

University of Alberta

The quest of Shiman-chu: Questioning the absolutes of language, culture,
and Being

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Indigenous Peoples Education

Department of Educational Policy Studies

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Spring 2013
Edmonton, Alberta

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Dedication

For Tokunoshima islanders past, present, and future. For the love of island ways and island Being, and island knowing. For Hanika and Tyrone, so that they will know and love the island too.

For the ancestors, who supported us and brought us to this time and place, and who continue to sustain us.

Most importantly, for the island, the land, the ocean, the rivers, the streams, the mountains, the valley, the rocks, the birds, the animals, the reptiles, the fish, the trees, the wind, and the everlasting, ever-patience of her essence.

Abstract

Undertaken on Tokunoshima, an island colonized by Japan in the 17th century, this research speaks to the critical question of the loss of Indigenous languages and the resultant loss of ethnic pluralism. In general, people on Tokunoshima claim that Shima-guchi (language), Shima-culture, and Shiman-chu identity on Tokunoshima are being lost (language, culture, and identity or LCI shift). In order to gauge the accuracy and implications of these claims, LCI shift was investigated using a combination of surveys (N=3509) and interviews (N=40). In keeping with the fact that Tokunoshima people are an Indigenous people within a colonized territory, this mixed methods study was undertaken within and shaped by an Indigenous Tokunoshima research paradigm, one which honours the voices of the participants and elicits particular reciprocities and obligations on the part of the Indigenous researcher, necessitating multiple return trips over a four-year period.

Overall, the survey and interview results alike showed a positive correlation between participants' age and their Shima-guchi fluency, practice, and knowledge of Shima-culture. Interviewees, many of them leaders, seniors, and experienced educators expressed the importance of passing down "*Shima no kokoro.*" Translated as "the heart of the island," this refers to island life as expressed in language and culture. This study concludes that while residents of Tokunoshima are losing Shima-guchi and culture, Shiman-chu identity remains strong. Finally, it is clear that the majority of participants in the study want to retain Shima-guchi and Shima-culture for their own and future generations.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank all of the people of Tokunoshima who agreed to help me with this project, particularly my parents Kouzo and Chiemi Nakagawa. They endlessly opened doors for me. I hope that I have respected their trust in me, all islanders' trust in me.

I would like to thank Dr. Makere Stewart-Harawira, my advisor, who pushed me to do my best and allowed me to do it my way, and who supported me through everything. Thank you to my committee, Dr. Jerry Kachur, Dr. Joe da Costa, and Dr. Evelyn Steinhauer, for their insightful comments and reviews, and for their endless support, and to Dr. Ali Abdi who chaired both my proposal defense and my defense. Thank you to examiners Dr. Teresa McCarty and Dr. Kent den Heyer for their probing questions, comments, and observations.

I am grateful for the doctoral fellowship support I received from the Killam Foundation and from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada that made my work possible. I am also grateful to the University of Alberta for the many scholarships and travel grants that enabled me to continue to do my work and to share it with others.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, my wife Sandie, my daughter Hanika, and my son Tyrone. I have not been easy to live with (or to live without) over the past few years. I could not have done it without them.

The quest of Shiman-chu: Questioning the absolutes of language, culture, and Being

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Setting the Frameworks

In the middle of winter, the main industry of my island got active—harvesting the sugar cane. I remember walking by the sugar-processing shack which was run by an old man, and he used to give my friends and me some newly-extracted hot melted molasses which is known to us as kuro sato (black sugar). That is the memory I have with me vividly, that feeling of a hot hand, full of a lump of melted black sugar from the pot on a cold winter day after a long day of school. It tasted so good and we never told our parents that we were given the treat by the kind-hearted man. I wonder, when I look back, if he intended to give us a treat just because he had enough, or if he wanted to teach us who we were. No matter what his intention, the memory of being an islander is engraved in my heart.

As I got older and older, my wondering about my life got stronger and stronger—that is, the differences between the way we lived and the way TV was showing us what people's lives should look like. As a child, I was simply interested in life on TV—not life on my island. I wanted, and the community wanted us to speak, behave, and learn the things we saw on the TV. The modern life was in. I was watching a rapid turn of the culture without even asking a question—just believing that was the right thing to do. People were not asking questions. No one seemed to want to have our life; it was a low and dirty life. Soon later, I stopped going to the man's factory where he made molasses. And his shack became empty, then, the building was gone. I did not feel anything; rather, I felt cleaner without the shack on the corner of the dirt road.... (Researcher journal,¹ October 13, 2006)

This dissertation tracks a journey that began with a particular assumption regarding the essential role of language in the maintenance of culture and identity, set out to explore a particular question, namely whether it was possible, or even advisable, for my island community to engage in the revitalization of our language. It

¹ This journal was kept during coursework for my Ph.D. program, not undertaken for this project.

concludes with the surprising discovery that, despite a large body of academic literature to the contrary, language and cultural maintenance are not quintessential prerequisites to the maintenance of Shiman-chu identity.

In inviting you on this journey, I am, in many ways, asking an impossible task of you, the reader. Please throw away your expectations and read this dissertation with your body/mind not your rational mind. Because I am not a native speaker of English—nor even of Japanese—I am asking that you not read this dissertation with a Western hermeneutic orientation,² but instead subordinate your ideology to mine. Let me tell you how to think, how to feel, how to experience. Let me “speak” below since writing is not a part of my culture, and the rationalist logic of Western prose disguises my world. Let me use my Western-educated voice at times and my island voice at times, and a voice from somewhere in between the two at other times. Please be patient when you do not understand my stories, metaphors, or analogies (even when they go on for too long), because those are the moments I am being most true to who I am and doing my best to put wordless knowledge into words. For my part, I will do everything possible to help you in the task of understanding this dissertation in an island way. I will make a great effort to explain island ideology to you, and to track how our belief systems have developed so that you can feel /live the data as I do. Thank you for your effort to enter my worldview/viewpoint/existence.

My Island, My Self

To do this in the island way, I am going to tell you a story. I had an idea. I thought it was a good idea. Going into the Ph.D. program in Indigenous People’s Education, I wrote as my introductory statement,

My interest in doing a Ph.D. in Educational Policy Studies is motivated by my Indigenous ancestry, and by my growing realization that if I wait for

² By this I mean that you should not read the text according to how you would read an English text. It may not appear to be perfect to you, but this is the best I can do. I am converting, to use an analogy, centimeters to inches, from metric to imperial measure. By Western hermeneutic orientation, I mean “imperial measurement,” using a dominant culture norm to judge my words. Therefore, you can think of this as “imperialist” measurement, judging the periphery from the norms of the center. At the same time, please do not forget that centimeters are not what I am trying to explain. Centimeters are the Japanese measuring system, and I am using Japanese ideology translated to English to explain my people, explaining through a double layer of imperialism.

someone else to ensure that the culture and the language of the Amami people (and all Ryukyu people) will survive, then I might be disappointed. Several recent long-term trips home to the island of Tokunoshima, Japan, have made me aware that my language and culture are on the brink of loss. As one of the few Western graduate school-educated people from my island...I have slowly come to realize that this is my project, my life's work. It is appropriate. My name is Satoru, which means "to realize."

At the beginning of my journey, I intended to create archives of my language, then to teach *Shima-guchi* (literally "island mouth" meaning Tokunoshima language) and Tokunoshima traditional culture to my people through established forms of institution (formal schools, lifelong learning centers, private schools, radio programs), and I even hoped to establish Tokunoshima's first university that would teach through the medium of Shima-guchi. My dissertation topic was clear and established. I knew there were many researchers and leaders already working on revitalizing language (and culture) of local, subordinate, suppressed, Aboriginal, Indigenous, island, and/or small, isolated communities around the world, and I was looking forward to learning from and working with them.

In 2003, prior to my admission to the Ph.D. program, my children were given permission by Board of Education to be able to attend school while we were in Tokunoshima. On the way to pick up our daughter at school (most islanders do not do this) my wife and I were having a conversation about how I planned to fix the language and culture loss problem. I was enthusiastic, convinced I could establish a university on the island and run programs in Shima-guchi about island sustainability. The only obstacles that I could see were finding funding and generating student interest. My wife asked me "Who do you think you are?"³ I started to answer her that I am an islander. Then I once more engaged in my rhetoric about islanders leaving Tokunoshima to attend university or other schools in mainland Japan, and not returning. My wife asked again "Who do you think

³ To be fair, I should probably acknowledge that I started the argument and my wife was just turning my words back on me. I therefore return to this story in Chapter 3.

you are?” Getting frustrated, I launched into the same speech once more. Then she said to me “I know what you said, but do you still think like an island person or like an expatriate who went to graduate school in Canada?”

The carpet was pulled from under me. I had to go back to the beginning—not even the beginning, but before the beginning. I realized that my first question about language and culture survival had to be “Who on earth am I?” followed by “What do Tokunoshima people want?” I could not simply assume I am an islander and state what I want for my island.

Pursuing these questions did not lead me to believe that I am no longer an islander, but rather re-affirmed my islander-ness, because of my renewed understanding of where I am located physically, spiritually, emotionally, and mentally. The interrogation of myself allowed me to acknowledge that I am a Tokunoshima islander; without that, I am no one. I simply do not live on the island anymore. I cannot understand the current struggles and problems of the island intimately, as a current community member. I cannot share their pain, joy, or happiness when I am not there, but I am still and always will be an islander.

Coming to some conclusions about who I am has allowed me to take a different approach. I cannot represent the island of Tokunoshima as a resident, but even if I were living on the island of Tokunoshima, I would still need to ask others what they think to understand how islanders perceive themselves now and for the future. That is, I can claim to be a part of the “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) of Tokunoshima, but I alone do not represent that vision. Although Anderson (1991) is most frequently cited for how nations imagine themselves into being, he notes that:

In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. Javanese villagers have always known that they are connected to people they have never seen, but these ties were once imagined particularistically-as indefinitely stretchable nets of kinship and clientship.

Until quite recently, the Javanese language had no word meaning the abstraction 'society.' (p. 4)

Javanese speakers, like Tokunoshima islanders, do not constitute a nation state, nor is their language (spoken by more than 75 million people) the official language of any nation. We Tokunoshima islanders, as they, have an imagined community that exists now, and one that we imagine for the future.

Tokunoshima is not well known. Mainland Japanese correct me when I refer to the island and say “don’t you mean Tokushima or Toshima?” Outside of Japan, Tokunoshima is even less well known. In the next section, I will try to explain who I am, who my people are, and how our particular Indigenous context evolved. Like many Indigenous peoples, I am trying to learn much about my history for the first time, relying on oral knowledge and local texts, in contrast to official histories and official texts. There is no written form of my island language, so even those texts produced by islanders about islanders are written in standard Japanese. It is my hope that by juxtaposing various stories and images, I will be able to give you a sense of island that will allow you to interpret my research with me.

Who am I?

Growing up on an island [in the] south of Japan⁴, I was told not to speak using my islander’s oral expressions (usually called “language,” or “dialect” in English; we islanders refer to it as *Shima-guchi*) throughout my formal education. I learned not to respect my islanders’ oral expressions or the related culture. I think the efforts of the formal education system have “paid off” in terms of their intentions to the current day. An exemplar of such success, I (along with my generation) became teenagers in the 1980s at a time when many islanders started to raise concerns that *Shima-guchi* was no longer being used by the younger generations. More recently, with the turn of the new millenium, every time I go back to my island, I realize that an increasing number of people express with

⁴ In this thesis, I try to use punctuation to represent what I think. In this case, I have bracketed out the words “in the” to represent that in one postcolonial move, I understand my island to be south of Japan, not in the southern part of Japan.

greater and greater urgency how little the younger generations are able to use Shima-guchi and how they minimally participate in their cultural traditions.

Until now, Tokunoshima history has been written by a series of conquerors. It is impossible to uncover a history that has not been dominated and abused by the influence of the colonizers. My dissertation is no exception; I am writing within the colonizer's world, engaged in the practice of writing non-island text. In this section therefore, I will weave together written history, memory, island story, and my grandmother's/mother's/father's teachings⁵ in order to give a sense of the island over its thousands of years of history. It is not my intention to rewrite history. It is not my intention to relate history as it is written in books. It is my intention to capture some of the essential understandings of island life and language—but without enslaving the multi-dimensional hearts and souls of my island people by trapping them and then ironing them flat so that they can be studied by readers in two dimensions.

Locating myself. I am a 44-year-old male from Japan. I say I am from Japan but I am not too sure if I should say I am a Japanese male. “Japanese” is the only word that I have learned to explain/describe myself to others, but now I am asking myself “Am I really a Japanese man in the way that I have been taught in the school system?” I am not a mainlander, not Yamato-clan, not Satsuma-clan. I was born on an island called “Tokunoshima.” I was born on one of the coldest days (10 degrees Celsius) recorded on the island, in February 1968. According to my mother, I was born dead. As she describes that moment, I was completely purple and not breathing. The clinic where she gave birth to me did not have a doctor or most “essential” medical equipment. My mother tells me that the midwife immediately started calling for medical attention—oxygen and a helper from the other side of the island—at least 30 to 40 minutes by car away from where I was born. My mother says then the midwife turned me upside down by my ankles, and started to beat my back quite hard. My mother told me she kept

⁵ In another move to express things in written English, I use the slash mark to equate words that are frequently not equated by Western academics. Although in English there is a distinction between mother, father, and grandmother, in my world, they are combined because they reinforce one another. This is distinct from “ancestors” and distinct from “parents and grandparents” because we all lived together. Owing to the war, I had no grandfathers.

thinking to herself “that poor little thing; he is gone; that is enough, no more.” And when my mother was about to say out loud “that is enough,” I started to cry. Then, the order for oxygen and a doctor to come immediately from the next town was not urgent anymore. That was 1968 on my island.

Geographical context. The island of Tokunoshima, my birthplace, is now perceived to be located in the southern part of Japan. Tokunoshima island is located north at 28 degrees (27 degrees and 51 minutes) and east at 129 degrees (128 degrees and 51 minutes) between the Pacific Ocean and the Sea of China. The island is located relatively close to the coast of China.⁶ The island is one of the islands connecting the “mainland” part of Japan to the world. It is one of a chain of islands traditionally referred to as “islands of the road” by the mainland Japanese, meaning the islands forming a road to China.

The island of Tokunoshima is located far enough south that it is in a semi-tropical climate zone. The seashore is surrounded by coral reefs. The island is covered with a Laurel forest and is always green. In the past, islanders engaged in producing rice, sweet potatoes, and silk, while households worked small vegetable plots, until we were forced to specialize in sugar by our colonizers. Today, most of the people living on the island rely on sugar production for export as their main income source.⁷ However, fishery and other forms of farming (e.g., various fruits, potatoes, and flowers) are also considered to be major industries. These industries support the population of approximately 27,000 Amami people on Tokunoshima.

We who live on the northern islands in the chain, that is, Amami Oshima, Tokunoshima, Okinoerabu, Kikaijima, Kakeroma, and a few smaller islands are usually referred to as “Amami [people].” We are differentiated from mainland Japanese people (Yamato-clan or Satsuma-clan) and from Okinawan people (Ryukyu people), both by the other groups and by ourselves, historically,

⁶ See Nakagawa (2008) for further explanation.

⁷ Dependency theory holds that the “core” countries (the US, Europe, Canada, New Zealand, Australia) have exploited the “periphery” countries through colonialism and slavery for so many generations now that it is impossible for them to catch up (the best articulation of this in terms of language is Phillipson, 1992). I will take up this notion later, arguing instead for a split between resourced and resourcing peoples, which allows us to recognize Indigenous peoples who exist within the nation state as the body.

politically, physically, culturally, and linguistically. We are visibly different from the mainland Japanese, not only to the Yamato clan people, but also to people from other parts of the world. We are often mistaken for Hawaiian, Filipino, or Samoan. I am frequently mistaken for Latino, or for Canadian Aboriginal.

Historical contexts. By all written accounts, Tokunoshima appears to have had multiple rulers in the past. The best guesses represented in established debates about island history seem to be that the early colonizers/rulers were China, which claimed that it ruled the Ryukyu-kingdom (including Tokunoshima) from 618 until 907, followed by the Ryukyu Kingdom itself (centered in Okinawa) from 907 until 1609. Ryukyu rule on Tokunoshima was followed by direct control of the island by the *Satsuma-han*⁸ of the Edo era (pre-modernized Japan) from 1609 until 1868. From 1868 to 1945, Tokunoshima and all of the Ryukyus (the three groups of islands above) were dominated by modernized Japan, and then they were occupied by the United States of America from 1945 to 1962. The Amami islands, as part of the Prefecture of Kagoshima, were returned to Japan in 1951. Finally, the Ryukyus were returned to the current Japanese government in 1962 as the Prefecture of Okinawa, and have remained that way since then. That is the official story found in books and records of the dominant Japanese culture.

There is still a living history about the times prior to World War II (WWII). When I was growing up, my mother told me stories about WWII. My mother was still in elementary school when the war came to Tokunoshima. It was almost 1945, and the Japanese soldiers were losing the battle badly. Everyday, American B-29s were seen overhead and the bombing sirens went off. My mother was told by my grandmother to go under the layers of tatami mats (i.e., Japanese flooring woven with rush). My mother reminisces that hiding there probably did nothing to protect her, since the bullets were fired from combat planes and would have gone through thatched roofs and tatami mats easily.

At the peak of the American attack, the islanders started to lose their food sources and their houses. The Japanese soldiers also lost their food support line

⁸ Until the Edo period, Japan was not a united country. Therefore, “han” refers to the independent feudal states that exist in the period prior to the restructuring that represents current Japan.

from the mainland part of Japan. According to my mother and her mother, Japanese soldiers came to their sweet potato farm and took the potatoes and other vegetables from their tiny little plots of land, leaving nothing for the islanders to eat. Later, when the war ended, the American soldiers started to come into the villages in their famous Jeeps, distributing chocolates and candies to the curious children. My mother soon became one of them. She brought those sweets to her home, but my grandmother told my mother “it has poison in it so do not eat it.” Then she threw out all the goodies that my mother brought home. However, my mother said, she knew that most of her friends had already eaten those candies and they were fine. So, the next time, my mother hid the chocolates and candies from her mother in the bush, and occasionally went to eat them. According to my mother, the Japanese soldiers did nothing except steal the islanders’ sweet potatoes, while the Americans provided junk food for starving children (made from foreign sugar, not from Tokunoshima sugar).

For a long time, I thought my mother’s story was funny. I wondered how my grandmother could be so naïve that she never figured out the reality of the Japanese soldiers’ actions, their theft, and their disdain for island people. But, as it turns out, my grandmother was right. The American candy *was* poison, and it ate away at the islanders, ruining them from the inside out. I will come back to this idea later.

My father was able to leave the island during WWII. He was originally on the island when the war came to the Pacific-Okinawa region, but all the parents who had both enough money and off-island connections were able to send their children to the mainland of Japan where the Americans had not yet started bombing. My father was able to get onto a ship that left the island and went to Kagoshima City. All on board were children aged about 5 to 11 years old, with only a few adults. My father’s boat was the last boat to arrive safely; the next ship, filled with children, was torpedoed by the Americans. It is well-known among islanders that the Americans attacked the next boat, even though it had a white flag on it—the Americans argue that the Japanese military sometimes defied

international conventions, and used white flags and non-military ships to transport troops and weaponry, so they felt justified in ignoring the flags.

My father stayed with some distanced family members, but of course they could not look after him as well as he recalled being cared for by his own parents prior to the war. According to him, because of the lack of food in Kagoshima, they had to go onto the street and find grains of rice and beans to eat—if anybody dropped them. He did not return to the island until he was an adult.

Before the war, my mother's mother, her biological mother,⁹ one of my grandmothers traveled to Osaka. She was a young woman at that time. My wife always loved my grandmother; we called her “little grandma.” When my wife and I visited her, she told us about her trip. My wife asked, through me (English to Japanese mixed with Tokunoshima language), through my mother (from Japanese to the specific mountain-area dialect of Shima-guchi, Tokunoshima Amami, that my grandmother spoke) “what do you remember about going to Osaka?” My grandmother replied “the big glass windows.” She had never seen plate glass. Tokunoshima has typhoons, lots of typhoons, every year and that much typhoon-proof plate glass would have cost more than a gold house. These are unofficial stories, not written down. My mother and father are old now. My little grandmother died in 1998 when she was 106 years old.

Writing records. Prior to the 7th century, the Japanese did not have a writing system to record their history, their social mores, and their lifestyle(s). According to Hozumi (2000), Japan started to record its own history in text in the 7th century, using a new writing system that they “borrowed from” China.¹⁰

According to Haring (1961), the first envoys sent to China left a vague, unclear, but generally-accepted recognition of the Ryukyu Kingdom while they were in China (from the very early 7th century for a period of 300 years—618 - 907). Additionally, Chinese history books refer to the Ryukyu-kingdom being

⁹ My grandmother's younger sister lost both of her sons in a measles outbreak. Therefore, my grandmother gave my mother to her sister so that her sister would have a child to live for. The younger sister lived with the eldest sister, and together they raised my mother. Both of my grandfathers died in the war. Consequently, I have four grandmothers—and no grandfathers.

¹⁰ I think this part of history has been somewhat skewed by the Japanese interpretation; that is, it may be that this writing system was imposed on Japan by powerful Chinese who arrived in Japan and became the new ruling class.

ruled by China. These facts were also somewhat recognized and recorded by “*kentoushi*,” who were basically the Japanese envoys or delegates to the Tang dynasty in China. Part of the Ryukyu Kingdom at that time, Tokunoshima does not have a written history, but we have stories.

Little grandmother finished grade three or four; I’m not sure which. She learned to write the *katakana* syllabary. My other grandmother, my father’s mother who was named Yoshi Nakagawa,¹¹ went to high school. She learned to write *katakana*, *hiragana*, and Japanese *kanji*. Yoshi Nakagawa wrote and published poetry. I received her books from my father when I was younger, my early 20s. I looked at them and said to myself: “they seem interesting but not interesting enough to sit down and really read them.” In the back of my mind, I probably had the thought that her books were just about her life, that I would not understand them. Indeed, I did not understand them, just because I was too young, and not particularly interested in the past. I lived in a different time and a different place (even though it was in the same location). Every few years I pulled her books out and I looked through them mindlessly. But, really, I did not understand the complicated old Japanese expressions that got in the way of my understanding what she was really trying to say. Simply, my Japanese was not sophisticated enough to read my grandmother’s *haiku*, and that, coupled with my lack of life experiences made her writing incomprehensible to me.

More recently, I picked up her books, and perhaps owing to my growing maturity, or because of my current incarnation as a father, or because I am sophisticated enough to realize that my grandmother was, in her own way, a Marxist, I see many layers of her thoughts: joy, sorrow, anger, anguish, wishes, and many other feelings throughout her long life on Tokunoshima, and through the loss of her husband in WWII and the scattering of her family through mainland Japan to avoid the war. That is, understanding her poetry leads me to believe that my grandmother was able to see beyond the capitalism that eventually killed her husband, and that she could see glimpses of something between colonial

¹¹ Yoshi Nakagawa died at about age 105 on June 28th, 2012, my daughter’s 16th birthday. She is finally reunited with my grandfather after nearly 70 years alone. My grandfather died in the war in the Phillipines.

imperialism and democratic imperialism in her observations of the rapid change of her island post war. At the same time, she recognized that capitalism had been on the island as long as she could remember, as long as islanders had been seeing smoke coming out of the sugar factory smokestacks, that is, throughout her life.

Yoshi Nakagawa's words haunt me now. She speaks to me in her second language (Japanese), encouraging me to write in my third language (English):

*Because he died in the war
Rank and medals were provided
Formality, and the coldness of texts.*

Yoshi Nakagawa

*My four sons lived beyond World War Two.
Each has now surpassed their father's age of death,
And is working hard.*

Yoshi Nakagawa

*"Time heals all wounds" are but
Empty words, not helping me
Or my old body.*

Yoshi Nakagawa

(translated by Satoru Nakagawa; see Nakagawa, 2011)

My grandmother grew too old for stories before my children had a chance to meet her. Until she stopped speaking, she addressed my son as me. She did not know who we were (or who she was) at the end. At age 105 or so, she died in a hospital where they could not respect the natural course of, and destination in, her life. But hers is a different history, not the history of existing texts about Tokunoshima.

Contested histories. In 1609, *Satsuma-han* of pre-industrialized Japan ordered an army from mainland Japan to conquer all islands and peoples throughout Amami to the Ryukyu-kingdom, and they officially announced that they were the new rulers of the Amami islands and the Ryukyu Kingdom in 1610

(Uehara, 1992; Matsushita, 2006; Haring, 1961). Specifically, Shogun Toyotomi united Japan, but left no heirs. Shogun Tokugawa waited, and then took over as the feudal lord of united Japan. The Shogun Tokugawa also used most of his financial resources to unite Japan as one country, and the resulting new government was in desperate need of resources to reconstruct the economy in Japan. *Satsuma-han*, in particular Daimyou Shimazu (the feudal lord), were having trouble establishing order under the new leadership. For national and local, political and economic reasons, Shogun Tokugawa decided that the dispatch of troops to conquer Amami and Ryukyu was unavoidable. Owing to the occupation and suppression of Amami and the theft of our resources by Japan, both the Edo era government and Daimyou Shimazu (*Satsuma-han*) were able to last almost 300 years (Uehara, 1992). For those 300 years, *Satsuma-han*, under the leadership of Daimyou Shimazu, abused us. *Satsuma-han* was able to gain enormous wealth from the sugar business by enslaving the Amami (and to a lesser extent, the Ryukyu) people for a long period of time known as the *sato jigoku* (sugar hell).

Although there are no official records referring to Amami people as slaves, the treatment of islanders was almost identical to the Western idea of how slavery differed from the oppression of the working class according to legislation adopted in England in 1833; slavery was not wage labor (Cooper, 2000, p. 64). Of course, free labor and free commodity production occurred on Tokunoshima on a small scale relative to the European scale. *Satsuma-han* did not bring any outsiders to the Amami islands; without additional manpower and material, people did not, and could not, expand their sugar farmlands by any means other than converting their traditional rice fields into sugar cane fields. However still, at that time, unlike the situation in the Americas described by Cooper, there was no expansion of farmland leading to soil erosion, no mass production using all the firewood and destroying the forests on the island, and no creation of a complicated irrigation system since the islands have good precipitation.¹² But, people were worked to

¹² This came later. At this time, we have immersed ourselves in the world economic game in which the rules are set by both of our oppressor(s): Japan and the United States of America. That is, we now willingly participate in the “globalizing metabolic rift of the capitalist epoch” (Moore, 2001, p.137), that is, when land is exploited and nutrients are never returned to the land. In the end the land becomes barren and

death in both the European and Satsuma-han systems. Furthermore, people in both systems were materially very much oppressed, in that even their food supply was in danger.

By this time, Japan was under pressure from England, France, United States, and many other Western countries to open its gates to the world. A movement toward emancipation from the long lasting Shogun era of the Edo period signaled the end of its monarchy. After almost 300 peaceful years in Japan (from the mainland Japanese perspective there was no war, but from our perspective, life was far from peaceful), the Samurai (warriors) had acquired or learned more academic knowledge than martial arts. Many of the samurai learned about democracy through education and they took the opportunity to travel to overseas countries in response to demands in the new era of Japan. The Shimazu samurai (those samurai who defeated the Amami and Ryukyu people) were the samurai who most contributed to Japan's modernization. Of course, their contributions were made possible by the wealth they gained through exploitation (in the form of slavery) of my people and the theft of our lands and lives.

Although the Amami people were desperate for food to live on and for freedom, their oppression meant that they, as slaves, were allowed to live, to a degree, in their own world. The oppressor simply had to control the slaves through physical force, ensuring that they were not participating in the capitalist system or profiting from their labour. Hiding from the conquerors or eating sugar was punishable by death. My island people, as slaves, participated in capitalism only by producing a commodity; their own worlds and lifestyles were not commodified/materialized like those of their oppressors. This *sato jigoku* situation in the Amami islands continued for about 300 years, ending in the late 1800s.

In 1945, Japan's Emperor Hirohito surrendered to the United States of America, ending World War II by admitting that he was no longer a God, but rather just a man. In the peace agreement, Hirohito also agreed to give up

exhausted (see Foster, (1999) who developed the idea of metabolic rift from Marx). We have done so not only in terms of our collective human relationship to nature, but also in terms of our relationships with ourselves. Willingly participating in American-style capitalism brought an unconscious mental transformation, internal racism (Dei, 1996, p. 49), fueling our own belief that we are primitive, low class, and dirty.

Okinawa (formerly known as Ryukyu in pre-industrialized Japan) and Amami to the United States of America. As a result, the Amami people spent 7 years under U.S. rule, and Okinawa endured almost 27 years of occupation.

The traditional life of the Amami people. Under the heavy burden of sugar extraction enforced by Daimyou Shimazu (Satsuma-han), the people on the Amami islands started a kind of mental emancipation by engaging in many activities which they considered to be “releasing of the soul,” places or activities of respite from abuse. These activities include “*tougyu*” (bulls fighting other bulls, not normally until death), “*toukei*” (cock fighting, not normally to death), “*Shima-uta*” (island songs), and “*daruyami*” (daily alcohol consumption as an energy booster and for spirit revitalization) were but a few.

Traditional (or not) activities. In particular, *Shima-uta* and *daruyami* became daily activities for the young. When the dark settled onto the island, young males gathered together and visited young females to sing and play songs about love, about politics, and about their oppressed lives. My Uncle Kazuo told me this story and he was a great Jyamisen/Sanshin (three-stringed instrument made from snake skin) player and a great singer. He used to play and sing for my school graduation parties and on other occasions while my little grandmother danced, and later did hand-dancing. These activities carried on as daily life activities at least until my father’s generation.

Because of the *Satsuma-han*’s harsh extraction of sugar, islanders were not allowed to miss work; therefore, people on the island seemed to grow in terms of their physical strength and in their relative daily consumption of alcohol. Now, young people in mainland Japan, believing that the songs are charming and exotic, sing *Shima-uta* because island lore has become popular and exemplifies the “simplicity” of island life. For example, when my family and our island friends visited an Okinawan Live House on New Year’s Day 2012, we found ourselves amid mainlanders who knew the words to *Shiman-chu nu takara* (Island People’s treasure) and sang the words happily with the performers while attempting to mimic hand-dancing. They do not know the history of the songs like we do.

Togyu is one of the best-known activities on my island in Japan.¹³

Originally, Tokunoshima did not have cattle; however, by the 11th century, there were cattle on the island (Matsuyama, 2004b). Unfortunately it is not clear how or when people started to ceremonialize and/or ritualize *togyu*. On the one hand, *togyu* certainly earned its place in peoples' hearts owing to the sacredness of cattle. Cattle are considered to be more sensitive to the two worlds (i.e., the material world and the spiritual world) than humans are (Matsuyama, 2004a). Matsuyama (2004a) adds that since cattle are connected with the spiritual world, they often become influenced by the material world (i.e., they get sick and die) so humans have to make sure that they protect cattle from bad spirits.

There are many ways to understand *tougyu*; however, the significance of this activity is that even though it has existed historically throughout the Ryukyu and Amami islands, as well as in many parts of Japan and east southern Asia, it is only in Tokunoshima that *tougyu* maintains itself as an autonomous system without financial support from historical societies or from the government of Japan. Moreover, cockfighting is considered to be the same type of activity, except that many children are also involved. It is important to note that with regard to either bulls or cocks, the owner raises the fighting animal with respect, honour, and pride. Therefore, when the fighting animal wins the fight, both the animal and the owner receive tremendous respect from the community.

To illustrate this, while I was still studying exercise physiology during my master's degree, one of my old friends asked me seriously how he could increase his bull's muscle mass. Of course, I could not answer the question, so all I could say was that humans and bulls are not the same. I certainly did not believe what I said, but I really wanted to escape from that conversation. I understood the power dynamics on the island and his question made me feel small. Whatever I told him as an exercise physiologist—"you have to train the bull and feed it well"—would have already been known to him. This answer would have shown him how little I

¹³ A very good example of outsider misunderstanding and abuse of knowledge relates to *Togyu*. Kuwahara, Ozaki & Nishimura (2007) describe bullfights on Tokunoshima with no apparent point except to exoticize.

knew about *tougyu*. But, if I had said something more complicated, he would have dismissed my modern¹⁴ knowledge.

During one of my more recent trips to Tokunoshima, my friend introduced our family to a bull owner. We went to his bull shack at 8 pm. He was spending time with his bull, watching TV and having his *daruyami* in the bull shack. The shack was cleaned spotlessly, and the bull had been groomed so that it had shining fur. He was another champion bull, and my son was allowed the honour of touching the bull on the head. The point here is that people who raise the fighting bulls and fighting cocks are deadly serious about what they are doing, and even those of us who are not involved have absorbed the importance of *tougyu*, the reverence for the animals, and the relationship between man and “Other” creature.

Traditional beliefs. According to books, Amami people’s polytheistic religion (our community belief in multiple gods) can be traced throughout Amami people’s history back to as long as texts will allow us to go (Kreiner, 1986). All of the publications acknowledge the fact that people of Amami and Ryukyu have not really differentiated the current world we live in from other worlds like the gods’ world and death’s world (Yamashita, 1986; Uehara, 1992; Tonaki, 1992; Kreiner, 1986). *Noro* and *Yuta* were physical (human) representations of these two worlds. *Noro* and *Yuta* are usually females who are not married, and they are dedicated to the people of the community. *Noro* were kept within a family line; they were normally approved and ordered through Ryukyu Kingdom. A *Noro* had to visit the main part of the Ryukyu Kingdom once in her lifetime to meet the Ryukyu King of the time. However, *Yuta* often emerged randomly from the community. When *Yuta* realized that a god had directed them to heal their own illnesses, they

¹⁴ Throughout this dissertation, I will use the term “modern knowledge,” to refer to both “scientific knowledge” in the Kuhnian (1962) sense of how science shapes our thinking and “Western knowledge” in the sense of empirical knowledge that is written down. I use these terms in opposition to “Indigenous knowledge” or “traditional knowledge”. By “modern knowledge,” I mean information-based knowledge (Nakagawa, 2008) that can be used by any peoples, whether Western or Eastern or Indigenous. Yet, I acknowledge that the terms most frequently encountered in the literature are “Western knowledge” or “scientific knowledge” or even “Western scientific” (Nakata, 2007, p. 8) forming a binary between between Indigenous knowledges and scientific knowledges that, as Nakata (2007) suggests, can result in Indigenous knowledge being overtaken by Western scientific knowledge and in the holders of Indigenous knowledge being positioned below holders of the Western scientific knowledge.

were told to pray to god. When they overcame their illnesses, they then had an official ceremony in a birth house. In the ceremony, the person who was to become a *Yuta* became entranced, and ran into the ocean and threw herself into the sea. She then ran up into the mountains, where she became recognized as *Yuta* (Yamashita, 1986). Sometimes, rarely, males were able to become *Yuta*. These *Noro* and *Yuta* then mainly dealt with politics, health, medicine, ethics, morals, and other forms of community service. The society was controlled by matriarchy.

I grew up in a family who held beliefs in the existence of multiple gods dwelling in our surroundings. My mother, father, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives and family friends all at least mentioned to me to be careful how I deal with, and tread on, my environment (e.g., rivers, trees, mountains, water, ocean, rocks, bugs). For example, removing a special sacred rock from its own resting position will harm an individual and his or her family members for generations, until the rock is replaced into its original position and a memorial service (offering) to the gods is held. My mother told me a story about how a family who lived nearby to her was unlucky. Bad things kept happening to the family, so they consulted a wise woman. The wise woman told them they had a beautiful rock from a river, and that they had to return it to the river, and give an offering to the gods. They did this, and the bad luck stopped. My mother learned this story from her mother. My mother told me that such wise women don't exist anymore.

Undoing Tradition. In my island's history, the islanders' labours were used as free labour (slavery) to produce sugar that eventually became a commodity in mainland Japan. Tokunoshima and Amami people were able to maintain the culture and language without having to fight to keep their own life style because as long as they produced their quotas, they were permitted to keep their "primitive" and "uncivilized" island ways, like the traditional tattoos my grandmother had on her fingers to symbolize her marriage. However, after 1945, Japan lost the battle against the United States of America. The system shifted from island traditions to Japanese standards, including the Japanese standardized educational curriculum, with lightning speed, to the point at which, Hozumi (2000) explains many people

are no longer participating in traditional ceremonies, most schoolchildren are no longer able to speak their own language, and most of the younger generations have moved away from the island, or at least to more urban areas of the island.

This shift seems to have started when the Japanese government promised to subsidize the Amami people in the name of “civilization” in 1954. The Japanese government poured over 7 billion yen (approximately 1 million dollars in the exchange rate at the time) to reconstruct the economy and society. However, most of the money was used for infrastructure projects, and therefore was only offered to construction companies (Hozumi, 1995) that purchased things from the mainland of Japan, benefiting them more than us. The majority of these funds to revitalize and civilize the islands have been used to cement the coastlines and river banks, and create huge concrete tetra pods (i.e., breakwaters). We islanders, myself included, all thought these were the symbols of modernization and civilization; however, such misuse of funding led the Amami peoples to a lower standard of living (Hozumi, 1995).

The same subsidies are still available to this day to support local people’s businesses and their agricultural endeavors. This subsidization has been used to help farmers to produce more sugar cane per hectare of land by bulldozing the land for better access and greater yields (for a description of this process, see Moore, 2000, p. 414). Matsuyama (2004) recalls all the sacred rice fields, creeks, and woods being bulldozed in 1954 to make more productive sugar cane fields. He has a clear memory of an old man telling him the story of a bulldozer being on the sacred lands: “Those bulldozers came with a loud discord noise, and destroyed mountains and rice fields. So our gods got surprised and went back to heaven. Therefore, nowadays, there are no curses from the gods, even when we cut the sacred trees” (Matsuyama, 2004, p.16). The old man was grieving not because we stopped believing in our gods, but rather because we (humans) sent our gods back to heaven by destroying our gods’ home on this earth (Matsuyama, 2004, p. 17), which was the trees. I will return to this idea later.

Even today, one of the main topics of conversation for islanders is that the Japanese government has been “providing choices to” (i.e., coercing) smaller

communities into amalgamating with neighboring towns, cities, and/or villages. If the towns/cities/villages do not merge, then the government will automatically reduce funding to the local communities. On Tokunoshima, the three towns (i.e., Tokunoshima town, Amagi town, and Isen town) on the island, each of which has its own traditional language and culture with dozens of dialects, are not now agreeing to amalgamate into one town, but it is only a matter of time before they do. The islanders are currently, yet again, being forced to change their lifestyle by the democratic hegemony.

The assimilationist education system. With the establishment of the modern Japanese government in 1867, Japan started a new curriculum to teach standardized Japanese¹⁵ and other subject areas in 1872 (Hozumi, 1985). The new curriculum was intended to form a national identity for Japan by standardizing language and cultural concepts (Tai, 2003); that is, the purpose of Japanese compulsory education was “to patrol the boundaries of social and linguistic conformity upon which the state depended for its continuity” (Maher, 2005, p. vii). Hozumi (1995) notes that when, as early as 1877, the Amami people began fighting for their cultural rights; there was a lawyer from the Amami area who was officially able to deal with people’s problems with illegal high interest loans being made by mainland Japanese lenders to islanders. However, because of the lack of formal educational opportunities for islanders and the lack of desire of non-islanders to live there, there was only one lawyer in the whole Amami area. To understand this, we should look at the population of Tokunoshima at that time (38,067 in 1895); there was only one lawyer even though the population of Tokunoshima was larger (Hozumi, 1995) than the closer-to-current 28,349 recorded in 2005. But, that one lawyer was not just representing Tokunoshima. The lawyer was for the whole Amami area, which meant he represented more than 150,000 people. The people making decisions were not islanders. Because of poor decision-making, the islanders did not receive a good education, could not

¹⁵ Throughout this dissertation, I will use the term “standardized Japanese” to refer to the *lingua franca* of Japan. I am not using the term to provide the connotation that Shima-guchi is a dialect of Japanese, but rather, I am using it to acknowledge that there are many varieties and forms of Japanese spoken by mainlanders, but only one form of Japanese that is taught in the formal education system. Standardized Japanese is the dialect of Tokyo.

find lawyers, and could not change what was happening. Until the Amami islands were returned to Japan post WWII (owing to the Amami people's appeal to U.S. including 99.8 % of residents' signatures and hunger strikes), neither Japan nor the U.S. provided economic or educational assistance to the Amami people (Hozumi, 1995).

During the 1950s and 1960s, the education system changed tremendously. One major change was to prohibit Amami language usage in the school system and communities. By this time, many teachers had arrived from mainland Japan (most of them were from Kagoshima, the pre-modern Edo era's *Satsuma-han* referred to above). The teachers were not patient with students speaking a language they did not understand at all. They blamed the islanders for being "low class;" the culture and the language of Tokunoshima were identified as the root causes of islanders' low class inferiority by the school teachers from the dominant society¹⁶. Even in the 1970s, I remember many of my friends being physically punished for speaking the Tokunoshima language in school, while others had to wear a card which said "I used Tokunoshima language at school and I am bad" for the whole day. I never used the Tokunoshima language in school; in fact, I told my parents early in my life that they were not allowed to talk to me in Tokunoshima language. I still remember how I looked at my friends as low class, dirty beings when they used the Tokunoshima language. To this day, I think that attitude is somewhat internalized in me, and it shames me.

In fact, most of my friends who are now raising their children in island communities do not (and many *cannot*) speak *Shima-guchi* with their children. In my pilot study testing the survey instrument used for this research project, many elders said that they could not believe how much the younger people have lost in terms of being islanders (Nakagawa, 2007b). Hozumi (2000) simply states that most of the cultural ceremonies are discontinued, or that there are simply not enough people to participate in the ceremonies. But his official story is too clean.

¹⁶ This is commonly referred to as Cultural Deficit theory, or the cultural deficit model of education. Based on Bourdieu's (1997) notions of cultural capital, such researchers as Trueba (1988) and Noguera (2001) have shown how teacher expectations that minority language and culture students will perform poorly become self-fulfilling prophecies.

What does it mean that there are “not enough” people to participate in the cultural ceremonies when there are still almost 30,000 people on Tokunoshima? Have we decided that the island language, culture and identity are too low class and too dirty for us?

