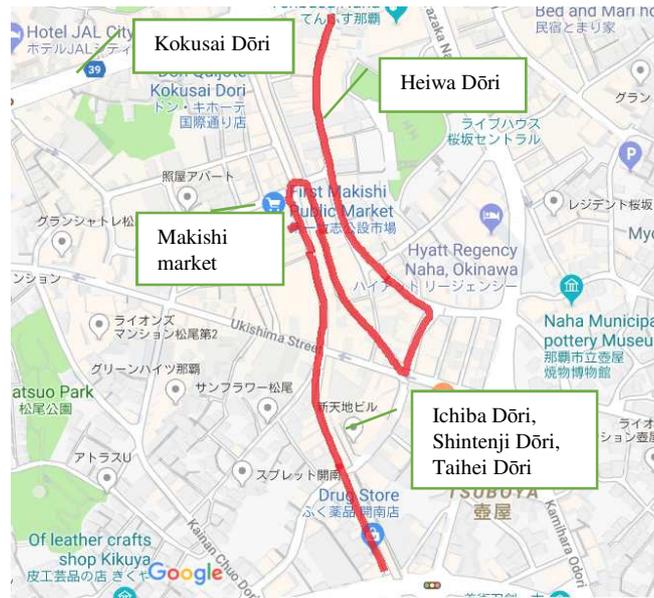


Figure 21 – Map of the surveyed area divided into three (original map google.com).

of different languages was expected. Makishi public market is situated at the intersection of various shopping streets and has become a famous place to visit and try out Okinawan seafoods; there are also more than one vendor who speaks Chinese, whose kiosks are often frequented by visitors from China or Taiwan because of ease in communication. In contrast to these areas, Ichiba Dōri, Shintenji Dōri and Taihei Dōri are more distant from the central Kokusai Dōri (Figure 21), and this is where the highest number of conversations involving *shimakutuba* were observed (23 in total); the proportions among the use of *shimakutuba*, *shimakutuba* and Japanese together and *shimakutuba* limited to 1-3 words do not differ much, being at 8, 10 and 5 conversations accordingly. However, the area of Heiwa Dōri is characterized by prevalent use of *shimakutuba* together with Japanese, while there is only one conversation entirely in *shimakutuba* and two conversations in which some minimum *shimakutuba* was involved. Originally the Heiwa Dōri area was home to a black market, but with time it became part of a large shopping district and vegetable and fish market frequented mostly by locals. With time, the tourist flows directed at Okinawa changed the dynamics of the area, and nowadays souvenir shops can be seen all along the shopping streets neat Heiwa Dōri. Indeed, the shops targeted at locals have been disappearing in the last years, and now only a few of them remain in the immediate vicinity to Kokusai Dōri, such as a shoes shop and a few clothing stores. One study on the perception of spaces for tourists or for locals in the same

shopping area by Okinawan students has given interesting results, as both the presence and absence of tourists and spaces aimed at tourists were mentioned by the observers as “potentially attractive spaces for tourists”<sup>132</sup>; the importance of locals as an additional attraction of a shopping district makes them consider combining local elements with touristic merchandise<sup>133</sup>, a tendency that can indeed be observed in some locations of the Heiwa Dōri shopping district, inside single shops or in the same area.

Another pattern concerns the use of *shimakutuba* in the surveyed area. The observations regarding conversations in *shimakutuba* highlight its prevalent use by women aged both between 21 and 60 and over 61 years old, for a total of 62 women, in contrast to a total of 26 men who used *shimakutuba* (Figure 22). Moreover, out of 88 persons who were using *shimakutuba*, only 1 person was aged under 20, while the rest were at least 21 years old. Interestingly, in the latter case the conversation between two individuals, one under 20 and another over 61 years old, the younger was observed speaking in *shimakutuba* while the elder one used *shimakutuba* together with Japanese. Similar situations were observed in other 2 cases of interlocutors speaking each a different language in a single conversation: 1) *shimakutuba* and Japanese and 2) *shimakutuba* and Japanese mixed with *shimakutuba*.

	<i>Shimakutuba</i>		Japanese and <i>shimakutuba</i>		<i>Shimakutuba</i> limited to 1-3		Total used <i>shimakutuba</i>	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
0-20	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
21-60	5	1	13	5	13	6	31	12
Over 61	13	3	18	8	0	2	31	13

Figure 22 – Use of *shimakutuba* by age, gender and level, in number of persons.

Notably, among individuals aged 21-60 only few used exclusively *shimakutuba* in a single conversation, while the majority preferred to mix it with Japanese or to use single

<sup>132</sup> NAOI Taketo et al. "Local Students' Perception of Spaces for Tourists and Locals in a Shopping District: Photo-Based Research." *Scientific Committee*: 87, p. 87-92. Internet resource: [https://scholar.google.it/scholar?cluster=1561759286190508720&hl=en&as\\_sdt=0.5](https://scholar.google.it/scholar?cluster=1561759286190508720&hl=en&as_sdt=0.5) (accessed on 04/01/2018).

<sup>133</sup> NAOI Taketo et al. "Local Students' Perception of Spaces for Tourists and Locals in a Shopping District....".

words or expressions in *shimakutuba* (Figure 22). At the same time, persons aged over 61 spoke mostly only in *shimakutuba* or Japanese mixed with *shimakutuba*, as compared to using single words in *shimakutuba* in an otherwise Japanese conversation.

The conversations involving the use of *shimakutuba* took place mostly between locals (16 conversations), between owners of two or more nearby shops (10 conversations), between vendors and buyers (7 conversations) and between vendors and locals passing by (5 conversations). Among the 7 conversations between vendors and buyers, one consists in explaining the meaning of a word in *shimakutuba* written on a souvenir, and another in explaining a phrase in *shimakutuba* on a souvenir to a group of tourists, with vendor commenting: “you don’t need to remember it, because it’s only used in Okinawa”. In total, conversations involving use of *shimakutuba* with economic functions accounted for 16% of total, while the cognitive and identity functions were comprised both in over half of the total *shimakutuba* conversations. A distinction between identity function can be made for conversations inside individual’s circle of friends/acquaintances in locations separated from the tourist flow, and for similar conversations that are more exposed to the public ear. In the first case, unrestricted use of *shimakutuba* was observed, while in the second case it was more cautious and muted, and switching to Japanese often took place. This was not always the case, as seen from one case in which a group of 3 local people communicate in Japanese despite being inside a shop without visitors, or from cases of vendors arguing: one involving couple of shop owners arguing partially in Japanese and *shimakutuba* (Japanese being used only for the exclamations part), and another involving couple of shop owners having a discussion in *shimakutuba* - both situations far from being hidden from the public.

While the continuously developing tourism sector of Okinawa has already changed the dynamics of the area, giving it a tourist vibe, some parts of the shopping district retain their local characteristics, or “local charm”, which often acts as a prove of authenticity of the area to the tourists. The soundscape of such “local parts” of the area is characterized by frequent active use of *shimakutuba*, creating a multilingual location in which, by frequency, Japanese, *shimakutuba*, and other, foreign languages can be

heard. At the same time, such areas show use of local language for practical reasons, both in speaking and in product advertisement, in contrast to the Heiwa Dōri where spoken *shimakutuba* is used less, but whose linguistic landscape suggest wide use of local language in both top-bottom and bottom-top product and space advertisement, as can be observed in the study of linguistic landscape of Heiwa Dōri by Peter R. Petrucci and Katsuyuki Miyahira<sup>134</sup>.

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<sup>134</sup> Peter R. PETRUCCI and Katsuyuki MIYAHIRA, "Okinawago (Uchinaaguchi) no shōhinka to gengo keikan" (Commodification of Uchinaaguchi and linguistic landscape), *Language and society: study on multilingual societies*, 19, 103-127, 2017.



## V CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this study was to analyse the current situation of the Ryukyuan languages and to find out whether their use adds economic and symbolic value to the local languages as well as to the community. While assessing and differentiating the market and non-market values of *shimakutuba* is far from easy because of the lack of information and the fragmentation of local varieties, an analysis can still be done based on examples of other minority languages such as Irish, as well as by looking at policies aimed at revitalizing *shimakutuba*, at the involvement of local communities and organizations, at its actual use by Okinawan people, because as long as there will be people interested in maintaining and passing down a language, it will have value.