Assimilationist language use. The Amami and Ryukyu languages are almost always described as being very similar (Yabiku, 1986; Uemura, 1961; Narita, 1961). The languages of the Amami islands are recognized by linguists as being closely related to the Ryukyu language, the current Okinawan dialect (Iha, 2001, p. 26). In 1986, Yabiku argued that Japanese and the Ryukyu languages both originated from the same language group. The original idea is traced to Chamberlain (cited in Yabiku, 1986, p. 197). Iha (2000; 2001) also noted that from the time of Chamberlain’s works in the late 19th century (e.g., Chamberlain’s *Essay in aid of a grammar and dictionary of the Luchuan*¹⁷ language), meaning from 1895 to the early 20th century, all publications about the languages have been based on Chamberlain’s assertion that Ryukyu language(s) and standard Japanese were “siblings.” Recently, the relationship between Ryukyu and Japanese dialects has been further refined, dividing the Ryukyu dialects into two larger groups: northern Ryukyu and southern Ryukyu dialects (Uemura, 1961; Narita, 1961). Northern Ryukyu dialects are seen to have developed into the Amami and mainland Ryukyu (the language of Okinawa) dialects. And the southern Ryukyu dialects are seen to have developed into Miyako, Yaeyama, and Yonaguni dialects. This again firmly roots Amami languages in a strong relationship to main island Ryukyu (the current Okinawa prefecture).

However, this notion that Japanese and Ryukyu “dialects” are related, and that Ryukyu languages are “dialects” of the Japanese language, seems only to be trace-able to Chamberlain in the late 19th century, when he was hired by the newly-established, modernized Japanese government. Chamberlain later decided to stay in the most privileged and prestigious university in Japan (Tokyo University) as a “merit” professor, meaning that he held a position for which he was not technically qualified. Analyzing this statement through a critical

¹⁷ This is one of many ways of writing/pronouncing Ryukyu, and means the same thing.

hermeneutic eye¹⁸ leads me to think that Chamberlain may have had conflicting interests, since, at the time (late 1800's), the ideology of the English (and all of the West) was a mainly positivistic approach in which Chamberlain's position of interest was the "norm." Chamberlain may have been interested in legitimizing both north and south Ryukyu areas as a part of Japan for political reasons. The point I am trying to make is that we need to question the difference in status between "languages" and "dialects," a political rather than a linguistic distinction. Because of Chamberlain's work, the Ryukyu languages came to be seen as "dialects" of Japanese, and this allowed a shift in Japanese political opinion as well. Regarding the Ryukyu languages as subordinate "dialects" allowed the Ryukyu languages and peoples to be marginalized by Japan, and to be viewed as an inferior part of Japan. As a result of understanding, genealogically, the differences in status between languages and dialects and how they were created, we may be able to propose and consider alternative views of the Ryukyu languages.

The most important issue is that so far there has not been consensus, nor even agreement, among the people of the Amami islands about the status of the various languages on the Amami islands. Unfortunately, until now, there have not been any studies conducted or records kept of the language status of the people, meaning the status of the languages as viewed through Tokunoshima islanders' norms; rather, what little research exists has been presented "... via the interpretations and representations of it in the English language by Western knowledge specialists or scientists" (Nakata, 2007, p. 9). In one case, Yamashita (1992) cited Shibata (1988, p. 61) as having conducted a language recognition survey in Tokunoshima. The study by Shibata (1988) focused on the differences in independent language identities that existed between the "shimas" ("shima," in Japanese means "island" but to island people it also refers to "community"). The study was conducted by asking the people in the shima a set of questions such as "Is it true that, as I have heard, each community's language is recognized as a

¹⁸ By using a "critical hermeneutic eye," I mean that I am reading and re-reading the text to engage in power analysis, examining how Chamberlain's argument would have served his interests, as well as those of the dominant culture, Japan.

different language by the people in each shima?” (Yamashita, 1986) to which almost all the shimas answered “yes” (Shibata, 1988). The people on my island (Tokunoshima) distinguished their own languages even from those spoken in the very next community, physically only a couple of kilometers away. These islanders saw distinct languages and identities within very small communities.

Of course, this recorded knowledge is not a surprise to me. Growing up on the island, I have a clear memory of people identifying me by my accent. In particular, my parents kept saying to me after they moved from one community (Hetono) to another community (Tokuwase), that I started to speak a different language from their own languages. It is interesting that my mother’s mother tongue is Itokina but my father’s is Isen. Yet, each of them could perceive a shift in my language use from their own points of view, the point of view of their own languages. I was quite sure that I was simply learning the Tokunoshima language; however, from each of my parents’ perspectives, I was learning someone else’s language.

Context (Revisited) to Research Question

Revisiting the relevant history of my own island brings forward for me the big question of why, from the early 1600s to the late 1800s, even though our religion was banned, and even though islanders were not permitted to travel even as far as the next town, the people on my island did not lose the language and culture under conditions of physically-exacting colonization and slavery. On the other hand, after WWII, the islanders began losing their language and culture within only one or two generations when they were presumably “freed.” The undocumented loss of Amami language, I began to believe, may be linked to the documented loss of Indigenous languages worldwide in the post-war era (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). At the same time, I tried to keep in mind that answers to questions about language, culture, and identity (LCI) loss must be regionally specific (Grenoble & Whaley, 1996).

What is Encoded into Language, Culture, and Identity?

It is important to understand what is encoded into language, culture and identity, in order to understand what impact the shift of Indigenous LCIs may

have. Crystal (2000) argues that there are five reasons we should care about language shift: 1) because we need linguistic diversity, 2) because languages express identity, 3) because languages contribute to the sum of human knowledge, 4) because languages are repositories of history, 5) because languages are interesting in themselves. While interesting and impassioned, his work is not ultimately convincing to me. Languages do not contribute to human knowledges, but rather transmit human knowledges. If histories were indeed in the language, then those histories would not be translate-able (into English), nor prove-able in the Court of Canada, as has been the case for some Indigenous peoples. Language, culture, and identity are complex ideas and in many cases interwoven terms, and there will always be linguistic diversity to express differing identities. But, there are two convincing arguments in favour of revitalizing and sustaining Indigenous LCIs that are commonly found in the literature; LCIs embody (1) worldviews and (2) sustainability in terms of environmental knowledge.

Worldviews. Languages, cultures, and identities encode worldviews within a particular environment in an interconnected system that I have referred to elsewhere as accord (Nakagawa, 2007e). Accord refers to the primary oral consciousness that we all have, the ways in which we are shaped and taught by the shapes and content of language from birth. Accord (which would have its opposite in discord) incorporates ideas of harmony, social contract, concurrence, unity, agreement, voluntary-ness, and is derived from the Latin word for heart. Accord, refers to oral tradition, but also to dance, symbol, ritual, art, sign language, and other performance arts (many of which are commonly viewed as cultural forms, or expressions of identity) that require human beings to be present with and to one another, and to achieve a meeting of the minds (which includes a meeting of the hearts). It is the nexus of LCI.

Therefore, when researchers document the alarming pace of the global shift and loss of languages, particularly Indigenous languages (Nettle & Romaine, 2000a), they also raise alarms about the loss of worldviews and ways of thinking about the world. Languages and other artifacts of cultures are the representation of their creators' (peoples') ideas. They convey meaning, not just in linguistic and

semiotic terms such as “signifier” and “signified” (i.e., words and meanings), but also in terms of ontological and epistemological meanings.¹⁹ Our epistemology and information-based knowledge must be tightly connected to our Being (ontology). If not, then the meaning of the actions (conversations/symbols/ideas and other human activities) cannot be shared (epistemology and information based knowledge) or they will lose meaning for those who live in different times and places.

Sustainability. In the past, knowledge of the variety and interaction of life forms in a given ecosystem (i.e., biological diversity or biodiversity) and how the ecosystems interact with differing weather patterns and with human or non-human inhabitants accumulated in the Indigenous LCIs was a critical factor in maintaining each environmental ecosystem intact, and thereby maintaining biodiversity (Abley, 2003). In fact, perhaps in response to such realizations, the United Nations (2004) and World Bank (2005) have identified that sustaining Indigenous languages and cultures is essential to world stewardship, biodiversity, and food security.

This kind of knowledge can perhaps best be explained through example. Esteva (1996) explained that agricultural practice in Mexico was torn between the scientific approaches that were imposed by outsiders and the traditional farming techniques that had been developed by local people over time. As Esteva (1996) describes, on the one hand, it is clear that scientific approaches to farming were automatically legitimated by the dominant society (banks, politicians and others) since their approaches were scientifically controlled and had been proven to show results (Esteva, 1996). On the other hand, the local knowledge and techniques of farming were not legitimated. Specifically, after viewing and experiencing their

¹⁹ An ontological meaning, for example, can be understood from how hinged doors open in Japan and how they open in Canada. In Japan, hinged doors open outward from the inside of the house, but the hinged doors of Canadian houses open to the inside of the house. I have often wondered why this difference developed. I can only provide a Japanese perspective on why anyone would open the door to the inside; it is more difficult for a stranger to enter into the house. Opening the door to the outside allows people to come in. After living in Canada for a while, I realized that if the door opened to the outside, then the people in the house might be exposed to greater risk because five or even possibly ten feet of snow could fall overnight, and then no one would be able to get outside since the door is shut tight, for the winter! Of course the door must open inward rather than outward.

environments and surroundings, how the land operates, how the weather patterns alternate, and after having summed up all the variables that affect the local area in order to take advantage of all of the natural conditions and forces from nature itself, farmers made decisions. This kind of holistic knowledge had been passed down through the generations and was made possible through observation and experiences over time. According to Esteva (1996), the communities, by replacing their local traditional knowledge with scientific approaches such as building dams to control flooding, were led into multiple unforeseen problems such as the need to create a new irrigation system, the need to use more pesticide, and the need for fertilizer, all of which ultimately resulted in less production compared to farming based on the traditional land usage.

Nadasdy (2006) discusses a similar discord between the deep local knowledge of First Nation hunters and that of Western-science trained biologists and of capitalist outfitters with regard to the population of sheep and the methods needed to protect herd numbers. Short term, scientific knowledge that could be written down in proper academic form was viewed by both groups as more politically powerful and more permanent than the knowledge of First Nations hunters which was oral and based on historical memory.

Identifying the Issues in Tokunoshima LCI Shift

Earlier, I described myself as an Amami man from the island of Tokunoshima. I noted that it is generally accepted by islanders that language use on my island is shifting at a very fast speed from the Amami native language to standardized Japanese, which is taught through the mandatory public school system. The fast pace of life that has overtaken the island, coupled with the information highway, and the lightning speed of the internet have changed the island's lifestyle; what was once the slow shifting of Amami languages and cultures to Japanese has become daily progressive loss of the Amami languages and cultures (Matsuyama, 2004a).

Through my limited observations here about what has been done to examine the current status of languages in the Amami area, I have noted that little has been done to archive our languages as living records, though my friend's father

(Okamura, 2006) has started to compile a dictionary of our language. To date, the research is limited to a simple description of how people in the island communities are using their languages and cultures progressively less frequently (Hozumi, 2000). There are a few scholars (e.g., Heinrich, 2004; Heinrich, 2005b; Heinrich, 2005a) who have studied linguistically the loss of languages in the Ryukyus (including the Amami Islands). An outsider to the islands who spent only a few weeks in data collection, Heinrich refers to many instances of RLS projects, and he makes a number of suggestions about what the five groups of Ryukyuan languages should do in order to survive. It raises the question for me, whether, by speaking to the future of the language and the need for specific forms of revitalization, he may be wasting OUR ir retrievable resources (Fishman, 2003) in order to gain a name for himself.

Even from outside Japan and even far away from the little tiny island of my heart (Tokunoshima), I have been able to find and relay many of the histories and stories about my island. However, I have been unable to locate information about the current status of Tokunoshima (Amami) language usage, and people's thoughts about the language status (i.e., how much people understand and use the language, who is using the language, and what are the norms for being considered speakers). Neither "reality" or peoples' interpretations of the results are reflected in the statistics or presented in the literature that currently exists; it is highly likely that my pilot study survey of Tokunshima language, culture, and identity shift is the only study of its kind—and it is based on an N of only 164. It shows clear LCI loss. According to Matsuyama (2004a), in order for Tokunoshima people to become concerned about the loss of their languages, they must first become aware of the scope and consequences of loss. At the same time, people need to be asked what they want for their futures. By asking and answering hard questions about LCI together with my islanders, I may begin to help them express their real thoughts and needs for the future.

The Research Question

My research here began with the assertion that the problem with non-local explanations of LCI shift is that they are too highly invested in traditionally

Western research methods and are dominated by Western ideals (like liberalism), ideas (like primordialism), and approaches (like constructivism).

Therefore new ways of thinking about key issues from Indigenous perspectives—that is, the perspectives of the Amami people themselves—are required. This was the rationale and purpose behind my research. I propose to assist in determining the Tokunoshima islanders' futures according to their own imagined futures for Tokunoshima—images which necessarily include the passing on (or even possibly the passing away) of Tokunoshima language, culture, and identity.

It is possible that returning to past practices in LCI may not be the ideal solution to stabilizing and then reversing the LCI shift of Tokunoshima. Rather, I approach the issue with the future in mind, specifically examining what island people want to be and how they/we envision their future in community. By shifting the focus of ideas about LCI shift from crying about the past to examining the current conditions with the future in mind, Tokunoshima people will first need to articulate how they view themselves currently, and how they view current generations. Therefore, this study asked Tokunoshima people to situate their current positions and to explain how they envision their futures in terms of language, culture and identity. That is, after determining the nature of the loss of Tokunoshima LCI, by answering the big question, “How do the people of Tokunoshima (including me) situate their current positions in regard to language, culture and island identity?” I then ask, “What is it that Tokunoshima people want for their language, culture, and identity going into the future?” These are the guiding questions that I posed for myself in undertaking this research. They are broken down into more specific questions: “How have capitalism, colonialism and education converged to produce LCI shift in the Amami people?” “What is the actual measurable extent of language shift on Tokunoshima?” “What are the attitudes of the community toward LCI shift?” and finally, “What possible kinds of remediation can halt LCI shift (and thereby limit the degradation of LCI-based and biologically-based diversity on Tokunoshima)?”

Chapter 2:

Indigenous/Island Research Paradigms and the Indigenous Academic

[E]ven if members of an Indigenous speech community do not know (much of) their ancestral language, it is properly considered a mother tongue on the basis of personal identification with it (McCarty, 2008, p. 203)

On a cliff overlooking the sea is a beautiful old house that is falling apart. The foundation is good. It is the kind of house that builders claim “has good bones,” but the porch is rotting away; it no longer appears straight or proud, crumbling with decay and lack of care and attention. The government has decided that the house needs to be torn down because it is in the way of a resort that they want to build; so they are trying to force the owners to give up the house, offering them cash now, but also threatening to confiscate it if they do not sell. The owners do not know what to do; they want to save the house and to continue living in it, but they also realize that it needs work and will require modifications to make it consistent with current building codes. They are strongly tied to the memories and spirits trapped in the house. The house is filled with love, but they do not have the resources to have the house fixed, and they do not know how to do the work themselves.

They have little time. A bulldozer is aimed at the house. It is relentlessly moving forward to destroy what is in its path. The owners need time to gather their family and friends, to find out if they have collective expertise to save the house, and to come up with a plan. They cannot rely on government handouts to rebuild their house, because on some level the government equates “giving funding” with “establishing authority and control” so there are always unwelcome consequences. But, the bulldozer is coming, so clearly, someone has to lie down in front of it and perhaps be sacrificed. That person cannot enjoy the companionship and joy of being in the house and meeting with friends and family; he or she must go outside and lie down in the mud where it is uncomfortable, scary, and cold, and the bulldozer is coming. That person has to become the target of the government’s scorn and anger. That person will have to be vigilant and never go back home to comfort and laughter again—because the bulldozer driver never sleeps; the

bulldozer driver is a government worker who works shift work, so the only pause is when there is a shift change. It is a noble job to give people the time and space they need to make decisions and to try to represent those decisions to a bulldozer that cannot hear, but for the person being sacrificed, it doesn't look or feel noble; it feels like lying down in mud. From time to time, that person sees that the bulldozer has paused for a shift change, and rushes back to the house to let the family know where the bulldozer is, and how much time they have left to make decisions. But, because that person is covered in mud, he or she cannot go all the way inside the house, just stand at the doorway looking in. From time to time, a bulldozer company representative sits and talks to the person lying in the mud. Usually, the bulldozer company representative gets bored after a little while and leaves, but once in a while the representative has a change of heart and lies down in the mud too. But, even though the bulldozer company representative lies down in front of the family member being sacrificed, it is unknown whether or not he/she will stay there when the bulldozer gets too close. The family member lying in the mud cannot leave. That person knows that leaving will result in the house being bulldozed, that he or she is the final barrier; the only escape from lying in the mud is death and destruction. That person lying in the mud is the Indigenous academic.

The story above tries to illustrate why I am doing this research that I am doing. What should be obvious is that the house represents the "heritage mother tongue," (McCarty, 2008) culture, and identity on Tokunoshima and in other Indigenous communities. It is easy to see from a dominant perspective what I have to gain by doing my doctoral work; what cannot be seen is how painful it is to live and work in the dominant society. To do research on Indigenous communities is relatively easy, but to be an Indigenous researcher is difficult and tricky. It is essential for me to position myself both within the Indigenous world and within the dominant academic world, to negotiate meaning from within both, and to be the arbiter of differences when those two worlds collide. Explaining this tricky Indigenous researcher position is the subject of this chapter. Although this chapter may have little to add on the subjects of language, culture, and identity, it provides a framework for understanding the questions I will ask and the answers I will get.

Views from the Literature: Indigenous Research Paradigms

According to Rigney (1999), Indigenous peoples around the globe are arguably the most studied people of the world, yet they “often do not have many valid methodologies at their disposal that embrace an Indigenous worldview in the search for truth” (Ormiston, 2010, p. 51). It is generally accepted by Indigenous scholars that:

The research enterprise as a vehicle for investigation has poked, prodded, measured, tested, and compared data toward understanding Indigenous cultures and human nature. Explorers, medical practitioners, intellectuals, travelers, and voyeurs who observed from a distance have all played a role in the scientific scrutiny of Indigenous peoples. (Rigney, 1999, p. 109)

That is, research in Indigenous communities has been experienced by those communities as a form of hegemony, in which they are judged and regulated by the ideologies of another group. Even when Indigenous researchers choose to do research within their own communities, they have been expected to do so within the norms of the Western academic tradition:

Aboriginal researchers who wish to construct, rediscover, and/or reaffirm Indigenous knowledges must function in traditions of classical epistemological methods of physical and/or social sciences (Rigney, 1999, p. 114).

Accordingly, given that research on Indigenous peoples has been most frequently done by western or western-trained academics from within western academic traditions, and has often been used to support *a priori* notions that Indigenous peoples are inferior, while research done within Indigenous research frameworks has been lacking, or perhaps inaccessible owing to language (Nakata, 1998), research is “one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Smith, 1999, p. 1).

To give an island example of this, I visited a local island excavation site during one of my research trips in 2008. An anthropologist from the Japanese mainland told me that he is able to determine ancient island lifestyles through the shell mound that he was excavating, evidence about the diet and traditions of my

ancestors. He told me that he found not only shells, but also some bones, like deer bones and even human bones. I said to him, “So is this ceremonial land? If it is ceremonial land, maybe people brought shells to honour a person who is buried here. If there is a deer bone, then perhaps people are bringing food to the dead.” He replied that “No, this is a disposal area. It leads me to logically suppose that either this human bone is some enemy, or someone consumed the body.”

The point of this story is that such researchers often see the evidence only through their perceived reality. Therefore, they do not even want to question what they know. It is possible that cannibalism was going on, but my education within the dominant society tells me that I do not want to believe in it. It is possible there could be other reasons. I have been taught throughout my life to respect and honour my enemies as well as my friends. I have understood the practice of cannibalism from a perspective that emphasizes honouring those animals we kill by consuming them. Therefore, I cannot imagine his perspective being valid; what kind of people throw away the dead? Cannibals did not throw away the dead. Without question, his “find” could not be a disposal site. He must be excavating a burial mound. But, it is important from his dominant cultural perspective to create such stories so that when they are known, our colonizers will congratulate themselves for rescuing us from our degraded state.

One important aspect of understanding the difference between Western forms of research/knowledge and Indigenous forms of research/knowledge and how these forms of research/knowledge may produce completely different ways of understanding Aboriginal peoples and their histories can come from contextualizing and historicizing the two approaches to research. Moreton-Robinson and Walter (2009) explain that:

Understanding Indigenous methodologies requires cognisance of the forces shaping Western methodological frames. The origin stories of Western methodologies can be traced back to the Enlightenment and the European scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁰

²⁰ I actually trace this local knowledge back further, believing it to have roots in Islam. Notably, Arabic numerals are the basis of science and technology. But, the point is that, currently,

At this time, the influence of the church as the dominant social structure in European societies was diminishing and a more secular, rationalist society began to emerge. Democracy became established as the new political system and capitalism replaced feudalism as the primary economic system.

Academic disciplines also underwent transition, with the traditions of philosophy and medicine providing the foundation for establishing new specialised disciplines within the European knowledge system. As the Western economic and political systems became more broadly institutionalised, the knowledge system gradually became institutionalised within universities and the profession.

Indigenous knowledge systems, of course, do not share this historical heritage. (p. 3)

Consequently, many Indigenous scholars have pointed to the need for a different approach to research for Indigenous peoples, one both adopting an Indigenous paradigm, sometimes referred to as “Indigenist” (e.g., Rigney, 1999), and emphasizing the development of an Indigenous standpoint theory, including learning the language and theory of the Western canon, that would allow Indigenous scholars to read representations of themselves and their experiences against (as opposed to within) Western systems of knowledge (Nakata, 1998). Weber-Pillwax (personal communication, 2007) talks about a similar idea. She explains that in Northern Albertan communities, elders tell the young people that they have learned many things growing up in the community, but that now it is time for them to go out and get a Western education, absorbing language, culture, and Western knowledge. To complete the circle, however, they must return to the community so that the elders can “unlearn” them.

Looking at the literature by Indigenous academics examining what constitutes an Indigenous research paradigm, or what makes research Indigenist, it soon becomes clear to me that there are two important factors: the intent of the research and the integrity of the researcher. Intent can be assessed in terms of

European thinkers believe that they evolved themselves in this way. See Nakagawa & Kouritzin (2010) for further explanation.

community-internal building and healing, working toward what the community wants/advocacy work, and combat against the dominant culture's ways and norms (that is, lying down in front of the bulldozer). Integrity is measured in terms of respect, honouring obligations (reciprocity), ethical conduct by community standards, prioritizing dissemination of the research to the community (when possible, Ngũgi wa Thiong'o, (1993) argues, in languages of the community rather than the dominant language),²¹ and researcher positionality including recognition that in an Indigenous worldview "relationships do not merely shape reality, they *are* reality" (Wilson, 2008, p 7).

Principles of Indigenous Research. Consistent with my suggestion that Indigenous research is about integrity and intent, Rigney (1999) argues that there are three primary principles in research about Indigenous peoples that make such research Indigenist: resistance as an emancipatory imperative, political integrity, and privileging Indigenous voices. The first of these honours survival and works toward personal, communal, cultural and political freedom in the future. The second Rigney takes to mean research that is done by Indigenous peoples themselves so that the research is socially linked to political struggle (p. 117). The third principle ensures that research focuses on the "lived, historical experiences, ideas, traditions, dreams, interests, aspirations, and struggles" (p. 117) of the Indigenous community. As such, Rigney suggests that Indigenist research is not linked to any particular method or data collection strategy, but rather adopts a set of operating principles that may ensure that Indigenous peoples are appropriately constructed in the production of knowledge and are working to become liberated from the colonized mindsets that shackle them.

Native anthropologist Ranco (2006) asks if research is nothing but "a 'quintessentially Western project' that 'Westerners ask about themselves and their encounter with peoples they have colonized and liquidated'" (p. 61), then how can it have relevance to an Indigenous research agenda? The answer, he argues, lies in being a researcher within one's own community, of acknowledging one's place in

²¹ Going back to my story about the house and the bulldozer, Thiong'o has gone back into the house. If all Indigenous academics go back into the house, however, who is going to stop the bulldozer?

the Indigenous and the Western research worlds, and using one's knowledge to communicate the struggles to survive that Indigenous communities experience. Drawing on the work of Bea Medicine (1986), while also supporting the notions of intent and integrity, he suggests that there are several principles in doing anthropological research (or any research), that will benefit Indigenous communities:

We, as Native anthropologists, can call attention to the real problems in revealing Native knowledge to outsiders. We can emphasize the need for more reciprocity and continued relationships after the fieldwork situation ends. We can make nonanthropological, community-oriented funding more of a standard practice. We can make anthropology more reliable by working with our communities in drafting our written work. We can use less jargon in our writing and make education of Native youth a priority in our fieldwork. Perhaps most importantly, we can go into our work with an open mind and then let the community define our research. (p. 70)

Ultimately, Ranco (2006) suggests, Indigenous research is applied research, tied to the service of the Indigenous communities under study. The baseline question he poses for himself when doing research is “how does this research endorse, elaborate, or enhance tribal sovereignty?” (p. 74). If the question cannot be answered, then he judges that it is not appropriate research for Indigenous peoples.

Arguing from a similar perspective, Maori researcher Stewart-Harawira (2005) wrote, as part of the rationale for doing research from a *kaupapa*, Maori perspective, that,

While indigenous peoples are far from being a homogeneous group, they hold in common broad sets of ontologies that define their relationships to all other life forms and to the cosmos. Frequently marginalized or ‘occulted,’ indigenous cosmological and ontological understandings of reality nevertheless present a significant challenge to the orthodoxy of dominant world views. These ontologies challenge dominant rationalist explanations of the purpose of life and the nature of human society... (p. 19).

Stewart-Harawira goes on to suggest that it is becoming increasingly imperative

for Indigenous peoples to continue to share their knowledges through global networks internationally, in order to challenge the “the ethnocentrism of conservative and liberalist approaches to globalization” (p. 19). While Stewart-Harawira had a particular reference to understanding historical conditions and inequity for Indigenous peoples globally, politically, her words resonate for the research “industry” as well.

Another Maori scholar, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), suggests that there are two forms of Indigenous research—one that is community-oriented and community-based, and one that is done within the academic institutions we inhabit. Although either form of research can be “tribal” in the sense that it is political and encompasses “several smaller groups linked closely by genealogy and shared customary practices” (p. 128), Smith believes that different principles apply to these individual research agendas. She suggests that in community-oriented research the following applies: (1) the community defines the “priorities and particularities” (p. 127) of the research, (2) the community is involved collaboratively with the research, initiating, determining the definitions, validating, and deciding the language or codes of community membership, and (3) the process of the research is as important as, sometimes far more important than, the product (pp. 126-128). I take her position to be a similar perspective to Freire’s (1970) notion of *conscientization* but opposite in intent.

For academic research, Smith (1999) points to five principles that were developed by the Research Unit for Maori education at the University of Auckland in 1988: (1) that Indigenous academics promote research that makes a positive difference for Indigenous peoples, (2) that research be directed toward an Indigenous educational policy, (3) that Indigenous researchers be trained, (4) that research be disseminated to Indigenous communities through public means and contact, and (5) that Indigenous researchers advocate and work for change within the academy (p. 131). It is important to realize that these five principles were in the end defeated by their own success—because success was defined in academic terms. Smith explains that lack of administrative support led to the Research Unit’s inability to accept research grants and contracts to pursue this agenda (p. 132) and

consequently, a much watered-down version of the principles was adopted (p. 134). I take what Smith is saying to mean that when money entered the picture, the unit could not function in Indigenous terms any longer. The people were no longer governed by Indigenous norms and worldviews, but by the dominant capitalist ideology.

Nonetheless, I do not see Smith's two forms of research as constituting mutually exclusive research agendas; however, that may be because all of her principles support the notions of integrity of the researcher and intent of the research. In fact, I see these two forms of research as completely compatible, as long as we keep in mind the caution urged by Stewart-Harawira (2005) that we, as Indigenous people, must be ever-vigilant not reveal too much to the dominant culture (p. 22).

Gaudry (2011), a Metis researcher, refers to most academic research as "excavation research" which steals from Indigenous communities, re-names all knowledge according to dominant culture worldviews, and is validated within Western academic traditions. Conducted on these principles, Gaudry argues that excavation research is academic "parasitism" which

...serves as a method of translation: seeking to legitimize Indigenous worldviews through demonstrating parallels with scientific, liberal, or capitalist practice. Although often used to defend Indigenous interests, this translation also reinforces the colonialist assertion that Indigenous knowledges are not valuable in their own right or defensible on their own terms. (p. 115)

In other words, rather than operationalizing and validating Indigenous worldviews, such research judges research on Indigenous communities by the standards of the dominant culture. Gaudry (2011) instead puts forward a case for insurgent research (see also Alfred, 1999). Such research explicitly employs Indigenous worldviews, orients knowledge creation toward Indigenous peoples and their communities (which includes writing in forms other than standard academic discourse and also includes using pronouns such as "us" and "we" in opposition to "them" who is the common adversary), and accepting an almost-

exclusive responsibility to the community and participants rather than to academia. Finally, he argues, insurgent research “targets the demise of colonial interference within [Indigenous] lives and communities” (p. 114). Although Indigenous researchers in the academy are forced to work within excavation research structures for ethics, intellectual property, funding guidelines, and publishing in order to continue their/our research careers, we also need to acknowledge that we are extracting someone else’s knowledge for our benefit. What can make us insurgent researchers rather than excavation researchers, he argues is that “we do not let this kind of research define us” instead “we play the game but do not get lost in it” (p. 116).²² Gaudry fuses intent and integrity, proposing that we Indigenous people should not seek legitimacy through western norms (as I am admittedly doing here in my dissertation), but rather establish our own.

Working in the field of social work and health rather than Education, Indigenous researcher Ormiston (2010) reinforces the need for Indigenous worldviews to dominate the research, for Indigenous researchers to work within the communities being studied, for research to benefit the community in terms of the community’s values (as opposed to, for instance, money), and for the main purpose of research to be decolonization. She also reiterates a condition first put forward by Battiste and Henderson (2000) that researchers in Indigenous communities require proficiency, if not complete fluency, in the language(s) of the community, which appears to be a precondition for living within the community’s worldview. She adds, however, two principles that I did not find previously discussed: (1) recognition that Indigenous peoples “own” the results of the research done on them, and therefore retain the copyright on that knowledge, and (2) assertion that elders of the community alone know when it is time for the knowledge to be shared. All of these principles—language proficiency, copyright retention, and respect for the wisdom of elders—are integrated within my notion of

²² This, I suggest, is the hardest thing to do. When you play the game and you play well, you have lots of money. That, as we saw in the case Smith (1999) illustrates, can lead to problems. In the words of one of my island songs, people’s hearts change, but the scenery on the island does not change.

integrity. They all protect against the translation and eventual colonization of our knowledge by the academy.

Authenticity in Indigenous research. Agreeing with all of the principles of Indigenous research listed here, Riding In (2008) speaks to one of the most difficult questions, one that I have had difficulty wrestling with in my own research and my own life. After reclaiming the word “Indian” in his speech, he takes positionality (one aspect of integrity) one step further. His careful explanation must be quoted entirely because it is clear and yet cautious, and I do not want to risk damaging his argument:

A fourth challenge is a difficult one to address because it involves identity issues related to the Indian diaspora and ethnic fraud. This problem relates to who is an AIS [American Indian Studies] scholar and what does this person bring to the table in terms of credibility, voice, and authenticity. Colonial disruptions of Indian societies have undeniably created situations where Indian families and individuals left their home areas for various reasons. This scattering, along with accompanying generational out-marriages, occurred in many instances years ago. It seems as if growing numbers of students are miraculously discovering an Indian identity while in graduate school. Being displaced spatially and temporally from their cultures, they have no firsthand understanding of their people, language, and culture. Yet they proudly claim an Indian heritage whether or not they have been granted citizenship by the nation they claim an affiliation with, even if they have never spent meaningful time within the nation’s home cultural area and no one there knows who they are. Those displaced individuals should be encouraged to seek ways to reconnect with their cultures beyond what exists on dusty library shelves. If they are frauds, they must be confronted for their dishonesty. In most instances, there is nothing wrong if non-Indians produce studies as non-Indians and if their work is conducted in accordance with appropriate standards of ethics, professionalism, and morality. (p. 72)

Riding In also makes clear in his argument above that there are people who, discovering that they have Indian blood, adopt “being Indian” as a job from 8 until

5 everyday, instead of working toward future sovereignty and cultural integrity of their people. He notes that Indigenous peoples have to make careful life choices, including choices about marriage and procreation because the Indian identity is paramount.

I am not so sure that arguments about procreation and blood lines are relevant to an Indigenous methodology because it is exactly this kind of blood/DNA/geneology argument that such “born again” Aboriginal students as he describes discover during graduate schools (that is, they do not discover they have a different worldview; they discover, often through science, that they have Indian blood). Moreover, making an argument that is perhaps unique to an island culture such as mine, historically it is highly likely that newcomers to the island were drawn in to the island peoples, diversifying the bloodlines while still becoming indistinguishable from other islanders over generations (that is, people have sex with outsiders if those outsiders are attractive and available). People will remember for several generations. They will say “so and so’s great grandfather came from somewhere else, so watch out” but eventually that disappears.²³ That said, I accept his challenge to my integrity, and I struggle in this dissertation with questions of insider versus outsider, and how such questions of positionality can be resolved, and I reveal my own position in my community as someone married to an outsider, and having children. These struggles are detailed in the section below on locating myself as an Indigenous researcher.

What soon becomes clear in reading the debates is that Indigenous/Indigenist research is not one method, nor even one methodology; rather, it is as diverse and unique as the many different cultural, geographical, and linguistic spaces that Indigenous peoples inhabit, as distinct as individual Indigenous researchers themselves are. So, while on the one hand Kovach (2010a) claims that there is “no one way to perform tribal-centered research” (p. 122), on the other hand, she locates Indigenous research as “relatively emergent within western qualitative research” (Kovach, 2010b, p. 41) methods stating that “as this book situates

²³ In my research reported here, it becomes clear that after the third generation comes acceptance; after the fifth generation, no one remembers.

Indigenous methodologies within the larger context of qualitative research...” (2010a, p. 16), and later “Indigenous methodologies can be situated within the qualitative landscape because they encompass characteristics congruent with other relational qualitative approaches...that in the research design value both process and content” (2010a, p. 25). She cites Strauss and Corbin (1998) as emphasizing that qualitative research is a “nonmathematical process of interpretation” (Kovach, 2010a, p. 26), a characteristic that applies to the “Indigenous paradigm” of research (Kovach, 2010b, p. 41). Not only does this subsume Indigenous research under a category of Western methods or Western notions of paradigm, but it also equates Indigenous research with method or approach (as opposed to methodology), both positions that I cannot endorse. This is minimally inaccurate, if not actually insulting. Indigenous people can count, and they can measure, and they can distinguish one from many.²⁴

Holding an opposing view to Kovach, Indigenous Tasmanian sociologist Walter (2009) applies virtually the same principles of Indigenous research discussed earlier—intent and integrity—to quantitative methods of data collection and analysis, particularly survey research. Walter suggests that quantitative research is not normally done by Indigenous researchers, probably because of perceived links to “hard Western science” (2 min 17 sec) and to colonialism and imperialism. Unfortunately, she claims, Indigenous failure to engage with statistics often works to the detriment of Indigenous communities because such failure allows non-Indigenous researchers to set the research agendas and prioritize answers that frame Indigenous peoples as a “problem” that needs to find solutions in social science. She therefore suggests that forms of quantitative research are essential to activism and advocacy against dominant cultures, naming that research *Nayri Kati*, which translates to “good numbers” in her [currently revitalizing] language. The key to working with quantitative data, she claims, is to ensure that research questions are framed and interpreted within an Aboriginal worldview, and

²⁴ Imagine asking an Indigenous mother how many children she has. She will know if she has 12. If her husband goes fishing and comes back with one fish to feed them, she will cuff him on the side of the head and send him back for 24—and they had better not be pinky-sized. Likewise, if he brings 24 to feed only one child, she is unlikely to be pleased at the waste and will send him to put them back.

work toward Aboriginal goals and aspirations, that they value the intent and integrity of Indigenous knowledge systems.

To her arguments, I would add to what she is saying that qualitative research does not result in consensus; quantitative research does. Indigenous governance and worldviews are defined by community consensus. When you have to achieve consensus with others, then someone has to be able to count who is “for” and who is “against” a notion, figure out which notion is going to work and has the majority of support, and then decide who needs to convince whom to change their minds. Consensus is nothing more than 100% which again speaks to Indigenous peoples being able to count.

One View from One Island: Integrity and Intent in Indigenous Research

Returning to my claim earlier that Indigenous research principles are all embodied in the notions of integrity and intent, I will now speak to certain aspects of these issues. As I alluded to above, intent addresses the purpose of research, while integrity addresses the research and dissemination process. In terms of intent, specifically researchers must deeply consider what the people who live in the communities want, and whether we as Indigenous or other researchers are prepared to accept the consequences of our research results (Nakagawa, 2006a). In terms of integrity, along with other researchers in Indigenous communities, I need to unpack the ideas of positionality and of ethics. Explaining intent and integrity in my own research is therefore the next task that I have given myself.

Intent: What the community wants. In addressing intent, first, researchers need to ask questions like: “Whose questions am I asking? Are these questions mine as well since I am a part of these people? Or, am I going into someone else’s community to try to represent their question(s)?” “Am I the one who should be asking these question(s)?” What are the answers?

It is very important to consider the nuances in the potential answers: “I ask these research questions because I live/lived in the community and we have question(s) to be answered”? Or “even though I grew up in different city, my family is from the community”, or “I have research questions but I need to get into the community to gather the data to answer my questions.” The answers put

forward here determine whether or not the researcher legitimately belongs in the researched peoples' communities.

After determining that the researcher legitimately belongs in the researched peoples' communities or groups, a second set of questions must be asked. Those questions are: "What questions do the researched people (community/group) want to have answered?"; "What kinds of data are required to answer the questions that are asked by the researched people?"; "What is the best way to collect the most appropriate data with regard to available time and funding?"; "How should we analyze the data," in particular "what is the best way to see the data from the standpoint of the researched?"; "How should I present the results and do the researched people agree with the results?"; "Where should the results be presented?" "Should data be presented only in the place within the group of researched people? Or, should data be presented only outside the community?"; "Who is going to live with the consequences of the results and the consequences of publication of the research project?" These questions and many further questions possibly related to the subject area must be thought through with great consideration of the researched people in mind. These questions need to be thought through *with* the researched people.

In the end, it is important to know what a researched people, group, or community wants to achieve or know—such as how to create a better life while living within the reality of being dominated—and they want to continue not to dominate their own environments, surroundings, or Nature because they want to continue to live with respect for future generations. In such research, researchers need to use their research skills and tools to undo their own ideologically-programmed dominance, and their own desires to survive as dominant for now and into the future through the use of physical force and violence if necessary. In my research, I respected the wishes of the people on Tokunoshima first, and next I trod lightly on their/our earth.

Intent: Combating dominant culture ideologies. Attempts to understand the nature of languages, cultures, and identities by answering the questions I have posed on/for/with my islanders (above, end of Chapter 1) do not lead to simple

solutions. Instead, the more researchers try to provide answers to these and to LCI questions about loss or maintenance, the more difficult the answers become; in fact, the degree of difficulty in even defining and naming language, culture and identity increases. It seems clear that removing the accumulated definitions of LCI is necessary to “excavate” (Foucault, 1980); getting to the core value of LCI becomes part of our mandate. Definitions of language, culture, and identity that are in operation on my island right now result from our current ideology, which is based on influence from the dominant society. Culture and identity are founded on being dominated by one’s surroundings; language is a way of expressing that ideology, and it is constructed.

To explain, we all need to live a dominant life (that is, we would rather kill than be killed), “we” referring to humans and all other creatures. First we all need to live and sustain our lives within our own life spans. This leads to a drive toward domination to live for now so that we can continue our existence into the future. We explain this drive through many different means: “God”, “Nature”, “energy transformation”, “the way it is,” all based on our compressed life span and our annexation of the human concept of time as reality. But even time is constructed. To understand this, we can think about the Big Bang theory from another perspective. From our perspective, the Big Bang theory led to the formation of the universe and the beginning of time from a finite point in the past up until now. But, it is possible, as most Indigenous peoples would acknowledge, that the big bang was simply an experiment and a small explosion in some larger sandbox, and the whole of human and other creature’s existence on earth occurred in the blink of an eye. As the explosion has not ended yet, the blink of the eye has not finished yet. While western scientists are limited to understanding the world through concepts that they can experience, Indigenous thinkers have long ago given up on the concept of “one time.” Indigenous peoples have lived with differing concepts of even such Western commonplaces as gravity because it is nothing but a construct to explain something naturally occurring that probably does not need an explanation. In Western academic terms, this statement can be proven; Einstein’s *theory of relativity* as established through the production of the

atomic bomb, notes that gravity can shift time and distance (that is, time goes slower at lower gravities); if time is not constant then neither is gravity. In Indigenous terms, it does not matter because it is what it is.

Continuing with my dominant narrative, it is very important to continue to dominate (that is, “to live”; for example, if I want to eat spinach, I first must kill the spinach, meaning that I am dominating it) from now into the future within our own constructed ideologies of time and distance—which simply translates into place (gravity). What is important here is the necessity of understanding individuals and their groups from within the current and future places they are embedded in. From those places (in time, space, geography), individuals form their own ways of being dominant in order to take advantage of their environments and thus ensure their future probabilities of continuing their genetic and spiritual beings. That is, they develop identity and culture.

It is also important to understand that individuals cannot appropriate or annex ideologies other than those developed within their own environments without exposure to other ideologies through contact. We all define ourselves within our own surroundings and environment; those definitions constitute culture and identity, expressed through language. Each individual/group/community defines its ideology (worldview) from within its own material world, and these worldviews cannot/do not need to be explained among members of the community/group because within the group it is simply the way of life:

...large-scale socioeconomic transformations linked to globalization, urbanization, militarization, and environmental changes have reshaped communities through the movement of people, ideas, and commodities. However, the effects of contact on languages and their speakers, though no less pervasive, have proved [sic] easier to overlook—especially given the characterization of language still prevalent in the West as a transparent, culturally indifferent referential medium. Contemporary cross-cultural contact brought about by activities ranging from missionization, education, and tourism to conversation efforts, sustainable agriculture, the extraction of resources (timber, minerals, petroleum and fish), and nuclear testing

continue to influence local language communities in both predictable and unpredictable ways. (Makihara & Schiefflin, 2007, p. 3)

Even without the violations described above, it is quite clear, to me at least, that even the idea of defining language, culture, and identity is based on the existence of outsiders. Without outsiders, there is no need to define language, culture or identity; they just are. Outsiders in a given environment have a tendency to act as dominators, naming those who have a lesser tendency to dominate from the positions of their own ideologies.