To some extent language can be analysed using economic approaches in a complementary way, but for certain features this might not be appropriate - most importantly because language use is not a limited entity, and the value of a language grows with the number of its users. At the same time, the problem of scarcity and of limited resources – which is the core of all economic reasonings – remains, because language revitalization needs dedication and allocation of resources, which, if not sufficiently justified beforehand, would be destined to other social activities. In the case of the minority languages, their revitalization and maintenance are more than often validated by the importance of the cultural heritage, while more practical reasons are overlooked, including use of languages in local economy and product promotion.

The resources invested so far by the Okinawa prefecture seem to have had if not a positive, then at least limiting, effect on the negative tendencies in attitudes towards *shimakutuba* and on the speed at which the number of *shimakutuba* speakers shrinks. The linguistic landscape and soundscape in Naha city shopping streets reflects, to certain extent only, the perceived status of the local languages as confined to the private sphere, as in slightly higher propensity to speak *shimakutuba* in spaces separated from the crowd or to use it in product naming but only as symbolic feature. At the same time,

Heiwa Dōri, Makishi public market and the three more distant streets' soundscapes show that *shimakutuba* is also often used by local people in various situations, from selling a product to chatting and to arguing, in public spaces frequented by both locals and tourists. Shops in the area display a range of souvenirs, clothes, household and food items advertised or named in *shimakutuba*, attracting tourists for its exotic feel, and locals for its familiarity, gaining both financially and symbolically as a part of culture is sold and promoted together with local produce. The target groups can be assumed to be the tourists of all ages, and middle-aged to elderly local people, while it remains to analyse the exposure to and use of *shimakutuba* in spaces frequented by younger Okinawans, as they should become the ones in charge of changing the current situation.



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## **Appendix**

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri both sides (1-14)  
 Date: 8/10/2017  
 Time: 16.45-17.15 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1				X														Kiosk owners chat	
2							X											Tourists chat, English	
3	X																	Tourists chat	
4			X								2				X	X		Locals chat	
5	X															X		Tourists shopping	
6							X									X		Tourists chat, English	
7					X					1	1					X		Tourists chat	
8	X							4	4	3	2						X		Tourists chat
9					X					2	1						X		Tourists chat
10					X					2							X		Tourists photographing
11						X				1	1						X		Tourists chat
12	X								1	1	1						X		Tourists chat
13						X				1	1						X		Tourists chat
14					X					3							X		Tourists chat
15																			
16																			
17																			
18																			
19																			
20																			

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-14)

Date: 8/10/2017

Time: 16.45-17.15 pm

Surveyor: Charanovska

Second day of Naha city festival—Tug of War festival. High presence of American nationals and locals, in proportion to tourists, but still only at the beginning of Heiwa dori, in more touristy spots.



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Makishi public market (10-15), Ichiba Hondōri (16-22)  
 Date: 9/10/2017  
 Time: 10.00-10.30 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X									2					X	X	Chat between salarymen
2					X			1	1	1					X		Tourists chat, family
3	X									1	1				X	X	Two vendors chat
4	X									2	1				X		Tourists chat
5	X							1	1	1					X		Tourists chat, family
6		X									2				X	X	1 speaks japanese, 1 shimakutuba
7	X								2	1					X	X	Local vendors chat
8	X								2						X		Tourists shopping
9	X								2	1					X		Tourists chat
10					X				3	1					X		Tourists chat
11	X								2			X					Vendor and buyer chat
12					X				3						X		Chinese vendors chat
13	X								1	2		X					Vendor and buyers chat
14	X								2	1		X					Vendor and buyers chat
15		X									1	1			X		Vendor and buyer chat
16	X								2			X					Vendor and buyer chat
17	X								2						X		Tourists chat
18	X										1	1				X	Chat in front of a kiosk
19	X								2	1					X		Tourists chat, family
20					X				1	1					X		Tourists chat

Female     Male



## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dori (1-9), Makishi public market (10-15), Ichibahodori (16-22)

Date: 9/10/2017

Time: 10.00-10.30 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

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## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Makishi public market (10-15), Ichiba Hondōri (16-22)

Date: 9/10/2017

Time: 10.00-10.30 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information	
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER		
1	X							1	1	1					X			Tourists chat, family
2	X								1	1					X			Tourists chat
3																		
4																		
5																		
6																		
7																		
8																		
9																		
10																		
11																		
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13																		
14																		
15																		
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17																		
18																		
19																		
20																		