For example, Meyer (2001) points out that naming is a Western concept, and is differently used in Indigenous societies. She writes:

I believe that knowledge must be useful or have a function for it to be meaningful or important. What are the characteristics of a plant? Does it describe an idea, person, or place? Does it heal, is it food, how does it link to our history? Do we use it for bowls, do we use it for canoes? If we did not have a purpose for this plant, it was not named. Thus extends the separation between clashing cosmologies that would negate utility, function and relationship with regard to what was worth knowing and why. (p. 196)

I see in her words a warning that we should question researchers who attempt to define the languages, cultures, and identities of the researched from their own perceptions, with shared understandings of particular words, and without deep reflections of understandings from both/multiple worldviews. This sounds easy, but it is not a simple matter. It does not simply come down to “who is going to ask questions” since most researchers automatically belong to, possess, and practice dominance in terms of their reasons for conducting research on/for/with others. It is clear that many researchers, including me, have a tendency to conduct research based on fundamentally faulty assumptions—the “what is it that we need to know” from a Western point of view, the “what are the gaps in our knowledge” basis.

When a researcher’s ideology does not change, or when a researcher does not have the will to assist or to be sacrificed to help the researched community achieve what the community wants and needs, then this must be interpreted as a danger sign. It has not yet become clear to the dominant research communities

that even post-colonialism, post-modernism, post-structuralism (or any other supposedly post-dominant worldviews) do not engage in a real redistribution of power. Researchers in these traditions still call on theories and name peoples and cultures with a view to pursuing their own advantage—to annex, to appropriate, and to dominate. Any person can conduct research that is intended for the betterment of human beings and other world beings; researchers do not need to have dominant worldviews, nor do they need to impose their ideologies; there is a form of research in every Indigenous culture. That is, research does not have to be done as “let me fix you” projects by dominant groups who insist on naming the world their way.

Integrity: how to measure positionality. It is time for the researched people themselves to conduct research within their own otherness-oriented research methodologies (that is, “I might help you with my dominant-culture-learned ideology without you becoming part of MY project”). It is important that researchers understand both or multiple worldviews without ever becoming constrained by a belief in, or practice of, only one of them. Researchers need to understand that we are a useful tool for peoples/groups/communities to be able to use *against* the dominant ideologies. Researchers must understand and practice dominant ideology and earn degrees within dominant institutions to be able to demonstrate their ability to communicate, translate, and abuse the dominant system in such a way as to serve non-dominant peoples/groups/communities.

For example, it took me eight or nine years to enter the Canadian university system as I waited for my English ability to improve enough. One factor that cannot be overlooked in this picture is that after arriving in Canada I went to an English language school for six months but I was not able to achieve university level of English ability (though I achieved a standing that was good enough for College). I worked for over seven years in the Canadian community using both Japanese and English to earn a living. After seven years, I was somewhat able to understand expectations, language, actions, body language, behavioural norms, and many other unspoken meanings in this society. I spent seven frustrating years but they provided me with more context for being “Canadian,” as well as

understandings of the social context that language schools cannot teach (e.g., history, jokes, politics, religion, geography, Nature, expectation, and more). However, by having taken these steps to learn language and culture (and how to accept my assigned “identity position” while still resisting it) and by dedicating myself to this task for the first seven years, I was able to submerge myself in the community of Canada.

This process has often been referred to as acquiring basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) (Cummins, 1979; 1999). It took over seven years for me to gain enough knowledge to operate within this foreign world, not only in order to obtain the BICS language, but also to obtain what Cummins (1979; 1999) calls cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) such as grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, reading skill, writing skill, listening skills, and speaking skills, and also simply how to interpret the world I was living in. I am sure I could have learned enough CALP to enter university without the submersion and struggle, but I would have likely encountered more human-level problems than I do now. This illustrates how anyone can receive a certificate of competency (Urion & Fanning, 2007) to enter a community if they are able to pose as competent, but they will still have and cause more problems than those who do not have a certificate, but who are able to live within a community and participate in the community because they have learned the unspoken and invisible rules and actions. In other words, those who become in-dwellers develop what I call “advanced unidentifiable communication skills” (AUCS).

The point in the above section is not to describe my own experiences, but rather to illustrate how difficult it is to integrate into an existing community as an outsider who does not share the same language, culture, or community values/truth/worldview. And, it must be clear that if it takes at least five years to ten or more years to understand CALP and BICS in English-speaking Canada, then presumably this time span should be translated to subordinate communities as well. When it takes, at a minimum, more than three years to even understand what people do and mean through their daily language and cultural practices, then we, as dominant society-based researchers, should not even start to think that we

have any right to simply take some language courses and then be granted “honorary competency” in minority culture AUCS without having even acquired BICS and CALP. It is not simple ignorance, but rather a power play by researchers who conduct research outside their own communities to believe this is possible.²⁵

It is important to emphasize that there are no criteria (such as how long they have lived in a society) for researchers to meet to be able to say they have what it takes to do research in foreign societies. Persons (researchers) need to be approved by insiders and they need to provide some important aspect of their lives, some form of capital, likely in the form of human relationships, to gain access. If researchers do not supply such human capital, then it is appropriate that they should have to turn over as offerings some of their lifetime property, financial status, and/or other form of savings/accumulation as collateral to their intended researched community to gain trust (Nakagawa, 2008c). This holds true for researchers, like me, who are originally from the community as well. Such researchers can become predators on their own cultures after being trained/brainwashed in the dominant ideology. When “the researched” become researchers, their research worldview must change to the orientation of “who benefits from this research, and how much,” rather than the orientation of “let me fix you” or “I want to know so that I can annex your knowledge and sell it back to you” that predominates. In short, if it takes a long time for me or anyone else to adapt to the dominant society from a subordinate society (when subordinated people have been living in this position and have previous experience of learning to adjust), then it should take at least the same time and effort or longer to adapt the other way.²⁶ It will take the same degree of rigor and intensity that it takes to learn to operate in foreign societies.

²⁵ I here disagree with Haig-Brown (2011) who believes that it is “never easy but possible” (p. 935) for outsiders to learn the discourse of a community and to acquire the learning necessary to research in that community. I do not believe that it is for her to decide; it is for us to decide. That is not to say it isn’t possible; only that it is our choice.

²⁶ In fact, as we shall see later, my island people have clearly indicated that it takes three generations, so it is impossible to achieve within one person’s lifetime.

Integrity: Whose consequences? “Research” and “science” should not belong to any one society as they do currently. Science is a tool to test and approach many questions but how to interpret the results and how to plan for using the results should be left to each community or group of people. Community research and scientific research belong to each self-sustainable community; in non-Western forms such research has been used since the beginning to maintain life without dominating Nature. It took dominant manipulations of worldviews and science to muddle the visions of subordinate and suppressed people/groups/communities. Therefore, these subordinate and suppressed people/groups/communities need to learn how research is conducted, then use that knowledge as a tool to shift research to their own advantage. But, if the final aim of research is personal, be it promotion, or financial or social status, then researchers are in the game of research to achieve domination.

Thinking through the strong statements above I considered “Am I the right person to conduct research on my own people?” I have come to the uncomfortable conclusion that if I am not the person to do such research, then there is no one. I would like to think that I have not forgotten my reason for conducting research on/in/with my community. That is, I intend to serve the Amami people, not to lead them from a dominant worldview or a “let me fix you since I know more and have more than you do” mentality. As all of the principles of Indigenous research suggest, researchers need to first ask questions of a people/group/community what they want rather than suggesting what they think is best for them. At the same time, it is important for researchers to use their abilities to read and understand in order for them to foresee the possible consequences of their research and other research, and to inform a people/group/community about good and bad directions.

Even if a project does not succeed or if it ends in disaster, researchers must take responsibility by naming themselves in history as the originators. As the afterlife of research results may not be known until researchers have been long dead, 100 or 200 years hence at least, researchers must view the future at all times. We need to understand that we will be held accountable in history. For example, we can now safely say that Columbus got lost, and he was lucky to end up in what

is currently North and South America in spite of his lack of research and experience. His name continues to lose credibility and legitimacy as time goes by. The same can be said of Einstein; his failure of humane consideration and lack of foresight killed as many human and other beings as Nobel's dynamite did.

Integrity: What is ethical conduct? As I have argued elsewhere (Nakagawa, 2006a), in Indigenous research, the researcher **is** the research procedure or process; therefore, questions about ethics, including questions of positionality, must be brought up before the research begins. At a minimum, researchers who do not know the studied communities should intimately understand the cultures and ideologies and the ethics of the studied communities. If they do not, the answer to the question “who is going to face the consequences of research results?” will be always “the communities or participants but not the researchers” (Nakagawa, 2006a). To this point, I have tried to negotiate understandings of who I am and my relationship to the research. From now, I will interrogate the notion of ethics, trying to understand this western academic term in relation to my island ethics.

What is ethics? First, the word “ethics” itself needs to be explicated. A historiography, genealogy or archaeology (Foucault, 1972, cited in Gale, 2001) of the word “ethics” would require a separate paper, but simply, according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2010) the word “ethics” refers to the “moral principles that control or influence a person's or group's behaviour...,” and “a system of moral principles or rules of behaviour...” (p. 518) as the first and second definitions. This meaning of ethics clearly indicates that ethics are dependent on the morals of specific peoples. It is easy to see the next step, which is to look up the definition of “morals.” According to the same *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2010) morals are defined as being (1) “concerned with the principles of right and wrong behaviour...,” (2) “based on your own sense of what is right and fair, not on legal rights or duties...,” (3) “following the standards of behaviour considered right or acceptable by most people...,” and (4) “able to understand the difference between right and wrong...” (p. 994), meaning that behaviour is judged in terms of a particular society on a scale from good to bad

and from right to wrong. Obviously, if the meanings of “ethics” rely on the meanings of “morals,” then ethics are not universally-grounded perspectives shared by all forms of society around the world.

Yet, researchers who discuss ethics in non-Indigenous research have a tendency to view the world as unified. They construct their arguments about what research ethics are, what research ethics should be, and the conflicts in research ethics, all from positions within the dominant culture (Gaudry, 2011). In fact, researchers take so much for granted, that they do not stop to define ethics, or even to explain their use of terms like IRBs (institutional research boards), assuming that anyone will know what ethics are from an institutional point of view. Even when researchers suggest that there are two worldviews or multiple worldviews (e.g., Fish, 1994; O'Neill, 1998) in ethical research relationships, they usually quickly retreat from their arguments, or suggest that the worldviews can be integrated, usually meaning that the non-dominant worldview will be subordinate to the dominant worldview on ethics (e.g., Piquemal, 2001; 2000).

Even before a project starts, researcher(s) must consider the ethics of the research. Under regular circumstances, university-based research will require mandatory approval from a Board of Ethics. However, university Research Ethics Boards normally consider human ethics within the dominant ideology, meaning that normally, particularly in qualitative research paradigms, the researcher cannot begin contacting the researched people until the research project has been planned and approved (Gaudry, 2011, p. 116-117). On the other hand, taking the postmodern stance that every group and individual possesses partial truth, all researcher(s) who are planning to conduct any research project(s) must somehow inquire about the ethics of the researched and their preferred forms or methods (Ranco, 2006). This may take the shape of asking elder person(s) or community leader(s) or community boards (Kaomea, 2004), but there is the potential for some forms of community approaches to violate the ethical procedures of some institutions. While this is becoming more rare in contexts where Indigenous knowledges are considered and appreciated, it still remains possible for violations to occur, such as, for example, an instance I am aware of in which a minority

language community withdrew consent for one researcher to continue to participate in the collection and analysis of data that belonged to them, but the university ethics board at another Canadian university (that is, not the University of Alberta) chose to permit the researcher to access it anyway.

Within university settings, most researchers use a science-foundation-based, frequently quantitative research-foundation-based approach to ask questions, suggest hypotheses, and propose research methodologies (e.g., Van den Hoonaard, 2001; Marshall, 2003; Gordon, 2003; Denzin, 2003). Faculties based in the Humanities and professional faculties are no exception, since most of the Faculties and faculty members refer to “social science” and call themselves social scientists. Within the positions, rules, and worldview of academia, research ethical protocols resemble a scientific methodology; research “risks” and “benefits” are described, and the participant’s right to withdraw and procedures for withdrawing are detailed, as is the participant’s right to a summary of research results. Free and informed consent forms must be signed before any questions are asked.

Contrarily, in a study of research ethics in an Indigenous context (Nakagawa, 2008c), I asked questions about ethics and ethical procedures within my island community. The results revealed that people on the island have their own ethics and ethical procedures different from, and in many ways more powerful than, university-formatted ethics. In many ways, the Tokunoshima islanders whom I interviewed suggested that they do not recognize university consent forms as legitimate documents within their values, ethics, and morality systems. Tokunoshima islanders heavily rely on human connections to gain trust and judge the integrity of researchers. That is, social capital and cultural ties are far more valuable and more easily recognized by islanders than any legal-looking document. As Weber-Pillwax (2004) has argued:

The most serious consideration for me as a researcher is the assurance that I will be able to uphold the personal responsibility that goes along with carrying out a research project in the community I have decided to work within. Once the decision has been made to enter a community with the

intention of ‘doing formal research,’ I am accepting responsibility and accountability for the impact of the project on the lives of the community members with whom I will be working. (p. 79)

On Tokunoshima, the fact that I still have family relationships and strong ties to the land and the people is what reassures the participants in my research that I accept responsibility and accountability; my saying I accept these alone does not make it so.

Looking at and respecting the institutional considerations for this particular research project, the University of Alberta Education and Augusta Ethics Board (hereafter UAREB) approved this research. These ethical considerations included anonymity of participants, special considerations for all age groups, and help from the education boards of each of the towns through gaining the permission of all superintendents of school boards as well as all high school principals and teachers. The survey included an introduction page describing my background, the research methodology, and a contact list of UAREB members (in case of questions or for clarification of research itself), assuming they would do so in English. The survey included a line telling participants not to identify themselves by name, and informing respondents that answering the questions constituted their consent to participation in the study. Because it was anonymous, no one was able to withdraw after submitting a survey to me.

In order to respect the specific Indigenous Tokunoshima ethical considerations revealed by my earlier study on ethics, this survey was conducted with the help of many Tokunoshima residents. Therefore, almost all data collection involved making connections with islanders, beginning from my own human connections and working through extensions of my family members’ connections.²⁷ This activity of connecting through islanders was the most important and the most difficult task. This process of making connections involved reciprocity such as providing gifts from Canada to people on Tokunoshima, providing research updates to those who helped, writing thank you

²⁷ I have referred to my family members as “social hostages” in this respect (Nakagawa, 2008). Their continued happiness is dependent on my being faithful and true to the island and people.

post cards (and continuing to send New Years cards to the participants even to the present day), and mailing hard copies of the study results. Of course, these results, discussions, and conclusions were shared with Tokunoshima islanders as data and member checks via public presentations and ongoing conversations with participants on Tokunoshima in the summer of 2009, a return visit in the spring of 2010, a further return in the fall of 2011, and finally a culminating trip in December 2011-January 2012. The actual survey data will be kept for 5 years after this dissertation is defended, and then it will be archived in the library or destroyed, as is desired by the island authorities. Digitally entered aggregate data will be provided to the town halls in each of the three towns.

In this way, my research project described here respects the existential differences that exist between doing ethical research in the Western academic tradition and on Tokunoshima. Although I obtained ethical review approval from an English-language Western University, an approved methodology, and a Western university style argument to write and present, I also incorporated a view of ethics that respected those existential differences. I chose not to be like one of the informants described by Davison (2006) who asked that his remarks not be used in the study because he was “afraid of what might happen to him if it were revealed that he was unable to follow REB requirements to which he had originally agreed” (p. 8). In fact, in the event that I was unable to get written consent from an islander who objected to the imposition of western-style ethics, then, in keeping with the provisions of the Tri-Council of Canada research ethics document and of my ethical review protocol, I chose to respect islander ethics and accept their ongoing willingness to participate as consent, particularly as I returned to the island to present my research four times, giving individuals multiple opportunities to withdraw their consent. In point of fact, that is, the University of Alberta ethics process also allowed for necessary cultural considerations and I was able to readily fulfil both requirements.

Locating Myself as an Indigenous Researcher in Tokunoshima

Kaomea (2004) notes that “one of the most difficult risks Indigenous researchers can take is to pursue a critical study that challenges taken-for-granted

views or practices of their native community” (p. 31; see also Smith, 1999, p. 137). She suggests, “such studies can unsettle beliefs, values, and relationships within the community with consequences that the researchers, their families, and the community will have to live with on a daily basis” (p. 31). I would add that such research may have consequences for a lifetime, or several lifetimes, or may even change the course of history. That is why the insider/outsider question in research is of fundamental importance in Indigenous community-based research. The importance of whether you are an insider or an outsider and the impact of your work will be known only three or four generations after the study is complete, if even then.

In this section therefore, I explain how I came to be interested in this subject with reference to my research project and with reference to my various positions as an insider and/or an outsider. I review some of the common perceptions in the insider/outsider debate, following which I posit my own views, based on what island people want and their views of me.

I was 18 years old when I left Tokunoshima, after graduation from high school. I could not wait to leave the island and was happy to go out into the “real” world. Going out into the real world led me to university in Kitakyushu, Japan, and, following marriage, to Vancouver, Toronto, and Winnipeg, Canada. While doing my Master’s degree in Kinesiology at the University of Manitoba, while I was studying biomedical statistics through the Faculty of Medicine, my wife tried to explain something to me, saying something along the lines of “...but in Canada, it is normal to do it this way!” In frustration, I replied, “Sandie, surely you have to realize that in your position,²⁸ you are several standard deviations away from what is normal.” As I noted in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, in 2003 those words came back to haunt me. Walking our daughter to elementary school, I explained to my wife how I wanted to become successful: do what I needed to do, contribute something meaningful back to the island, provide something for the island and the people who raised me. I wanted to work toward maintaining the language and

²⁸ My wife is a Professor at a medical doctoral university in Western Canada. She grew up in a high-powered, well-off though not wealthy, home. She had to overcome significant negativity toward educated women to achieve her goals.

culture, to help the island revitalize its proud ancestry. “Surely you have to realize that you are several standard deviations away from the norm?” she asked. In essence, her statement made me ask myself “are you an insider, or an outsider, outsider within, insider without?” I could come up with no firm answers. As Smith (1999) notes, “Indigenous research approaches problematize the insider model in different ways because there are multiple ways of both being an insider and an outsider in Indigenous contexts” (p. 137).

In my case, I grew up on the island but, since I have left the community, I have spent more years of my life outside the island than I did on it. Viewing the struggles of the island, I now know that I had to go “outside” to realize the “inside conditions.” I know the island; it is home base. I grew up there. I feel most comfortable there. I can predict behaviour. I share a worldview. I have a community of my own, and also one through blood relatives who are still in close contact with me. On the island, I still have some authority through my parents, and more authority tinged with sarcasm and amusement than one would expect resulting from my education and life experiences. I have lived outside the island in Japan, gained a Western education, lived outside Japan, and become married to a White woman with whom I have two children. I therefore have to admit that I do not know the life on my island as a person with a family trying to make a life there. I wondered, and am still wondering, is it my place to say to my people what I think? I wonder if what I am about to do is for them or for me? I am trying my best to answer the questions and have not really come to any answers. In doing my research, I am still looking for some kind of answer to my question: Am I an insider? Am I an outsider? What are my roles, rights, and responsibilities?

Early definitions of what constitutes “insider” and “outsider” in qualitative research were somewhat simplistic, and many of these simplistic views persist. In research tackling the definitions and orientations of insiders and outsiders, there has been little, if any, consensus; there have been many different approaches to doing research in minority, ethnic, rural, and Indigenous communities, and each of these approaches has put forward its own definitions of insider and outsider. For example, Banks (1998), Green (2002), Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee,

Ntseane, & Muhamad (2001), Struthers (2001), Espinosa-Dulanto (2004), Brayboy and Deyhle (2000), Toma (2000) and Fitzgerald (2003) have all approached the insider/outsider debate by examining “studied community” (Banks, 1998) issues.

Many researchers (Selby, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2003; Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000; Struthers, 2001; Banks, 1998) use race as the defining feature in the insider/outsider debate, though racial inclusion can mean anything from the same skin colour to being from a similar region. Wilkes (1999) explicated her research team’s dilemmas and ethical contradictions from the point of view of regional differences. Her research on rural and urban communities expressed insider or outsider status in terms of the “native” and “stranger” concept, meaning whether or not the researchers were members of the rural community being studied. Banks (1998) cites early childhood socialization into the values and mores of the community as being key to being “Indigenous.” Researchers have also used specific, but often related, terms for different types of insider and outsider status. For example, Banks’ (1998) concept of an Indigenous-outsider appears to be somewhat analogous to Merriam et al’s, (2001) description of the inside-outsider in the community-based research, and possibly analogous to the concept of native-foreigner (Espinosa-Dulanto, 2004) as well. In short, the definition of insider and outsider seems to exist within each research project and within definitions of what constitutes the community or group(s) of people under study. Approaching the insider and outsider debate from the identities of communities or from group definitions put forward by the members of a community, it seems, would result in an endless debate with numerous power positions to be defended, all coming down to the questions of “who belongs?” and “from whose perspective?”

In 1998, Banks introduced one variation on the insider and outsider debates by outlining a four-category typology of cross-cultural researchers, these being: Indigenous-insider, Indigenous-outsider, external-insider, and external-outsider. According to Banks, the Indigenous-insider “...endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviors, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her Indigenous

community and culture and is perceived by people within the community as a legitimate member who can speak with authority about it” (p. 8); the Indigenous-outsider “...was socialized within his or her Indigenous community but...experienced high levels of cultural assimilation into an outsider or oppositional culture” (p. 8); the external-insider “was socialized within another culture....however, because of his or her unique experiences...rejects many of the values, beliefs, and knowledge claims within his or her indigenous community and endorses those of the studied community” (p. 8); the external-outsider “is socialized within a community different from the one in which he or she is doing research [and]...has partial understanding of and little appreciation for the values, perspectives, and knowledge” (p. 8) of the studied community. Banks’ (1998) typology marks a fundamental shift from traditional definitions which emphasized the primordial positions of researchers (i.e., rural/urban; Indigenous/non-Indigenous; homosexual/heterosexual; black/not-black, etc), to other dimensions such as the unique values of researcher’s perspectives, behaviours, beliefs, worldviews and knowledge(s).

Without framing it this way, each of the researchers cited above introduced the idea of the insider/outsider position through comparison and evaluation on two axes. Through comparison of their ideas, I have determined that there is a horizontal axis, which I have labeled “permanent, fixed, being-ness” and a vertical axis that I have labeled “mutable, changeable, knowing-ness.” Of course, for many researchers, the importance of the horizontal axis is often viewed as paramount, and predetermined. When discussing race, or sexuality, or gender, the horizontal axis represents something that cannot be changed. Consequently, being viewed as an insider on the horizontal axis is often beyond the researcher’s control, referring to immutable characteristics.

The vertical axis represents the values, perspectives, beliefs, norms, and knowledge(s) of the studied community, and represents those attributes that are “learn-able,” given enough time. This may be more or less complicated. As I noted above, a researcher cannot simply decide for him/herself “now I am in.” Whether or not one is able to become an Indigenous insider can be more or less

difficult. In Banks' (1998) view, because he refers almost exclusively to African Americans or other racial and ethnic minority groups, membership in the studied community requires both extensive knowledge, and a specific gene pool. Therefore, becoming an Indigenous or external insider is particularly difficult. Indigenous insiders are a small, select group and the knowledge required for insider status may have to be acquired over years—or even a lifetime—of commitment. Validation of whether or not the researcher has acquired the requisite knowledge, values, perspectives, beliefs, and norms of the community will come from the community.

Most researchers seem to view the horizontal axis as the most important, or the controlling axis; however, this raises problems for the Indigenous researcher. For example, it is important to consider how hybridity in racial terms might factor in the insider/outsider debate. For me, personally, this is made clear by considering my wife and family. Are my children insiders on the horizontal axis, even though they are “only” half islanders by blood? Yes. Is my wife able to work within the communities of Tokunoshima, even though she has no genetic relationship to the islanders? Yes. Why? In my opinion, for researchers to be able to do research as “insiders,” the vertical axis is more important than the horizontal axis. In other words, being able to identify with, make a long term commitment to, enjoy, value, respect, honour, and love the studied community within the norms of the studied community is more important than only bloodlines or other permanent markers of the community. However, it must be clear that my wife does not share a worldview with Tokunoshima islanders. She can do research, and she can interpret the results for my islanders, but she must then release those results to the islanders to do with as they like. She must relinquish ownership and control, while I can always be part of (but only part of) the islander interpretation.

In Indigenous research projects, like my own reported here, there is no more important thing to consider than researcher positionality. In my own research, I am what I would call an “honourable insider” to the people of my island. I am trapped in the colour of my skin, and trapped in the memories of growing up on the island. My memories have been overlaid with a Western education, but I am

willing to sacrifice the personal benefits that might come from my Western education for the community that I grew up in. I could return to my island with a Ph.D. in hand, and receive instant respect, instant honour, and easy access to the means to accumulate wealth, both intellectually and physically. But, as my grandmother and mother always told me, “*Mun turunyuka na turi*” which means “rather than taking the thing, take the name (honour).” Therefore, I would rather work *for* my community *using* my knowledge, than *using* my community *for* enhancing my knowledge. This does not mean that I am an insider; it means that, as someone now positioned on the outside, I am as close as someone can get to still being an insider. I am the Indigenous scholar from my story lying in the mud.²⁹

As I have argued elsewhere (Nakagawa, 2006a), I must guard against turning into an insidious insider, positioned by my community as an outsider, and thus becoming a researcher “predator.” I must use my position and my experiences to engage in “writing back” (Ahscroft, Griffiths, & Tiffin, 1989) to our colonizers. Although our colonizer is Japan, I need to write back in English. To explain, as I have written previously:

In writing back to the colonizer Japan, there are a number of functions for the English language. First, English is a language which has had a widespread use, while Japanese is used primarily only in Japan; therefore, for the conquered people to write back in Japanese is synonymous with remaining mute. There are no ears to hear in Japan, even among critical postcolonial scholars, who have noted the ‘struggle over sovereignty, marginality, and U.S.-Japan relations’ (Kubota, 2003, p. 77) without exploring or revealing their ongoing complicity in perpetuating Japan’s publicly ‘owned’ responsibility for colonialist practices even in the resolution on the rights of the Indigenous Ainu of northern Japan. It is possible that through the use of English, Indigenous writers subjected to Japanese colonialism may gain a wider audience, thus forcing Japan to own

²⁹ I may need to take this line out when I submit my dissertation to the library. I do not want to identify myself as the protector of my people. In my worldview, that would be arrogance.

its history and its present. Third, English is a language of international recognition. When the Japanese government fails to recognize the island's languages and culture, it is possible for the English-speaking world to pay attention. Fourth, there is no need to communicate through forms of deference in English language usage, as there would be if conquered peoples were to write back in Japanese. There are no honorifics to employ, no veneer of respectful terms, no glossing over of agency by leaving out the nouns and pronouns; instead, the sneering searing anger of exploited peoples can be revealed in words. (Nakagawa & Kouritzin, 2011, pp. 61-62)

In short, Japanese is not appropriate. Shima-guchi is local, and useful within the island, but only within the island. English allows me to be angry and righteous—at least up to a point.

Theoretical Framework

I should probably admit up front that I came to write my theoretical framework last. That does not mean that I did not have one starting out; it means that I needed to fully articulate and explain all of my theoretical perspectives before I could begin. Although I can see the layers of social theory operating within my dissertation, I also choose, in keeping with Indigenous research paradigms, not to label us according to Western norms. Therefore, it is only with great hesitation and trepidation that I have cited “big T” Theories throughout this dissertation, and most frequently I have done so in footnotes only to show my examiners that I have done my homework. I choose not to write at length about Western social theories because the focus of my dissertation is not Western theory; my focus is Tokunoshima language, culture, and identity, and what island people want. My island people do not know, or care, about academic theory.

In one respect, the foundation for all work on language shift is best expressed by Wong Fillmore (1991):

When parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences. They cannot teach them about the meaning of work, or about personal responsibility, or what it means to be a moral or ethical

person in a world with too many choices and too few guideposts to follow. What is lost are the bits of advice, the *consejos* parents should be able to offer children in their everyday interactions with them. Talk is a crucial link between parents and children: It is how parents impart their cultures to their children and enable them to become the kind of men and women they want them to be. When parents lose the means for socializing and influencing their children, rifts develop and families lose the intimacy that comes from shared beliefs and understandings. (p. 343)

In keeping with her argument, perhaps the most important pillar of my theoretical framework is the understanding of language, culture, and identity that I work within and against. Here, influenced by my work as a second language teacher and as *twice* a learner of a dominant language and culture, I have been most influenced by researchers who work in the traditions of anthropology and sociolinguistics and proponents of environmental determinism and cultural ecology (e.g., Boas, 1911; Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956; Crystal, 2000), and recognizing that language always exists in a social and cultural contexts because it is most centrally used to communicate knowledge within a given culture.

Language not only makes it possible to share knowledge, but it is also central in shaping how we view the world; that is, knowledge is not merely communicated by language, but it also shapes and creates knowledge.³⁰ According to language socialization theory, through language, our cultures, worldviews, and ideologies are shared with our children and grandchildren (Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986), our ideologies are shaped through the use of lexicon as well as genre and semiotics (Hodge & Kress, 1993),³¹ and, as exemplified by critical discourse theory, our power is enacted on others or their power is enacted on us (Fairclough, 2001). Foucault (1970), for example, points to how power

³⁰ This is not a unique perspective. It is shared by structuralists and post-structuralists alike. In fact, social constructivism is based on the notion that no reality exists without interaction through language.

³¹ Hodge and Kress (1993) argue that “the grammar of a language is its theory of reality” (p. 7). To my way of thinking, they should have said that “the grammar of a language *reflects* the theory of reality of its speakers at the time it is used” because our ideology is communicated through language, allowing our ideology to be transmitted to our succeeding generations, but ideology is also change-able, which is reflected in changes in language.

operates through language convincing us that something is true³², creating what he called “regimes of truth.” In this way, languages (or discourses within a language) can colonize others, if we can force others to speak and accept them (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 163-164).

If language is what is used to communicate power, social convention, myth, belief systems, ideologies, worldviews, religions, how to order and structure the world, then culture is what is communicated. Culture is the content that is communicated in order to socialize young people into a community, group, or family. In this way, culture is similar to what Bourdieu refers to as “habitus” the common sense way in which we interpret our worlds, once it is acquired and becomes habitual. Habitus is “an acquired system of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95) which means to me that habitus describes our adjustment to our environment. For Indigenous cultures, such as my own, the environment means Nature. After the apparent meaning of an action or practice has disappeared, the action or practice may remain in a form of “high culture” as ritual or ceremony.

It is also through language that we create, then negotiate our identities, an identity being “how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (Norton, 2000, p. 5). Through the workings of power through language, we are assigned “identity positions” (Toohey, 2000) by others. And, through language in moves referred to as “investment,” we can signal that we accept or resist those assigned identities (Norton, 2000).

A second important pillar in my theoretical framework is my belief that formal education (i.e., schooling) is the most powerful socializing medium after the family; when it refers to the education system of a colonizer, it can rob children of their heritages. Freire calls this “banking education,” described in this way:

³² Kuhn (1962) might say this is the power of an existing paradigm.

The teacher's task is to organize a process which already occurs spontaneously to "fill" the students by making deposits of information which he or she considers to constitute true knowledge. And since people "receive" the world as passive entities, education should make them more passive still, and adapt them to the world. The educated individual is the adapted person, because she or he is a better "fit" for the world. Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquility rests on how well people fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it. (Freire, 1971, p. 57)

In fact, the education *systems* of dominant cultures around the world, including Japan, are modeled on the banking concept. According to Freire, in banking forms of education (Freire, 1971) teachers force students to adopt their worldviews, and they thereby create profitable situations for the existent world order (e.g., Klees, 2002) in which teachers are operating. Likewise, Gramsci (1971) pointed out how conscious and intentional shifts in educational approach, threatened future generations of Italian identity, a process he referred to as "hegemony" (Gramsci, 1971). Formal education is a powerful tool of the colonizers, conducted in the colonizer's language and imprinting the dominant culture on schoolchildren.

A third pillar of my theoretical framework holds that colonialism is the practice of power, involving the oppression of one group of people by another, politically, economically, socially, physically, and ultimately intellectually. I do not equate colonization with imperialism, understanding that colonization refers to permanent settlers on another peoples' land, while imperialism more generally refers to one country exercising control over another (Kohn, 2012). A distinction that I find more useful, because it is my own, is that imperialism is the *system* of empire that allows for the *practice* of colonization. However, even while mobilizing the discourse, I do not explore these concepts with Tokunoshima islanders in my dissertation; for those being subjugated there is little point in making the distinction or exploring what the concepts mean in their lives; they do not, and have not ever, known anything else. As I noted above, this is one more

aspect of “it is what it is.” One means of subjugating colonized/imperialized peoples is by producing knowledge about them that constructs them as inferior and thereby sanctions their continued oppression, a process frequently referred to as “orientalizing” (Said, 1978; Smith, 1999).

Of course, my dissertation is informed by many theories (whether I agree with them or not), which I use in the literature review, the discussion, and the conclusion. In particular, I reference Heidegger’s (1967) notions of *logistik* and *Being*, Phillipson’s (1992) concept of linguistic imperialism in core-periphery relations, Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, Freire’s notion of “conscientization,” Foster’s (1999) concept of “metabolic rift,” many of Marx’s (1906; 1965) ideas about the emergence of capitalism particularly as they pertain to the commodification of Indigenous lives and lifestyles, decolonization theories (Smith, 1999; Spivak, 1988), and Bourdieu’s (1986) notion of social capital measured at the level of the nation-state, which I call “strong neighbour” theory.

It is impossible to name all of the theories which I mobilize or that have influenced my thinking, or to measure their relative influences because, from my perspective (as I will detail shortly), theories of power, nation, capital, colonization, human rights, and development are all located within the framework of Western theories and Western thought. Using them, to me, is like trying to slice an apple into equal parts. If you want to cut an apple into many pieces, then every cut is going to overlap somewhere. The knife cuts are the theories. Somewhere they are all overlapped, interconnected, and conflated. From my perspective on the outside looking in (that is, in this analogy, not part of the apple), I cannot divide one theory from another theory, and I can't say that I believe in any theory alone or totally. In my dissertation data, it is quite possible that my islanders have touched on every theory in the world in some way.

Therefore, the final, and most important pillar for my theoretical framework recognizes that existential differences exist between Indigenous and Western knowledge systems. Because I am primarily concerned with “symbolic violence” (Bourdieu, 2006) and how power operates through the Japanese language and

culture, via education and colonization, in overt and covert ways, on the language, culture and identity of Tokunoshima islanders, I would have to name my approach “critical.” Because I do not believe in one truth in the dominant worldview (though firmly believing in one truth in the Indigenous worldview) nor in master narratives (though I firmly believe in Indigenous oral traditions which are master narratives), I guess I adopt a postmodern position. However, it is also possible to argue that, based on dominant culture theories, to this point, my theoretical framework has been confined to Western ideas.

The absolute foundation of my theoretical framework lies in food and sex. How to obtain food is the foundation of my thesis. I refer to sex rather than procreation because I believe that having food sources provides power and power provides sexual appeal, allowing men and women to choose their mates. But, that has nothing to do with the theories that I have read. The closest I have found to my theory that I can agree with is Charles Darwin’s (1869) theories of evolution and natural selection—not social Darwinism, but Darwinism, that is, animals have to adapt to the land in order to take advantage of food sources; those who did not adapt were eliminated; humans are animals. Everything to me is layered on top of food and sex, theories included.

As I have argued elsewhere, things that we experienced through growing up as children and adolescents, things that we were taught in formal education systems as being authentic, real, legitimate, or fact can also be seen as functioning as part of the fundamental system of an individual/group/community ideology or worldview. Indeed, many of us locate ourselves within formal education as a reference point for scientific knowledge and information. Any information within this formal education system, within this ideology, *is in the box*—the box represents justice, standards, rights, morals, ethics, love, forgiveness, compassion, knowledge and any other known attribute. If or when an individual approaches a point at or near the peripheral area of what is considered to be the “norm” or “standard” (in statistical terms, this is likely to be measured as two standard deviations away from the mean point toward both ends on a binary, or two standard deviations of concentric spheres when binaries are not recognized), then

that individual has reached the area of the “critical”—specifically, still “in the box” but getting very close to what is no longer considered to be the norm or standard. Outside the box is the “strange.”

Indigeneity is, to the dominant ideology, in the realm of the strange. It is possible for dominant cultures to annex Indigenous perspectives and subsume them under the dominant ideology in the name of critical. But, as Nakata (2002) reminds us:

For without a doubt, the collection and documentation of Indigenous knowledge by the development and scientific communities is a very partial enterprise, selecting and privileging some Indigenous knowledge whilst discarding and excluding others (p. 283)

This means that only that Indigenous knowledge considered important to the dominant ideologies is annexed. Indigeneity, from a dominant perspective, serves critical positions, when in fact it is an entirely different knowledge system.

Indigeneity as conceptualized by the dominant worldview is on the periphery or edge of the dominant, not on the border or the edge or the periphery of Indigenous. If one is at the “critical” point of Indigenousness, one is outside the box, not inside the box. To be specific, if one is working for the dominant society, then Indigeneity is critical; but, if one is working for the Indigenous peoples, then Indigeneity is not an approach because it is outside the Indigenous ideological box. As long as Indigenous scholars are located within the box of dominant thinking and dominant norms then they are critical, but when Indigenous scholars go beyond this socially-constructed norm/standard and mobilize Indigenous ideologies, then their ideas are dismissed as myth, dream, superstition, or other categories which characterize them as strange, weird, bad, evil, or otherwise not worthy.

To do critical work is therefore, and must be, to work within the dominant society. Being critical means that you are working *for* the dominant society. This means trying to translate for dominant culture people so that they can understand Indigenous ways of thinking and take the good stuff. Once dominant ideology people understand in the way *they* want to understand, then they are able to annex

the forms of knowledge that are useful to their own critical projects. They can “mobilize” Indigenous thinking as “theory” and find it useful. The danger is that Indigenous scholars might unintentionally do so too. And that leads me to ask the question, when Indigenous scholars like me have commodified and “sold” the good stuff, then what will they (I) leave those who don’t speak the dominant languages? That is the danger I face in this dissertation. I walk always on the edge of the sword.

Thesis Layout

Now that I have spent considerable time on two long introductions, each of them essential to understanding the context, rationale, and objectives of my research, I will explain the outline of my dissertation. Chapter 1 introduced the island of Tokunoshima, and oriented readers to the history, geography, economics, education, and politics of an island that has experienced multiple layers of colonialism and slavery in living memory. Chapter 2 introduced the principles and practices of Indigenous research, and discussed my own position in doing this research. I fully articulated the risks I face and the risks I expose islanders to in doing this research, and in this way allowed readers to critique me if they so desire.

Moving forward, Chapter 3, the literature review, examines the three main concepts that I explored with Tokunoshima islanders: language, culture, and identity. Discarding entirely purely linguistic definitions of language (i.e., formal systems of grammar, lexicon, syntax, morphemes, etc.), I examine instead what languages are, the status of Indigenous languages, and the problem of language shift. I then address how language can be defined from an Indigenous perspective. I work similarly with culture and identity, first examining the literature on the operationalizations of these terms in the existing literature, and defining each as well from an Indigenous perspective.

Chapter 4, methodology, examines the arguments in favour of qualitative and quantitative methods, concluding that using mixed methods results in more than a simple combination of the two methods. I then detail my data collection and analysis strategies, closing with my comments on how I ensured that my

research project, while apparently employing dominant culture research methods, was nonetheless done in an Indigenous manner.

In chapter 5, I first summarize the survey data, and then detail how I developed my interview questions from the survey responses. Following that, I provide a summary of the interview data, examining demographics and cross-case themes.

Chapter 6 comprises the voices of islanders. Drawing on the work of Smith (1999), I have written each individual interviewee's interview transcript as a standardized testimonial. It is my position that doing so honours the voices of those who gave time to my project, and ensures that each person has the right to speak of the injustices they experienced.

In chapter 7, the discussion, in light of the research literature discussed in Chapter 3, I first examine my research data from a macro-theme perspective, explaining the themes of residue, resilience, resistance, and refusal as they relate to Tokunoshima LCI. I call this the orthodox approach to my data. I then take a not-so-orthodox approach, and, after explaining the cosmology, ontology and worldview of my island, I return to the data to see what is revealed from an island perspective.

Finally, in the concluding Chapter 8, I reveal what this research means to me. My conclusion is written from my heart, and speaks to you, as well as my children of my dreams, hopes, and fears for the future.

Chapter 3

Interrogating the LCI literature

Without food, my weakened comrade

Was ordered buried while still alive.

It's hard to hear that story.

Yoshi Nakagawa

(translated by Satoru Nakagawa, 2012)

To begin, it is necessary to define what is meant by language, culture, and identity, and LCI shift. I suggest that current points of view and problem-solution orientations are based in worldviews and ideologies that differ from those of Indigenous peoples; therefore, views from within Indigenous peoples are essential in order to stop romanticizing the past when Tokunoshima LCI was considered intact, and to work instead toward our future. This is consistent with other scholar's arguments about the nature of Indigenous research. Therefore, I overview the definitions of language, culture, and identity from a Western and from one (that is, my own) Indigenous perspective. In this way, I make clear how important it is to understand my island peoples in island ways, and to view the world through their viewpoints as well as through viewpoints located in academic texts. At times, this may seem redundant or unclear, but it is important for a dissertation focused on an Indigenous population to always give Indigenous worldviews the last word—on language, on culture, on identity, the trinity that is the focus of my research. Although arguably, there are other important concepts informing this dissertation, language, culture, and identity are concepts known by, understandable to, and talked about by islanders. Tokunoshima people are motivated at this time to understand and halt LCI shift or loss.

It seems to be the norm in many studies to collapse language, culture, and identity into one category. It is common to find terms such as “linguistic identity,” “cultural identity,” and “languaculture” (Agar, 1994), as if these terms are almost interchangeable. Studies attribute the loss of LCI to genocide, political oppression and economic inequality that results from colonization (Dalby, 2003), or they note that it may be a response to a people's progress toward development when they

adopt technology and thus capitalism (Hornberger, 1998). Because they are used almost interchangeably in the literature, these words have become nearly meaningless as operational terms in research. Therefore, in the following sections I define and describe what is language, what is culture, and what is identity, prying the words apart. I do so because in my research, I will not compress LCI, but rather, specifically ask my people to assess the shift of Tokunoshima language, culture, and identity through engagement with me in an Indigenous research project.