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Makishi public market (10-15), Ichiba Hondōri (16-22)

Date: 9/10/2017

Time: 10.00-10.30 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

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## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Makishi public market (7-17)  
 Date: 9/10/2017  
 Time: 17.00-17.30 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1					X					3									TOURISTS CHAT
2	X									1	1			X					VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
3					X					1	2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
4	X							3						X		X			LOCAL SCHOOLGIRLS CHAT
5			X							4				X	X				LOCALS CHAT
6	X										1	3		X					VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
7					X					1	1					X			CHINESE VENDORS CHAT
8	X									3	1			X					VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
9		X								2						X			LOCALS CHAT
10	X									2				X					VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
11					X					1	2			X					VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
12	X									2								X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
13	X										2							X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
14	X									2				X				X	LOCALS SHOPPING
15	X									2	1			X				X	LOCALS SHOPPING
16	X							1		1						X			TOURISTS CHAT
17	X									3						X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
18																			
19																			
20																			

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Makishi public market (10-12), Tenjin ichiba Hondōri (13-17)  
 Date: 10/10/2017  
 Time: 11.00-11.30 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1						X				1	1	2				X			TOURISTS CHAT
2	X										1	1				X			TOURISTS CHAT
3	X										2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
4	X										3					X			TOURISTS CHAT
5	X									1		1			X		X		LOCALS CHAT
6	X										2			X					BUYER AND VENDOR CHAT
7	X										2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
8						X			1	1						X			TOURISTS CHAT
9	X									1		1				X			TOURISTS CHAT
10					X				2	2						X			TOURISTS CHAT
11					X					2						X			CHINESE VENDORS CHAT
12	X									2				X					VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
13		X										2			X		X		TWO VENDORS CHAT
14					X					1	1					X			LOCALS CHAT
15		X										2				X			LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
16		X										2				X			LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
17	X									2							X		LOCALS CHAT
18																			
19																			
20																			

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-7), Makishi public market (8-10)  
 Date: 10/10/2017  
 Time: 17.30-18.00 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information	
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER		
1	X							2	1	1					X			TOURISTS, FAMILY CHATTING
2	X								1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
3	X									2				X		X		LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
4					X				1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
5				X					2	1		X	X					VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
6	X										3				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT, NO VISITORS
7	X										2				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
8	X								1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
9					X			1	1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT, FAMILY
10							X		2						X			TOURISTS CHAT, THAIANDESE
11																		
12																		
13																		
14																		
15																		
16																		
17																		
18																		
19																		
20																		

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-7), Makishi public market (8-10)

Date: 10/10/2017

Time: 17.30-18.00 pm

Surveyor: Charanovska

The square right before entrance to Heiwa dori was occupied by a crowd attending 地域安全出発式, and it might have

Had an effect on the typology of people frequenting the area right before and after the event.

5) The vendor uses *shimakutuba* to attract customers to his shop.

6) Locals speak in Japanese between them even if there are no customers in the shop.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Makishi public market (10)  
 Date: 11/10/2017  
 Time: 10.20-10-50 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information	
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER		
1					X			1	1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
2					X				1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
3	X								2						X			TOURISTS CHAT
4	X								1	1					X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
5	X							2							X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
6	X										2				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
7					X				2	2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
8	X							2	1						X			LOCAL CHILDREN CHAT
9					X				2		1				X			TOURISTS CHAT
10	X								2						X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
11																		
12																		
13																		
14																		
15																		
16																		
17																		
18																		
19																		
20																		

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Makishi public market (10)

Date: 11/10/2017

Time: 10.20-10.50 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

Many tourists of Chinese nationality in the Makishi public market, especially near the 2 stands selling fish and managed by

Chinese women, presumably because of ease of communication.