Definitions of Language

In the 1970s, Voegelin & Voegelin (1977) listed 4,500 existing world languages, a number which included dead languages. Ruhlen (1986) then suggested that there were 5,000 languages, while in 1988, Grimes (1988) updated that number to 6,000. By 1992, Krauss (1992) determined that the number of world languages had expanded to some 6,500 languages. However, very recently, Gordon (2005) re-evaluated all former studies, and established the number of world languages to be exactly 6,912, all of which he documented in the Summer Institute Language (SIL) web-based book called the 15th Edition of *Ethnology*.

While on the surface it appears that world languages seem to be increasing in number, this is not because there are an increased number of languages being born or created. Instead, the phenomenon of increasing world language numbers is likely due to the definition of language itself. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) notes that language can be defined through either endo-definitions or exo-definitions, endo-definitions being “one’s own definition of oneself or of one’s own group and language, its name, place, and status” (p.33), and exo-definitions referring to “a definition of oneself or one’s own group and language, its name, place, status, by outsiders” (p.33). Because of their alignment with the politics of linguistic affinity and identity, these two fundamental differences in defining languages create difficulties in identifying how many languages the world currently has.

That is, speaking in Yiddish, Max Weinrich suggested that “A shprakh iz a diyalekt mit an armey un a flot” which is usually translated into English as “A language is a dialect with an army (and a navy).” As these words affirm, dialects

are the “base” forms of all languages, in addition to which a further layer is added—that the current world definition of language is defined by physical violence. In short, any regional definition of language comes down to the local dominant ideology. Nevertheless, it appears that both academics and the general population use a number approximating 6,500 spoken languages as a vague statistical reference point in determining the current number and status of world languages.

Statistics on threatened languages. According Crystal (2000) and others, of the nearly 7000 languages that are in existence at the present time, only half are estimated to be able to survive until the year 2050, and Krauss (1992) estimates that 90% will become moribund (die) by the year 2100. In response to such alarming figures, efforts to reverse language shift or revitalize languages attempt to ensure the survival of world languages by increasing the numbers of speakers, and ensuring their vitality to pass down to future generations.

As one part of that research effort, many researchers interested in language revitalization, language shift, and reversing language shift have calculated the relationship between language groups and the population speaking them (e.g., Harrison, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Harrison’s (2007) results, for example, suggest that the 83 biggest languages in terms of the population of speakers are spoken by 4.5 billion speakers, or 79.5% of 6.34 billion people, the entire world’s population. He also determined that a further 2,935 languages are spoken by 1.2 billion speakers (20.4% of the world’s population), and 3,586 languages are spoken by only 8 million speakers (0.2% of the world’s population). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), on the other hand, divided language groups by size into eight different groups to calculate the relationship between speakers and languages. When she merged the first three groups into those that are really “very big” (that is, the 10 languages having over 10 million speakers each), “big” (the 30 languages having between 35 million and 100 million speakers each), and “middle sized” (the 170 languages with between one million and 35 million speakers), she noted that these three groups—together constituting only approximately 210 to 300 languages—account for close to 95 % of the world’s

speakers of languages, the world's population (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 45). When we look closely at these numbers, we can safely assume therefore that approximately 6,000 languages are spoken by about 5% of the world's population. Interestingly, languages with fewer than 1,000 speakers account for about 95% of the world's languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 45). In short, according to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), it is clear that a majority (97%) of the world's variety of languages is spoken by only 5% of world's speakers, while 95% of the world's population together speak fewer than 300 languages (possibly 3% of the total number of languages or less). The Amami languages fall into a "grey" zone; each of the languages has more than 1,000 speakers (though my research suggests that several of the dialects have fewer than 500 speakers), many of them more than 10,000 speakers.

According to these numbers, a very small number of people use most of the languages on earth that are facing extinction. Krauss (1992) adds more pressure to the urgent situation by stating that, at the present time, a minimum number of 100,000 speakers is required to maintain an individual language as a "safe" language. Therefore, Krauss (1992) predicts that at least half of the existing 6,000 languages (his estimate) will become extinct in the 21st century. More importantly, most of the 3,500 languages in danger of extinction are located in specific regions, he claims: Papua New Guinea (850 languages), Indonesia (670), Nigeria (410), India (340) Cameroon (270), Australia (250), Mexico (240), Zaire (210), and Brazil (210). Each of these countries has over 200 languages.

Language diversity and Indigenous peoples. In light of these numbers of languages in specific world regions, some researchers have argued that there is a "clear link between language diversity and the presence of Indigenous people" (Harrison, 2007, p.11). Harrison (2007) further explains that it is very difficult to provide a definition of "Indigenous" but he uses the following operational definition: "people who inhabited a particular land since before recorded history and who have a strong ecological engagement with that land may be considered Indigenous" (p.11). According to such definitions, most of the languages in

danger of extinction are Indigenous languages containing local ecological knowledge (Dalby, 2003).

Most of the languages that are facing severe consequences in terms of their future survival are Indigenous languages, and most, if not all, of the languages on the brink of extinction are oral languages. World over, oral languages are the ones currently facing the most immediate threat, a situation usually attributed to the disuse and abandonment of a language by its users over number of generations (e.g., Krauss, 1992; Harrison, 2007; Fishman, 2001). The decline and extinction continues despite—some, including me, might argue because of—the fact that since the 1940s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been making a concerted effort to teach the “illiterate” peoples of the world (by which is meant both those who come from oral cultures and are therefore generally referred to in language teaching as “pre-literate” and those who come from written language systems but do not know them, commonly referred to as “non-literate”) how to read and write (Hart, 1948). Although Hart (1948) does not say whether these “illiterate” peoples are being taught to read and write their own languages, or a dominant written language that we can nearly safely assume educators bring with them, it seems that many places on earth began the rapid decline in traditional language use, thus beginning the process of language shift/change, in parallel to the initiatives and movements of UNESCO, beginning when it was established after World War Two (WWII).

This does not mean that abandonment and decline of oral language use was the policy that UNESCO acted on, but rather, that literacy and education initiatives in dominant languages prompted the decline in oral language use. To look at this through a different lens, those peoples who did not require a written language form because they were able to remember without the aid of technological innovation were identified as “in need of remediation” by the dominator and given the “gift” of literacy. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, for example, a rapid decline in Maori language usage followed a ban of the Maori language in the education system from the period after WWII until the late 1970s (May, 1997). At the same time, it is interesting to note that the development of the Teaching

English as second or foreign language (TESOL) field has witnessed the numbers of teachers increase drastically from 1946 to 2006 (Smith, 2007), coincident with the decline and demise of world languages.

As noted above, Fishman (1991) and Krauss (1992) both argued that there is a strong relationship between the number of speakers of a given language, and predictions for that language's future survival. At the same time, Fishman (1991) also noted that number of language speakers is not the sole contributor to language disappearance or non-disappearance. Language shift occurs within some societies, he argues, even when there are no immediately apparent political or historical reasons for that language shift. He consistently refers to the sometimes-unknown phenomena accompanying language shift as languages "being sick" or "having an illness" (Fishman, 2001, p. 1). Fishman (2001) also argues that "the problem is that reversing languages shift (RLS) is not an isolated event affecting a single language but rather is interwoven with all the other languages in the speech community" (p. 357), suggesting that the political or historical reasons for the disappearance of language have to do with the introduction of other languages into a speech community (that is, language contact can be viewed as the "enframing" (Heidegger, 1967) and/or "vanishing mediator" (Jameson, 1974). Introduction of additional languages is often done without regard for the original, traditional language, even against the protests of Indigenous language users who often recognize that their languages will be affected by the introduction of compulsory dominant language education. Yet, Fishman (2001) continues:

It does not help for doctors to tell depressed patients that they have no reason to be depressed. Similarly, it is not helpful for social scientists to tell a sociocultural collectivity that there are more important things to worry about than the maintenance of their own seemingly ailing language. (p. 3)

In fact, Krauss (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), and others have established conclusively that there are *not* more important things to worry about than the maintenance of Indigenous languages. They and other researchers have demonstrated that most of the world's variety of languages is sustained by Indigenous people, which they have linked to ecological knowledge. Knowledge

of the variety and interaction of life forms in a given ecosystem (i.e., biological diversity) accumulates in Indigenous languages, and therefore loss of Indigenous languages can lead to loss of biological diversity (Abley, 2003). On this basis, some researchers suggest that maintaining Indigenous languages is vital to preserving environmental sustainability (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2000b). Conserving and revitalizing Indigenous LCIs is critical to remediating the current crisis of decreasing biodiversity in all world regions (Dalby, 2003). As a result, Krauss (1992) and other researchers have concluded that one of most important factors for linguists, anthropologists, and other researchers is to work on language sustainability and/or the process of language revitalization (e.g., Dalby, 2003; Fishman, 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Of course, such arguments are predicated on the assumption that local ecological knowledge is still contained in Indigenous languages, that the language is essential to the worldview, that the knowledge cannot be transmitted in other languages, and that there is still a sufficient repository of linguistic resources to make revitalization viable.

Language revitalization. The main idea underpinning language revitalization or reversing language shift (RLS) efforts is that a certain number of people who can speak the language must be established and maintained. Krauss (1992) asserts that it takes at least 100,000 speakers to be able to sustain a language. Fishman too has been vocal about sustaining languages and RLS (Fishman, 1996a; 1996b), connecting these both with a critical number of language speakers (Fishman, 1996a; 1996b; 2001) and with interfering with those competing cultures and languages that are about to dominate threatened languages (that is, returning to my story in Chapter 2, lying down in front of the bulldozer).

Perhaps the most influential way of viewing endangered languages is that proposed by Fishman (1991): the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). It is still commonly used today for describing the state of language loss in communities, measuring the linguistic vitality of a minority language. The GIDS has eight stages, in which Stage 8 is the most linguistically disadvantaged position. Briefly described, it looks like this:

Stage 8: Most users of the language are socially isolated, and there are likely few of them. There is a need to record the language, so that the language can be re-assembled and then revitalized.

Stage 7: Most users of the language are concentrated in a single region, but they are beyond child-bearing age; that is, they are of the older, not the younger generation.

Stage 6: The minority language is still being passed on orally between generations and used in the community. There is some reinforcement in nursery schools or other institutions.

Stage 5: There is literacy in the minority language, but no government support for it.

Stage 4: The minority language is used in lower levels of education as part of the formal compulsory schooling.

Stage 3: The language is used in less specialized work areas, but there is interaction with majority language speakers.

Stage 2: The lower governmental services and mass media are available in the minority language.

Stage 1: There is some use of the language in higher education, in the central government, and in the national media, but there is still no political independence (that is, it is not the language of a nation state).

The two main issues (establishing and maintaining a group of native speakers of a given language) are herein approached biologically, that is, by focusing on the ability to reproduce new generations who can be taught to speak threatened languages (Harrison, 2007; Fishman, 1996a; Fishman, 1996b; Fishman, 2001). If the natural reproduction/transmission of threatened languages is no longer possible, then these languages are referred to as “moribund” (Krauss, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Harrison, 2007). “Moribund” is the term used to describe languages that are facing disappearance because they no longer have speakers, that is, they are “...already doomed to extinction, like any species lacking reproductive capacity” (Krauss, 1992, p. 4). Yet Krauss (1992) furthers his description with an important caveat, noting that “there is an important difference

here from biological extinction, because under certain conditions language is potentially revivable, as shown by the case of Hebrew” (p. 4).

Languages that are in progress of language shift/change can be further categorized. Foster (1982) referred to “safe”, “threatened”, “endangered”, and “moribund” languages, which terms are also summarized in table form by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p. 49). Skutnabb-Kangas’ (2000) summary of Krauss (1992) and Foster (1982) is that these language status terms are explained through reference to the number of language speakers. Languages having over 100,000 speakers are considered to be “safe” languages. “Threatened” languages are defined as those that have fewer than 5,000 speakers. “Endangered” refers to languages which are currently being learned by children, but, if present circumstances continue, then children will stop learning them within the next century, while “moribund” languages, as explained earlier, are those languages no longer learned by children (Foster, 1982; Krauss, 1992). The terms are used and useful, despite the inconsistencies in definitions (that is, some are based on inter-generational transmission, and others are based on numbers of speakers, and the gap between 5,000 speakers and 100,000 speakers is unexplained).

What is language? It is crucial to define “what is language?” since language could be interpreted in so many different ways, and because the definition of language often results in a simple statement of what nation-states view to be their legitimate or recognized language(s), with or without the consciousness of the people. Most of the literatures refer to language simply, seemingly reducing it to speaking and writing systems (e.g., Crystal, 2000; Ong, 2002; Heidegger, 1967). However, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and many others (e.g., Mehrabian, 1981) include visual signals—such as those in sign languages, or human and/or non-human gestures—as legitimate languages. In fact, humans perform 93% of their communicative acts through non-verbal communication (Mehrabian, 1981). Since no one disagrees with the fundamental statement that languages are a means of communication between individuals and other(s), more inclusive definitions need to take center stage. One more wholistic answer to the question of what language is was put into question form by Kouritzin (1999):

Is language not a purveyor of culture? a representation of the real? a vehicle for communication and information? a means for exerting power and control? a means for resisting power and control? a constitution of a social reality? a homeland? something invoked to break silence? a marker of identity and culture? a playful and evocative allegorical force? a linguistic system? Are dialects not languages? Creoles? Pidgins? Patois? Ideolects? Slangs? Interlanguages? Are languages not all of the above? (p. 19)

In keeping with these more inclusive linguistic lines of thought, languages can even include the rest of our senses, that is, humans and other living creatures use vision, audio, smell, taste, and touch to communicate with other(s) (Nakagawa, 2007c).

Language shift and change. In general, we know that languages shift and change in terms of their usage over time; language users cause intentional and/or unintentional changes to happen, even though writing systems stay relatively fixed (Daniels, 1996a). First, therefore, it is necessary to consider what constitutes language shift/change over a specific time frame. It is clear to anyone that change can only occur over a span of time because any snap shot of time implies “locking in” the time in which no changes can be seen. However, change occurs over our constructed idea of time, since time itself cannot really be changed or manipulated by humans or anything else—with the possible exception of gravity which can shift our perceived absolute time and distance in outer space (Einstein, 1997). Much of the language shift/change literature seems to reference change over a human life span of one person, two persons, four persons, or sometimes as much as five generations or more (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Harrison, 2007).

Language shift over time can be seen in our daily lives on the television set, radio, newspaper, and in many other forms of media. Most commonly, language shift can be recognized by persons who left a community or a country to spend time in a faraway place where different languages or different varieties of language are used. Upon returning, they will find that they often use old expressions or idioms in conversations. Or they may find that they cannot understand new expressions or idioms, new language jokes and references, new

gestures. But, we do not need to travel over long distances or time to feel the phenomenon of language shift. Just talking to people from different generations, such as our own grandchildren, children, parents and/or grandparents will illustrate to us that they often use different types of language, idioms, vocabulary and even grammar to communicate.

In addition to this collective language shift, we all have a tendency to have special attachments to certain words or phrases that are tied to specific times and places in our life experiences, a kind of culture shift that may be collective as well. Many of us can relate to this claim by thinking about the songs that we hear. Many of us immediately reconnect/reminisce/associate certain songs with an era or a specific time when we heard those songs, but the same memories, feelings, or impressions are not compatible over different generations. For example, the impact of the huge music rally in Woodstock, New York in the 1970s cannot be understood by Generation-Xers or other younger or older generations; other generations can only watch video clips and assume what it might have felt like to be there.

Even when the shift did not occur over a human life span, there have been well-documented language shifts such as the Great English Vowel Shift (Daniels, 1996a). Daniels (1996a) explains that there was a shift in English language pronunciation that occurred over a very short time due to the introduction of the printing system. The culture did not change as a result of the language shift, but rather, the culture and language shifted owing to a prior change in ontology (social reality), specifically the introduction of technology.

There is some evidence that the embedded meanings of culture and lives of human beings can be expressed through different languages (Khemlani-David, 1998) not just through the original language. In a study that may have predicted the results of this one, Khemlani-David (1998), for example, found that the Sindhis of Malay are fully intact in terms of cultural identity despite their language shift from Sindhis to English, and their immigration from what is currently Pakistan to Malaysia over two to three generations. The Sindhis of Malay use kinship, social connections, religion and business to sustain and retain

their identities without using the heritage Indigenous language. Moreover, Khemlani-David (1998) clearly states that, through keeping their customs, religion, social constructions, businesses (which are the source of their own economics), and many other regular unofficial gatherings, the Sindhis of Malay were able to maintain an unchanged cultural identity even without their mother tongue. Khemlani-David (1998) also points out that for the Sindhis of Malay to maintain their economic base, they needed to have English language skills which they had developed even before they left Pakistan. Again, as with the introduction of the printing press, the culture did not change as a result of the language shift, but rather, the culture and language shifted owing to a prior change in ontology (social reality).

From these and other examples, it is safe to assume that over many thousands of years of human/living creatures' history we have gained, invented, and lost many words, phrases, and grammars. As humans, we have lost many languages in the past such as ancient Egyptian, ancient Ethiopian, Latin, Sanskrit, Mayan, Aztecan and many other languages, which were present in either or both oral and written texts. Of course, these languages are known to have disappeared since the people in these societies were able to leave their printing and sculpting of written texts for future generations; the artifacts are now representation and proof that those languages existed. Unfortunately, no one can read the printed languages anymore (except for a few of those who believe they can read) and/or speak the languages. Furthermore, it is clear that no one can even begin to assume what people at the time really thought, or why they were writing their texts to leave behind them. Therefore, we have no idea even why they disappeared from their presumably well-established societies. The only thing we can truly know is that someone had enough time and food resources to be able to engage in engraving stone.

The disappearances of these languages can even be extrapolated to the currently dominant languages of the world. It is clear that the phenomenon of language disappearance/shift/change did not start with our generation, or even with the advent of modern society. This is a continuous process for languages.

Predecessors of current major languages like English, German, French, Italian, Portuguese, Russian, Chinese, Korean, and many other languages have been lost. We no longer have any form of communicative ability with people in the past because they did not/could not leave records of their speech or voices, only written texts. It is an interesting irony that, on the one hand, linguists often claim that the current 6500 languages that exist around the world (Gordon, 2005; Krauss, 1992) developed from fewer “root” languages, while on the other, they decry the expectation that almost half of the languages will have disappeared by the end of the 21st century (e.g., Harrison, 2007; Krauss, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

Forms of language shift. Fishman (2000) has described the stages of language shift and consequences (such as widespread alcoholism and family disintegration) of language shift in Indigenous communities, seemingly in the hope that their research will inspire Indigenous communities to plan language revitalization through education or other means. In my view, his work makes the assumption that language revitalization is language loss/shift in reverse, while other researchers such as Dor (2003) criticize such reversing language shift work because planning for language revitalization allows Western interests to commodify Indigenous languages and sell them back to their original speakers. Even with all of these competing multiple explanations, all containing an element of truth, language shift, and ultimately language death—when a community stops speaking the original language entirely (Crystal, 2000)—continues to occur.

In the past, countless numbers of languages disappeared. Researchers cannot identify or confirm how many languages there were throughout the course of history, or how those languages disappeared from earth. The disappearance of languages has been described as language loss, language shift, and language change. There are many other ways, predominantly violent and traumatic ones, to describe language disappearance, disuse, or discontinuation, such as “murder,” “genocide,” or “suicide.” First, when we talk about language *loss* we are likely talking about the loss of a language from individual and/or groups that act like individual’s perspectives. In this case, language can be seen as the possession or property of an individual or group, just like any other commodity. In such cases,

language loss is tragic; once these individuals had the language, but somehow personally they have lost it—and that commodity cannot be retrieved ever again.

When language loss affects large groups of people or societies in a planned way, even when it is abrupt, there is a tendency not to talk about loss, but rather to refer to the process as language *shift* or *change*. For instance, the introduction of the simplified Chinese characters to replace the more complicated traditional ones in the 1950s is referred to in these ways, as are the simplification of the Japanese writing system in 1945, the Korean reinvention of the Chinese writing system to form Hangul in 144 AD, and the Malaysian introduction of Chinese characters in 1981.

There is not a fine and clear distinction between instances of language shift/change, and instances of language loss, since in both cases language speakers may feel that the language they are permitted to use/choose to use is dependent on their positioning in society. In some cases, minority language speakers lose a language when they move to a new country where another language is spoken, and they learn that their old language has no place or value in the new location (Wong Fillmore, 1991). In other cases, a new world order comes to traditional lands, and the inhabitants are forced through means of symbolic or physical violence to find the dominant language useful; eventually the old Indigenous language and ways will be replaced by a new language and ideology. Such activities and actions on the part of dominant societies are likely to be viewed as language “cleansing,” language “killing,” language “murdering,” and even “linguistic genocide” (Crystal, 2000; Denison, 1977; Skutnabb Kangas, 2000).

As a result of these kinds of activities on the part of dominant societies, there have always been people identified as the last fluent language speakers, or the last language speakers of Indigenous languages. When these last language speakers reach old age and have no emotional and physical support or resources with which to teach their moribund language to the next generation, they are often considered to have committed language “suicide,” representing their lack of will to teach their languages to the next generations (Anonby, 1999).

In addition to the above distinctions, it is important to consider how length of time affects the equation. That is, language loss occurs in a shorter time span compared with language shift or change, such as in the case of immigration or emigration. And, to state the reverse, when the time span is lengthened considerably, it is possible that human beings would not even notice language shift or change. This raises the question of whether or not shift of language over a long time (e.g., over centuries or a millennium) should be even considered language change, language shift, or language disappearance/death. The question comes down to what losing or death of a language really is, and whether/if any of the above language transformations should be described as language loss/shift/change at all, or more simply as “language evolution.”

Perceptions of language shift. In every case, whether to call a phenomenon language loss, disuse, shift, change, death, murder, genocide, or suicide, the question comes back to who is going to decide, and from what perspective(s). Does language loss or disappearance need to start from a certain cause or from natural causes? If languages are murdered by another language group, then what happens when commonly known history encoded in written text shifts and is no longer capable of transmitting current knowledge in a writing style that can be understood—just like languages known to have disappeared for unknown reasons? In order to meaningfully answer these questions, it is important to understand how we should perceive language discontinuation, to see/describe what is really happening, to determine whether each shift is a natural shift or one prompted by human cause. Language attrition or loss or shift/change also needs to be viewed within both dominant society and subordinate society paradigms.

One approach to language shift is to take a language attrition point of view. In describing language shift/change in societies, a number of extensive research projects examined first language (L1) and second/foreign language (L2) relationships in language attrition (De Bots et al, 1991). Most of the studies worked within Van Els’ (1986) definition of language loss, a four-category description of context that is supposed to offer explanatory power:

- (1) Loss of L1 in an L1 environment, e.g., first language loss by aging

people;

- (2) Loss of L1 in an L2 environment, e.g., loss of native language by immigrants;
- (3) Loss of L2 in an L1 environment, e.g., foreign language loss;
- (4) Loss of L2 in an L2 environment, e.g., second language loss by aging migrants. (p. 4)

It is possible that revitalizing languages and reversing language shift may be partially explained within the second scenario, that is, loss of a native language by immigrants. Even though this explanation may provide a good contextual description for language loss, it is strictly limited to situations of immigration and emigration.

Unfortunately, it is clear that this description cannot hold water when none of the above conditions apply. Many communities in the world, Indigenous communities, have a different form of the second condition (L1 loss in an L2 environment), largely because many communities have experienced different levels of immigration and greater absolute volumes of immigrants. Some have had such an exceedingly large number of immigrants that immigrants have become the dominant group of people; for example, Canada, U.S., Australia, and New Zealand are such nation-states (Phillipson, 1992). Within each of these countries, there are confined areas in which Indigenous people live (or are forced to live) relatively together, establishing their own communities. Under the second scenario described by Van Els (1986), if Indigenous communities experienced no immigration, or if they experienced only minimal or temporary immigration, the theory would fail to provide any explanatory power for language shift/change whatsoever.

Power languages. Even Fishman's (1996a, 1996b, 2001) theory that a critical number of language speakers is necessary to maintain a language does not seem to provide a fundamental explanation to the conditions prompting language shift/change (Hornberger, 1998) in Indigenous populations. That is, it is almost clear that language shift is not unique to Indigenous languages, but rather it could happen to any language group under a specific set of social conditions,

specifically, when language groups desire a language equated with social success. I think this is the point Fishman (1996a; 1996b; 2001) alludes to—that strong neighboring languages, power languages, can pose as much of a threat for language shift as the number of language speakers and their unity as group. Given the considerations above, I would argue that strong neighboring languages pose an immediate threat.

What languages could possibly be power languages and how can we identify them? Generally speaking, languages with power are often considered to be such languages as English, Spanish, French, German, and Portuguese from Europe, and Chinese (meaning Mandarin and Cantonese), Arabic, and Japanese from Asia. I suspect that when we speak about power languages, we likely refer to economic strength and a past history of colonizing activities as well as the number of people who speak and use those languages as first languages, and the number of people who learn those languages as second/foreign languages.

Currently, computer use and other technologies essential to globalization reinforce power languages. For example, my computer allows me to choose among 115 major language scripts; when language variations are included, there are 206 choices (Microsoft Windows Vista home basic, 2006, version 6.0, Japanese). My computer offers me 20 different varieties of Spanish, 6 French, 16 English, only 2 Portuguese, and 5 Chinese; yet there are 17 variations of Arabian and, most interestingly, 9 variations of Sami (Indigenous Northern European) language. These languages demographics somehow sketch a vague but interesting picture of the relationships between the historical dominance of some languages, the current iteration of economy-based nation-states, and hint at the establishment of a hierarchy of Indigenous languages.

Definitions of Culture

As complicated as the idea of language is, the idea of culture is even more complicated. Probably as a consequence, there appear to be few, if any, serious attempts to count the numbers of cultures around the world, even though there is an *Encyclopedia of World Cultures* published by MacMillan for school-based social studies, listing “more than 1500” cultures, while making no claims to be

exhaustive. I was able to uncover no research attempting to determine how many cultures exist on earth now or in the past. I was also unable to uncover a definitive definition of culture, not even if I isolated my searches to those pertaining to Indigenous populations. I found the work on subculture to be similarly murky; is it analogous to dialect and language? Is a culture a subculture with an army and a navy? In this section, I will briefly overview what I feel are some of the most important conceptions of culture.

It appears that researchers have thought and written about culture from a number of different perspectives that represent “national culture” consciousness. For example, researchers have made reference to the numbers of people in the culture, that is, small scale cultures and large scale cultures (Nogues, 1977) and reference to some kind of scale of popularity and/or attractiveness, that is, popular cultures and not-so-popular sub/cultures (which even has their own journal called the *Journal of Popular Culture*, published by Modern Language Association). Researchers have considered strong and weak cultures in terms of economic status (HassabElnaby & Mosebach, 2005; Chandler & Bakvis, 1989), and cultures that are clearly identified with one nation-state (Delanty, 1996; HassabElnaby & Mosebach, 2005). When non-researchers talk about culture, they identify no absolute or clear definition of culture.

Common sense understanding of culture. The ordinary people on the street around the world however, do not appear to talk about “culture” in regard to their own interactions with the animal kingdom or with the natural world. For example, when I am speaking to strangers, they frequently ask me which culture I am from, or what cultural background I grew up in, or what culture’s foods I enjoy, or if I am comfortable with Canadian culture. I immediately know what their questions really mean: “You are different-looking and create strange sounds and meanings using our language and discourse system. Where do you come from? You need give me some explanation which will make me feel okay about you. If you do not, then I will continue to pose further questions to you in the guise of friendly conversation.” This form of conversational gatekeeping is based on defining culture as related to geographical spaces, and to having different

worldviews, customs and values. Diamond (1997) points out that in early societies, men's first reaction to strangers was to kill them. This can be seen as a revisioning of that, a modified aggression. Of course, I can use this naïve definition of culture to mask my opinion; if I say something strange, then I can always say to people that "I have a different opinion because I have a different cultural background; we (that is, I) see the world in different ways." Then I can be permitted to have a different point of view.

On the other hand, in everyday conversations, people also talk about minor/small subjects as being cultural phenomena. Each topic of conversation—computers, celebrities, video games, fashion, music, and so on—retains its own culture, and within each culture are smaller cultural currents that have slightly different temperatures and slightly different measures of popularity and slightly different demands both from within their own cultural groups and from outside their own cultural groups. Attention from mainstream people always seems to begin when a cultural phenomenon gains sufficient popularity and becomes economically well established (when it reaches its "tipping point" in the words of Malcolm Gladwell). For example, 30 years ago, video game equipment was not in high demand, and playing video games was not a socially-accepted activity in the mainstream. However, we are now at a time when video games are well established and they have been legitimated by mainstream societies around the world. The success of the video gaming "culture" (Japanese "thumb culture") also includes cellular phone gaming, phone cameras, and telephone email, and can be measured simply by looking at the financial success of "Wii", "Playstation 2 and 3", and "Xbox and Xbox 360" from Nintendo, Sony, and Microsoft respectively, and by viewing the rush to purchase these items. Such new waves of small cultures appear and rise in mainstream culture, and over time are no longer regarded as strange phenomena.

To my surprise, even the habits and workings of tattooing are now referred to as a "culture" (Wicks & Grandy, 2007). In my learned background as a Japanese man, tattooing is taboo since tattoos are associated with criminal activity. On the other hand, Tokunoshima people used to use tattoos in their daily life. My

own grandmother had tattoos on the backs of her hands after her marriage. Similarly, English speaking cultures did not normally accept tattoos on people other than sailors, but in the present, tattooing has become a mark of one's personal style for younger generations, and is celebrated in television programs like *New York Ink*, where the tattoo artists work in a studio named *Tattoo Culture*.

Formal definitions of culture. Within such a proliferation of sub/cultures, there appear to be a number of both formal and common sense definitions of what constitutes "culture." A formal denotation of culture is found in the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Eighth Edition (Oxford University Press, 2010)³³. This reference shows multiple expressions of the meanings of culture as follows:

- Noun
 - Way of life
 - ✧ The customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organization of particular country or group...
 - ✧ A country, group, etc. With its own beliefs etc....
 - Art/Music/Literature
 - ✧ Art, music, literature, etc., thought of as a group...
 - Beliefs/Attitudes
 - ✧ The beliefs and attitudes about [anything] that people in a particular group or organization share...
 - Growing/Breeding
 - ✧ The growing of plants or breeding of particular animals in order to get a particular substance or crop from them...
 - Cells/Bacteria
 - ✧ A group of cells or bacteria. Especially one taken from a person or an animal and grown for medical or scientific study, or to produce food; the process of obtaining and growing these cells.... (p. 370)

³³ I have checked several copies of other Oxford dictionaries and the definitions are the same.

The above denotations of culture, as found in a universally-known dictionary provide us with “mainstream,” usual, and common sense understandings of meaning of word “culture.” However, there appear to be some fundamental meanings missing for academic and social scientific purposes. That is, where can we find reference to cultures that simultaneously exist within a culture, and are shared between cultures like video-gaming or tattooing? When such “cultures” transgress cultural or nation-state borders, which could/should be considered the subculture? Or, how can we work with cultures which are not taught, learned, or passed down through generations—like “Deaf culture” or “gay culture”?

Even though there is some general consensus on what “culture” is when people on the street are talking about it, when we move into the “academic culture” the word “culture” becomes more ambiguous than any given researcher’s definition/explanation of it. Most researchers’ explanations or definitions of culture are, to me at least, not really defining the word but adding layers of description and ambiguity to it. It is arguable that “culture” has become so meaning-full that it is rendered meaningless. Perhaps the confusion is best articulated by Sahlins (1993):

The word “culture” has become common fare. For the present generation it does much of the work that was formerly assigned to “psychology” or again “ethos.” We used to talk about “the psychology of Washington (D.C.)” or “the ethos of the university;” now it is “the culture of Washington” and “the culture of the university.” It is also “the culture of the cigar factory,” “the culture of drug addiction,” “the culture of adolescence,” “the culture of the Anthropology meetings,” etc. (p. 34)

Culture conflated with language. In fact, the word “culture” is frequently defined so as to include “language,” particularly among researchers concerned with the loss of Indigenous languages, cultures, and knowledges (e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), followers of Boas (1911), proponents of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis who argue that languages shape the worldviews of people in various cultural groups (e.g. Fishman, 1982; Hill & Mannheim, 1992), and adherents of language socialization, meaning “socialization through the use of language and

the socialization to use language.[which is] linked to...understanding the interdependence of language and sociocultural structures and processes” (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163). Agar acknowledged the interconnection of the two in coining the term “languaculture” (1994, p. 60), while Brown (2009) appears to acknowledge the reliance of language and culture on one another, their interconnectedness, stating “today, however, it is ever harder to define and defend the boundaries of culture” (p. 146), but nonetheless alluding to a language-bound definition: “Traditional methods of controlling the movement of information...thereby maintaining a reasonably stable social identity” (p 146). Brown’s words indicate that culture is important in that it is transmitted between individuals and from generation to generation to maintain identity—transmitted, presumably, through language and through cultural practices. For the purposes of my research reported here, this inclusion of “social identity” and “language” in Brown’s explication of culture makes my linking of the three concepts via the term LCI in my research questions quite acceptable.

Categorizing culture. As early as 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn compiled 164 distinct definitions of the word “culture” as it applied in human populations. Demonstrating that for at least the past 60 years, the word culture has been defined differently depending on the positionality of the definer, they categorize the definitions into seven types of definitions: descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural, genetic, and incomplete. According to them, descriptive definitions usually date back to Tylor (1871), the father of anthropology, who defined culture as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society” (p. 1).³⁴ Historical definitions emphasize social inheritance or traditions, and include those of Sapir “any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual” (1924, p. 402 or 1949, pp. 308-9), while normative definitions emphasize the rules or ways of man, including Klineberg’s definition, “that whole ‘way of life’ which is determined by the social environment” (1935, p.

³⁴ It is nearly impossible to obtain a copy of this book; however, this particular definition from his book *Primitive Culture* is so famous that it can be found on multiple internet sites, all with the same citation, and several sections are available as a free download from Google.

255). Psychological definitions focus on how individuals adjust to and are socialized into a society, while structural definitions prioritize the organizational patterns, and genetic definitions are concerned with what is produced by a given culture, also known as cultural artifacts. Incomplete definitions are as they sound, off-hand comments about culture.³⁵

Since the time of Kroeber and Kluckhohn's book (1952), attempts to define culture have not stopped. So, arguably, there are as many common sense and research understandings of the word "culture" (some as simple as "what I see out of these deeply held beliefs about the world" (Haig-Brown, 2010, p. 936) which roughly equates to worldview) and all of its derivatives (e.g., cultivate, agriculture, horti-culture, enculturate, subculture, aquaculture) as there are cultures on earth, more if you consider that within English speaking cultures alone there were at least 164 definitions in 1952.

At the same time, there are quite specific definitions of culture embedded in official documents such as what the Japanese government refers to as *yukeibunkazai* and *mukeibunkazai* (directly translate to "tangible cultural assets" and "intangible cultural assets"), designations allowing items to be protected or to attract funding. Such tangible cultural forms of heritage from past societies have been captured and categorized in places called museums, research institutions, and collections. However, these items and artifacts are assigned values and importance according to dominant society ideas of what is worthy; they are not collected for the people who created them (if those people still exist), as, for example, the 1984 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act of Australia which protects items if the Indigenous peoples can prove to the Australian government that they have significance (Brown, 2003, p. 16). As a result of assigning values to items on display using a dominant social reference point, these items are able to create profits for "powerful individuals who may use it for their own artistic or commercial or political purposes" (Brown, 2009, p. 146), in which "heritage is almost completely commodified, to the detriment of

³⁵ All definitions they cite are available on the internet at <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=100067373>

the people whose culture is being protected” (Brown, 2009, p. 155). Obvious examples include declared UNESCO World heritage sites; once a site is declared a UNESCO World heritage site, it is likely to have eternal tourist value. On the other hand, intangible artifacts are located in a grey zone. Without video and/or audio recording equipment, there are no ways to capture them. In this category, it is the people and their activities that are “Culture,” not the existence of items. As is the case for tangible cultural assets, for an activity to be assigned value as an intangible cultural asset, nation-state recognition is required, which means that local/Indigenous cultures perceived to have value must belong to, or be valued by, a nation-state. Ideas, beliefs, knowledges, languages, dances, ceremonies, ways of being in the world are all intangibles. In order for a nation-state to value such intangibles, they must first be recognized.

Culture shift and culture change. In order for intangible cultural assets to be recognized therefore, there must be encounters between the nation state and the cultural group. In the case of Indigenous peoples, such encounters lead to shift and change of the original culture. For example, Haig-Brown (2010) explains the experience of a fieldworker who is not Indigenous working with Aboriginal peoples:

Interacting with Aboriginal people for whom persisting deeply held beliefs and knowledge structures continue to shape their discourse, non-Aboriginal people may begin the process of learning what for them are secondary discourses, even eventually finding their fundamental world view affected. Over time, a secondary world view may be unconsciously acquired sometimes leaving the primary one fundamentally and irreversibly altered, even alienated. (p. 937)

However, Haig-Brown does not ask “what is what the impact of the fieldworker, the representative from the dominant culture nation-state, on the community? Does she or he not also forever change the Indigenous peoples?” Japanese news cites an example of what I mean: In Peru, where archeologist Diego Cortino photographed a group of Indigenous people, the guide who led

him there (and the only outside contact) was killed by the Indigenous group.³⁶ Clearly, the influence of an outsider is dangerous to a way of being. Clearly also, in the same way that languages change and shift over time, there is organic change (internal to the community) such as that referred to by King (2011) in his statement that “native culture, as with any culture, is a vibrant, changing thing” (p. 38), and there is change such as the change referred to above that results from cultural contact.

Defining Culture Indigenous-ly

By now we have seen that in peoples’ “common sense” and in research, cultures seem to exist between cultures and within cultures. What does this really mean? This section overviews the differences between the many definitions of culture that we work with in our everyday lives, that we work with academically, that we work with when we talk of “contemporary culture” and “traditional culture” and “cultural practices” versus “the practice of culture.”

The word “culture” appears everywhere throughout numerous disciplines which are themselves divided into specialized area groups, each having multiple sub-divisions and sub-definitions of culture—education, anthropology, geography, history, sociology, to name just a few. It is very important to recognize that the word “culture” is frequently used without clear or dedicated definitions attached to it. With the exception of anthropologists and others specifically focused on the study of culture, it seems that many authors feel licensed to use the word “culture” without defining its meaning or referring to its specific disciplinary definition in academic articles. Instead, the word “culture” is taken as understood, and then further analyzed by exploring different slices of its overall mysterious-but-well-understood meaning/definition.

By contrast, in anthropology, “culture” was reworked in many different ways to establish its meaning. Over time, the interests of researchers shifted from family units, such as studies of “kinship” (Bloch, 1971), to attempts to understand what people are expressing through their language, ultimately leading to linguistic

³⁶ News article located at <http://sankei.jp.msncom/smp/world/news/120202/amr12020208080002-s.htm>

anthropology (Levi-Strauss, 1977). This kind of definition is both more cognitive and social in nature. It focuses on the interactional aspect of culture, that is, culture is that which is passed on through persons, actions, symbols, ceremonies. A definition of this type is provided by Geertz: "...an historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life (1973, p. 89). Such attempts to define culture were mainly from the traditions of symbolic analysis, cultural ecology, structuralism, Marxism, structural Marxism, political economy, practice (Ortner, 1984) and then praxis (Rankin, 2003). This shift in focus from entities themselves to the construction of entities through discourse, symbolism, political position, or economics seems to be a fundamental shift in cultural studies. This somewhat ambiguous concept is explained by Ortner (1984) as being like getting onto the big ship of capitalism. This big ship represents the production processes of humans, and thereby becomes a concrete concept rather than abstract concept. We essentialize our lives in terms of our wants becoming our needs (Mintz, 1986). Once we get onto that ship (capitalism), we have already established our new dreamland, we have shifted our norms and perceptions, even though from our position on board we can immediately see that there are others who are swimming in the ocean around the ship.

The Others are Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous people still use canoes to cross oceans and to fish. Many Indigenous people fall into the open ocean and die there. They live daily with the reality of sharks, poisonous fish, storms, and many other factors that can take their lives. The important point is that the people on the big ship say "that is not a way to live," but those on board ship are not living in the real world. They think they can force Indigenous people to get on the ship to have a real life. Once a person is on the big ship, there is no way off other than by jumping off the ship into the shark-infested waters. It would probably seem like a suicidal act. But, for Indigenous people (this may not apply to many Indigenous populations who demand Indigenous rights) this real ocean is the norm. People can die any time and yet they are still willing to sail out into the

Open Ocean. The main point here is to illustrate that when we use a capitalistic mind to observe the world, we can only see the world through the lens of money/capitalism. This explains why earlier studies of culture focused on kinship and ecological culture, rather than focusing on structures of culture that are modeled in language.

It is important to view culture through a different lens, beginning with length of time. Many of the reviewed cases and articles above, framed within Western knowledge systems, confine themselves to studying culture over only one or two generations, a very short time span, those measurable in one human's life span. It seems not to have been well discussed that cultures should be considered as spanning a much longer period, such as over 100 to 300 years, which translates to at least three to ten generations. This much longer time span will allow us to achieve a much more stable and clear identification of what "culture" is in comparison to an individual life span.

Culture and land. With this in mind, I note one strain of definitions that make most sense in an Indigenous framework. From a kind of ecological anthropology, a characteristic definition is that of Rappaport, "a part of the distinctive means by which a local population maintains itself in an ecosystem and by which a regional population maintains and coordinates its groups and distributes them over the available land" (1968[1980], p. 233). Unlike environmental determinist definitions of culture which suggest that the geography, climate, and environment create and control culture, such an ecological definition seems to suggest that we listen to the land, and live within it in order to survive, but still make changes and develop rituals like ceremony, language, dance, spirituality to achieve desired outcomes.

In this study I likewise take culture to be related to the meaning "ways of life." Even though relationships exist between the stated definitions associated with the arts, with biological terms, and with way of life, it is important for my purposes to separate definitions which derive from separate reference points. I approach the meaning and definition of "culture" by interpreting the term "way of life" to mean "related to life itself" rather than as a "part of life" or "chopped from

life.” “Way of life” refers to the whole of life, to how beings, persons, animals or any other species, sustain life within their environments.

As I have argued elsewhere (Nakagawa, 2007d) humans and all other living creatures must conform to their environments (including their own bodies) in order to sustain their lives. If I were to decide that my atoms and electrons are to be called “ME,” then all these atoms and electrons together constitute “my body”—and that itself becomes my environment, setting the boundaries of what I can do or cannot do as one member of the species “humans.” My body will demand essential amino acids (Borsheim et al, 2002) in order to sustain and maintain itself, since my body cannot produce them. Therefore, I need to eat either meat or a combination of grains to produce these essential amino acids. In this way, my environment and surroundings will determine what I and all other living creatures (as well as atoms and electron-based materials) need to eat which in turn determines how each of us will behave/act in order to eat, in order to reproduce by circulating energy among us to sustain our ways of life.