Man at a local vegetable stand comments that lately there are more tourists from China because of cruise

liners from China.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Makishi public market (7-14), Shintenji ichiba Hondōri (15)  
 Date: 11/10/2017  
 Time: 17.30-18.00 pm  
 Surveyor: \_\_\_\_\_

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X																LOCAL SCHOOLGIRLS CHAT
2					X				1	1							TOURISTS CHAT
3	X																TOURISTS CHAT
4					X				2								TOURISTS CHAT
5	X								1	1					X	X	LOCALS CHAT IN A BAR
6		X										X	X				LOCALS SHOPPING
7					X			2	2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
8					X					4				X			TOURISTS CHAT
9	X								1	1					X		LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
10					X			1	2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
11	X									4				X	X	X	LOCAL SALARYMEN CHAT
12	X								2	2		X					VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
13	X								2	1				X	X	X	LOCALS CHAT
14	X									2				X		X	LOCALS CHAT
15		X							1	1			X	X			VENDORS(COUPLE) ARGUING, VERY EXPRESSIVE
16																	
17																	
18																	
19																	
20																	

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Makishi public market (7-14), Shintenji ichiba Hondōri (15)

Date: 11/10/2017

Time: 17.30-18.00 pm

Surveyor: Charanovska

The keeper of a small shop selling books on Okinawa at the far end of Shintenji ichiba Hondōri, says he is fluent in Uchinaaguchi. He uses Uchinaaguchi at home with parents, but Japanese with children and grandchildren because they don't understand it. He also speaks uchinaaguchi with friends who are older. When asked about uchinaaguchi education at the school his grandchildren frequent, he comments that there are no lessons on uchinaaguchi.

In the evening there were more people than usual on Kokusai dori and Heiwa dori as well.

Many chinese tourists.

TV interviews tourists at the beginning of Heiwa dori.

15) Couple arguing very expressive and intense, the woman uses Japanese only for short exclamations, the discussion itself is in *shimakutuba*.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-5), Makishi public market (6-9), Ichiba Chūdōri/Shintenji ichiba Dōri (10-12)

Date: 12/10/2017

Time: 10.45-11.15 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X									2				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
2	X									2				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
3	X									3						X	LOCALS SHOPPING
4		X								1	1			X	X		VENDORS COUPLE DISCUSSION
5					X			3	1					X			TOURISTS AT A BAR CHAT
6	X									3	1	X					VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
7			X							1			X		X		LOCALS SHOPPING
8	X									2				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
9	X										3					X	LOCALS CHAT AT A BENCH NEAR EXIT
10				X						2	1	X					A VENDOR EXPLAINING A PHRASE IN OKINAWAN TO THE TOURISTS
11			X								2		X	X			VENDORS CHAT IN FRONT OF THEIR KIOSK
12	X									2				X		X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
13																	
14																	
15																	
16																	
17																	
18																	
19																	
20																	

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-5), Makishi public market (6-9), Ichiba Chūdōri/Shintenji ichiba Dōri (10-12)

Date: 12/10/2017

Time: 10.45-11.15 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

Very few people.

10) the vendor explains meaning of a phrase written in shimakutuba to tourists buying the product, and adds

[覚えなくていい、沖縄でしか使わないから] (“you don’t need to remember it, because it’s only used in Okinawa”).

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-2), Makishi public market (3-5), Ichiba Hondōri/Shintenji ichiba Dōri (6-14)  
 Date: 12/10/2017  
 Time: 17.30-18.00 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1							X								X	X	TOURIST AND LOCAL CHAT, ENGLISH
2	X									1	2						VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
3	X								2	1							VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
4				X					2							X	VENDORS GREETING
5	X										3	1					VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
6	X									2							VENDOR AND BUYERS CHAT
7							X		1	1					X		LOCAL AND TOURIST, BROKEN ENGLISH, DIRECTIONS
8		X									2						VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
9	X									2					X	X	LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
10	X								1	1					X	X	CHAT BETWEEN MOTHER AND CHILD
11	X									1	1				X	X	CHAT BETWEEN LOCALS
12		X								2					X		LOCAL VENDORS CHAT
13				X					1	1					X	X	CHAT INSIDE A KIOSK (CHIBARIYO-)
14	X										1	1			X		LOCALS GREETING, VERY FORMAL JAPANESE
15																	
16																	
17																	
18																	
19																	
20																	