This explanation of bodies can also be applied in the abstract to autonomous bodies such as communities, groups, and nation states. If these autonomous bodies of peoples or societies are living in a bounded environment, then they will have to construct their own ideologies from the limited material provided to them by the natural region. Other species in the animal kingdom too have developed their own ways of life, but those ways appear to follow/obey the environment, rather than attempt to manipulate or even adapt to it. For example, chimpanzee (Whiten et al, 1999) and orang-utan (van Schaik et al, 2003) cultural studies show that great apes often live a great distance apart, and yet generally display similar tool usage and social behaviour. Observations of similar tool usage and similar behaviours have led researchers to conclude that different cultures exist within chimpanzee societies and orang-utan societies.

Of course, I have to question whether or not these animals can only sustain their specific ways of life within wooded area and forests. In the larger view, I wonder whether these great apes do differentiate their tool usage and behaviours according to the specific kinds of trees that they live among. Moreover, these

analyses are done by humans, making their results questionable, since the argument that great ape types have different cultures is based solely on human observation and judgment about which behaviours are different, and what constitutes culture. In short, the researchers basically ignored what factors great apes may have considered to be differentiating ones. Of course, we can never know what great apes really think, as neither they (animals) nor we (humans) can understand each other's cultures (including language). Moreover, there are no non-human measurements of culture that we can comprehend, meaning that we (humans) are assigning what culture they (animals) have, rather than allowing animals to determine their own lives/cultures. There is no reason for humans to measure or recognize animal cultures, since humans cannot understand any aspects other than human-apparent physiological or behavioural differences. But, within our human terms of reference, we can conclude that cultures clearly exist in different species and within species. We can easily find further examples, such as researchers viewing whale singing (Noad et al, 2000), elephants' vocal learning (Pool et al, 2005), or ants building traps to capture prey (Dejean et al, 2005) as examples of culture. These animals certainly do have their own ways of sustaining their lives; these "ways of life" are interpreted as their cultures.

Reference points for defining culture. The above arguments illustrate two reference points for understanding culture. One reference point acknowledges culture as being self-sustaining within a particular natural environment or set of surroundings (including living with other organisms as part of the self-sustaining world) and basing survival on different tool types and on taking advantage of the natural environment. This culture will be completely unique, since there are no two identical places with the exact same natural environments on earth.

Using the second reference point, people have annexed their environments and established their own *logistik*³⁷ (Heidegger, 1967), developing ideologies based on forms of colonization (Nakagawa, 2007e). That is, at this point in time, we humans have established and developed information based knowledge (IBK) which has been overlaid on wisdom based knowledge (WBK) (Nakagawa, 2007e).

³⁷ Heidegger's (1967) notion of "logistik" refers to the actual content of a system of logic.

IBK has annexed WBK. There are simple differences between information based knowledge systems and wisdom based knowledge systems. The most basic difference can be viewed by asking whether the IBK system can be foundational to sustaining life within an environment. The answer is “no.” IBK cannot produce food sources within its own system. The IBK system annexes, abuses and takes advantage of the environment and surroundings with the goal of store-housing wealth and immediate physical health without considering the future health of its descendants. The IBK system is based on taking energy resources from our (unseen) peers and our future generations to escape our immediate life duties. By doing so, humans have been able to establish their own ideologies as the foundation of a new collective ideology. Founding new ideologies on older ideologies creates an ideology of multiple “cultures” to be uncovered (that is, layers of IBK systems). In other words, humans often get confused by their own IBK system. The more we base our lives on an IBK system, the more we are removed from the foundational WBK system. Within the IBK system (Nakagawa, 2007e) and logistik mentality (Heidegger, 1967), with the benefit of a vanishing mediator (Jameson, 1974), humans can create cultures and sub-cultures which are not self-sustainable cultures—but they have given them the same label as that for self-sustainable cultures.

Culture as hegemony. The current ideology is now based on currency. The modern ideology of currency has replaced peoples’ ideologies based on autonomous life styles with an ideology in which food must be purchased and transported from other lands or locations. Within such societal norms and expectations, questions are not asked about who is foundationally different from whom because everyone is reliant on a global transportation system, tools, and materials to sustain their lives. Within this world order, this homogenous material world, with identical world constructions through words, we have come to see culture as differences in our interests or differences in world views that are based on what we do daily. We now differentiate ourselves through how we represent ourselves or how we see our constructed worlds within a homogenous material world.

Viewed from this perspective, culture is invested with meaning to both associate and differentiate peoples/groups/communities views and approaches within a worldview constructed of homogenous materials and thus ideologies. These newly-constructed ideologies certainly allow people to form a “tattoo culture” or a “video game culture,” and also allow researchers to see such cultures as distinct because the mediator has vanished. Ideology has been constructed through the transportation of material to every corner of the earth (ideology looks like T-shirts, vaccines, shoes, medicines, Christmas presents in wrapped boxes, and many other transformative forms like cash) and now we believe that this is the only way to think and act. We are no longer able to abandon terminally ill people or our loved people who are infected with deadly infectious diseases in some isolated location (e.g., bush, canyon, or mountain) with tears and broken hearts to die alone. Modernity has penetrated each one of us and we can no longer escape from our own desires; therefore we construct new cultural worlds within modernity. We no longer sustain ourselves but rather rely and leech on others and on our future others and on Nature. We label as “culture” small differences which are nothing more than expressions of egocentrism and personal identity based on the culture/dominant ideology and hegemony of neo-liberalism.

I therefore propose that we see “culture” as a hegemony. In a capitalist world, finances, money, capital, and other references to accumulation permit some people to secure food sources for survival today (near future or my life) and for tomorrow (distant future or the next or later generations). I, however, think of “culture” as meaning “hegemony” in non-capitalistic worlds, a hegemony necessary in sustaining food sources for today and tomorrow (i.e., to survive). To explain this idea I will take a parallel with the modern world system. It is absolutely essential for people and animals to secure their lives by eating food to stay alive. To stay alive, humans have to harvest their food from Nature. It is clear that over-harvesting their food sources will influence their futures and threaten their long term survival. To control these actions/practices, each culture developed stories and elders’ teachings which are similar to “policy” in the modern world. Stories and elders’ teachings are not to be ignored; if they are

ignored then enforcement (which is part of hegemony of culture) through physical punishment, alienation, ostracism, and other practices will be applied against the person who takes advantage or disturbs the possibilities for group/community survival.

We appear to have had more distinctions between cultures prior to globalization (modern day capitalism), but even now different places and locations continue to have different (at least not the same) cultures. This must be due to our only being able to eat what we can take from land and sea; that is, the land and sea teach us how to live. I think (referring to Ortner's metaphor) no matter how much bigger we make our ship, we still cannot escape from Nature. Even though the current world order of globalization shrinks the time it takes to travel between two physical locations, this cannot compensate for human reliance on where they live. Canadians cannot live a lifestyle or eat a diet like people who live by the equator, despite all attempts to convert food into capital and to use the capital to increase the speed and transportability of food.

Writing culture. Additionally, culture cannot be spoken of without tying its meanings to the land. As I explained above, food sources can be only supplied through lands or water (ocean or lakes). However, cultural ideologies are also very much tied to land due to, as I explained earlier, the attempted domination of Nature through language. Therefore food sources which come from the land are the key concepts underpinning culture—but it is also important to separate this food source issue from modern capitalism which is different again from pre-modern capitalism (e.g., the bartering system). Even though text-based history maintains that people have always practiced capitalism in their lives, it is important to recognize that we need to apply archaeology and genealogy (Foucault, 1969; 1975) to these claims, remembering that those who are capable of recording texts must have had secure food sources that enabled them to document their lives and ideologies. I think it is safe to say that current academics are normally in the top twenty percent in terms of social class (Kachur, 2008), and it is also safe to note that they are the ones with voices to record official records. As Kachur (2008) explains, there can be no class analysis, since recording official

records is an activity that belongs to the upper classes, those who are allowed to write. Again, it is clear that in the past, less than 20 percent of the population was in position to record official stories, therefore pre-modern capitalism may not actually be as it appears, and I am sure that the suffering (lower) classes did live without modern capitalist minds. Culture, we must assume, is not made by those who rule the society but by those who supported society. The majority *live* culture while the minority *record* something else.

In this, I consider culture to be the fundamental system permitting survival of groups/communities within their specific locations/places on earth. To survive for future (next and following) generations, people must sustain and secure their production of food sources which means they must rely on Nature (lands and waters). Culture is the hegemony that will sustain peoples for the near and the far future. Therefore culture can only exist in self-sustainable societies. Cultural hegemony is the result of specific human ideologies, which likely developed to take advantage of Nature in order to survive. The ideology is established and transmitted through language. In other words, I will use “culture” to mean “expressions of peoples’ lives while sustaining themselves within their confined locations/places in the face of encroaching globalization.” This approach to culture will allow developing people in specific locations to be viewed as having their own identities. It is a definition understood and recognized by Tokunoshima islanders.

This then leads us to the next question—what is identity? and how does it determine our relationships to human cultures, and other creatures’ cultures, and their environment/surroundings?

Definition of Identity: (What is Identity?)

Looking at the final element in LCI shift, identity, I first note that if language is difficult to define, and culture even more difficult because it is that much more diffuse, then identity is the most difficult of all. In fact, going around in a kind of circle, Gee (1996) brings the definition of identity back to language by equating identity with Discourses, “a sort of identity kit” that includes “ways of being in the world, or forms of life that integrate words, acts, values, beliefs,

attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions and clothes” (p. 122), making identity sound almost identical to language and culture.

It should be quite obvious that there have been no attempts to count the number of identities around the world. If each individual’s identity is “multiple, a site of struggle, and shifting over time” (Norton, 1995, p. 14), then there are clearly more identities in the world than there are individuals. If multiple identities exist within each one of us and within groups of us, there are in fact more identities than people or combinations of people existing on earth than the number of people on earth. Each group changes its identity dynamics incrementally when even one person moves in or out of the group, and so presumably does the identity of that individual. Although each small change may be unobservable in terms of the larger group, the accumulation of incremental changes leads to identity shifts over time. When we are talking about cultural identities (a “cultural identity being the descriptor for a self-sustaining culture that has become non-self-sustaining because of the impact of globalizing forces), then it can be assumed that cultural identities, even cultures themselves, may “clash” (by which I mean try to destroy one another) and/or “crash” (by which I mean disappear) over time.

Formal definitions of identity. The Oxford dictionary on line presents the first explanation of identity as: “the fact of being who or what a person or thing is” (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/identity?q=identity>). And, in fact, when Erikson (1956) started to use the word “identity” for first time he clearly defined his terms. Erikson classified identity according to eight stages of human life, correlating to the physical and emotional maturation of humans over the course of their lives. Identity categorization by bodily changes and shifts include: Infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age (Erikson & Erikson, 1997). According to this theory, over the course of each category, each person encounters conscious or unconscious identity crises that result from their bodily changes, and shifts within their social contexts. Erikson and Erikson’s argument suggests that each person has to be identified and recognized by other members of the society in which they live. By

redefining their identities to fit with and meet social expectations, individuals need to define their positions within a set of prescribed, constantly changing, and shifting dynamics. Thus, the stages of identity change/shift the relationships between I/myself/my ego and “otherness” (i.e., beings outside one’s own body) in an unstable environment (i.e., one’s own body).

Identity as analytic concept. This concept of individuals defining themselves within their own social contexts is then extrapolated to contemporary definitions of identity in which the self is defined in relation to different social contexts (Kroger, 2000). In fact, Kroger (2000) explains that contemporary social contexts can derive from historical, structural stages, sociocultural, narratives, and/or psychosocial perspectives (p. 27). These different perspectives parallel bodily changes/shifts over time so that individuals are defined by themselves and by others in their society. It appears that identity can therefore be described as both recognition and expression of self, from the self and from others, within and between societies. That is, identity has an internal representation which appears to be related to Being, and an external component, which has been labelled “identity position” (Toohey, 2000, p. 94) by which is meant the range of identities available to an individual as they are assigned from the outside.

Brubaker and Cooper (2000), recognizing that the meanings of identity have proliferated since the advent of identity politics in the 1960s and the diffusion of the term into a number of disciplines and traditions, suggest that as an analytical and theoretical construct, “identity” has become semantically meaningless:

Conceptualizing all affinities and affiliations, all forms of belonging, all experiences of commonality, connectedness, and cohesion, all self-understandings and self-identifications in the idiom of “identity” saddles us with a blunt, flat, undifferentiated vocabulary. (p. 2)

Following Bourdieu’s analysis of many of the key terms in interpretive inquiry as being both “categories of social and political *practice*” and “categories of social and political *analysis*,” Brubaker and Cooper (2000) claim that identity is likewise a category of practice (a category of everyday lived social experience) and a

category of analysis (as used by social analysts), while identity also has one further use; political entrepreneurs attempt to:

persuade people to understand themselves, their interests, and their predicaments in a certain way, to persuade certain people that they are (for certain purposes) “identical” with one another and at the same time different from others, and to organize and justify collection action along certain lines.
(p. 5)

Categorizing identity. Leaving identity as both a category of practice and as a political mobilization tool aside, Brubaker and Cooper suggest that identity cannot function as a category of analysis because it has become ambiguous. They identify five key uses of the term: 1) the ground or basis of political action on the basis of social location such as in race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation (that is, identity as a political mobilization tool), 2) a collective phenomenon based on a fundamental sameness among members of a group or category which manifests itself in solidarity, 3) a core aspect of individual “selfhood” which is deep, essential, and foundational, and is therefore valued, recognized, and maintained; 4) the product of social and political action as in new social movements that one may elect to join, and 5) the multiple, fluid, unstable, and fragmented self identified with post-structuralist and post-modernist theorizing (2000, pp. 6-8).

Taking their argument a step further, I found that even within just one journal specifically focused on the intersections between language, identity and education (*Journal of Language, Identity and Education*), from inception to the end of 2010, a large number of operationalizations of identity emerged, working the notion of identity at the level of the nation, the community, the group, and the individual (Nakagawa & Kouritzin, 2011). I identified seven major definitions (not key uses of the term, but rather definitions themselves). The most common, found in over 25% of the articles and seeming to represent the most “common sense” definition, worked with the idea of identity as a shared social attribute attached to a geographical location (as in my research, an Indigenous identity) that one is born into. It included grouping such as ethnolinguistic identity, racial identity, and cultural identity, and was therefore the definition most resonant with

Tokunoshima LCI. It contains an element of what Wallerstein (1991) calls “pastness” (p. 78) which creates group solidarity from a historical perspective.

The second definition, found in 22% of the articles, represented beings or a collective sharing a fundamental sameness that may “cut across” the lines of the first definition, but is not passed from generation to generation, has no relationship to location, and may or may not be visible to outsiders. This definition included such things as gender identity, religious identity, teacher identity, gay/queer identity, Deaf/deaf identity, collective Latino identity, or scientist identity.

Twenty percent of the articles viewed identity in terms of the third definition, as something individual. It may be related to the first two definitions, when a person is searching for a more stable identity and mobilizes categories that are relatively unchanging and recognizable such as “wife,” “mother,” “musician,” or “athlete.” It can be difficult to distinguish from characteristics, and the identity categories are often embedded in particular culture.

The fourth definition was very much related to Brubaker and Cooper’s (2000) fourth usage, the product of social and political action as in new social movements that one may elect to join; it is not accidental, but rather planned. Such identities included “hip hop identity,” “gansta identity,” or “bilingual identity” and these kinds of identities were planned, socially constructed, usually alternative, explanations of a self in relation to others, and were used in 18% of the articles. This is the form of identity which is mobilized by researchers such as Wilson (2007) who proposes that researchers may be Indigenist without being Indigenous, by Niezen (2003) who recognizes and tries to understand a movement he calls “Indigenism,” or by Smith (1999) in her detailing of 25 Indigenous research projects, including Indigenizing (pp. 142-162).

The fifth definition, used in 15% of the articles, was identity as multiple, fluid, fragmented, shifting, conflicted, overlapping, and partial; May explains that “[t]he fragmented, dispersed and decentred individual of the postmodern world is supposedly able to choose from a bewildering range of identity styles” (2001, p. 24). This definition of identity was frequently used when talking about one

identity being in conflict with another identity, most commonly a locational identity (like culture) in conflict with a collective identity (like women).

The sixth definition of identity, found in 13% of the articles, was related to Toohey's (2000) "identity position" meaning a social or political role that is used by others to define someone; it is assigned. Such identities may be assigned by schools, and may be expressed as "imagined communities" that are other than nations (e.g., Kanno, 2003), but the imagining is not done by individuals or groups but rather by outsiders imagining an identity for them. To my way of thinking, this is the form of identity that the U.N. is mobilizing in trying to define what an Indigenous person is, what it means to have an Indigenous identity. It also references such identities as those imagined for residential school attendees in Canada, and the establishment of four groups of peoples in apartheid South Africa described by Wallerstein (1991). These identities are restrictive, either for a self or a collective, and are assigned by a dominator.

Finally, the seventh definition of identity is identity as aspiration, identity as desire for recognition and belonging, identity in terms of the potential imagined community of belonging for the self. It represents striving for an identity that is not quite attainable, a desired self or group or community. This is the kind of identity that I would consider to be associated with "imagined communities," including such ideas such as "the good wife," or "the honourable person." It can be associated with Indigenous peoples who want to "pass for" members of the dominant culture, and who try to hide who they are. It has been, to my shame, part of my own identity-seeking, as I tried for the first 10 of my 20 years in Canada to become a White man. It is also the identity of Tokunoshima islanders being created for the future.

Twenty five percent of the articles did not mention identity at all, while many of the articles used more than one definition of identity simultaneously, layering them, without explaining fundamental assumptions about meaning or context. All or almost all of the definitions operated at the individual or collective level. Some of the definitions implied sameness over time; while others implied sameness among members of a group; some implied sameness of geographic

region; some definitions contradicted others. Sometimes strings of adjectives were placed before the word “identity” which clouded rather than clarified the meanings. Consequently, I have no choice but to agree with Brubaker and Cooper (2000) that the term “identity” has become relatively useless as a category of analysis. At the same time, in its common sense form, it is useful for research.

Identity shift. The most important aspect, for a project like mine which is based in a community with different reference points (like *shima*, described above), is that identity is something that has to be taken or assigned when you are removed from your own land or when control of your own land is removed from you; therefore identity is related to capitalist ideology and the impact of colonialism for Tokunoshima islanders. If not for the consequences of contact, we would have no need of identity because we did not need to define ourselves in relation to others. In other words, identity becomes important when it becomes independent of Being. Therefore, before proceeding with how I will work with the multiple and shifting ideas of identity in this study, first, I have to examine the relationship between identity and being.

Identity and Being

In definitions and discussions of identity of a persons or group of peoples or even nation-states there are always collision between terms of “identity” and “being.” In this section I attempt to provide general, comprehensible definitions of the terms identity and being, explaining that identity is an externally-determined self *expression*, while Being is an internally-determined self *presentation* invisible to the self. It is crucial to understand that externally-determined self expressions refer to expressions of language, ideology, truth, worldview, manifested in any of the sensory systems.

On the other hand, Being is an internally-determined presentation; it can only be presented in terms of “presence” or existence with no words. This is the key element of Being. Being can be only presented within an existing being “As Is.” For example, seeing a volcano from a distance is different from seeing it at an arm’s length distance. Even the volcano’s magma can present itself differently—from the state of being in a red hot state to being in a stone cold state, even though

it is the same material. Yet, this change or shift in a volcano's state of being is referred to by different names. Another example can be seen in the chemical combinations of H₂O; the chemical composition remains stable in such states of being as ice, water, steam or other organic states. In another example, the particular chemical components of C_xH_xO_x' (whatever the organic medium) in the form of a tree can also be "expressed" (commodified) as lumber, bar, wood, or plank. States of being can even be expressed in terms of volume or mass such as is represented in the references to cloud, drip, stream, pond, lake, or ocean, and seed, seedling, sapling, young tree, mature tree, and old tree. Each of these stages was named based on a single material being and its "energy of being."

Once different states of being are distinguished by humans (and other beings such as birds, whales, chimpanzees and orangutans etc.) then beings are named/categorized within their own languages/ideologies. However, expression in language suppresses Being. Once beings are described through language then all essence of Being is gone. Being itself must be still and stillness can be only presented; Being is "existence in presence." At the same time, the still and stillness of Being is dependent on each Being's own relative time. As a tree can grow and water can change/shift its own state over time, so too one's being as a Being can change/shift.

To further this idea the example of rocks can be used. We humans see rocks as solid and as holding their being into eternity (solid as a rock), but rocks can be broken into smaller bits or melted into magma by other external forces/energies. Rocks are then no longer present in the same Being as humans tend to see/observe in human ideology and human scale of time. It seems that the ever-constant changing/shifting of Beings can only be transferred/understood through the passive reception of stimuli—visual, auditory, olfactory, palatal, tactile—to and from others. It is important to recognize that Beings cannot feel or show one's own Being. One may see oneself in a mirror, hear oneself as an echo, feel one's own skin, smell one's own body, taste one's own body fluids, but one cannot and should not be able to know one's own presence. As soon as one activates presence, then it becomes identity rather than Being.

Being can be most felt during one on one contact between objects in isolation. Even when individual beings are separated by a locked door, even when they do not have same language to converse with one another, even when they are of different species, then both are likely to feel the other's being, intensified by any threat toward their lives and well being. Both individuals must use all their sensory capacities to hold the other being in their consciousness. Humans use mostly vision, auditory vibrations, and olfaction when they remain within a certain distance. However, when there is no distance between them, touch becomes more important; when the distance becomes intimate, then touch, smell, and then taste become progressively more important. Intimate refers to every sensory contact with others be it grooming, intercourse, oral sex, physical intimidation, or physical fight. After spending time together, individuals will share a strong understanding of each other's beings that is likely to develop beyond sensory communication. That is, sex or a fight can happen spontaneously, simultaneously and instantly if the beings do not avoid one another.

Of course this intimate relationship can only be achieved after one's immediate needs such as food and water are fulfilled. Thus, the more clothes we layer and the more we distance ourselves from others, the more it becomes almost impossible to feel the being of others. This phenomenon is more likely to be accentuated in urban areas where individual being's lives are removed from their natural settings in comparison with rural areas where lives are more likely connected with the land. In short, I think people first need to have understandings of each other to understand their own inner Beings. This mean that inner Beings need to be shared in terms of their fundamental ideologies, accords, worldviews, truths and other core values. Consensus must be achieved by a group of Beings to exist as a group of Beings for now and into the future.

Therefore, it might be safe to conclude that our own Beings can only be felt or sensed through our multiple senses and cannot be expressed through our own languages and ideologies. We all recognize states of being when they exist in such dimensions as time, gravity, power, energy, mass, weight, and stability. We therefore can intuitively understand that expressions of existence through

languages and ideologies will essentialize Beings into the categories of the expressers who, by naming/identifying them, seek to dominate them. However, to continue to exist as Beings in a given form, each Being needs to rely on others. A Being must form indefinable and ambiguous relationships (i.e., definition of I (we) and you and them) within a group consensus which then forms their own Being.

Understanding in this way what Being represents, I will now attempt to describe a possible definition of identity. Identity may be explained as an external determinant of expression. Once our Beings are expressed in words, languages, and ideologies they become expressions in relationship to others, and then our Beings become identities.³⁸

In sum, Being does not change. We, in states of Being, exist as is. What changes and shifts is our ideology and epistemology, enabling us to dominate our surroundings. Once Being is expressed through or by language, then it becomes identity. Therefore, in this study, I will use the term “identity,” since I will be asking Tokunoshima people to provide expressions of their selves and to describe the selves of other islanders through language.

Defining Identity Indigenously

As we have seen above, it appears that “culture” is defined based on differences between the ways of life rather than on similarities between people. Cultures, as defined in this proposal, and in an Indigenous sense, are founded on groups/communities of people and their ways of life within the surrounding Nature or environment. Within their confined group or community, people find different ways to live using different materials to assist them in daily living. The different material and its usage form the means by which people and other species

³⁸ In fact, Heidegger (1976) appears to suggest something similar in his attempts to describe Being. Heidegger (1976) provides detailed examples of how Being can change and shift over time through individual’s views of the world and ideologies. However, although he attempts to determine the nature of Being at the beginning of his thesis, he unfortunately soon stopped dealing with Being and entered into discussions of epistemology, specifically, Being in combination with identity. That is, Heidegger describes identity just because he ends up by essentializing Being through words. Heidegger (1976) tried his best to describe Being without essentializing, even going so far as to replace the word Being with “Dasein.” But, in his replacement expression for Being and his description of the change/shift of the state of Being is likely to define an ideological/epistemological state.

take advantage of their environments to continue their lives in groups or communities without sacrificing future generations of their species. In these conditions, humans have constructed different ideologies from each other in order to annex Nature in the most advantageous ways possible for them. Individuals can only recognize this phenomenon known as “culture” by transporting themselves and exposing themselves to other ideologies which are likely to exist in different locations on earth. By doing so, individuals recognize the differences in cultural existences through comparisons with others; this process will likely result in a recognition of one’s cultural identity.

While on the one hand, “identicalness” with others has been generally accepted as the foundation for identity arguments (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000), on the other hand, there has been almost no existent recognition of identity as these “identifiable factor(s)” differentiating individuals or groups from groups, communities and cultures with which they newly associate. Important to this research, many existing scholarly articles have made reference to personal identity and cultural identity, possibly noting when conflicts between the two arise (Sokefeld, 1999). A number of current academic articles seem to emphasize “identical” factors as defining group identities, but I find it more useful to associate “identity” with “identifiable” or defining and differentiating characteristics, traditionally those things which serve to identify a specific group living in a specific region.

Identity and culture. At this point, it is important to recognize that cultures can be divided into self-sustainable and non self-sustainable societies. When each community is no longer capable of sustaining itself in terms of food production and procreation, then it should no longer be called a “culture,” or at least it should not be confused with self-sustaining “cultures.” At this point, what is routinely called “culture” in the literature might be better identified as “identity.” When cultures collide or meet and person(s) become resident in unfamiliar territories, then individuals or group of minority people must differentiate themselves, and identify themselves as outsiders in order not to be mistakenly considered non-standard or strange majority society members who need to be eliminated from the

society through ostracism. Ostracism normally results in the inability to live, but a declaration of difference allows strangers to be given special treatment instead of social alienation.

As a result, at each level, in groups, communities, societies, and cultures minority group(s) of people identify themselves as strangers, and make note of how strange they are in geological terms. When all people are from the same geological region, then genealogical differences such as kinship patterns will make them identifiable. For example, I can explain myself as “a person who does not speak English as my first language,” “a person who uses a different mind set and culture,” or as someone who dresses differently, eats differently, shows different forms of sexual interest, or who has a darker skin colour. Or, I can simply say that I am from Asia. To say that I am from Japan may be a more effective approach to identifying myself for those who have seen many Asians. Locating where I am from is the most effective way to provide others with clues to my identity. Depending on where I am, I could say that I live in Canada and proceed to define progressively more local areas of Canada: Province (Manitoba), City (Winnipeg), Area in the city (Wolseley), and only then are we able to start discussing such things as who we know, shared relations, similar jobs, children’s schools, and so on.

What this means is that in its primary form, identity cannot be separated from geological space. But, if people share a geographical/geological space then genealogical differences such as the colour of eyes, height, weight, age, address (again location information), educational level (driver license, degrees), appearance, personal histories, or even finger prints come to matter in describing the differences between individuals. This should illustrate that identities are not based on “identical-ness” between people looking for belonging, but rather identities are assigned and adopted based on identifiable factors which separate people from one another.

Identity and self. Furthermore, identity exists at every level of group, community, and society. An examination of chimpanzees showed that great apes are capable of recognizing themselves after being exposed to mirror(s).

Chimpanzees can clean between their teeth while watching themselves in a mirror, and can even recognize their own faces in a mirror after researchers painted red dots on their faces (Gallup, Jr., 1970). Nevertheless, pattern learning and recognition (cited above as well) in whale songs (Noad et al, 2000) and elephant vocal patterns (Pool et al, 2005) prove that self-other recognition exists in other mammals as well. In the case of both whales and elephants, outsider groups with different cultural and linguistic identities influenced the existing community or were influenced by the existing community, respectively. In both cases, when measured by human perception, animals are able to identify themselves and others in terms of language and culture. It is very important to recognise that in the non-human animal kingdom there are no non-self-sustainable societies unless animals are in human captivity. In cases of captivity, animals do have identities within or outside of their natural habitats.

Following this logic, we can conclude that identity exists mostly in non-self sustaining situations within and between cultures. Identity shift will always occur as human cultures will always require a certain number of outsiders in order to diversify their genetic pools (Chagnon, 1988), meaning that new brides or newcomers enter existing societies and are identified as outsiders. Their strange actions, behaviours, and languages serve as identifiable markers of a different identity, but over time, their identities merge with the new culture.

LCI Shift and Ideology Shift

According to Western knowledge perspectives, language, culture, and identity are interrelated, interconnected, and sometimes synonymous. In my worldview, they are also connected; that is, understanding culture means knowing how to live within a particular geographical space in a sustainable manner, language is how we communicate that knowing to the next generation and among ourselves, while identity refers to the roles individuals have within a culture. So, I expect that when I write “language is shifting” then readers will assume the corollary “and so are culture and identity.”

It is clear that language shift/change occurs in any language, even the most dominant languages on earth (Daniels, 1996b). However, language shift seems to

affect some language groups more than other language groups. Ironically, it appears that dominant language group people and educated Indigenous elites often seem to be more concerned about language shift than subordinate language group people, specifically, though not exclusively, Indigenous people. It is now time to investigate why language shift/change influences appear to affect some groups of people significantly, and other peoples not so significantly. I raise the question, is language shift/change really the issue, or should we be viewing language shift and change over long and short time periods through a different lens?

Now in the 21st century, most non-dominant cultures—not merely Indigenous cultures—have realized that they are facing loss or death or genocide of language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). In the past, as far as we know from written records, no peoples recorded sadness, pity, or sorrow at losing their languages; yet we Indigenous peoples are now in a state of crisis from recognizing that our mother tongues are no longer spoken by our children.

It is possible that our ancestors watched time and life go by with joy, considering it more important to pass on the fundamental importance of a particular way of life—the culture—while simultaneously validating the ways and ideas of the next generations than to worry over the natural evolution of language. Our ancestors must have been integrated with their own surroundings, and they worked with the materials available to them within their confined spaces. They continued to teach their children and their grandchildren how to live with Nature. They passed on the best ways to feed themselves, control the consumption of food, kill, and harvest. If we make these assumptions, then we must acknowledge that our ancestors had a relationship with Nature, and they must have encoded their own ways of viewing their surroundings in Indigenous languages.

The way people see their environments, their worldviews, and their ways of life can be expressed as “culture.”³⁹ That our ancestors were able to pass on their

³⁹ This process was named “enframing” by Heidegger (1967). Heidegger (1976) furthers his argument by suggesting that people use their enframed ideologies as a yardstick to measure further ideas and the foundation of life, which he calls “logistik,” firmly and rapidly colonizing the possibilities in human thought (Heidegger, 1967). Working with Heidegger’s ideas, once there

worldviews/ontologies with their Indigenous languages can be seen in every language. For example, northern people who live in cold climates have many different names for snow and the types of ice that build up on water. Ocean people have names for different water surfaces that can be seen on the ocean. It is logical that people from other special locations must have their own ways to identify themselves in relationship to their surroundings. The language then becomes and reflects ideology (Heidegger, 1967). In this argument, it becomes clear that our environment *became* our ideology, since that is how we get our food to live and to reproduce. When the ideology shifts, then so does the language shift.

Scientific ideologies. To understand the nature of the ideology shift, it is also necessary to understand the relationship between science and philosophy. Sometime in our past, a scientific mindset (a scientific ideology) penetrated all of us who obtained or received our foundational, core, information that human beings are different from other animal-like beings. Despite frequent citations placing the time of this shift around the time of Copernicus (the mid 1500s), I cannot pinpoint exactly when this shift to a scientific ideology occurred because, as Kuhn (1962) points out, paradigm shifts are preceded by pre-paradigm shifts and are followed by a period of time in which both the old and the new paradigm co-exist. But, it is clear in the present time that dominant societies subordinate Being/Identity/Self (i.e., philosophies, humanities, societies, morals, ethics, love, compassion, sorrow, even life and death) to scientific knowledge. Even until the early 1900s, the philosophical self was foundational to scientific ideology; that is, philosophy provided a framework within which science was viewed. From the time of the Greek philosophers until Martin Heidegger, local knowledges, regional beliefs and Indigenous practices were sustainable within their own worldviews without intrusion. Recent texts reveal that even Heidegger (1976) in a 1929 publication talks about time as not being constant but rather dependent on our Beings for existence. However, after the emergence of the scientific approach

were surroundings that fed us. We started to name them according to our desire to benefit from them (appropriation) through language. By believing in our languages, we started to believe that we have the right to appropriate anything for our own advantage, so language became our ideology, and it now controls us. Through language use, we came to believe that we could manage the essence of being human.

(beginning with Einstein's theory of relativity which proved that time and existence/gravity are not constant) for expressing the concept of time and Being through a mathematical equation, the scientific knowledge system has annexed time as the fourth dimension and legitimated as "fact" any idea that used to be owned by philosophy (and which was likely annexed by Western philosophy from Indigenous worldviews). Since then, Being/Identity/Self (i.e., philosophies, humanities, societies, morals, ethics, love, compassion, sorrow, even life and death) have been subsumed under the name of science. In other words, Being/Identity/Self has been named by a different worldview, "orientalized" (Said, 1978) by the scientific mind. Where philosophy was once foundational to science, and generated science, now science is the starting point for philosophy.

It seems to me that philosophy and science have switched positions; now we have the "philosophy of science" applying philosophy to cutting edge scientific knowledge such as the creation of life (stem cell research), the determination and quality of life (medicine) and the concept of sustaining life through the production of food and reproduction (clone technologies). Human thought and belief systems have become totally subordinate to the dominant ideology of science. We have therefore sold our minds and spirits to our own self-pleasure, in such acts as recreational sex (for pleasure rather than reproduction) and gluttony (eating for taste or the sensation of food passing through the throat rather than for survival). Take, as one example, the early work of Foucault. Although Foucault is thought to take a philosophical approach, he detached sexuality from sex, focusing on power analysis of the pleasure of sex while ignoring the reproductive purpose of sex, and thereby leaving his philosophy subordinate to science. Similar claims can be made about the grammatical views of Levi-Strauss. Both men's philosophical approaches are contained within the scientific method. Because science permits the partitioning of the world into small analyzable bits, philosophers too have become dabblers in science, while scientists are the new philosophers.

What I am arguing in this section is that most researchers have viewed language loss/shift/change, as the end result of external forces impacting on the language. But, I suggest that both language shift and the external forces impacting

on languages are symptoms of an underlying shift in ideology, and that it is possible that our Indigenous acknowledging of LCI shift and allowing it to become apparent in academia might well be one of the causes. For example, Beverly summarizes the argument of Gayatri Spivak (1988) much more clearly than Spivak herself explains:

If the subaltern could speak—that is, speak in a way that really *matters* to us, that we would feel compelled to listen to—then it would not be subaltern. Spivak is trying to show that behind the gesture of the ethnographer or solidarity activist committed to the cause of the subaltern in allowing or enabling the subaltern to speak is the trace of the construction of an other who is available to speak to use (with whom we *can* speak or with whom we would feel comfortable speaking), thus neutralizing the force of the reality of difference and antagonism to which our own relatively privileged position in the global system might give rise. She is saying that one of the things being subaltern means is not mattering, not being worth listening to, or not being understood when one is “heard.” (2005, p. 551)

To support this argument, I note that for centuries, Indigenous peoples like my islanders, and others have maintained their languages in the face of slavery, oppression, and other manifestations of colonization, but that language shift has accelerated now, in the time of supposed “decolonization” and “emancipation.” I suggest that accelerating language shift reflects a shift in ideology, resulting from a shift in ontology (that is, the ontological shift to a belief in science and technology, as also noted by Heidegger above, and away from the belief in people and Nature). That is, as Beverly has argued, when there is collective action by community groups, and a collective belief, it disrupts the subaltern identity:

a hegemonic project by definition points to a possibility of collective will and action that depends precisely on the transformation of the conditions of cultural and political disenfranchisement, alienation, and oppression that underlie these rivalries and contradictions (Beverly, 2005, p. 552).

Simplistically put, language shift is not *causing* a shift in cultural practice (that is, ideology), but rather is *resulting* from it. Of course, it creates a circle and

language also changes the ideology over time. The language changes between generations, and the new generation begins with a shifted ideology. Language is not an independent variable. Ideology is not an independent variable. There is no independent variable ever. This is an idea I will return to in Chapter 4.

Summary

As I have shown looking at studies of language, culture and identity (above), it soon becomes apparent that there are no absolute definitions for what constitutes language, culture and identity in the literature. Of the three terms, “language” is the one that comes closest to having a concrete form, but even “language” has no universally-agreed-upon definitions. Here, I have identified some of the universal or foundational elements of all three terms that seem to exist in the literature, but the point needs to be made, consistent with Smith (1999) and other Indigenous researchers I have cited here, that these definitions are all extant within dominant Western academic discourses rather than within the selves/groups/communities to which the various research projects refer. Specifically, I have indicated how language, culture, and identity will each shift over time, and have teased apart the confusion that results when researchers collapse these words into phrases like “linguistic identity,” “cultural identity,” and “languaculture.”

Throughout this review, it has been my contention that culture, language and identity cannot be defined from a research position between languages, cultures, and identities. We cannot unproblematically use an outsider (dominant culture) norm to determine what constitutes language, culture, and identity; rather, these words have to be identified within each language, culture, and identity under study. Furthermore, within languages, cultures, and identities, we have to take generational distinctions into account, allowing us to understand how language, culture, and identity shift over time, and whether they shift simultaneously—as would be the case if “linguistic identity,” “cultural identity,” and “languaculture” (Agar, 1994) were unproblematic phrases—or if they shift sequentially (or even independently), making these phrases nonsensical.

Therefore, in doing research within an island people (a culture) not having had all of its knowledges annexed by a dominant culture and not having a written academic discourse of its own, it is important to understand that I am negotiating my research work within and against what islanders consider to be the definitions for language, culture, and identity, and how islanders describe themselves in relation to language, culture, and identity in Tokunoshima. That is, Tokunoshima islanders will use their own common sense understanding of these words, and if I try to define the words for them, using a Western ideological framework, then, as the principles of Indigenous research suggest, I automatically position myself as outside the community. Doing so also increases the risk of imposing on them a “colonial research ideology that puts the accumulation of knowledge ahead of the interests of the people studied” (Menzies, 2001, p. 20). Therefore, as interesting as the discussion of language, culture, and identity above has been, it is not one that I have shared with my islanders. Nor have I shared with my islanders what “Indigenous research principles” outlined in Chapter 2 are. In keeping with Menzies (2001), I chose not to have the “truth value” defined by the research process, but rather allowed it to “emerge out of the values and assumptions of the oppressed group itself...[making it] better able to reflect and describe their own experiences” (p. 31).

Chapter 4

Research Methodology

Research in itself is a powerful intervention, even if carried out at a distance, which has traditionally benefited the researcher, and the knowledge base of the dominant group in society.... Research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories which have dehumanized Maori [and other Indigenous peoples] and in practices which have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing while denying the legitimacy for Maori of Maori knowledge, language and culture (Smith, 1999, p. 183).

In this chapter, I explain the mixed methods approach that I adopted for this research project, and detail the data collection, analysis, and reporting strategies that I employed. Next, in an effort to keep the focus on what it means to do research on/for/with one's own Indigenous group, I circle back to explain how I kept general and specific (island) Indigenist principles in mind while doing my research. As I argued in Chapter 2, the intent of the research and the integrity of the researcher are the defining characteristics of Indigenous research. I suggested that intent can be assessed in terms of the community's goals, healing, and ultimately in terms of the emancipatory potential of the research project, while integrity refers to working within an Indigenous worldview, reciprocity, ethical conduct, appropriate language use, and positionality. In keeping with my understanding of how politics works and in order to uphold the principles of intent and integrity, all of the methods that I used were intended to facilitate the Amami people's pursuit of cultural recognition and to defend their right to maintain and strengthen traditional LCI practices and self-determination (as guaranteed in the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* adopted in September 2007) if they so desire.

Research Method

The research documented here explores what people on Tokunoshima think about their language and culture at the present time as well as their understandings of how their language and culture will influence their futures. To explore

Tokunoshima peoples' thoughts regarding the current conditions of their language(s) and culture(s) and their perspectives on how this has developed could have been approached through any of a number of social science disciplines (e.g., anthropology, geography, architecture, education, sociology) using any number of discipline-specific or multiple discipline approaches based on either/both qualitative and/or quantitative approaches to research. In my research reported here, I combine quantitative and qualitative research methods, an approach known to Western academics as mixed methods.

Mixed methods. Mixed methods does not mean simply using both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research, but rather, it is about making specific choices in order to answer research questions more fully. To my way of thinking, this places mixed methods approaches most in line with traditional Indigenous research approaches in which qualitative research is collected over time, making it both holistic and quantitative and thus, within a particular context and only within that particular context, generalizable. It also aligns my research with one of the most important principles of Indigenous research—that it be useful to the community being studied, and enhance the community's ability to make sound political arguments for emancipation.

According to Johnson and Christenson (2012), within the Western approach to research, quantitative research is based on the scientific method. It is objective, material, structural, top-down (that is, based on hypotheses or other formal assumptions), and is concerned with the search for truth and universal scientific standards. It is regular and predictable, and provides numerical support for narrow-angle lens questions. It measures variables, and describes the relationship between those variables in numerical descriptions that are intended to be generalizable, expressed in a formal, objective manner. Qualitative research, on the other hand, is exploratory and bottom up in approach. The researcher generates or constructs knowledge, possibly in collaboration with the participants, from word and picture data. The data is seen to be subjective, personal, relativistic, and individual, focused on understanding and appreciating the research participants' views, meanings, and perspectives. Qualitative data is collected

through interviews, observation, fieldnotes, and open-ended questions using the researcher as the primary instrument and is normally reported in contextualized descriptions that reveal insider's points of views (pp. 33-37).

Of course, this kind of binary between two forms of knowledge does not accord well with some views of Indigenous research (e.g., Walter, 2009), including mine. Mixed methods are more than simply mixing quantitative and qualitative research. As I have already alluded to, qualitative data over time is quantitative, and quantitative data over time is qualitative; Indigenous knowledges have accrued over time. To illustrate, let us examine an extended metaphor from road-building.

To start any new road-building initiative, the road-planning researchers need to have an overview of the current situations/conditions. To achieve that, adopting what might be best called a quantitative perspective is the most appropriate method. In essence, this is like “mapping” the territory in order to construct roads. But in order to construct roads through the terrain, interpretation and contextualizing become important. What this metaphor is getting at is that in order to come to complete understanding of a given geographical space, you need:

1. Quantitative research, followed by
2. Qualitative research

In my analogy, quantitative research does not find the best route, but rather is just a mapping process, providing information about the locations of mountains, rivers, canyons, lakes, valleys, and many more characteristics of geography. Qualitative research would then take that information to establish where to lay the road or train tracks, to avoid steep hills, water, and ridges. This must be done by humans who understand the capabilities and limitations of locomotives, vehicles, human labour, and—most importantly in this day and age—the budget. The second step must be accomplished through some form of qualitative approach, such as in-depth interviews, and it constitutes the most critical aspect of engineering the roads or train tracks.

So, for example, to build the trans-Canada railway, people (meaning the planners who were from England) needed a detailed map of the Rocky Mountains.

Survey measurements gave one form of map. Nowadays, we have satellite photos available to us at the click of mouse on our personal computers, but in the 1880s people did not have our luxury of seeing the map from their comfortable rooms, so the railway builders had to find their way in the Rocky Mountains themselves. However, what is certain is that Indigenous people had already accumulated the same knowledge over thousands of years of living with the land, engaging in hunting and other activities, and so the route-finding results suggested by Indigenous peoples would be similar to (or better than) those suggested by satellite photos. Therefore, to lay the railroad, road planners had to rely on Native Canadian First Nation knowledge to find the best way to cross the Rocky Mountains to get to the Pacific Ocean. They had to ask questions.

This analogy works well to introduce the appeal of a mixed methods approach. According to Johnson and Christensen (2012), because methods from differing ontological and epistemological positions are used, mixed methods approaches are both exploratory and confirmatory. Mixed methods combine the advantages of quantitative and qualitative approaches, adding as well the ability to “provide fuller, deeper, more meaningful answers to a single research question” (Johnson & Christensen, 2012, p. 433; see also Teddlie & Tashikkori, 2009).

Johnson & Christensen (2012) claim that there are no inherent weaknesses in mixed methods research design; however, operationally, it is difficult for a single researcher to accomplish and may be more appropriate to a research team because it requires researchers to understand multiple methods and approaches, it is expensive, and it is time consuming (p. 433). Mixed methods are pluralist, appreciating subjective, objective, and intersubjective perspectives on phenomena. They are pragmatic, allowing researchers to determine what works for a given group of people at this point in time, by combining multiple perspectives and a multilens focus. Mixed methods allow researchers to connect theory with practice, to understand multiple causation situations, to collect multiple forms of data, and allow both subjective insider and objective outsider viewpoints to be integrated in reports that are a mixture of numbers, pictures, graphs, and narrative (pp. 34-35).

Quantitative methods in this project. Quantitative methods are basically of two forms: experimental (that is, with an intervention or treatment, determining the effectiveness of that treatment or intervention) and observational (that is, non-intervention, frequently statistical). In this research, I am not attempting to do any form of treatment for LCI loss; rather, I am attempting to establish whether or not LCI loss is happening. Therefore, this research project can be seen to be observational (otherwise known as descriptive). While completing my Master's degree in science, I learned the usefulness of statistical power to apply and use knowledge for political purposes. Given that it was my intention to measure the state of Tokunoshima LCI and to make political arguments that would benefit my Indigenous group (thus fulfilling the criterion of intent in Indigenous research), I determined that the best form of observational data to collect was survey data. Survey data would result in numerical data and would enable me to engage in statistical analysis of the results. My initial aim in the survey research was to cover a 100% sample size, as in census data (see below) collected in Canada for political purposes. Knowing that it was an almost impossible task without nation-state backing, I nonetheless set that as my goal.

Having decided on survey research, I considered that such statistical research comes in two primary forms: descriptive or inferential. Inferential statistics are used primarily when a small sample of a population is tested, and from the results, researchers infer generalizations and express the findings in terms of statistical significance. Descriptive research normally targets an entire population (such as in a census) and is aimed at describing that population:

The descriptive-inferential distinction, therefore, pertains to the generalization of research findings. If data are collected for the single purpose of describing a sample (person, group, school, community, etc.) with no intention of making generalized statements about a larger population, then the study is considered to be descriptive research....In contrast to descriptive research, inferential research offers conclusions that extend beyond the people studied by making generalized statements about a larger population. (Newton Suter, 2012, pp. 58-59)

My research is positioned somewhere between the two forms of statistics, somewhat closer to descriptive statistics. Although my sample is not a 100% sample of the population, I a) have a large enough sample (approximately 13% of the entire population), b) opened the possibility of participating in the research project to each and every person on island, and c) asked questions of a “how many” nature (Muijs, 2004, p. 7), as in “how many people in each age group report that they are able to speak Shima-guchi fluently?” in which I attempted to summarize the distribution of a single variable in several sub-populations, as well as describe the relationship between two or more variables in the same sub-populations of Tokunoshima (Healey, 2005, p. 7). Of course, I must infer that my sample is representative of Tokunoshima island as a whole, but my assumption can also be balanced against my sampling strategies, my returning the findings to my islanders repeatedly through the study, and my finding no counter evidence during those presentations. Engaging in description with statistics is also in keeping with the qualitative aspect of my research; that is, I am trying to describe the conditions for Amami LCI on Tokunoshima.

The research questions in the current research are concerned with surveying/recording the current status of the languages used in Tokunoshima from the peoples’ perspectives. The use and status of languages on Tokunoshima have not been assessed by the dominant Japanese or by any other means, with the exception of my small pilot study (Nakagawa, 2007). The survey questioned island people about their languages, cultures, and identities (see Appendix A). The questionnaire was anonymous but asked for each respondent’s age group, gender, geographical area of residence and former residence, and, most importantly, fluency in one of the Tokunoshima languages, as well as when and where they used that language.

As I repeatedly noted in Chapter 3, language, culture, and identity have intertwiningly intricate relationships to each other. Especially on a small isolated island, one of these elements cannot be separated from the others; it seems to be an impossible task to try to do so. It is like looking at a mountain from distinct locations (such as from the middle of mountain, from sea level, from base level,

from the air, and from space). Each one of these locations will provide at least one, and possibly more than one, unique viewpoints; viewers can argue they are looking at something different from what the others are looking at. Nevertheless, the person who sent them to their observation positions knows that they are looking at same mountain from different viewpoints.

To make the situation even murkier, these viewpoints represent only observations of different locations within the same (or similar) time frame. When we add time considerations, it is much more complicated. For example, some time in last decade, the name of Crowfoot Glacier in the Canadian Rockies has remained as is, but its shape has changed. Crowfoot Glacier was named because its shape resembled a crow's foot with three talons. But, one of the talons fell off due to some force (e.g., the flow of the glacier, global warming, or something else altogether). It no longer represents a crow's foot. Canadian people who know the original shape of Crowfoot Glacier will likely continue to call it Crowfoot, but 100 years from now, I am not sure people will refer to it this way anymore. The point here is that both time and location strongly affect peoples' knowledge and understanding. In terms of my research, the advantage of conducting research on Tokunoshima Island is that I am working within a confined land space, geographically isolated by the natural boundaries of the ocean—but there are still different locations and landforms on the island. Also in my research, no one can control time; however, we can “observe” different times based on gaining perceptions from the various age groups on the island, asking them how and what they experienced through their time of living on Tokunoshima.

Pilot study and main study: Survey question design. Fowler (2002) notes that “the major advance in question design in the past 20 years has been improved strategies for evaluating question design” (p. 6) and he credits Likert with developing the best common technique for scaling answers to subjective questions. Knowing that such research can overcome a limited number of participant/subject issues by restricting how subjects or participants can express their thoughts, feelings, and/or ideas to a few choices, I therefore constructed survey questions to generate large-scale, poll-based opinions from Tokunoshima islanders using

Likert-type scales for each question (i.e., forced response answers). By providing few choices, I reasoned that I would be able to distribute the survey over a much wider geographical region and attract participants from a wider demographic range, just because the participants/subjects were able to answer the questions much faster. On the other hand, I had to accept that the responses were limited to those that were on the survey. I reasoned that survey techniques would likely mobilize more people to answer/provide opinions and chose breadth over depth, despite the limitations.

Developing the pilot study. Conducting a pilot study was essential to validate the questions I asked of the people of Tokunoshima and to try to capture the nature of how their language and culture are changing, shifting, decaying, moving, eroding, dying, and/or disappearing from what they know as the standard forms of the language and culture.

I constructed the survey for my research using the guidelines established by Dörnyei (2004). I first constructed a survey protocol for my pilot study (Nakagawa, 2008) that examined islander attitudes toward (a) being Indigenous, (b) Japanese LCI, and (c) Amami (Tokunoshima) LCI. I recorded respondents' assessments of their Amami language proficiencies, concerns about Amami LCI shift, as well as Amami worldviews, beliefs, and ancestry. My purpose in distributing and analyzing the pilot study data was to ensure that my test questions could be understood, and that the answers were meaningful (Fowler, 2002). One important aspect of the pilot study was to ask and test intricate questions to see if they could represent the views of Tokunoshima residents. I reasoned that by asking and testing the questions, I would provide chances for Tokunoshima residents to express their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the survey format, as well as give them the opportunity to suggest further questions themselves. An important factor for me was to try to capture the viewpoint of each age group as well as the viewpoints from other age groups on that age group—that is, an intergenerational perspective. I had to design questions in such a way that I could understand what was meant by Tokunoshima LCI, who determines the standard

for knowing and practicing Tokunoshima LCI, and what times or forms were referenced as the “gold standard” of Tokunoshima LCI.

As I have mentioned, it was crucial to consider definitions of LCI from an insider perspective, not as assigned by outsiders such as the Japanese nation-state, the United Nations, or some type/representative of state institutions (i.e., universities, linguists, researchers, enterprises, missionaries, NGOs, or other money-driven organizations), and to assess Tokunoshima LCI through self-declaration of the speakers/users. Therefore, the pilot study was intended to explore the validity of self-declarations of language and culture fluency and each age group’s assessments of other age groups (younger and older generations by ten year increments). In short, the pilot study asked a variety of people to view their opinion and others’ opinions from a variety of perspectives.

Following Dornyei’s (2004) advice, I chose to use six point scale for the subjective rating schemes in order to force survey respondents to make a decision that was not simply neutral; for example, in response to a statement such as “I like to listen to Tokunoshima songs” respondents had to choose to either agree or disagree to varying degrees. The pilot study proved that my scale worked, the questions could be understood by the respondents, and that the results were interesting and meaningful. Moreover, the pilot study and my final survey results were compared to observe the reliability between two studies. I did not run statistics to determine exactly what the reliability measure was; however, the responses on my final survey were identical to those of the pilot study, and I determined that results from the small sample of approximately 160 respondents in my pilot study were equally applicable to the larger (N-3509) final survey. The pilot study sections ended up being parts 1 through 5 on my final survey.

Final survey form. The pilot study survey only included the first two sections (parts one through five in the final version), specifically demographic information and knowledge and practice of both language and culture between and within age groups. The final survey consisted of a demographic question section and 12 other sections (see Appendix A for English translation and Japanese survey forms). The demographic questions contained no identifiable

personal information but rather focused on gender, age group, number of generations living on the island of Tokunoshima, self-assessed fluencies in Shima-guchi and Japanese, towns of residence, and occupation(s). These demographic questions were used to determine how each of the partitions—participants' gender, generations on the island, age group, fluency in Shima-guchi, fluency in standard Japanese, residence in the three towns within Tokunoshima (Amagi, Isen, or Tokunoshima), and occupation(s)—created groups that were similar to or different from other groups in terms of their responses.

Apart from the demographic section, the survey was separated into 12 sections addressing: (1) generational questions about Tokunoshima language, (2) generational questions about Japanese language, (3) generational questions about Tokunoshima cultural knowledge, (4) generational questions about Tokunoshima cultural practice, (5) generational questions about Tokunoshima identity, (6) self-defined identity questions, (7) questions about and attitudes toward Tokunoshima, (8) questions about and attitudes toward Tokunoshima language, (9) questions about and attitudes toward Tokunoshima songs (oral traditions), (10) questions about and attitudes toward Japanese, (11) questions about and attitudes toward Tokunoshima industries, and (12) questions about and attitudes toward life on Tokunoshima. Each section contained four to seven questions, except section 12 which contained 16 questions in order to illustrate differences related to participant demographics. While sections one through five asked for intergenerational as well as peer group assessment as in the pilot study described above, sections six through twelve were composed of direct questions.

Section six focused on locational (including emotional) identity. The locations were divided from the smallest area to the largest area. The smallest location was Tokunoshima. Tokunoshima is the easiest definition due to the natural boundary of the ocean. The next area was Amami, which includes the islands in sight of each other that are capable of speaking to one another. The next areas included successively more neighboring islands and were lumped together by various states (i.e., Kagoshima, Ryukyu, and Japan), each of which had conquered and suppressed the islands at some point in history. Finally, respondents

were asked how they identify in terms of their own local definitions of Asian and world citizens.

Sections seven to 10 questioned participants' abstract conceptions of Tokunoshima, Shima-guchi, Shima-uta, and Japanese language. These questions took the same format: "I like ____ (e.g., Tokunoshima)_" , "I like ____ (e.g., living on Tokunoshima)____", "I want my children and their children to ____ (e.g., live on Tokunoshima)____", and "I think ____ (e.g., living on Tokunoshima) is important."

Section 11 focused on the industries on Tokunoshima. Questions focused on Tokunoshima's main industries and the island's technological and scientific development from the past, to the present. Respondents were also asked to speculate about what should happen in the future. In addition, I asked for islanders' opinions as to whether they agree or disagree with the continued use of the development fund, intended historically by the Japanese federal government to "modernize" the island.

Finally, question twelve asked questions about life on Tokunoshima including life styles, maintaining our traditional food supply, cooking, and the names of plants and sea creatures in both Shima-guchi and Japanese. These questions further asked if individuals like the traditional lifestyle and whether they would like to see the continuation of our traditional lifestyle into future generations.

Modifications to the survey. Several student-participant, population-specific alterations were made to the survey protocol in order to eliminate any complications arising from generational questions—for example, eliminating references to participants' great grandchildren—in the survey forms that were distributed to school aged children. These alterations to the general survey form were made after strong encouragement by the superintendents of education in each town, as well as by high school principals. The younger generations were elementary students who were in Grade five (10 to 11 years old) and Grade six (11 to 12 years old), junior high school students (12 to 15 years old), and high school students (15 to 18 years old). Alterations to the questionnaire also included

changes that were made for reasons of redundancy; for example, age groups and occupations were not asked for, since all students were students and they all fell into the same age category. Other alterations included simplifying the expressions and/or vocabulary in some of the questions, based on feedback from the administrators and teachers who felt that some of the expressions might be too complicated. The changes did not change the content of the questions. For example, instead of asking whether respondents' families had lived on Tokunoshima for one, two, three, four, five, or six generations, the questions contained statements such as: "I am the one who moved to Tokunoshima", "my parent(s)", "my grandparent(s)", "my great grandparent(s)", "my great grandparents' parent(s)", and "my great grandparents' grandparent(s)" (respectively) moved to Tokunoshima (see Appendix A.2, student version of the survey form).

Participant selection. Participant selection posed a number of difficulties. According to Fowler (2002), there are three elements to consider in the use of surveys: sampling, question design, and data collection. Fowler (2002) suggests that "the keys to good sampling are finding a way to give all (or nearly all) population members the same (or a known) chance of being selected" (p. 5). Given that my research was based in a bounded area with a restricted population, issues of sampling were my first challenge. The possible sampling strategies commonly associated with surveys include elements of comprehensiveness, probability of selection, and efficiency (Fowler, 2002). In terms of comprehensiveness, I needed to consider how to obtain sufficient representation of the various age groups on the island (which I divided decade by decade) and the three different towns on Tokunoshima. An additional consideration not discussed in the literature on Indigenous research, is that I had to ensure that the survey was equally available to all members of society. It was very important to cast as wide a net as possible in order to enable all islanders who wished to participate to have an opportunity to have their voices heard. This is one aspect of the nature of Indigenous societies. By keeping the possibility for participation

open to all, I made sure that I did not offend specific factions or groups within the various island cultures and languages.

Therefore, at the research proposal stage, I suggested that I needed to gather as many surveys as humanly possible as a researcher, within my limited time frame, and within my limited human and financial resources, with the assistance of as many islanders as were available to help me. Consequently, the first step in the research was to visit well-known elders and knowledgeable community members, Boards of Education, island “City” Halls, and other leaders, introducing myself and the project for any insights they may have, and gaining approval for my research goals and objectives. The initial steps in this stage were completed during April 2008 when a number of island elders, school superintendants, and the mayor chose to support my research and offered to help, but they also happened throughout the research project. I repeated these visits and meetings whenever I felt the need to have guidance in conducting research on Tokunoshima. Therefore, the data collection methods and data analyses were always subject to change throughout the project. That is, my research project took on an independent life, morphing with suggestions and input and voluntary participation from any and all who wished to give me advice.

On the one hand, my data collection methods violated a number of research conventions with regard to sampling. I did not—in fact, could not—achieve a random sample. Not only is it logistically impossible in an island community without the databases required to produce a random list, but also the political consequences of trying to randomly select participants in a society where everyone knows everyone else would have been profound. This is not a struggle singular to my research. Andersson (2008), for example, speaks of the difficulty in trying to survey Indigenous social capital factors like identity or linguistic and cultural maintenance (in his case, the notion of resilience), when what is being measured is something held collectively, what he calls a “clustered” phenomenon. As he notes, however, the key is in using a form of snowball sampling, in which index or lead participants are chosen from a variety of settings and these index participants recruit or suggest further participants. Andersson (2008) suggests that

to make this a defensible strategy, “whereas snowballs melt and disappear, these networks must be documented” (p. 202), while still preserving confidentiality.

Survey respondents lived on the island of Tokunoshima during the summer of 2008, either because they worked there, or because they lived there by default (e.g., family members who moved to the island to accompany the head of household, with or without their consent). Among those who lived on the island by default, some participant(s) had wanted to move to island of Tokunoshima, but other(s) moved to Tokunoshima because of job relocation (public school teachers, power company employees, police officers, private companies), while others lived there because they always had, or because they were transported there by family members. Finally, all self-identified islanders who grew up on the island but did not live on the island at the time of the survey were not considered survey targets.

Survey data sources and collection. Despite the description of participants and intention in distribution, there is no guarantee that some of the surveys were not completed by individuals temporarily visiting the island. However it is important to emphasize that this survey was not distributed outside of Tokunoshima. Furthermore, all returned survey forms were returned to the investigator either in person, through on-island distribution contacts, or via the mail system.

As mentioned above, I was able to visit in person many organizations, offices, groups, places, and individuals over an eight week period on the island in the summer of 2008. During these visits, surveys were distributed and later picked up. Many surveys were returned in person to my house or were sent back to me through the public mail system. The surveys that were returned through the mail system had been prepared with stamped return envelopes so that all the participants needed to do was to fill in the survey form and drop it off at a post box nearby. All mailed back surveys had a postal stamp proving that surveys were sent from within Tokunoshima.

Through my contacts with school principals and superintendants, I was able to have the survey distributed widely in Tokunoshima schools. In fact, I obtained nearly a 100% sample of junior high school students in Tokunoshima. For this

reason, I added an extra step in analysis to ensure that this did not skew my findings (see below). The superintendants and principals as well as the classroom teachers were excited by my research and wanted to participate in it to the point at which they distributed the surveys in school and collected them for me. Consistent with my original intention to conduct a form of multiple regression analysis, I aimed at obtaining a sample size of 3,000 as a minimum goal and achieved a sample of 3509 (details below).

Survey data analysis. I was able to achieve an N of 3509, at close to a 50% return rate of distributed surveys. As I described earlier, during the time I spent on the island of Tokunoshima, I visited every possible community meeting, every gathering, every school, every official office, every senior community leader, in order to collect data. Despite my large N number, upon my return to Canada, in consultation with my committee, I determined that multiple regression analysis would not permit islanders to engage with me in data analysis. Statistical research would, we feared, impose a form of colonization on the results.

Consequently, quantitative analysis of my data presented a significant challenge. It involved many months of analysis, but eventually generated a method that I hoped would allow me to maintain integrity with my Tokunoshima community. The result is an inarguably Indigenous form of quantitative analysis because it presents as close to raw data as you can get (it is, in a sense, qualitative). Specifically, rather than using multiple regression analysis that would have given me a statistically sound answer (insofar as my sampling strategies would allow), I used a descriptive analysis using each of my partitions as independent variables one by one, independently, to separate the responses. In that way, I was able to illustrate which (1) age group (2) gender group (3) geographical group (4) Shimaguchi ability group (5) Japanese language ability group, (6) number of generations on the island group, and (7) occupation group showed similar or different tendencies in relationship to each other and in relation to language, culture, and identity loss or maintenance. There are a number of caveats that I need to explain about this.

First, the concept of independent variable, even in medical research where it is critical, is relatively slippery. According to Portney and Watkins (2009), an independent variable is “the variable that is presumed to cause, explain or influence a dependent variable; a variable that is manipulated or controlled by the researcher, who sets it ‘values’ or levels” (p. 869). In one of the classic texts in the social sciences, Rosenthal and Rosnow (1991) noted that the “...any event or condition can be conceptualized as either an independent or a dependent variable” (p. 71; see also Nabi, Mustafa, Mateen, Sattar & Saeed, 2010, p. 209 for a table of IV/DV interdependence in engineering research). Therefore, in psychological or sociological research, once opinion is quantified or measured, it can become an independent variable. For example, we can think of an athlete’s time in the 100-meter dash. Before it is measured, it is a dependent variable, dependent on conditioning, age, training, musculature, genetic gifts, determination, mental state, fuel consumed, and other variables. Once researchers have measured the time however, it can become an independent variable. It does not mean that the person's performance is reliable over the course of the person's life; rather, like an opinion, once it is quantified with a measure, it can be used as an independent variable.

Similarly, in common medical research, height, weight, and blood pressure are all considered independent variables; however, they are simultaneously dependent variables that have resulted from upbringing, genetics, diet, and lifestyle. If we take this view, then even such fuzzy notions as “upbringing,” “diet” and “lifestyle” become independent variables, while height, weight, and blood pressure become dependent variables. This is a particularly clear point with regard to my islanders. The height, weight, and blood pressure of Tokunoshima people have all increased dramatically in the past 50 years. Although height, weight, and blood pressure can be used as independent variables in medical research or clinical trials for drugs, it has become clear that these are not independent variables at all, but rather dependent variables. On the other hand, when we are examining the increased risk of heart disease on my island, they all become independent variables.

One advantage to understanding and adopting this perspective is that it challenges standardized views of what is independent. One of the goals of my research is to challenge assumptions from Western sciences, to make no assumptions about causation (which is what the notion of dependent and independent variables is based on). Under normal conditions, understanding and measuring how well or not well people speak language is measured through standardized testing, through a Language Proficiency Index, an Oral Proficiency test, a grammatical prediction test, or some other form of linguistic analysis⁴⁰. One of the things that I challenge is such ways of measuring language. Ironically, my questions about words turned into numbers. They became quantified, and thus they could be used as a controlled or independent variable.

Second, my method cannot be viewed as statistically sound, either in terms of sampling or in terms of analysis strategies, in the strictest sense of the term, but it gives an indication of tendencies to LCI loss and LCI maintenance. The only way to achieve this was through visual inspection of graphs that I created from the Likert scale data. This required the creation of over 3,000 graphs that enabled first me, and then Tokunoshima islanders (in public presentations of my research) to look at summarized forms of the graphs. The graphs are close to raw data; therefore, islanders of all generations are more able to understand and make decisions about how they want to see the graphs, rather than how statistics would interpret the graphs.

In this way, rather than telling islanders what science has concluded, I allowed them to make up their own minds, as well as asking questions about my interpretations. Although this kind of analysis has not previously been used with a Likert scale, this innovation has been well received in conference presentations such as the Hawaiian International Conference on Education (2011) and the Canadian Society for Studies in Education. It was also given much-needed support by statistical researchers (e.g., Dr. Rob Renaud, an expert in social

⁴⁰ An example can be found in the American Army's unclassified document called Army Foreign Language Program, which details the needed preparation for language programs, the resulting proficiencies and the standardized tests used to measure them, and the pay increases that will be given to "linguistic assets" who achieve them. It can be found at: http://www.apd.army.mil/pdffiles/r11_6.pdf

statistics at the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba, personal communication, September, 2009).

I entered the data onto the computer as soon as the survey forms were returned. Data were manually entered by me alone, using a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet which was then imported to SPSS 16.0.1 (SPSS Inc, Illinois, USA) for further descriptive data analyses. Data entry checks were done by utilizing minimum and maximum entry numbers of each category; that is, most of the questions only allowed a range of one to six after eliminating no answers, do not want/wish to answer, and do not apply. Moreover, I completed another round of data checking which consisted of line data by line data comparison between actual data and entered data to ensure there were no entry mistakes. The mean value of each variable was described using 3.50 as dividing line between agreement (< 3.50) and disagreement (> 3.50). Finding any error(s) on the variable(s) led to review of the related survey form.

Collected data were entered in digital form in order to be analyzed using the statistical program SPSS. I created separate files for student data and for general public data. I also created a combined file. These will hereinafter be referred to as student data, non-student data, and overall data sets. Data analyses were limited to simple data description and descriptive partition analyses.⁴¹ Data description was expressed as frequency analyses (that is, a bar chart), while descriptive partition analyses were used to explore analyses within the descriptive analyses generated by SPSS. To explain, I boxplotted two variables against each other in order to be able to see if there was a visible co-relationship. Both analyses involved description of data, as well as histograms and descriptive partition analyses using boxplots, that is, a symbolic data analysis form for dealing with large and complex data sets which “allows the summarization of these data sets into smaller and more manageable ones retaining the key knowledge” (Mate & Arroyo, 2006, p. 1). These data were visually analyzed through a comparison of tables and graphs to look for correlations (e.g., Drake, 1999; Stone, 2011). In what is not

⁴¹ See Appendix F for all graphs, boxplots, and histograms produced and descriptions of the results. Only generalized descriptions are reproduced in Chapter 5. Minute, detailed results are shown and described in Appendix F.

considered to be ideal for numerical data, visual analyses involved subjective views of results; however, these processes were important to explain the results to islanders who often do not understand statistical results or statistical approaches to data without visual support. Analyses of the survey data intentionally did not involve statistical analyses to simplify the results for the islanders (e.g., Mate & Arroyo, 2006), and to thus keep my research in line with Indigenous research principles.

I approached the overall data set by doing partition-based results on each of the previously-described seven independent variables results (that is, (1) age group (2) gender group (3) geographical group (4) Shima-guchi ability group (5) Japanese language ability group, (6) number of generations on the island group, and (7) occupation group), a process that was repeated for each of three subsets of data. That is, three sets of data, the overall data set, the non-student data set, and the school-student data set, were analysed separately. My visual inspection provided subjective conclusions. The results of the visual inspections were first described in the following order: overall data, non-student data, and school-student data.

After the results of each section of questions were described, the data were further divided into sections according to the questionnaire. Each question from the survey was independently further separated into two partitions: age group and how well respondents speak Shima-guchi (see below Table 1). The relationship between these two partitions was turned into a boxplot and then visually inspected. If there was a positive or negative relationship between age and how individuals spoke the language, then I was able to conclude that the younger generation spoke less Shima-guchi than the older generation. I then used an asterisk (*) to show what appeared to be an indication of the strength of correlations that resulted from this visual inspection. Two asterisks indicated a very strong indication; one asterisk meant a weaker indication of a correlation between variables and partitions. Other coding symbols were used as well, as described below.

Table 1: Overall Data

Section 1 Generational views of Tokunoshima language (Shima-Guchi)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Gener ations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	4.32 ± 1.62, 634	—	—	—	—	—	—	*	—
孫 GC	4.83 ± 1.27, 699	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
子 C	4.61 ± 1.30, 1087	—	—	n**	p*	—	—	*	*
同世代 Peer	<i>3.30 ± 1.52,</i> 3200	—	—	N** 30 / 40	P**	—	—	—	p*
親 P	2.06 ± 1.39, 3104	—	P** 1 st / 2 nd	n*	p*	p*	—	*	P** d/sd
祖父母 GP	1.58 ± 1.18, 2958	—	p**	—	—	—	—	*	p**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.70 ± 1.33, 2030	—	P** 1 st / 2 nd	—	p*	—	—	*	P** d/sd

** : Differences between groups can be seen

* : Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups

— : No differences between groups can be seen

P : Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree

p : Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree

N : Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree

n : Correlated within Agree or Disagree

Bold : Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement

Italic : Observational analyses expressing disagreement

/ : expresses partition level location of difference between “agreement” and “disagreement” of variable level

D,SD : Expresses “Disagree”, “Strongly disagree”

Simple descriptive analyses and partitioned descriptive analyses were conducted using sex, age, generation, town (where participants live), self-declared Tokunoshima language fluency, self-declared Japanese fluency, work, and self-declared Tokunoshima identity. These variables were used as partitions in the partitioned descriptive analysis since these can be considered independent variables as described above. Many partitioned variables are almost impossible to change: sex, age, generation, where islanders live, work, and identification/self-definition of who they think they are at that time of survey participation. That is,

the variables that are used as partitions above can be considered “strongly independent” to “relatively independent” with some possibility of change or shift over time that will not affect this analysis, a “snapshot in time.” Moreover, these variables are constituted from perceptions/considerations of their own Beings, rather than the perceptions of others—or from matters of fact—which could therefore be seen as more dependent and relative. Out of the many identities queried by the survey (i.e., Tokunoshima, Amami, Kagoshima, Ryukyu, Asia, Japan, and earth), Tokunoshima identity was the only identity used as an independent variable, since this research largely focuses on investigation of Tokunoshima language, culture, and identity. It is difficult to eliminate cultural factors as independent variables but it is also more difficult to define what culture is. Therefore, this study did not question the assumptions behind self identified cultural knowledge and practice.

Data were turned into histograms (Appendix C, Figures 1 and 2), and a form of distribution graph, specifically graph-legacy dialogue boxplots (Appendix D, Figures 1 and 2) both of which were generated using SPSS. The steps to achieving the histograms were that within SPSS I entered “analysis” then chose “descriptive statistics” from the pull down tab, then chose “frequencies” to make a bar chart. The steps to achieving a boxplot figure is, in SPSS, to go to the tab reading “graphs” and choose “legacy dialogues” from the pull down tabs, and then choose boxplots from the multiple choices. When a new window appeared, I chose “simple summaries for groups of cases.” Figures 1 and 2 of Appendix C show the range of data that is likely to be one to six, and the response distribution within that range. These two, figures 1 and 2 of Appendix C, also show the general distribution in terms of bell curve, median, mean, and the number of participants who were included. Each histogram of response distributions to variables separated by the above independent variables (i.e., partitions) were further condensed into boxplots figures (i.e., Appendix C, Figure 1 and 2). Transformation from both the women’s and the men’s histogram distribution figures (i.e., Appendix C, Figure 1 and 2) to side by side boxplots expressions (i.e., Appendix D, Figure 1 and 2) can be seen. A boxplot expression includes the

median, one interquartile on both sides of the median, three interquartiles on both sides of the median, and outside of the three interquartiles. Boxplots can be compared to a normal bell distribution expression. That is, the line(s) within the box(es) indicate the median value of the entire response set, which is the middle number between the minimum and maximum numbers of response. It is important to know that the median is not a mean of values. The box itself represents 25% of the data volumes from the median of both higher and lower numbers expressed as a box. Further extensions on both sides of the boxes indicate almost 95% of data sets or two standard deviations from the mean. Any other marks such a (*) and (°) may be seen as outliers from the data sets.

Visual data analyses combined both expressions of partitioned data analyses to determine whether or not any differences existed between the partitioned variables. Visual analyses consisted of the following: first; histograms were visually inspected to determine if partition analyses were able to separate variables into normal distributions (e.g., Appendix E, Figure 1). Unfortunately some of figures showed possibly confounded distributions (e.g., Appendix E, Figure 2). Figure 2 of Appendix E shows two distributions rather than one distribution between the partitioned variable data within the variable data set. These two peaks in one data set were not separated, showing further possible confounded factor(s). However, this bimodal distribution of data was taken into consideration in the data analyses. Second, the boxplots expressions were visually inspected to determine if any differences showed between partitioned variable data sets. On the one hand, if the boxplots figures showed a similarity, then the differences between them were subjectively determined to indicate no difference between partitioned data sets (see Appendix E, Figure 1). On the other hand, when the Boxplots figures showed progressively increasing median levels with the box itself, then the partitioned data sets were determined to represent differences with a positive relationship between the variables' response level and the partition's level (e.g., Appendix E, Figure 2).

In addition to these processes, when visual inspection to observe differences in Boxplots was conducted and determined to be relatively small and difficult,

then the same processes were revisited. Revisiting the same processes was aimed at determining normal or abnormal response distributions, numbers of responders, and range of data sets. Again, this was a method that I developed, and which I then confirmed with a number of statisticians in conference presentations and other such personal communications to confirm that it would not misrepresent the data, that it would in fact, allow a non-expert in statistics to view results that were somewhat similar to those that would be attained from the use of multiple regression analysis or from a t-test.⁴²

The descriptions of the results followed the individual patterns of my intended questions: generational questions; location-based questions; feelings, wishes, and thoughts; economic matters related to industry or historical context; the many aspects of life on Tokunoshima. These sections (from 1 to 5) represent generational questions about islanders' language(s), culture(s), and identity(ies); therefore, these five sections are considered to be the five umbrella categories in my analysis, containing descriptions followed by detailed comparisons between perceived differences and non-differences between and among generations. Organizing the results in this way allowed for better comparisons when the entire data set was taken into account.

In section 6 I took a similar approach to sections one to five in that each of the questions was related to the other questions. However, the relationships between the questions were not generational; rather, the questions pertained to identification of self according to defined locations. I first analysed the section as a whole, following which I did detailed comparisons between the perceived differences and non-differences in Tokunoshima identity among the differing geographical locations.

Sections 7 to 10 asked questions about Tokunoshima island, spoken and written languages (Tokunoshima and Japanese), and traditional Tokunoshima songs. Questions focused on what islanders feel, what they want, and what they think. In these sections, the results of the questions were described independently,

⁴² That is, although I would not obtain information such as the strength of correlations or other statistical measures, it would not greatly divert from results obtained in statistical analysis of the data.

variable by variable, since the questions are not really related to one other. That is, each question asked for different kinds of evaluation from the respondents (i.e., feelings, wishes, and thoughts).

Section 11 considered economic matters that are related to industry as well as to the historical context of Tokunoshima. Since these questions illustrate different aspects of the economy, industry and the historical context, the variables were described individually as well as grouping variables in light of subjective conclusions about non-significant differences based on visual investigations.

Section 12 asked questions regarding many aspects of life on Tokunoshima such as food, islanders' characteristics, islanders' perception of time, and traditional island lifestyle. The presentation of results followed a similar pattern to that of section 11. However, instead of merely describing each variable, I attempted to group subjective results in terms of reported feelings, knowledge, wishes, and thoughts. Again, organizing my data in this way allowed for better visual inspection and permitted me to make comparisons more accurately.

Upon completion of the data analysis in this manner, prior to beginning the interviews that constituted the next part of my research, I took all of this analysis to my committee for approval. They endorsed my research results, and gave approval to the interview questions that arose from my analyses. I also distributed the data analysis resulting from the survey to publicly available representatives of the major participants—the three Boards of Education, three Town Halls, all major industries, public libraries, high schools, community halls, and small businesses on the island of Tokunoshima, and invited feedback from anyone who wanted to participate with me in analysis. In this way, although I received official feedback only from the superintendent of Education, I was able to get approval and “buy in” from my islanders for this and succeeding aspects of my research. The superintendent's feedback represented the feedback I got more generally from islanders—that it is good to know that our gut instincts about Tokunoshima language loss are not wrong.

Caveat to quantitative research design. It is essential and critical to understand that turning human thoughts, feelings, ideas and many other

confounding variables into numbers eliminates or condenses multiple thoughts, feelings, and ideas into one number which then poses the danger of being viewed as a non-biased, unconfounded result. It is important to recognize, as I did in the qualitative research section, that my research approach does not express or measure the reasoning of answers, feelings of time, feelings about the data, physical conditions, mode, or participant illness, either chronic or acute. This method of data collection also represents responses to researcher-constructed questions, and provides answers at only one snapshot in time. The accuracy and validity of my research relies on the research tool (i.e., survey) that I created. The reliability and generalizability of a survey relies first on having a representative sample, which is, in statistical terms, determined by sampling strategies that contain randomness. I did not use statistical procedures to create a random sample for reasons I described in detail above and because I could not coerce my islanders into responding to surveys if they did not wish to do so. Also important are the number of participants (i.e., statistical power) and the demographic distribution (e.g., age, gender, class, race and so on).

Qualitative Methods in my Research. According to Bogden and Biklen (2007), qualitative data is naturalistic (concerned with observing phenomena in a natural context), descriptive, concerned with process, inductive (theory is generated from the data, rather than being generated to prove or disprove hypotheses), and focused on the sense and meaning that the people being studied make of their lives. Qualitative researchers “set up strategies and procedures to enable them to consider experiences from the informants’ perspectives” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 8). Qualitative research is concerned with developing grounded theory, by which is meant “theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 12). This in turn means that qualitative researchers, as grounded theorists, must develop:

1. The ability to step back and critically analyze situations,
2. The ability to recognize the tendency toward bias
3. The ability to think abstractly

4. The ability to be flexible and open to helpful criticism
5. Sensitivity to the words and actions of respondents
6. A sense of absorption and devotion to the work process. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 7)

This list of characteristics makes it clear why qualitative research is particularly useful in research with bounded communities like Tokunoshima, where the community members participate in data collection and analysis. Specifically, in qualitative research, interviews are used for “gathering data that will lead to textural description and a structural description of the experiences, and ultimately provide an understanding of the common experiences of the participants” (Creswell, 2007, p. 61).

The first point that I will address is the ability to step back and critically analyze situations, as well as the ability to recognize bias. To do this, I will consider my role in this research project from a Western perspective. I characterize the qualitative aspect of my research as a series of reflexive case studies which together also form a case study of LCI shift on Tokunoshima. I reference “reflexive” as meaning a “critical subjectivity” positioning the researcher as,

...inquirer and respondent, as teacher and learner, as the one coming to know the self within the processes of research itself...and that forces us to come to terms not only with our choice of research problem and with those with whom we engage in the research process, but with our selves and with the multiple identities that represent the fluid self. (Guba & Lincoln, 2005, p. 240)

In being reflexive, a researcher may choose to share personal experiences in the introduction, to study personal experiences alongside the experience of the subjects, or to reflect on personal experiences with regards to conducting research (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). In this particular collective case study, I have chosen to share personal experiences in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, and to reflect on my own experiences in order to analyze and illuminate the experiences of the interviewees in the qualitative data collection and analysis. Of course, as in all community

research done by community members, my family and history are well known to islanders.

At the same time, I have to guard against critiques such as those of Anderson (2006) who believes that when writing about yourself, it is sometimes difficult to analyze the cultural context that you participate in. There is always the danger that you might be too close to the subject or subjects, or too familiar with the culture, resulting in researcher bias. The major way in which I guard against the inclusion of too much personal bias is using a multitude of voices, including my own, thus making sure that I do not try to present myself as “neutral, unbiased, and ‘invisible’” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 713).

In terms of the last four points, my ability to think abstractly has been developed over many years as a scientist engaged in researching questions about chemistry, a social scientist studying the correlation between age and driving ability through statistical GPS-generated data and visual analysis of video data, a theoretical researcher examining questions of policy, and in my engagement with various educational research projects in both quantitative and qualitative paradigms. Such involvement has also made me flexible and open to criticism. It is my island insider status that makes me sensitive to the words and actions of participants, and it is also my insider status that makes these questions critical enough to foster complete absorption and devotion to my work.

Because my questions examine contemporary circumstances arising from historical events over which I had no control (Yin, 1994, pp. 4-7), my qualitative research takes the form of a multiple case study of Tokunoshima LCI, meaning that I have chosen to study “jointly a number of cases in order to investigate a phenomenon, population or general condition” (Stake, 2005, p. 445). Stake notes that studying more than one case is beneficial as it gives a more complete picture of the phenomenon in context, and he also notes that analysis of multiple cases allows for similarities and differences within and between cases to emerge, enabling a researcher to generate some local generalizations, and “even intrinsic case study can be seen as a small step toward grand generalization” (Stake, 2005, p. 448).

Sometimes, from the onset of the research project, researchers begin looking for similarities between the cases; however, Stake (2005) argues that when doing collective case study research, it is important to study each case individually in order to first understand each case on its own. Only then is it advisable to look for similarities between cases. Doing both forms of interpretation allows for both “direct interpretation of the individual instance” and “aggregation of instances” to be revealed, which are the two primary strategic possibilities for case study research (Stake, 1995, p. 74). In a multiple case study, analysis of both similarity and difference are important to illustrate how each case individually represents a collective phenomenon (Stake, 2005). In this research project, I have paid attention to Stake’s arguments. In chapter 5, I present a cross-case analysis of the interview findings, while in chapter 6, I present the findings from individual case analysis that have been thematically analyzed and then written up as individual testimonies.

Stake also argues that in order to verify findings and to validate a case study, triangulation, the “process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation” (Stake, 2005, p. 454) is often used. In collective case studies, triangulation can be done within each case, meaning that researchers must verify themes are mentioned more than once or elaborated on by the individual in order for it to count as a finding. A second means of establishing triangulation is cross-case analysis. This means showing repetition between cases for a theme to be considered valid. In my research project, not only have I followed Stake’s guidelines, but I have also employed a final method of triangulation— comparing the interview findings to the quantitative research.

One final aspect of case study research is describing the local context: “The researcher also locates the “case” or “cases” within their larger context, such as geographical, political, social, or economic settings” (Creswell, 2008, p. 477). In fact, most case studies speak about “historical”, “cultural” and “political” factors, among others (Stake, 2006, p. 12). This is because these factors, when analyzed, have been shown to greatly impact a case. My descriptions of the political,

cultural, and social history of Tokunoshima, as well as my clearly articulating how my own position is different from that of current islanders enables me to include my own reflections on the research without my reflections becoming more important than the reflections of my research participants.