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-7), Ichiba Chūdōri/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (8-11)  
 Date: 22/10/2017  
 Time: 16.20-16.50 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information	
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER		
1	X								1	1					X		X	LOCALS SHOPPING CHAT
2					X				2						X			TOURISTS CHAT IN FRONT OF A RESTAURANT
3	X								2			X			X			VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT, LOCALS
4							X			5				X	X			ENGLISH/AMERICAN CHAT IN A BAR OUTSIDE
5	X									2				X	X	X		LOCALS CHAT IN A BAR
6	X									2				X	X	X		LOCALS CHAT IN A BAR
7			X								2				X			LOCALS CHAT IN A SHOP, MIXING AUTOMATICALLY
8	X									2					X		X	LOCALS CHAT ON THE STREET
9	X									2					X		X	LOCALS CHAT IN A KIOSK
10	X									2					X	X	X	LOCALS CHAT ON THE STREET
11	X								1	1					X		X	LOCALS CHAT ON THE STREET
12																		
13																		
14																		
15																		
16																		
17																		
18																		
19																		
20																		

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri(1-5), Makishi public market(6-9), Ichiba Chūdōri/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri(10-20)

Date: 23/10/2017

Time: 10.00-10.30 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X							1	1		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
2	X								1	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	SHOP EMPLOYEES CHAT BEFORE OPENING
3					X				2	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
4	X									2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	BAR OWNER AND VISITOR CHAT
5	X									1	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCAL SHOPPING CHAT
6	X								1	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT AT THE MARKET
7	X							1	2			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT ABOUT PRODUCTS
8	X								3			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCAL AND TOURISTS CHAT IN FRONT OF A KIOSK
9					X				2			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CHAT VENDOR AND BUYERS AT FISH KIOSK
10	X									1	1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCAL AND VENDOR CHAT ABOUT PRODUCTS
11							X	1	1			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ENGLISH/AMERICAN TOURISTS CHAT
12	X							1	1			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCAL AND VENDOR CHAT ABOUT PRODUCTS
13	X							1	1			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCAL SHOPPING CHAT
14	X									2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS DECIDING WHERE TO GO
15	X								2			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VENDORS CHAT INSIDE A SHOP, NO VISITORS
16	X									2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS CHAT
17		X										<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VENDOR AND LOCAL CHAT PASSING BY
18	X							1	1			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT IN THE STREET
19	X									2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	KIOSK OWNERS CHAT
20	X							2	1			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT BETWEEN VENDOR AND BUYERS FROM NAGO

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa dōri(1-5), Makishi public market(6-9), Ichiba Chūdōri/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri(10-20)

Date: 23/10/2017

Time: 10.00-10.30 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

Not many people around, many shops are still closed. Less foreign tourists than usual, may be because of the storm and cancelled flights from Honshu.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Makishi market (0), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (7-8)  
 Date: 24/10/2017  
 Time: 10.10-10.45 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1						X				2						X			TOURISTS CHAT
2	X										2					X			TOOURISTS CHAT
3	X										X					X			EMPLOYEES OF TWO NEARBY KIOSKS CHAT
4				X				1	2	1						X			TOURISTS CHAT
5	X										2					X		X	KIOSK OWNERS CHAT
6	X											2				X		X	VENDOR AND LOCAL CHAT IN A KIOSK
7	X										2					X		X	KIOSK OWNERS CHAT
8			X							2	2				X				A WOMAN EXPLAINS MEANING OF A WORD IN SHIMAKUTUBA ON A
9																			
10																			
11																			
12																			
13																			
14																			
15																			
16																			
17																			
18																			
19																			
20																			

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa dōri (1-6), Makishi market (0), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (7-8)

Date: 24/10/2017

Time: 10.10-10.45 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

Not many people around, almost no one at the market.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-11), Makishi Market (12-15), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (16-19)  
 Date: 24/10/2017  
 Time: 16.45-17.15 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1							X		1		1					X			TOURISTS CHAT, GERMAN
2					X					2	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
3	X								4						X		X		LOCAL STUDENTS CHAT
4					X					1	1				X				TOURISTS CHAT
5					X			1	1						X				TOURISTS CHAT
6			X														X		CHAT AT A KIOSK
7	X														X		X		LOCALS SHOPPING
8	X								2						X		X		LOCALS SHOPPING
9	X										2				X		X		LOCALS CHAT
10					X			1	1	1					X				TOURISTS CHAT
11	X									2							X		CHAT IN A BAR
12	X								1	1					X				TOURISTS CHAT
13	X								1	1	1					X	X		LOCALS CHAT WITH A VENDOR
14	X																X		TOURISTS CHAT WHILE CHOOSING A PRODUCT
15							X			2					X				ENGLISH, TOURISTS CHAT
16	X										4				X	X	X		LOCALS CHAT AT A KAKIGORI PLACE
17	X								2								X		CHAT AT A KIOSK
18	X								2						X		X		LOCALS CHAT SITTING IN FRONT OF A CLOSED KIOSK
19			X								1	1					X		LOCALS CHAT INSIDE A KIOSK
20																			