Because I am trying to understand how Tokunoshima islanders understand the phenomenon of LCI shift in their lives, and their opinions about past and future events, interviewing is an appropriate method. Therefore, in terms of the specific form of case study data collection, I chose interview data because “interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which we try to understand our fellow human beings” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 697-698); the interview itself is a social act, which is influenced by both the interviewee and the interviewer (Fontana & Frey, 2005). When an event or events occurred in the past, individuals are able to reflect on the impact that event had on them and to identify whether or not those events changed them. In structured interviews, the participant has “the same series of pre-established questions with a limited set of response categories” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 701-702); therefore, they are not permitted to answer as they may wish.

At the other end of the spectrum, some researchers, employing unstructured interviews, argue that “qualitative interviewing is more like a conversation than a formal, highly structured interchange between a subject and a researcher” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 105). However, this raises difficulties in terms of focus, concentration, and attention, as well as letting social convention take precedence over data collection (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, pp. 105-106). As a result, I chose to conduct in-depth, semi-structured interviews in which the participants were asked the “same series of pre-established questions” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 701-702); however, to allow the interviewees to speak candidly and relatively freely, the questions in my semi-structured interview protocol were open-ended, and I permitted myself to ask questions of clarification and/or to probe more deeply for information. I also permitted myself to confirm their experiences by acknowledging that I knew what they were talking about, and that I had had similar experiences (described below).

Keeping in mind my peculiar insider-yet-outsider status, I am particularly interested in understanding Tokunoshima LCI shift from an emic perspective, meaning that I recorded “accounts, descriptions, and analyses expressed in terms of the conceptual schemes and categories regarded as meaningful and appropriate by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviors are being studied” (Lett, 1990, p. 130). In terms of data presentation, early arguments were that researchers should let each case be presented in its own words (Carter, 1993, cited in Stake, 2005, p. 456) because the participants are not forced to yield to the researcher’s imposed categories and perceptions, while other researchers suggest that emic data can be presented through quotation or the use of codes emerging from the words interviewees themselves used (Creswell, 2008). Therefore, I have used many forms of representation in my findings chapters—allowing the participants to represent themselves in their own words (see testimonials, below), to be quoted verbatim, and to have their answers coded for comparison with others. At the same time that I talk about “giving voice” to the Tokunoshima islanders who have participated in my research, I am aware that I do not truly provide an authentic, unmediated space:

While qualitative research provides readers with access to the world of people they would not otherwise know and to some extent allows these people’s stories to be told, the informant never really tells his or her own story. Although you might attempt to, and to some degree succeed at, conveying to a reader what it is like to be the person you are studying, you are always the one doing the telling. The romanticized view of purely giving voice is not an accurate description of what researchers do. (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 214)

Interview participant selection. This study incorporated multiple methods of participant recruitment and selection. Methods included recruiting by human relationship, word of mouth, institutions (city hall, education system, clinics, hospitals, community centers, private businesses, farmers’ union, seniors programs), random sampling in the town and countryside, and personal visits. Having established good human relationships on Tokunoshima likely provided me

access to a large number of research participants. Human relationships includes family ties, political and economic ties to communities, kinship, friendships, and the social status of key persons, my social hostages, such as my parents, relatives, political leaders, and my friends. Specifically, I primarily used a form of snowball sampling. According to Stake (2000), this type of sampling strategy is common in collective case studies as “the sample sizes are usually much too small to warrant random selection” (p. 446).

Additionally, a number of interviews were conducted with the same people who filled in the survey, those who agreed to a question attached to the survey “Would you mind being contacted again if we decide to conduct further interviews on the results of the current study?” If the researched person answered “yes,” then he or she was asked to fill out a contact information sheet on a separate page, to ensure confidentiality and protection of privacy with reference to the earlier-returned survey. Each returned survey was numbered and the same number was written onto the contact sheet. The contact sheets were stored in separate and secure safe locations throughout the study. Not all of the survey respondents were contacted; rather, I strategically contacted those who represented the age groups I needed to interview.

Data source: Interview protocol. Data from the survey and a descriptive analysis of the results were disseminated in Tokunoshima during the spring/summer of 2009, via word of mouth, public presentation, and through the distribution of information packages in public venues. I ensured that the results were easily available to all of those people who assisted with the survey and to potential interview participants so that they would be aware of the results during our interviews. Although the findings were not surprising to the people of Tokunoshima in the sense that all residents were aware that language shift was occurring on the island, to date no one had assessed the state of Shima-guchi from the residents’ perspectives to illustrate the extent of the loss. That is, results from earlier sections of the survey data showed a rapid decrease in Shima-guchi fluency compared to Japanese. This shift/change/decay was not only evident for Shima-guchi but also extended to Tokunoshima cultural knowledge and practice,

as well as to some perceptions of islander identity on Tokunoshima. Younger age groups have progressively less knowledge and practice of Tokunoshima culture and Shima-guchi. Central to illustrating this phenomenon, successively older age groups display progressively more knowledge and practice of Tokunoshima culture and Shima-guchi.

It is impossible to go further into the structure of the interviews and the nature of the interview questions without reference to the survey findings. Therefore, I will leave this discussion at this point, and return to it at the end of Chapter 5, after the survey findings have been presented.

Data collection: access and entry. Each interview took approximately 45 to 60 minutes to complete, though some took in excess of two hours, causing my recording equipment to stop and be reloaded. Interviewees were first told the purpose of the study, and were then asked to sign a consent form approved by the ethics board of the University of Alberta (see Appendix G). I completed 26 (40 interviewees) interviews, strategically representing the groups and generations that emerged during the survey stage. The interviewees were chosen from among volunteers, but I attempted to maintain some control in terms of equal distribution of demographic variables (such as age, gender, education, and so on) by actively recruiting specific interviewees. The interview questions and consent forms were provided to the interviewees prior to the interview day either by personal delivery, regular post mail, fax, or e-mail. The method for sending and receiving files was left to the discretion of contacted interviewees.

The interviews were recorded with a hand held voice recording digital device. The data was transferred into a computer and the data was analyzed on the computer. The data was not copied or shared with any other person other than the researcher. The backup disk was stored in separate, secure, and safe cabinet. I did not intend to transcribe the interviews because that would require a three-step translation process. However, I ended up transcribing large sections of each interview, creating summaries that were returned to the participants. I sought participants' approval for the final summaries (that I explain are in the form of testimonies below) that were produced in Japanese.

Interview data analysis. My first level of analysis of the interview transcripts was to listen to every interview at least three times, during which I coded what was significant about each of the interviews (within case analysis) making note of the “regularities and patterns” and “words and phrases to represent these topics and patterns” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 173). These became my coding categories. I next sorted all of the general and unique codes that appeared for each of the questions (cross case analysis), and cross-tabulated them with numerical counts as they are reported in Chapter 5. These coded counts of the responses were presented to Tokunoshima islanders in a public presentation and in private meetings with interview participants in the summer of 2009.

Although the data was straightforward and easy to interpret when presented to my islanders, it seemed to me that the numeric counts did not please the individual interviewees who had given me their time, and the wealth of their knowledge. They did not appear to be satisfied with the numerical representation; therefore, I needed to find a way to honour the islanders’ ways of answering my questions, which were sometimes opaque or vague. Rigney (1999) suggests that “Indigenist research is research which gives voice to the voiceless” (p. 116), something I needed to do.

Interview transcripts to testimonies. After realizing that the representation of the data proved not to be as rich or interesting as the voices of my interview participants, I next returned to the within case analysis of every interview that I had completed, and from those notes turned every interview into a case study report, each of them following the same basic format because in this way I was able to highlight the emergent themes across the cases. Because their stories are a form of witnessing of similar experiences and events, I call these case studies testimonies. Once the testimonies were complete and written into standard Japanese, I returned to Tokunoshima in the summer of 2010 to have all of the interviewees member check and approve their testimonies.

The rationale for this was multifold. First, my participants were not interested in receiving transcripts from their interviews to member check. They preferred to read their stories in narrative form. Second, it is more intellectually

honest in dealing with my participants to share with them the way I would frame their stories, and to determine whether they felt that I had correctly identified the main points that they wished to make. I did indeed discover that some of my participants largely rewrote the testimonies I returned to them, usually because they felt that my stripped-down, Spartan, testimonial writing style did not represent them well. Third, in order to protect the identity of the participants, because there are only 27,000 people on the island, it was important to eliminate references to occupations, locations, exact ages, methods of contact, other people or participants, schools and local public buildings, and other identifiable markers that appeared in the interviews with most of the participants.

Once all of the testimonies were approved, I translated them into English because this is the best representation of the findings, both in terms of the questions that arose from the survey data, and in terms of the participant's own understandings of the data. I also made sure that the interview numbers were randomized when I presented them in Chapter 6 because the interviewees knew their interview numbers. Because snowball sampling was used, I did not want participants to make inferences about other participants based on the order of the interview and the likely date on which it occurred. I hope that, in this way, the participants will not even recognize themselves in the English versions that are presented in Chapter 6 below.

From data to discussion. Finally, I looked at all of the data, quantitative and qualitative. That is the point that I began to look for major themes in my data, the major "concept or theory that emerges" from the data, that can be used as an organizing principle for discussing the data. I felt that the concept of "themes" for my discussion was best suited to my research because the findings were too disparate for a thesis statement, and too cohesive for a discussion based merely topics (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, pp. 198-201). I found that there were four overarching themes in the responses, which are discussed in Chapter 7. I also found that mobilizing my own worldview and understandings led to a different way of viewing and interpreting the data, which follows the thematic analysis in Chapter 7.

Data Management and Results Dissemination

Research I conducted in the past with regard to the ethics of research specific to the island of Tokunoshima indicated some important aspects for dealing with obtained data and its management, as well as ways and means of results dissemination. In particular, with regard to data and results, I asked two basic questions in my previous research: “Who owns the data collected by researchers?” and “Should the results of studies be disseminated to the researched persons/group of people/communities, and if so, how?” (Nakagawa, 2008).

The answers to the first question “who owns the data collected by researchers?” can be summarized as follows; many people on Tokunoshima believe that the data belongs to the researchers who spent time, money, and effort to collect it. Participants noted that physical data (such as any form of recording) belongs to the researchers, but that the ideas or the contents of the data should only be used for research purposes, not for business or any other profit-based activities. In sum, Tokunoshima people see data in two ways—as the information container and as representations of the context and contents of peoples’ lives; these contexts can only be used for research purposes, not for researchers’ profit.

As for the second question, all participants agreed that the results of research studies should be disseminated to the people who provided data to the researchers. Islanders do not demand too much from researchers in terms of time and money spent on traveling to Tokunoshima to disseminate results. If researchers can do public speeches, presentations, and lectures, then islanders will very much welcome the opportunities, but they do not demand this. All participants answered that they would prefer to see some kind of summarized result sheet(s) that was easy to read and easy to understand so that islanders themselves could make decisions about how or whether to use the research results. In other words, participants and communities may decide either to use or not to use information provided by the researchers. This, they thought, was better than having the results given to a governing body such as the town halls of Tokunoshima, the prefectural government, the Japanese federal government, or

any other institution that might force islanders to change their environment and/or their behavior based on some official interpretation of results.

With islander concerns in mind, I returned the data to my islanders repeatedly throughout the research project, asking each time for their permission to continue, and their approval of first my quantitative results, my analyses of them, my resulting qualitative research questions, my recruitment of interview participants, and my analysis of each individual interview and the cross case comparison of interviews. Thereby, the Amami people participated in analyzing the assumptions, the data, and my interpretations of the research. I used nothing that I learned for my own or others' financial benefit.

This approach was consistent with established parameters for Indigenous research as those outlined by Menzies (2001). Menzies reminds us to first initiate dialogue and plan in consultation with Indigenous communities, to construct research questions with input from communities, to allow community members to participate in the gathering of data, and to engage communities in the writing, analysis, revision, and distribution of findings in order to democratize the research process. The research I report here is *for* the researched peoples' needs and the results are intended to benefit the researched people. I, together with my extended family, am prepared to take responsibility for any future consequences of my research.

This approach to Indigenous research methodology is one that I have described as research by an insider-insider (or outsider-insider) researcher (Nakagawa, 2006a), meaning research by and for the researched people. The research will be evaluated by the researcher, the researched people, and the research audience over a long period of time.

Doing What Looks Like Western Research Indigenous-ly

At this point however, returning to the road building analogy that opened my methods section, we need to realize that in using quantitative and qualitative data, we are still lacking knowledge about the climate, weather, and rock conditions accumulated over time, meaning rich Indigenous data. That is, no matter how detailed and meticulous I am in my data collection and analysis, I

cannot replicate Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is contextual qualitative data accumulated over time, making it also quantitative. It is also more.

Road-building pioneers paid no attention to the Indigenous knowledge of the mountain's ecosystems or the types of lives being lived in the areas represented on the map, as witnessed by the devastation European men have visited on the environment (e.g., Brody, 1981). We need to understand that not only did the Indigenous knowledge (based on Indigenous research) provide the equivalent of tens of millions of dollars worth of information⁴³, but also that this information contained micro-details about the ecosystems and the animals living in the mountains.

Of spheres, not binaries. If we humans are able to continue to collect qualitative research over a long period of time, we will benefit more than if we glance at merely a quick overview of quantitative research even when it is triangulated with qualitative results. To explain, I think qualitative and quantitative data can be seen as pizza dough. That is, when dough is round it is like qualitative data—holistic in three dimensions and not so big. But when pizza dough is rolled out into two dimensions from the top of table pizza looks really big until the view from the side is considered. Thinking this through further, I think it is apparent that, when pressed flat into quantitative data, the pizza dough lacks one dimension. If we can add time to the flattened pizza dough, adding a third dimension through the accumulation of the time is like adding layers of pizza dough deep enough for it to achieve its original shape. At that point, we have something approaching Indigenous knowledge. Over time though, qualitative data will grow larger and larger in three dimensions while quantitative data will only grow in two dimensions. As a result of these differences, engaging in qualitative data collection over a long period of time will accrue many advantages over collecting only quantitative data. It will provide deep, rich, and

⁴³ Neither is it less important to say that all the information was provided for free to the colonizers who turned around to use it against Indigenous people. That is, insider knowledge can be used against insiders by outsiders—when the outsiders don't share a worldview or common interest with them.

contextual data that is embedded and can accurately predict the future, which is what constitutes Indigenous research data.

Qualitative approaches normally mobilize and explore latent variables such as peoples' expressions and impressions, which, in turn, resulted from their own summations of multi-variable and sometimes confounding sources. Normally, qualitative researchers either assume that there are no differences between today and tomorrow, or they concentrate only on understanding one moment of time deeply and thoroughly, while acknowledging that today and tomorrow may well bring different results as people think through their feelings and as different internal and external influences come to bear. For example, we cannot ask a person to "be the same" nor can we expect people to have the same mental conditions throughout their lives (Erickson & Erikson, 1997). We cannot control our health in terms of acute and chronic illness, or even how well we slept the night before. Dependent on these physical conditions, we humans and animals then have different energy and activity states, likely to affect and influence our states of being, meaning that our state of being is constantly and continuously changing.

What does this mean? Qualitative approaches can only gain glimpses into limited "truth" at one time of a person's state from one observers' point of view (whether that observer is the subject or the researcher depends on the method). Researchers can compensate for this shortfall by asking repeatedly about the subjects' state of being on many dimensions throughout a longitudinal research plan. However, a longitudinal research plan can cause great difficulties as a result of changes in both the researchers' and the subjects' beings over time—such as researchers losing their funding to continue their research for a long period of time, the subjects of study may move without notifying the researchers or supplying their contact information, subjects may no longer be interested in participating in the research, they may no longer believe in research, they may die suddenly, or develop an illness which makes them unable to live over their life spans, making their further participation onerous. These problems are easy to describe, but other limitations to qualitative approaches are also time limitations.

Since qualitative research normally deals with latent variables, researchers need to analyze data from multiple angles and completely different perspectives to come to understand their data in depth (i.e., how to interpret what participants think/say). Because the strength of qualitative research results is dependent on a time-consuming data analysis process, it is most difficult to have large N numbers in the data set. Having multiple researchers may solve this problem; however, it is almost impossible to have two or more persons analyze data since they must repeatedly confirm the validity, reliability, and accuracy within their own data set and between the data sets, which takes even more time and effort. Every time one or more of the data analyzers change, then validity, reliability, and accuracy must be reconfirmed yet again. In short, qualitative research may only paint a detailed picture of the thoughts/opinions of a limited number of people at that moment of time from one person's (or two) point of view.

Returning to the pizza dough analogy, qualitative research often results in opinion based research results, almost impossible to generalize in a useful manner for an academic field. It is like taking a little piece of a huge mass of pizza dough and expecting it to represent whether the whole entire dough might taste good or not. It is almost impossible, if not impossible, to tell whether the entire dough mass has been well mixed or not; similarly the reality is that human societies cannot be measured as if they were homogenous groups. The one piece of pizza dough is unlikely to express how the entire pizza dough mass might taste in different places, especially if it was made by hand.

In both cases of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, time leads to better results. However, if, as in this case, an endangered language and culture is the subject of study, or even endangered animals or species, we do not have time to wait and record thousands of years of data. Even though quantitative research provides us with only partial data, that partial data might allow disappearing spirits to last/survive a bit longer, in the hope that they will be recognized by other spirits who will pour their own spirits into the project so that the endangered language and culture can continue to the future.

Despite the limitations provided by the nature of our life spans and the life spans of their research topics, researchers can combine both qualitative and quantitative research approaches to come to the closest approximation of the data we seek. I assume that multi-generational, multi-angled data is what Indigenous peoples the world over have stored in their oral languages. Indigenous people have done multiple angle experiments, over numbers of generations, on human subjects. This has produced real results within their own ideologies and belief systems. It may sound like or look like, or be demeaned as myth, ethos, legend, story, or many other forms of non-fact-based knowledge but we have to remember that once upon a time Westerners did not believe that the earth goes around the sun. It is very important to remember that to this day we still firmly believe there is only one time, which we obstinately continue to believe in, even in the face of proof from current cutting edge research done by scientists that time is a constructed concept; there is no absolute time (Einstein, 1997).

My explanations here are based my belief that whatever field we are in—science, social science, humanity, law, economics, Indigenous studies—we are living in one world. This one world is based on the reality that we exist and material exists. Whatever fields we have divided the world into, we remain one sphere. How we choose to slice our sphere exposes new circular surfaces that become fields of study; therefore, when people slice other pieces into different slices, there is always an overlap in the subject areas and/or disciplines. But, what if we didn't have to slice the world into pieces? What if we were able to access thick rich data from thousands of years and to respect it? What if we remained in relation to the whole? What if we held an Indigenous perspective?

A Tokunoshima research paradigm. For me, there are a number of important issues in doing research Indigenously. First, I need to understand myself and my research in relationship to/with/for/against Tokunoshima islanders. I have described my positionality in this research, and I will continue to explain my ongoing positionality changes, but more importantly, I have to remember how my research will be lived by islanders now and into the future. In keeping with

Indigenous Hawaiian researcher, Meyer (2001), I recognize the truth of the following:

...if you live on an island, it does matter what other people think of you. It does matter if I am challenged by my uncles or by my siblings or by my mother. I grow into my being with these challenges. I am honored by responsibility. (p. 195)

In short, I must honour my family and my island in doing this research; I must honour their lives, their actions, their relationships to each other, and their relationships to me.

Second, I bring my worldview and my ontology to the understanding of my data, while still recognizing that, within the confines of my dissertation, I am not creating Indigenous knowledge at all. I am creating Western knowledge for Western people, and hopefully allowing my Indigenous islanders to adopt another perspective on their LCIs. In an article arguing that an Indigenist research paradigm is what is needed, not just research done by Indigenous people, Wilson (2007) notes that:

...it is the use of an Indigenist paradigm that creates Indigenous knowledge. This knowledge cannot be advanced from a mainstream paradigm. That would simply be knowledge about Indigenous people or topics. It is the philosophy behind our search for knowledge that makes this new knowledge a part of us, a part of who and what we are. And it is then the choice to follow this paradigm, philosophy, or worldview that makes research Indigenist, not the ethnic or racial identity of the researcher.” (p. 194)

However, the article outlines a number of protocols that make a project Indigenist, any of which could be adopted by anyone. Nowhere in the protocols does it mention that the research must be grounded in an Indigenous worldview, only that it must be guided by the epistemology of the community and supported by the Elders of that community. I find such guidelines hard to respect. It is possible to try to explain Indigenous knowledge to non-Indigenous peoples, but it is not possible for non-Indigenous peoples to know in our way. Our way, as Niezen (2003) has pointed out, is borne from the shared experiences of ourselves

and our ancestors, of personal, political, and historical oppressions, from servitude and slavery, from political marginalization, and from sociocultural genocide. It is also borne from our attachment to land, and our being defined by others. It is my position that, as Cora Pillwax-Weber (personal communication, 2007) has illustrated in an analogy about being able to see above you and below you on a ladder: “you can’t know what you don’t know.” In the discussion of my research findings, I work with an Indigenous perspective, try to explain from within my worldview and epistemology, what I think that the data means. Despite my poor English and the difficulty of explaining my island even to people who have been there, my hope is that I will be able to bring out small glimmers of understanding.

Third, in my view of Indigenous research the local environment and local conditions are important, but claiming and reclaiming established and detached methods that have been “developed” or “discovered” by the dominant culture for the local worldview is even more essential. What this means is that qualitative research and quantitative research has been claimed and owned by the Western ideology, leaving us only dreams, testimony, and talking circles as the research methods recognized as being “Indigenous.” In my view, it is equally, if not more, important for me to reclaim all of the tools of research and bring them back into our local worldview. Indigenous people, including my people, can count. Indigenous people have documented and relayed feelings, numbers, environmental conditions, opinions, over time and space without writing. And finally, Indigenous research has to consider the ongoing and historical time spans, but without making conclusions for the future. That is, there must be a recognition that local conditions change, and that the future is uncertain. Change will affect the life of people and their relationships to one another and to Nature.

Having opened this chapter with a quote from the literature, I will close with one as well. This time, I will quote a story:

One of my most formative experiences with research, as an Indigenous graduate student, was completing and then defending my Master’s thesis. I had an amazing (non-Native) thesis supervisor, who had the utmost confidence in me and respected my perspective—that things needed to be

done in a “certain” way in order to engage in Indigenous research with communities. She gave me incredible freedom to shape and conduct my study in the way that I knew it had to be done. This is not to say that I did not make mistakes. As Indigenous researchers, and in my case as a young person, we are learning too and often encountering communities which are not our own. However, the opportunity to approach the work in a cultural and spiritual way, with my ancestors walking beside me, created outcomes that allowed me to maintain my integrity. Many months later as I read, re-read, and read again the results of my study (i.e., the words of the Indigenous community members who agreed to meet with me), I reduced, rearranged, and interpreted the knowledge that was shared into a 100+ page piece of written work. Near the end of this writing, my supervisor said, “So what methodology did you follow? What theory/ies can you name that would fairly define your work?” This was her job. She needed to prepare me for the questions that would come about the methods I used and why. So I did what I had been taught (in Western academia) to do. I researched, took books from the library, borrowed books from colleagues, and read journal articles until I found a methodology that most closely matched my work. I wrote it up in my Methods chapter as if this theorist had guided me from the start. At my thesis defense, I had a brilliant external examiner (also non-Native) who was a great supporter of Indigenous research and Indigenous graduate students in general. She saw right through it. She questioned and needled me on the subject until I cracked. I confessed my strategy, while doing my best to defend my supervisor, who I felt had supported me by allowing me to do what I knew needed to be done. But rather than scold me for what may have appeared to be deceitful, she scolded me for not believing in myself and delegitimizing Indigenous ways of doing research. She knew I had aspirations to go on to doctoral work, and so she said, “Next time, do it the way you know it needs to be done and name it what it is, Indigenous research. Do not believe that you have to hold up a Western research methodology or hide behind a big name to legitimize your work.”

She was encouraging me to believe in myself and my people. (McIvor, 2010, p. 34)

Even when we know all of the “best ways” to do things from the literature, we still make research choices that fit with our ways of living in the world.

Summary

In this chapter, I explained my rationale for using mixed methods for data collection, combining survey research (quantitative) with interview research (qualitative) which enables me to understand more deeply. But, referring back to the insider/outsider debate, I argued that there are additional steps to take because this is Indigenous research. Analyzing the data from within the quantitative and qualitative paradigms will only produce research relevant to an audience within those paradigms. In order for my research to have impact and meaning, in order not to put the “accumulation of knowledge” ahead of the “interests of the people studied” (Menzies, 2001, p. 31), I must also return, and have returned, my data to my islanders, again, and again, and again, and again, allowing for processing time, reflection, and ultimately to realizations that come from Indigenous understandings and worldviews rather than from merely Western ones.

Chapter 5

Survey and Interview Findings

After coming back from the air raid shelter

An unexplained shell

Portruding from the wall of my house.

By Yoshi Nakagawa

(translated by Satoru Nakagawa, 2012)

In this chapter, I first summarize my survey data, following which I provide an overview of the interview data. To recap, the guiding research question that my survey research addressed is: “How do the people of Tokunoshima situate their current positions in regard to language, culture and island identity?” Throughout the survey, I tried to answer, from islanders’ perceptions the sub-questions, “What is the actual measurable extent of LCI shift on Tokunoshima?” (p. 56), and “What are the attitudes of the community toward LCI shift?” (p. 56). In the final survey section, I try to find statements that help islanders to reflect on my question, “How have capitalism, colonialism and education converged to produce language shift in the Amami people?” (p. 56). To do this, I explore (1) the generations, age groups, occupations, and other factors enabling islanders to be considered authentic language users of Shima-guchi and/or Japanese (2) the generations, age groups, occupations, and other factors perceived to be linked to the retention of LCI, (3) perceptions of who are considered to be authentic culture holders and culture users, (4) perceptions of who are considered to be authentic holders of Shiman-chu identity, and (5) perceptions of how the knowledge, economic, and industrial influences from mainland Japan have affected life on Tokunoshima.

Participant Results

The final number of participants was 3,509. These 3,509 surveys were successfully returned to the researcher out of approximately slightly more than 6,000 surveys that were distributed to many shima in many different towns and communities on Tokunoshima. Following this are more detailed descriptive counts from the independent variables, which information is considered to be tied to participants’ self and/or Being at the time of participation. Further analyses

were conducted independently on the students-only data set and the non-students data set in order to clarify the influences from the larger set of student data—with the exception of age-based partition analyses. These procedures were conducted since there were total of 2,004 school students and 1,505 non-school participants who returned survey data. This constitutes 57.1% and 42.9% respectively of the 3,509 (100%) responses. In order to prevent increasing the number of pages herein, I do not provide detailed descriptive results on the overall data, students-only data, and non-student data that were further analyzed by partition analysis techniques. Such results can be found detailed in Appendix F.

Descriptive results for independent variables. This section addresses the independent variables which are unlikely to change, or impossible to change. These are: sex; generations; age group; fluency in Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi); fluency in Japanese; location of residence; occupation; and identity as a Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu). These independent variables are described in three different data sets, except for (a) age groups and (b) occupations in the school-student data set, as there was no variability in these selected variables.

Overall descriptive results. There were 1,600 females (45.6%), 1761 males (50.2%), 89 who did not want to identify their genders (2.5%), and 147 (4.2%) who did not answer the question at all (see Appendix B, Table 10 and Figure 1). When partitioned by generations, there were 2,084 who were native to the land (59.4%), of whom 51 were 6th generation (1.5%), 57 were 5th generation (1.6%), 78 were 4th generation (2.2%), 99 were 3rd generation (2.8%), 44 were 2nd generation (1.3%), 271 were 1st generation (7.7%), and 678 answered they did not know (19.3%) (see Appendix B, Table 11 and Figure 2). Age distribution showed there were 6 participants in the age group 0-9 years old (0.2%), 2029 in the age group of 10-19 (57.8%), 132 of the age 20-29 (3.8%), 242 aged 30-39 (6.9%), 317 aged 40-49 (9.0%), 355 aged 50-59 (10.1%), 197 aged 60-69 (5.6%), 149 aged 70-79 (4.2%), 50 aged 80-89 (1.4%), 6 aged 90-99 (0.2%), 2 who did not want to answer (0.1%), and 24 who did not answer at all (0.7%) (see Appendix B, Table 12 and Figure 3). In response to the item regarding their fluency in the Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi), 506 participants answered they were

fluent Shima-guchi speakers (14.4%), 582 answered they speak quite well (16.6%), 1,289 answered they speak not well (36.7%), 1,063 answered they do not speak Shima-guchi (30.3%), and there were 69 who did not answer the question (2.0%) (see Appendix B, Table 13 and Figure 4). Responding to the item on their fluency in the Japanese language, 1,426 participants answered they were fluent Japanese speakers (40.6%), 1,412 answered they speak Japanese quite well (40.2%), 498 answered they speak not well (14.2%), 69 answered they do not speak Japanese (2.0%), and there were 104 did not answer the question (3.0%) (see Appendix B, Table 14 and Figure 5). Participant residency was determined on the basis of the three currently-existing towns, Amagi 775 (22.1%), Isen 922 (26.3%), and Tokunoshima 1,757 (50.1%), and those who did not answer the question 55 (1.6%) (Appendix B, Table 15 and Figure 6). The occupations of participants were (a) specialized in sugar cane farming 128 (3.6%), (b) other farming 111 (3.2%), (c) fisheries 2 (0.1%), (d) construction 31 (0.9%), (e) Business 110 (3.1%), (f) Industry 21 (0.6%), (g) Public worker 287 (8.2%), (h) public school teacher 181 (5.2%), (i) Student 2,029 (57.8%), (j) hold more than one occupation 64 (1.8%), (k) Other 481 (13.7%), and there were (l) 64 who did not answer the question (1.8%) (see Appendix B, Table 16 and Figure 7). Questions about the relative identities of Tokunoshima persons (i.e., Shiman-chu) were answered by 92.5 % (3,247) participants. Those who answered the question “I think I am Shiman-chu” were distributed as follows: 1,565 (48.2%) strongly agree to have Tokunoshima ID, 815 (25.1%) showed agreement, 364 (10.4%) somewhat agreed, 127 (3.6%) somewhat disagreed, 191 (5.4%) disagreed, and 185 (5.3%) strongly disagreed (see Appendix B, Table 17 and Figure 8).

Descriptive results from non-student data. The final number of non-student participants was 1,505. In the non-student category, there were 644 women (42.8%), 801 men (53.2%), 9 who did not want to answer (0.6%), and 51 (3.4%) who did not answer at all (see Appendix B, Table 10 and Figure 1). When partitioned by generations, there were 1,042 who described themselves as native to the land (69.2%), 32 who were 6th generation (2.1%), 28 who were 5th generation (1.9%), 34 who were 4th generation (2.3%), 23 who were 3rd

generation (1.5%), 20 who were 2nd generation (1.3%), 185 who were 1st generation (12.3%), and 62 who answered that they do not know (4.1%) (see Appendix B, Table 11 and Figure 2). Age distributions showed there were 6 participants in age group 0-9 years old (0.4%), 27 were from the age group of 10-19 (1.8%), 132 were aged 20-29 (8.8%), 242 were aged 30-39 (16.1%), 317 were aged 40-49 (21.1%), 355 were aged 50-59 (23.6%), 197 were aged 60-69 (13.1%), 149 were aged 70-79 (9.9%), 50 were aged 80-89 (3.3%), 6 were aged 90-99 (0.4%), 2 did not want to answer (0.1%), and 22 did not answer at all (1.5%) (see Appendix B, Table 12 and Figure 3). Results for fluency in Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi) were distributed as follows: 428 participants answered they were fluent Shima-guchi speakers (28.4%), 348 answered they speak quite well (23.1%), 339 answered they speak not well (22.5%), 351 answered they do not speak Shima-guchi (23.3%), and there were 69 who did not answer the question (2.0%) (Appendix B, Table 13 and Figure 4). Looking at fluency in Japanese language, 598 participants answered they were fluent Japanese speakers (39.7%), 627 answered they speak Japanese quite well (41.7%), 210 answered they speak not well (14.0%), 11 answered they do not speak Japanese (0.7%), and there were 59 did not answer the question (3.9%) (see Appendix B, Table 14 and Figure 5). Residency of respondents was separated into the three currently-existing towns which are: Amagi 271 (18.0%), Isen 428 (28.4%), and Tokunoshima 777 (51.6%). In addition to those towns, there were those who did not answer the question and no answer numbering 29 (1.9%), (see Appendix B Table 15 and Figure 6). Occupations of participants were: specialized in sugar cane farming 128 (8.5%); other farming 111 (7.4%); fishery 2 (0.1%); Construction 31 (2.1%); Business 110 (7.3%); Industry 21 (1.4%); Public worker 287 (19.1%); public teacher 181 (12.0%); Student 25 (1.7%); hold more than one occupation 64 (4.3%); Others 481 (32.0%); and there were 64 who did not answer the question (4.3%) (see Appendix B, Table 16 and Figure 7). Tokunoshima identity questions (i.e., whether or not respondents identified as Shiman-chu) were answered by 89.0 % (1,339) of the participants. Those who answered the question “I think I am a Shiman-chu” were distributed as follows: 595 (39.5%) strongly

agree, 437 (29.0%) agreed, 121 (8.0%) somewhat agreed, 32 (2.1%) somewhat disagreed, 86 (5.7%) disagreed, and 68 (4.5%) strongly disagreed (see Appendix B, Table 17 and Figure 8).

Descriptive results from the student data. The final number of school student participants was 2,004. There were 956 female (47.7%), 960 male (47.9%), 80 who did not want to answer (4.0%), and eight (0.4%) who did not answer at all (see Appendix B, Table 10 and Figure 1). When partitioned by generation, there were 1,042 who reported that they were native to the land (52.0%), 19 were 6th generation (0.9%), 29 were 5th generation (1.4%), 44 were 4th generation (2.2%), 76 were 3rd generation (3.8%), 24 were 2nd generation (1.2%), 86 were 1st generation (4.3%), and 616 answered they do not know (30.7%) (see Appendix B, Table 11 and Figure 2). Fluency in Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi) was distributed as follows: 78 participants answered they were fluent Shima-guchi speakers (3.9%), 234 answered they speak quite well (11.7%), 950 answered they speak not well (47.4%), 712 answered they do not speak Shima-guchi (35.5%), and there were 30 did not answer the question (1.5%) (see Appendix B, Table 13 and Figure 4). Fluency in Japanese was distributed as follows: 828 participants answered they were fluent Japanese speakers (41.3%), 785 answered they speak Japanese quite well (39.2%), 288 answered they speak not well (14.4%), 58 answered they do not speak Japanese (2.9%), and there were 45 who did not answer the question (2.2%) (see Appendix B, Table 14 and Figure 5). Reported residency of respondents was separated into the three currently existing towns – Amagi (504: 25.1%), Isen (494: 24.7%), and Tokunoshima (980: 48.9%). In addition to those towns there were those who did not answer the question (26: 1.3%) (see Appendix B, Table 15 and Figure 6). Questions about Tokunoshima identity (i.e., Shiman-chu) were answered by 95.2 % (1,908) of the respondents. Those who answered the responded to the statement “I think I am a Shiman-chu” were distributed as 970 (48.4%) strongly agree, 378 (18.9%) agreed, 243 (12.1%) somewhat agreed, 95 (4.7%) somewhat disagreed, 105 (5.2%) disagreed, and 117 (5.8%) strongly disagreed that they were Shiman-chu (see Appendix B, Table 17 and Figure 8).

Overall Findings From the Survey

Over 13% of the total population of Tokunoshima participated in the survey. This appears to be a remarkable sample; however, a number of factors must be taken into account. First, the survey return was close to or little over the 50% rate. That is, I distributed over 6,000 surveys while 3,509 were returned to me. I continued to distribute surveys to public places until one week prior to my leaving Tokunoshima in 2008, and therefore as many as 7,000 surveys could have been distributed. Many surveys were returned to me at my parents' house, even after I left the island. Those survey forms were sent to me by registered mail to Canada by my parents in September of 2008.

Important findings made through comparisons of the demographic section with other sections were that gender, town of residence, and ability to speak fluent Japanese were not found to have any effect on the survey data results. This is a strong indication that the results I found are somewhat representative of the entire island population. Therefore, in planning the next stage of the research, I was able to discount gender and town of residence in my planning. In this next section, I summarize some of the interesting findings in my survey data. I express a very few logically-formulated opinions about what these results might mean. Full analysis results are found in table, graph, and text form in Appendix F.

Simple descriptive analyses.

Age. Age distribution was not consistent with the normal age distribution of the Tokunoshima population. Since I was supported by the various school administrators and was therefore able to survey over 95% of all school age children aged 10 – 18, the overall distribution of data is skewed. In order to compensate for this data collection problem, I have analyzed the data by a) non-student data, and b) student data. The non-student data set clearly showed the expected normal population distribution (bell curve).

Respondents viewed age groups older than themselves as having more fluency in Tokunoshima language, more knowledge of Tokunoshima culture, a greater ability to practice Tokunoshima culture, and a stronger Shiman-chu identity. In contrast, progressively younger age groups correlated to a greater

degree with decreased ability to speak Shima-guchi, lesser knowledge and practice of Tokunoshima culture, and a weaker Shiman-chu identity. Fluency in the Japanese language alone was opposite; increased age correlated with decreased fluency in speaking Japanese.

Sex. Demographic data on sex showed that my data distribution reflected patterns similar to the perceived distribution of the population of Tokunoshima. Distribution between males and females was almost balanced with 45.6/50.2% while 4.2% provided no response.

There was almost no difference between women's and men's abilities to speak Shima-guchi, in their knowledge and practice of Tokunoshima culture, or in their identification with being Shiman-chu. However, there were small and interesting differences that existed for fluency in Shima-guchi when participants' peer groups were observed in the student data. Among the students, males perceived themselves to have more Shima-guchi ability than females, even though the overall mean value (3.54) showed that none of them were fluent Shima-guchi speakers. There were no discernable differences observed either between or within overall data, non-student data (general data), and school-student data (Appendix B: Table 1 and Figure 1).

Generation. The questions on the survey that dealt with how far back in generations respondents could trace their family histories on the island showed the expected values; that is, the majority of Tokunoshima residents have lived on the island as far as their memories can go back (59.4%). While 13% of the survey participants replied to this question with the response "I do not know," it was interesting that the students appeared to know their background information (90.7%) to a greater degree than those who were older than the students (65.9%). Either the older age groups knew their "island pedigrees" but pretended that they did not know the information, or the younger school age group decided they knew who they were without being told by their parent(s) or grandparents. Either way, the majority of survey participants were those whose ancestors had lived on Tokunoshima as long as they can remember.

Reports of being able to track their family histories on the island from two to six generations were each approximately in the 1- 4 % range of total survey number. The 1st generation showed similar results, but showed a slightly increased number (4.3-23.3%). It is likely that these numbers represent those who came to Tokunoshima because their work environments forced them to live on the island (that is, they were teachers, police officers, or other public officials who are assigned to the island for a period of time). In particular, I come to this conclusion because a number of surveys were distributed through many of the public workers' offices and schools where there is a large distribution of people sent to the island temporarily.

Generational differences were strong in many questions. Basically, those whose families had lived on the island of Tokunoshima as long as they can remember reported greater fluency in Shima-guchi, cultural knowledge and practice, Tokunoshima identity, and other aspects of island life. In contrast, those who lived for a relatively short time on the island (e.g., newcomers, as well as first and second generations) answered that they do not have good or fluent understandings of Tokunoshima language, culture, or identity.

Shima-guchi. Self-assessment of Shima-guchi fluency indicated that the older age groups (over 19 years old) are able to speak “fluent” or “quite well” levels of Shima-guchi (51.6%) compared to the reported abilities of the younger age group (10 – 18 year olds) (15.6%). Overall, there were more participants who answered that they do not speak Shima-guchi, as evidenced in their marking of “not well” and “do not speak” in the school-student data set. Even within the older age groups there were clear defining age categorizations; 40-year-olds and older constitute a group that is considered to speak “relatively fluent” to “fluent” Shima-guchi. It is clear across the generational groups that fluency in Shima-guchi coincides with increased participant age.

In the overall data set, there are more people on Tokunoshima who cannot speak Shima-guchi well or who do not speak it at all than there are Shima-guchi speakers. Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency levels were closely related to almost

all “island” variables: Tokunoshima culture knowledge, Tokunoshima cultural practice, islander identity, and other life-related questions about Tokunoshima.

Japanese. Participants’ self-assessment of their standardized Japanese fluency was similar in all data sets. This similarity between groups can be interpreted as indicating that there are no differences in assessment arising from age effects. Interestingly, when non-students’ results were analyzed further, a rather clear indication emerged among the older age groups; those in their 70s, 80s, and 90s indicated that they were progressively more uncomfortable respectively with speaking standard Japanese. Lesser ability to speak standard Japanese with increased age can be explained by the amount of formal education required by the nation state in the past.

Most survey participants (over 80%) perceived themselves as fluent or good speakers of Japanese. Self-reported Japanese fluency levels were closely related to generational questions about Japanese competency. Interestingly, self-reported Japanese fluency levels showed differences between the non-student data and the school-student data set. While the general public did not appear to show a correlation between Japanese fluency and their general views of Tokunoshima, cultural practices, and cultural knowledge, the school students did, according to their reported fluency in Japanese.

Town. The reported towns of residence of the respondents followed the population distribution of the three towns on Tokunoshima; that is, 20% of the population lives in Amagi or environs, 30% lives in Isen, and 50% of Tokunoshima residents live in the town of Tokunoshima.

Town of residence did not appear to be responsible for any differences in responses. Despite many descriptive (and partition) analyses that were repeated many times, I found no definitive differences in responses that were attributable to dwelling place. In contrast to other variables, location alone did not produce apparent differences.

Occupation. There were easily observable differences between data sets because school students contributed more than half of the responses. When the non-student data set was observed, there were a large number of public workers

followed by public school teachers. It is impossible to make a scale to represent all of the occupations but when participants' occupations were assigned as partitions, public school teachers were often found to express answers that were visibly different from those of the other occupations. These differences are likely to correlate with the length of time public school teachers have lived on Tokunoshima. In addition, differences appeared in the answers to some questions between school students and other occupations. This may be attributable to age group differences rather than occupational differences. As indicated in the context section, most public school teachers are imported by the state to teach island children through the medium of Japanese. There were many people whose occupations did not fit into those provided on the survey, meaning that further research is required.