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Ichiba Hondōri/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (7-14)  
 Date: 25/10/2017  
 Time: 10.25-11.10 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1					X			1	1	1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT, FAMILY
2	X									1	1					X		X	LOCALS SHOPPING
3					X											X			TOURISTS CHOOSING A PRODUCT
4	X												2		X				CHAT IN A SHOP, VENDOR AND BUYER
5	X												2		X				VENDOR AND CLIENT, CHAT ABOUT A
6	X										1						X	X	CHAT AT A BAR, OWNER AND A LOCAL
7	X									2					X				CHAT AT A SHOP
8	X												X					X	LOCALS CHAT AT A KIOSK
9	X									1	1							X	CHAT IN A KIOSK
10	X										2								LOCALS CHAT WHILE BUYING VEGETABLES
11	X												2			X		X	LOCALS SHOPPING
12	X												1	1			X	X	VENDOR AND LOCAL CHAT, JOKE
13					X					1	1					X			TOURISTS CHAT
14							X	1	1							X			ENGLISH, TOURISTS CHAT
15																			
16																			
17																			
18																			
19																			
20																			

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-5), Ichibachūo/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (6-11)  
 Date: 25/10/2017  
 Time: 17.35-18.00 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X							2	2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT WHILE SHOPPING
2							X		2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
3			X						2	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS AT A BAR, SPEAKING ALSO ON THE PHONE
4	X								1	1	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
5	X								1	2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	GREETINGS, OUTSIDE A SHOP				
6							X		1	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
7	X								2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS CHAT IN FRONT OF A KIOSK
8			X						2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TWO VENDORS CHAT AS CLOSING SHOP
9	X								1	1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT AS CLOSING THE SHOP
10		X								2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS STOP FOR A CHAT IN MIDDLE OF STREET
11	X								3		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS CHAT AT A KIOSK
12											<input type="checkbox"/>						
13											<input type="checkbox"/>						
14											<input type="checkbox"/>						
15											<input type="checkbox"/>						
16											<input type="checkbox"/>						
17											<input type="checkbox"/>						
18											<input type="checkbox"/>						
19											<input type="checkbox"/>						
20											<input type="checkbox"/>						

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (10-16)  
 Date: 26/10/2017  
 Time: 11.00-11.35 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X							1	2					X			TOURISTS CHAT
2	X							5						X			GROUP OF TOURISTS CHAT
3					X					3				X			CHAT WHILE SHOPPING, TOURISTS
4									2					X			TOURISTS CHAT, ENGLISH
5	X									2				X		X	LOCALS CHAT INSIDE A SHOP, NO VISITORS
6	X									2						X	CHAT INSIDE A SHOP, LOCALS?
7	X									2				X		X	LOCALS CHAT WHILE SHOPPING
8	X									3				X	X	X	LOCALS CHAT DIRECTED INTO A SHOP
9	X								3						X	X	CHAT VENDORS AND POST OFFICER
10	X									1	1			X	X	X	LOCALS ASKING FOR INFO
11	X							2	1			X		X			TOURISTS and vendor chat
12	X									2						X	CHAT WHILE SHOPPING
13								1	4	1				X			TOURISTS LOST THEIR WAY
14	X								2					X	X	X	VENDORS CHAT
15		X								2				X		X	LOCAL AND VENDOR CHAT
16		X								2				X		X	LOCALS CHAT AT A KIOSK
17																	
18																	
19																	
20																	

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-9), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (10-16)

Date: 26/10/2027

Time: 11.00-11.35 am

Surveyor: Charanovska

Heiwa dori crowded, especially at the beginning.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (7-11)  
 Date: 26/10/2017  
 Time: 16.45-17.20 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information	
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER		
1							X								X			TOURISTS SHOPPING
2					X					2								TOURISTS SHOPPING
3	X									2						X	X	CHAT BETWEEN VENDORS
4	X										2	1			X	X	X	LOCALS CHAT IN FRONT OF A KIOSK
5			X							2				X	X		X	LOCALS CHAT UNDER A CLOSED SHOP
6	X									2					X	X		CHAT BETWEEN TWO CLIENTS OF A BAR
7			X								2			X	X		X	CHAT INSIDE A SHOP
8			X							3			X	X				VENDOR AND CLIENTS CHAT
9			X								2				X		X	VENDOR AND LOCALS CHAT
10	X											2			X	X	X	LOCALS CHAT WHILE SHOPPING
11	X									1	4				X		X	CHAT WHILE WALKING/ BUSINESS TRIP
12																		
13																		
14																		
15																		
16																		
17																		
18																		
19																		
20																		

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-6), Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (7-11)

Date: 26/10/2017

Time: 16.45-17.20 pm

Surveyor: Charanovska

A lot of occasions to hear *shimakutuba*, especially in Taihei Dōri.

5) one man speaks in *shimakutuba* while the other man replies in Japanese and *shimakutuba* mixed together.

## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri (1-10), Ichiba Chūo/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (11-19)  
 Date: 27/10/2017  
 Time: 10.45-11.30 am  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Language							Age			Function						Additional information
	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER	
1	X								2	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS AND VENDOR
2	X								1	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VENDOR AND BUYER
3	X							3				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	CHAT WHILE SHOPPING
4	X								1	1		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
5	X								2			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TWO VENDORS FROM NEARBY SHOPS CHAT
6					X			1	3	1		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
7	X								1	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	VENDOR AND BUYER
8	X							4				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT ON THE STREET
9	X										2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RESTAURANT OWNER AND LOCAL GREETING
10	X									2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS SHOPPING LOST THEIR WAY
11	X							4		1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS AND A FORTUNE-TELLER
12	X								1	1		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCALS SHOPPING CHAT
13									1	1		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT
14	X								1	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	LOCAL AND VENDOR CHAT
15	X									2		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MARKET WORKERS CHAT
16				X					1	1		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	VENDOR EXPLAINING MEANING OF A WORD
17	X										1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT VENDOR AND LOCAL
18					X				2			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOURISTS CHAT SHOPPING
19	X										2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CHAT INSIDE AKIOSK, LOCALS
20												<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Female     Male



## HEIWA DŌRI LANGUAGE USE SURVEY

Route: Heiwa Dōri(1-2), Ichiba Chūo/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (3-14)  
 Date: 27/10/2017  
 Time: 15.30-16.20 pm  
 Surveyor: Charanovska

	Japanese	Shimakutuba	Japanese and Shimakutuba	Shimakutuba limited to 1-3	Chinese	Korean	Other	Age			Function						Additional information		
								0-20	21-60	Over 61	ECONOMIC	AESTHETIC	COGNITIVE	IDENTITY	COURTESY	OTHER			
1	X									1	1					X		X	CHAT ON THE STREET, LOCALS?
2	X											2						X	CHAT WHILE RESTING ON A BENCH
3							X			1	2					X	X	X	LOCAL AND TOURISTS ASKING FOR DIRECTIONS, ENGLISH
4							X			1	1					X		X	CHAT ON THE STREET, ENGLISH
5	X											2				X		X	VENDORS CHAT
6	X								1	1						X		X	CHAT IN FRONT OF A KIOSK
7			X									2				X	X		SHOPPERS IN A PASSAGE, (NAN KURU NAI SA-)
8							X		1	1	1	1				X			TOURISTS CHAT
9	X										2					X	X	X	LOCAL AND MARKET DELIVERY MAN CHAT
10			X									2	1			X		X	VENDOR AND LOCALS GREETINGS
11	X											3				X		X	LOCALS CHAT IN A CORNER
12			X						1				1			X	X		LOCALS CHAT
13	X										2					X		X	TOURISTS/BUSINESS TRIP CHAT WHILE SHOPPING
14	X									1	1					X			VENDOR AND BUYER CHAT
15																			
16																			
17																			
18																			
19																			
20																			

Female     Male

## NOTES

Route: Heiwa Dōri(1-2), Ichiba Chūo/Shintenji/Taihei Dōri (3-14)

Date: 27/10/2017

Time: 15.30-16.20 pm

Surveyor: Charanovska

12) Locals chat, the younger speaks Shimakutuba while the older Japanese.