Shiman-chu identity. Overall, 67.8% of research participants showed that they either agree (23.2%) or strongly agree (44.6%) with the statement “I think I am a Shiman-chu.” There was little difference between the data sets. These numbers appeared strongly correlated with age, generation, and fluency in Shimaguchi, and, to a lesser degree, with occupation. Those respondents who were older persons have lived on the island for a long time, both individually, and in terms of familial generations on the island and they were more likely to identify strongly as Shiman-chu (Appendix B, Figure 8 and Table 8).

There were not many people who were in the older age (70, 80, and 90) categories who were new (1st 2nd or 3rd generation) to Tokunoshima. Younger age group respondents showed a lesser degree of what older age groups were able to report having as the foundation of life. This can be seen in public teachers' different opinions as well as “none” with regard to self-recognition as Shiman-chu.

There were almost no questions that did not involve Shiman-chu identity as a strong influence except for those questions that asked about perceptions about, and/or fluency in, Japanese. It was almost clear that in both general public as well as the student-only data sets, Shiman-chu identity was not an influence.

Section by section summary. There were 12 different sections within the survey. I have grouped these into six sections based on topic in order to condense

my summary discussion. The six sections are (1) generation-based questions from sections 1 to 5; (2) self-identity section from section 6; (3) personal thoughts on aspects on Tokunoshima made up of sections 7 to 9; (4) personal thoughts on Japanese from section 10; (5) industry of Tokunoshima from section 11; and (6) life on Tokunoshima which is section 12. In this section I first analyzed the overall data set then engaged in further analyses once the data were separated into non-student data and school-student data to enable me to see the perceptual differences between those who are in the working generations (i.e., non-students) and the non-working generations (i.e., students). I also wished to make explicit the differences between those who are young and will live the future, and those who are older and can merely dream about the future, reasoning that it is the school students who will ultimately determine the fate of our language, culture and identity.

Generation-based questions. Questions 1 to 5 focused on the perceptions of the participants with regard to their great grandparents, grandparents, parents, peers, children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren, assessing each generation's ability to speak Shima-guchi, know/practice culture, and identify as Shiman-chu. The results clearly showed that participants' parents, grandparents, and great grandparents were viewed as good/fluent Shima-guchi speakers and had good knowledge and practice of Tokunoshima culture. These results held despite each participant's actual age. Therefore, it is almost safe to conclude that there is no solid Shima-guchi or cultural knowledge/practice held by one generation or one person (that is, no "gold standard").

Of course, the length of time the participants had been living on Tokunoshima Island had a great effect on the results. The longer individuals reported that their ancestors had lived on the island measured in generations, the greater their reported ability to speak fluent Shima-guchi. If the respondent had moved to the island, then he or she reported being unable to speak the language. It should not be surprising that those who reported their own fluency in Shima-guchi, also reported that their elder generations spoke fluent Shima-guchi, a finding that did not hold for generations younger than themselves.

Participant occupation was important in that public school teachers reported that their offspring did not speak Shima-guchi at all, while participants with other occupations reported that their children and grandchildren were able to speak “fluently” or “quite well.” When participants reported on their own peers, it was clear that the older age groups saw their peers as “fluent” or “quite well” speakers of Shima-guchi, but as age groups declined, the younger generations reported that their own peers were progressively less fluent Shima-guchi speakers. When participants reported on the language abilities of their own children, no matter what their self-reported age group, they viewed their children as less fluent Shima-guchi speakers in comparison to themselves. Respondents did not associate their grandchildren or great grandchildren at all with good/fluently Shima-guchi or good cultural knowledge/practice.

In short, those who had lived on the island of Tokunoshima as long as they could remember and who reported themselves as being old were unlikely to be public school teachers. They were likely to have obtained fluent Shima-guchi and culture (both knowledge and practice) and a strong Shiman-chu identity. A progressive reduction in generations on the island or age corresponded to lesser Shima-guchi fluency, no matter what the participant’s occupation. Shiman-chu identity was not influenced by age, sex, ability to speak Japanese, or place or length of residence. This phenomenon was clear even in the student-only data set, except that students were not asked to answer about their offspring since they were assumed not to have any.

Self-reported fluency in Japanese showed almost exactly opposite results. That is, the older a respondent’s reported age group, the less likely they were to see themselves, their peer group, and their elders as good or fluent Japanese speakers. On the other hand, they were equally likely to see their children and grandchildren as good or fluent Japanese speakers. The older the respondents were, the less likely they were to identify themselves as good Japanese speakers, but the more likely they were to report fluency in Shima-guchi and very strong Shiman-chu identities. The more Japanese each respondent reported speaking, the more they viewed their children and grandchildren as good Japanese speakers.

Shiman-chu identity appeared to be clearly independent from language and cultural practice and knowledge. Respondents' Shiman-chu identities were strongly influenced by generation, fluency in Shima-guchi, and occupation (being a public school teacher or not). Shima-guchi fluency level and self-reported age groups had a strong influence on how respondents viewed their offspring but not how they viewed their predecessors.

Self-identity. In descending order of agreement, participants self-identified as: Japanese person (mean value of overall 1.48; non-student 1.59; school student 1.40); Earth person (1.83, 2.06, & 1.66); Tokunoshima person (2.11, 2.09, & 2.13); Amami person (2.79, 2.53, & 2.97); Asian person (2.86, 2.56, & 3.07); Kagoshima person (3.18, 3.04, & 3.28); and Ryukyu person (4.17, 4.19, & 4.15). There were no order differences among the data sets. It became clear that almost all participants refused a Ryukyu identity; Ryukyu identity was the only identity not accepted at all by the participants. This response from participants was totally unexpected since Tokunoshima language and culture is audibly and visibly more related to Okinawa (Ryukyu) language and culture (as was detailed in the literature review) than to the languages of the mainland of Japan.

The results indicated clear differences among the data sets. When self-reported Japanese fluency was used as a partition, differences appeared between the student data and the non-student data. While the general public did not appear to be influenced by whether or not they could speak fluent Japanese, the school students identified more strongly as Amami, Kagoshima, and Asian, and to a lesser extent, as Japanese and Earth people. It is likely that these differences were obtained because the students tended to choose identities that required ability in Japanese.

Of course, other partitions were similarly involved in defining self-identities. Generation, Shima-guchi ability, and Shiman-chu identity were influences in both sets of data, while age and occupation were seen to be influences only in the non-students data set. When occupations were used as a partition, public school teachers reported less Shiman-chu and Amami person identity compared to other occupations. In age groups, the older self-reported age groups claimed more

Shiman-chu and Amami person identity while the younger age groups claimed less Shiman-chu and Amami person identity. The student-only data set did not really contribute to the age-based analyses except with regard to identifying as an Earth person. Students, who were younger, seemed to be more willing to identify as Earth people, which seems to indicate that they have a more global worldview than the older age groups.

The self-identities of Shiman-chu, Amamin-chu (Amami person), and Kagoshima person were clearly influenced by many factors (i.e., generation, age, Shima-guchi ability, Japanese ability, occupation, and Shiman-chu) in the overall data set. Japanese ability did not appear to be important for the non-student data set. On the other hand, Japanese identity, Asian identity, and Earth identity did not strongly correspond to other partitions. Ryukyu identity appeared to be positively corresponding to self-reported Shiman-chu identity.

The finding that respondents do not report feeling that they have Ryukyu identity requires further investigation. It indicates that there have been shifts in participants' historic, genetic, linguistic, and cultural beings, that these have been somehow replaced, perhaps by education.

Individuals' thoughts about Tokunoshima. All questions that were asked in this section led to the conclusion that islanders are in agreement with statements such as "I like Tokunoshima" and "I like living on Tokunoshima." The questions were phrased intentionally and placed logically to enhance the differences between participants' ideas about Tokunoshima and their practice of aspects of Tokunoshima culture.

There were almost no differences observable in the idea of liking Tokunoshima. The strength of liking positively corresponded to self-reported Shiman-chu identity. However, it was not a question of whether or not participants like Tokunoshima, but rather of how much they like Tokunoshima. This result provides good reason to believe that liking Tokunoshima is not based on the practice of aspects of island life. When this same ideal question of "I like..." was applied to Shima-guchi, the answers positively corresponded with increased generation, Shima-guchi fluency, and Shiman-chu identity. These partition level

differences were seen in both sets of data, but age group differences with negatively corresponded on the overall data set, suggesting that school students were significantly influencing the results.

Moreover, when this same ideal question of “I like...” was applied to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs), the results positively corresponded with Shima-guchi fluency and Shiman-chu identity with a similar age group effect. In summary, those who speak more fluent Shima-guchi and think of themselves as having a strong Shiman-chu identity claimed that they like Shima-guchi and Shima-uta more than those who do not speak fluent Shima-guchi and who have not obtained a strong identity of Shiman-chu. Simple comparisons between liking Tokunoshima language and culture with practicing Shima-guchi and Shima-uta showed differences due to the amount of practice involved. Simply, it is important to notice that no participants reported not liking Tokunoshima.

A quite similar phenomenon was seen in the statement “I like living on Tokunoshima.” Even though the overall data set showed a positive response to this question, when the data were separated into non-student (general public) and school-student data sets, it was revealed that fluency in Shima-guchi was a factor. The more fluent in Shima-guchi a respondent was, the more positive the response to this question. The same results obtained for the statements “I want my children and their children to live on Tokunoshima” and “I think living on Tokunoshima is important.” The non-student data set showed that increased generation, Shima-guchi fluency, occupation (not public school teacher), and increased Shiman-chu identity all positively corresponded with these statements, while the school-student data left out occupation.

Looking at each section’s mean value of questions showed that gradual decreases in agreement obtained. For example, “I like Tokunoshima”, “I like Shima-guchi”, and “I like Shima-uta” were rated with mean values of 1.70, 2.14, and 2.17. These observations imply that moving from the general idea/practice to the specific idea/practice produced gradually reduced levels of agreement.

In sum, this section showed that two dimensions were integrated to answer the questions, that is, from the general idea to the specific idea as well as from the

ideal to the actual practice. When the issues were general then people on Tokunoshima were likely to “strongly agree” but when the issues were more specific then people were less likely to agree.

Individuals’ thoughts about Japanese. In this section, standardized Japanese, currently the base language of Tokunoshima, is the focus. Standardized Japanese became the dominant language through the school system after WWII, even though the Japanese-based school system has existed on Tokunoshima since the late 1800s.

Mean results showed “I like Japanese language” (2.10), “I like speaking Japanese language” (2.24), “I want my children and their children to speak Japanese language” (2.03), and “I think Japanese language is important in life” (1.82) in the overall data set (see table 36). It is clear that questions about Japanese were independent from those about Tokunoshima. It is interesting that the answer “I like Japanese” showed lesser agreement than either “I think Japanese language is important in life” or “I want my children and their children to speak the Japanese language.”

The overall data set and the non-student data showed no significant differences in any partition-based analyses; the student-only data showed self-reported fluency in Japanese greatly influenced responses to statements about Japanese in a positive manner. This suggests that school students felt more positively about the Japanese-related questions based on their fluency in Japanese than did people in the non-student data set. Those who were not students also showed agreement with the Japanese-related questions, but they did not show differences based on sex, generation, age, fluency in Shima-guchi, fluency in Japanese, town, occupation, or Shiman-chu identity. This leads me to believe that questions related to Japanese were independent from other partitions for non-student participants.

Industry on Tokunoshima. In this section I asked about the past, current, and future industry (as an economic base) of Tokunoshima. Except for the statement “I want Tokunoshima to look like old times (1945)” answers to all questions showed agreement. It is interesting but important to note that generally

people did not want to go back in time prior to WWII (1945). Further analyses on the results were showed that age and Shiman-chu identity produced differences in the overall and non-student data sets, while the student-only data set showed differences arising from self-reported fluency in Shima-guchi and Japanese to the statement “I want Tokunoshima to look like old times (1945).”

The overall data indicated that partition differences can be found with regard to “I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry” and “I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.” Older age groups showed more agreement than younger age groups for continuing to produce sugar cane, while those agreeing with science and development on the island showed a lesser degree of Shiman-chu identity and a lesser degree of Shima-guchi fluency. Similar results were observed in the non-student data set.

However, when the results of the overall data set were partitioned, differences appeared. The differences between the overall data set and non-student data set were rather small, while the difference between the non-student data set and the school-student data set were more profound. On the one hand, non-student data showed influences based on age, Shima-guchi fluency, and Shiman-chu identity to both the statement about sugar cane (more of these produces more agreement) and the statement about science and technology (more of the partitions produces less agreement). On the other hand, the school-student data showed influences from Shima-guchi fluency, Japanese fluency, and Shiman-chu identity for science and development, as well as for the statements “I am proud of improvements in Tokunoshima from old times” and “I want Tokunoshima to look like old times (1945).”

In the school-student data, participants almost totally agreed that sugarcane should be the main island industry across all partition levels. In the non-student data, stronger agreement obtained for older age groups, greater Shima-guchi fluency, and stronger Shiman-chu identity. Of course, the younger age groups represented by the school-student data assessed themselves as unable or barely able to speak Shima-guchi, and many showed little association with being

Shiman-chu. Their strong positive response to sugar cane leads me to think that school age participants believe that Tokunoshima and sugarcane cannot be separated.

Oddly, all of those who reported having a strong Shiman-chu identity also had a strong tendency to think they would like their offspring to learn science and technology on Tokunoshima. Different results were obtained when reported Shiman-chu identity decreased. School students tended to agree that their children should be taught science and technology on Tokunoshima no matter what their reported Shiman-chu identity, while in the non-student data, those with lesser Shiman-chu identity thought their children and further offspring should be learning science and technology on Tokunoshima.

With regard to wanting Tokunoshima to look like old times, the non-student data showed disagreement with no partition influences. However, fluent speakers of Shima-guchi and less fluent speakers of Japanese strongly disagreed with the statement, while non-fluent Shima-guchi speakers and fluent Japanese speakers showed less disagreement with the idea of returning to former times. The results may indicate that school students are still in the process of creating their identities as people, meaning that their identification with Shiman-chu or other identities may change. This idea can be even extended to those who moved to Tokunoshima with their parent(s). Furthermore this result supports the idea that younger age groups, especially school age participants, may not use Shima-guchi fluency as their yardstick for measuring Shiman-chu identity. This was not true of the non-student participants.

In short, people on Tokunoshima had a tendency to show pride in the development of Tokunoshima to date. They encourage further development. They are not interested in Tokunoshima returning to the past, but they identified with sugar cane, a traditional industry, continuing as the main industry for the future.

Life on Tokunoshima. Strong agreement was shown for most of the statements in this section, having to do with wanting to live on the island, liking island life, liking traditional food, people and surroundings, and wanting these things for their children. On the other hand, the six “practice-based” questions,

having to do with knowing how to cook traditionally and knowing the traditional words for island items garnered responses that were clearly in disagreement. It is easier to identify partitions that did not produce differences than those that did. Those that did not produce differences were sex, Japanese fluency, and town. The rest of the partitions (generation, age group, Shima-guchi fluency, occupation, and Shiman-chu identity) showed relatively weak to strong influences. Not surprisingly, strong Shiman-chu identity and fluency in Shima-guchi produced more positive agreement than the other partitions.

Even though almost all variables were affected by Shiman-chu identity and Shima-guchi fluency, some were not. The clearest indication was in responses to “I like the nature of Tokunoshima.” Almost all respondents answered in agreement; it was a matter of the strength of their agreement. When survey questions addressed ideal issues supported by the political, environmental, economic, and social movements of school and the dominant society, the respondents agreed. In particular, it was easy for respondents to say they like where they live, and they like nature. However, when respondents were asked about practice-based items such as liking islanders’ characters, island time, or liking the traditional lifestyle of Tokunoshima, then responses were different. Each of these, in this order, was affected by Shiman-chu identity, Shima-guchi fluency, occupation, and age group.

In the school-student data set only Shima-guchi fluency and Shiman-chu identity produced differences (except to the question about knowing traditional food). The partitions of sex, generation, Japanese fluency, and town did not show differences.

Observations of both data sets leads to interesting assumptions about school-age participants and non-student participants. It appears that they claim Shiman-chu identity from differing foundations. While the non-students derived their identity from their generation, age, Shima-guchi fluency, occupation, and comfort with island life, the school students seemed to judge themselves through different social, environmental, financial, philosophical, and historical lenses. It appears that those students who spent time on Tokunoshima during the critical

age period of childhood or adolescence consider themselves to be Shiman-chu, while for the older generations, evidence was provided by language, cultural practice, and pedigree as well. No differences were observable based on sex, Japanese fluency, or town.

One especially interesting factor in this section was Japanese fluency. Ability to speak Japanese showed no influence on any of the variables. This can be taken to mean that Japanese language ability does not really influence traditional life on Tokunoshima (that is, it is the loss of Shima-guchi rather than the learning of Japanese that is critical).

Personal explanations and summary of results. As in my pilot study, across generations, people had a strong tendency to believe/think their grandparent(s) were the “gold standard” holders of both language (Shima-guchi) and culture (knowledge and practice). From their perspectives, respondents thought their offspring speak more fluent Japanese than their ancestors did. Even though the older age groups had a strong tendency to think their offspring speak more fluent Japanese, the younger age groups (i.e., 20s and 30s who are fluent in Japanese) had a tendency to think their offspring speak less fluent Japanese than they themselves do.

These generational differences in Japanese fluency can be explained by the following. Older age groups, those in their 70s, 80s, 90s, and over 100, strongly responded that they were fluent Shima-guchi speakers but not fluent speakers of standardized Japanese. Increasing age appeared to correspond to increasing fluency in Shima-guchi and decreasing fluency in Japanese, implying that the older age groups saw their progeny as fluent Japanese speakers due to their own lack of Japanese fluency rather than because their offspring had better Japanese. Younger age groups (e.g., 20s, 30s, and others) saw their children as less fluent Japanese speakers despite their offspring having similar Japanese language education. Although it is a commonplace that each generation bemoans the lower educational standards of succeeding generations, the results nonetheless clearly illustrate a shift in language, both dominant language (Japanese) and Shima-guchi.

People on Tokunoshima tend to think their predecessors are/were fluent Shima-guchi speakers and holders of cultural knowledge and practices no matter what their age. This implies that there is a shifting standard, with the great grandparents' and grandparents' generations always being perceived as the best.

Compiling Interview Questions from Survey Data

In order to understand these phenomena and in keeping with my research plan, I determined that it was important to understand the reasoning behind the answers to the survey. My concerns are itemized here, with numbers indicating the concern and rationalization process for interview questions. (1) Without understanding the background and experiences of the people on Tokunoshima, survey data results become questions rather than answers with regard to LCI change/shift within a short frame of time such as one person's life span. Therefore, in order to compensate for the limitations of the survey data analyses and interpretation, further demographic information from individuals was desperately needed to frame the results, and thus provide deeper and more meaningful data interpretation. Consequently, in interviews, I decided to ask about individuals' personal experiences on Tokunoshima as well as their thoughts about the changes that have happened to Tokunoshima over time. Believing that it is important to reveal my own positionality, I framed the questions not only by providing the survey data results to participants, but also by speaking about my own experiences. I shared with participants my view that I do not speak Shima-guchi as well as my parents do, and I also shared the story of how I left the island to further my education and thus no longer live on Tokunoshima.

This quick overview of my personal information provided a foundation for the interviews and established a setting for each question. Fortunately or unfortunately, as a result, interview participants quickly placed themselves in relationship with me through their tone of voice. Most, if not all participants who grew up on the island could understand my position in the world. Positionality and revealing positionality may be a weakness of subjective research methods, but I believe being clear about one's position is an important aspect of methodology because each individual participant was able to decide for him or herself whether

to treat me as an insider or an outsider in this research project, and conveyed that information to me through their tone, manner, explanations, and attitudes.

As I noted above, the survey results strongly indicated ongoing language shift on Tokunoshima from the use of Shima-guchi to use of Japanese; that is, progressively younger age groups, as assessed by themselves and others, do not speak or understand Shima-guchi as much as previous generations. However, in what may be considered a revealed weakness in my survey construction, I did not ask people about whether or not if they think their language has changed or is changing. (2) It is important to know what people actually think rather than merely providing data that supports a strong indication of Shima-guchi shift. Moreover, the survey data did not specifically reveal (3) how Shima-guchi has changed over a relatively short time span. In order to address these concerns, I created questions about how and why language shift is occurring on Tokunoshima. So, if participants answered “yes” to the question “Do you believe that Tokunoshima language is changing?” I asked follow up questions about the time span of that change such as “Has this change happened in your life time” and “Has language shift and change also happened historically?” After they answered both of these questions, whether the answers were “yes” to both or only to one, (4) I followed up by asking the question “Can you explain why you think the language and culture of Tokunoshima have changed?” And, finally, since the results from the survey data provided a strong suggestion that language shift was occurring between different age groups and generations, then the big question I needed to consider here is (5) why is this happening?

Originally considered central to the notion of knowledge and practice of both Shima-guchi and Shima-culture, there is definitely a clear indication, identical to that found in my 2007 pilot study (Nakagawa, 2008), that Shiman-chu identity (Tokunoshima person) should be disentangled from concepts of culture and be used in a simple sense to refer to those who were born and/or raised on Tokunoshima (see table 25). Of course, (6) the question of interest here is how, without linguistic and cultural fluency, Tokunoshima people identify themselves as Shiman-chu. Therefore, in my interviews, I asked why people strongly claim to

be Shiman-chu even if they do not speak Shima-guchi or practice Shima-culture. Tokunoshima identity (Shiman-chu) also remained independent from sex, ability to speak fluent Japanese, and geography (which town participants lived in). However, individuals' strength of Shiman-chu identity appeared to be significantly impacted by generation (how long people lived on the island of Tokunoshima), age, ability to speak Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), and to some degree occupation. In particular, most participants whose families and ancestors lived on Tokunoshima as long as they can remember answered that they feel they are Shiman-chu, but as the length of ancestral dwelling time on the island measured in generations decreased, participants displayed less identification with Shiman-chu identity. In fact, those who lived on the island for three generations or more showed very strong Shiman-chu identity, but those newer to Tokunoshima expressed much less. Those participants who had themselves moved to Tokunoshima had a strong tendency not to express their identity as Shiman-chu at all. Three generations, it seems, is the length of time it takes to claim Shiman-chu identity, to be able to become indistinguishable from other Tokunoshima islanders.⁴⁴

A strong tendency toward difference was also clear visually in the data regarding occupations of survey participants. That is, many public workers and public school teachers who were on the island at the time of the survey had strong tendencies to answer that they did not have Shiman-chu identity. People in these professions are not normally from Tokunoshima either by birth or development; interestingly, some of their children indicated some tendency toward Shiman-chu identity; that is, the second generation showed some identification with the island. On the other hand, most sugar cane farmers, other farmers, fishermen, construction workers, local business people, and others (retired persons, housewives, etc.) showed strong Shiman-chu identity.

Interestingly, those who had a strong Shiman-chu identity also showed progressively decreasing identification with more generalized identity labels such

⁴⁴ Going back to Chapter 3, this is particularly important for insider/outsider research. If one cannot be Shiman-chu until the third generation, then it is impossible for outsiders to simply declare that they are able to interpret research from "insider" positions.

as Amami, Kagoshima, Ryukyu, Japanese, Asian, and Earth. The only exception to this tendency that was revealed is Ryukyu identity. Despite the generally positive correlation⁴⁵ that was visible between Shiman-chu and Ryukyu identities, the strength of the correlation remained an area of disagreement. Those who speak fluent Shima-guchi have a strong tendency to mildly disagree that they possess a Ryukyu identity. Those who have lesser ability to speak Shima-guchi tend to strongly disagree that they have Ryukyu identity. This correlation did not happen in any other categories. Other categories simply did not display any correlation between partitions (see Appendix F, Table 25). Although these comparisons showed no relationship to each other, the answers indicated that respondents still identified with more generalized identity labels. In order to explore these ideas further, interview question 6 asked:

The survey revealed that having a Shiman-chu identity was strongly independent from knowledge of language (Shima-guchi) and culture (knowledge and practice). Can you think of any reasons why people strongly identify as Shiman-chu, even if they don't speak the Tokunoshima language or understand and practice Tokunoshima culture?

How do you feel about this?

How do you describe your own identity?

Probing further into the relationship between Tokunoshima and Ryukyu identities, the survey questions in section 7 asked about the relationship between Tokunoshima and Ryukyu (Okinawa). This was done to compensate to a degree for the ideological and cultural differences which would emerge due to differences in generational background (i.e., how many generations have lived on Tokunoshima), historical background, geographical background (physical location), genealogical background (originating in Okinawa or Kagoshima), and cultural/language background (where language and culture come from), questions that were raised by the survey results. It is not feasible or practical to ask direct questions about basically unknown factors such as whether our people originated

⁴⁵ Despite my use of statistical language at times, I did not calculate a correlation co-efficient. No statistics were run in this research project. I am using language of convenience rather than statistics.

in Ryukyu or Kagoshima (or both, or somewhere else entirely), since no one really knows—nor has this information been meticulously recorded in texts or passed down through the oral traditions over thousands of years. Unfortunately, there is little historical residue in terms of texts or semiotic symbols/items on the island of Tokunoshima. But given the colonial and imperialist history that is known and the assumption that the Ryukyu people and the Amami people were historically tied, the fact that all age groups in my survey disagreed that they felt a kinship between Tokunoshima and Ryukyu, at least at this current stage of life connection, I felt needed to be explored. Therefore, I asked simple questions about why the people of Tokunoshima did not feel a strong Ryukyu identity compared to all other identities such as Amami, Kagoshima, Japan, Asia, and Earth:

The survey showed that respondents also had strong Japanese identity, and Amami identity, but they did not report having a strong Ryukyu identity.

Would you be able to explain for me why you think this is the case?

Historically?

Economically?

Educationally?

Politically?

A clear preference was shown for the continuation and use of the language and culture of Tokunoshima in addition to Japanese language and culture in the survey results from sections 7, 8, 9, and 10. All these sections asked respondents to reflect their beliefs about life on Tokunoshima, the language/songs of Tokunoshima, and Japanese language and culture. Section 7 concentrated on the respondents' will to live on the island, the importance of living on the island, and respondents' desire for succeeding generations to live on the island. The survey results showed a strong attachment to Tokunoshima life. Section 8 asked about attitudes toward and the use of Shima-guchi. Section 9 questioned about the practice of Shima-uta (Island songs). Section 10 inquired about attitudes toward and the use of Japanese.

In fact, liking Tokunoshima and wanting to live on the island were so strongly agreed upon by the respondents that almost no one disagreed with the statements in section 7. Responses by Tokunoshima residents to survey questions clearly indicated that people really like the idea of living Tokunoshima, speaking Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language in section 8), and singing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs in section 9), at least in theory. It was also clear that residents of Tokunoshima like and wish to continue to speak Japanese for now and for future generations.

Nevertheless, in response to the survey questions about industries, business, governmental assistance, and scientific knowledge in section 11, the people of Tokunoshima were in agreement with the need for these consequences of colonization; in fact, they would like to see more of such developmental initiatives. The survey reported that residents on Tokunoshima would like to see more good roads, ports, an expanded airport, and other infrastructure. The same section of the survey asked questions of respondents about returning to the life conditions on Tokunoshima from the pre-WWII era. Islanders clearly indicated that they did not want to go back in time to pre-WWII living conditions (see table 39, 40, and 41).

The two ideas appear not to be in parallel with the previous section in which islanders indicated that they wished to maintain a Shima-lifestyle, Shima-guchi, and Shima-uta for now, as well as for future generations. It seemed from the survey that the people on Tokunoshima would like to have a future based on development and modernity, but at the same time they would like to revitalize or retain the past. In order to understand how and why Tokunoshima islanders felt these two contrary pulls, this apparent irony was queried in the interview question below.

The survey revealed that while Tokunoshima people want more industry, technology, governmental support, and scientific knowledge, they also want to maintain their ideas about Tokunoshima, Shima-guchi, and Shima-uta.

Why do you think people feel this way?

Do you believe that this indicates that people want to maintain the past and still go forward into the future?

Do you have any insights whether this is possible or not?

The questions in section 12 concentrated more on lifestyle, food, nature and other related items. A fairly discernible break between theory and reality emerged in the results of this section. That is, when questions were directed to ideal situations such as “I like...” or “I would like to continue...” then respondents’ replies to these questions were almost always in the continuum from agree to strongly agree. However, when questions were asked in the “I know how to...” form, then the responses shifted into disagreement. It appears that the people of Tokunoshima like the idea of doing things, but they actually do not know how to do them (food and nature related practices).

For this reason, the question is raised, how do they really want to use these cultural and language based knowledges in their current and future lives. Therefore, I asked the following questions.

Can you tell me a little bit about how you would like to use Tokunoshima language and culture in your life?

Home?

Education?

Work?

Social life?

Finally, I wondered how Tokunoshima residents felt after reviewing the survey results. I wanted to know their thoughts on the issues and I wanted to know if any of them had experienced any shift in mind set toward language and culture revitalization on Tokunoshima. The following question resulted:

After you saw the results of the survey, did you think any differently about the Tokunoshima language and culture than you did before?

If yes, how?

If no, can you explain to me your thoughts about Tokunoshima language and culture?

What do you think about revitalization?

I then left it open for participants to ask me any questions about research or any questions about me as a researcher:

Are there any questions that you might have for me, or anything that you would like to add?

There were no replies to this question. Unfortunately, it appeared that this question turned out to be somewhat culturally inappropriate, as I discovered at the time of the interviews. As a consequence, many participants were not asked this question, and none of those who were asked gave any response at all.

Findings from Qualitative Interviews

I conducted the interviews during the summer of 2009. After the interviews were conducted, I returned to Canada, and first completed a thematic analysis of each question and then tabulated the responses to each of the questions individually (see below), which gave me very thorough answers and allowed me to represent both the themes that emerged within each question as well as the unique responses to the questions.

Demographic results from interviews. Generally speaking, in terms of demographics, the interview participants mirrored the survey participants with the exception of gender distribution. In total, 40 people participated in my interviews in 2009 on Tokunoshima. There were 26 females (65%) and 14 males (35%). In the older generations, there were fewer females than males represented in the interviews. In the middle-aged group, that is, those interviewees in the 30s, 40s, or 50s generation, different from the survey, there were fewer males than females. I believe, and was told, that middle-aged men were too busy with their work and were therefore unable to find the time for approximately a one-hour interview. On the other hand, their wives were willing to spend time discussing the issues and were able to free up time to be interviewed. The older generation males being more willing to participate in the interviews itself provides evidence that either males are more interested or invested in Shima-guchi and Shima-culture (as was indicated in the testimonies), or possibly that females in this age group are less willing to give voice to their opinions. In fact, even though many older generation women were housewives with free time, they chose not to be interviewed despite

numerous invitations.

Most of the people who participated in the interviews were from Tokunoshima (82.5%); however, 90% of participants answered that their families have been on the island of Tokunoshima since at least their grandparent(s)' generation (see table 3). The distributions of participants in the survey and the interview were similar in terms of age group, fluency in speaking Shima-guchi, and fluency in speaking Japanese. The distribution of the interviewees in terms of age groups reflected the current population on Tokunoshima with a population peak at the age group of 40 to 50 years old, tapering down toward both younger and older generations (see Table 4). It is reasonable to assume that the lower numbers of representatives from the older generations result from the natural curve of the life span. The lower numbers of representatives from the 20-something generation and the 30-something generation can be explained by island dynamics. After junior and high school education, most islanders leave Tokunoshima in order to pursue tertiary education and/or their careers. This tendency is reflected in the answers to a later question. Question 1 in section 2 reveals that 87.5% of participants were born on the island while 80% of them returned to Tokunoshima Island after leaving the island (see table 9).

Fifty five percent of the participants indicated that they speak Shima-guchi fluently or quite well. As in the survey results, fluency in Tokunoshima language corresponds to age group (see table 8), with older generations reporting greater fluency in Shima-guchi than younger generations. All participants answered that they speak the Japanese language fluently or quite well (see table 6).

Unfortunately, the reported residence location of interview participants did not represent the residential distribution pattern on Tokunoshima. In my interviews, I did not interview anyone from Amagi town (see table 7). Most of the participants in both data sets (survey and interviews) were from Tokunoshima town (i.e., 77.5% (31/40 participants) and 50.1% (1,757/3,509 participants)), respectively. Although at first glance this may appear to be a weakness, it may not be. According to the results from survey data descriptive analyses, where participants live was not a partition that produced differences in comparisons of

any other variables. As a result I was able to refrain from actively recruiting participants from all towns. I did not intentionally avoid participants from Amagi town, recruiting from there. But due to time limitations, I was forced to stop after completing interviews with 40 participants, 10 in excess of my intended number.

Although the interviews reflect participants currently dwelling only in Isen and Tokunoshima towns, many reported in the interviews that they had moved from either Isen town or Amagi town. As a result it may be safe to assume that participants' present addresses may not impact variability in responses.

Looking at the occupations of survey and interview participants I note that once again there is very similar representation in the two data sets (see table 8). Most of the participants were in the category of "other" occupations, since many of those who participated were housewives and retired persons. The second largest category of occupation was public workers. As in the survey, other reported occupations were sugar cane farmers, other farmers, business/commerce workers, construction/industry workers, and students.

Overall, comparisons of demographic data strongly indicate that the interview population represents the survey population well (see Table 9 below).

Table 2: 性別 Gender

		Gender			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	26	65.0	65.0	65.0
	Male	14	35.0	35.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: 徳之島との関係 Relationship to Tokunoshima

		Relationship to Tokunoshima			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Native to the land	33	82.5	82.5	82.5
	5th generation	1	2.5	2.5	85.0

3rd generation	2	5.0	5.0	90.0
I moved here	1	2.5	2.5	92.5
I do not know	3	7.5	7.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Table 4: 年齢 Age Group

		Age Group			Cumulative Percent
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	
Valid	10-19	1	2.5	2.5	2.5
	20-29	3	7.5	7.5	10.0
	30-39	5	12.5	12.5	22.5
	40-49	4	10.0	10.0	32.5
	50-59	14	35.0	35.0	67.5
	60-69	9	22.5	22.5	90.0
	70-79	4	10.0	10.0	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Table 5: 島口 Tokunoshima language

		Tokunoshima language			Cumulative Percent
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	
Valid	fluently	19	47.5	47.5	47.5
	quite well	3	7.5	7.5	55.0
	not well	11	27.5	27.5	82.5
	not at all	7	17.5	17.5	100.0
	Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Table 6: 日本語 Japanese

Japanese

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid fluently	30	75.0	75.0	75.0
quite well	10	25.0	25.0	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Table 7: お住まい Town

Town

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Isen	9	22.5	22.5	22.5
Tokunoshima	31	77.5	77.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

Table 8: 仕事 Occupation

Occupation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Multiple	1	2.5	2.5	2.5
Other	24	60.0	60.0	62.5
Farmer (other)	2	5.0	5.0	67.5
Construction worker	1	2.5	2.5	70.0
Business/Commerce	4	10.0	10.0	80.0
Public servant	7	17.5	17.5	97.5
Student	1	2.5	2.5	100.0
Total	40	100.0	100.0	

The following table gives a snapshot of the participants in the interviews for easy reference and comparison. Participants are sorted by their reported degree of Shima-guchi proficiency.

Table 9: Case Summaries

		Case Summaries ^a						
		ID	Relationship to Tokunoshima	Japanese	Town	Occupation	Gender	Age Group
Tokunoshima language	fluently 1	1106	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	70-79
	2	1115	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Farmer (other)	Male	70-79
	3	1123	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	50-59
	4	1145	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Male	60-69
	5	1130	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Male	60-69
	6	1109	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Male	70-79
	7	1124	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Male	70-79
	8	1139	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	60-69
	9	1113	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	50-59
	10	1111	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Farmer (other)	Female	60-69
	11	1134	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Male	40-49
	12	1136	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	50-59
	13	1127	Native to land	fluently	Isen	other	Female	60-69
	14	1120	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Construction worker	Female	50-59

	15	1141	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	50-59
	16	1119	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Commerce	Female	50-59
	17	1137	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	40-49
	18	1118	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Public servant	Male	50-59
	19	1110	Native to land	fluently	Isen	Multiple	Female	60-69
	Total N	19		19	19	19	19	19
	Median	24.00						
	Grouped Median	24.00						
<input type="checkbox"/> quite well	1	1116	Native to land	quite well	Isen	Public servant	Male	40-49
	2	1138	5th generation	fluently	Tokunoshima	Public servant	Male	60-69
	3	1142	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Public servant	Female	50-59
	Total N	3		3	3	3	3	3
	Median	23.00						
	Grouped Median	23.00						
<input type="checkbox"/> not well	1	1143	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Male	60-69
	2	1131	Native to land	quite well	Isen	other	Female	30-39
	3	1114	Native to land	quite well	Isen	other	Female	30-39
	4	1122	3rd generation	quite well	Tokunoshima	other	Female	50-59
	5	1140	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	60-69

6	1133	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Commerce	Female	50-59	
7	1128	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Commerce	Male	50-59	
8	1121	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	other	Female	20-29	
9	1117	Native to land	quite well	Tokunoshima	Public servant	Female	50-59	
10	1125	Native to land	quite well	Tokunoshima	Public servant	Female	20-29	
11	1108	Native to land	quite well	Isen	Public servant	Female	50-59	
Total N	11		11	11	11	11	11	
Median	19.00							
Grouped Median	19.00							
<input type="checkbox"/> not at all	1	1144	Native to land	quite well	Isen	other	Female	30-39
	2	1129	8	fluently	Isen	other	Female	30-39
	3	1112	I do not know	fluently	Isen	other	Male	50-59
	4	1132	I do not know	quite well	Tokunoshima	other	Female	40-49
	5	1107	Native to land	fluently	Tokunoshima	Commerce	Male	20-29
	6	1135	3rd generation	quite well	Tokunoshima	other	Female	30-39
	7	1126	I moved here	fluently	Tokunoshima	Student	Male	10-19
Total N	7		7	7	7	7	7	
Median	15.00							
Grouped Median	15.00							
Total N	40		40	40	40	40	40	
Median	20.50							

Grouped Median	20.50						
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In the next section, I report the analyzed findings from each of the interview questions with quotations from the interviews. That is, I have examined all of the responses to each of the questions, categorized them by theme (because they were not all expressed in exactly the same words) and tabulated them according to the responses. In the discussion below, I present all of the responses, whether they are frequent or unique. In some cases, the total percentage for each answer will exceed 100% because interviewees sometimes gave more than one answer to the questions. The resulting answers from my interview questions could now be used in the future to construct a survey that could go into more detail about each of the responses.

Individual Question Results

Question 1. あなたの徳之島の人生だとか教育についてについて少し聞かせてください。そして、あなたの人生で島口や徳之島の文化をどのようにして利用してきましたか。(Please tell me a little bit about your life and education on Tokunoshima, and how you have used Tokunoshima language, culture, and identity throughout your life.)

The majority of participants (35: 87.5%) were born on Tokunoshima. Those who were born on the island received formal education until high school (34: 85%) but most left the island in order to find a job and/or to pursue tertiary education (32: 80%). If I were to create a dominant representative narrative, then, as we saw in the previous case study section, it would look like the following:

I was born on Tokunoshima⁴⁶ and received my education until high school education. After high school education I left Tokunoshima at least once before coming back to Tokunoshima. When I was growing up I used to use Tokunoshima language at home (24: 60%), and all of my friends and neighbors spoke Shima-guchi (22: 55%). However, Shima-guchi usage at school was banned (21: 52.5%) except for when I needed to translate a

⁴⁶ There were three interviewees (7.5%) who were not born on Tokunoshima, but their parents were born on the island and the family returned to the island.

word from Shima-guchi into standardized Japanese (7: 22.5%). If we used Shima-guchi at school, the person who used Shima-guchi had to wear a tag which said "I used Shima-guchi" on it (13: 32.5%). In fact, there were often times physical punishments that came with it (3: 7.5%). As time went by there are fewer elementary school teachers from Tokunoshima/Amami (2: 5%). In recent years, it is rare to find teachers from Tokunoshima/Amami islands. I have studied Standard Japanese because it is necessary to obtain a job (3: 7.5%). At the same time, family structures have changed over time. People on Tokunoshima used to live in three generation households (9: 22.5%) but that has shifted toward the nuclear family (1: 2.5%). According with this shift in family structure (2: 5%), Tokunoshima people stopped speaking Shima-guchi; traditional events (1: 2.5%) and traditional play by children (1: 2.5%) have both disappeared from the communities on the island of Tokunoshima.

This created case may be explained by strong neighbour theory, described once by Pierre Elliott Trudeau of Canada as "being in bed with an elephant." In fact, strong neighbour theory can be extrapolated to explain almost all of the issues described by current island residents. What is not so easy to understand is why those Tokunoshima islanders who became teachers were willing to teach island children self-discrimination through such practices as forcing them to wear tags as a punishment.

It appears that no one physically forced islanders to change their behaviors but rather that islander teachers were willingly brainwashed into teaching and enforcing the use of standardized Japanese at school by mainland Japanese teachers in school and in university. One of the participants who was a retired teacher from the public school explained it to me this way:

...I never allowed my son to use Shima-guchi at school. Well there was almost no one willing to use Shima-guchi at school by the time my son went to attend formal schooling. However, I only spoke Shima-guchi to my son at home. My son used to use standardized Japanese to reply me, even though I only spoke to him in Shima-guchi ... (2009_1124, p. 10)

When teachers were from Tokunoshima/Amami, that fact did not free them from the language policies of Japanese/Kagoshima prefecture. It is clear that the people on Tokunoshima were willing to change their language use, and succumbed to pressure in public schools to do so.

Question 2. あなたは徳之島の島口や文化が変わりつつあるもしくは変ってしまったと思いますか。(Do you think the language and culture of Tokunoshima are changing or that they have changed?)

Overall, the results from this section clearly showed that Tokunoshima people think their traditional language and culture have either changed (22: 55%) or are changing (12: 30%). Only three of the interviewees (7.5%) answered that the language and culture have not changed, while only two out of the three continued to answer question 3 (5%), which was dependent on the interviewee answering “yes.” One person said she believed the language has changed but the culture has not changed.

Another interviewee said she believed that the Tokunoshima language and culture have not changed, but then continued to participate in consensus in a group interview conversation with other participants who said they believed Tokunoshima language and culture have changed. This suggests that both of those interviewees who answered that Tokunoshima language and culture have not changed actually believe that the change has happened. Four out of six participants who answered with “Tokunoshima language and culture did not change,” “I do not know,” or who did not answer the question were not from Tokunoshima, meaning that only one participant who was born and grew up on Tokunoshima felt that the language and culture on the island had not changed. Thirty four (85%) out of 40 participants thought Tokunoshima language and culture had changed and/or is changing. There is almost no doubt that the majority of people who were born and grew up on Tokunoshima thought Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture is changing and/or changed.

Question 3 and 3a. 徳之島の島口や文化がどのように変化してきたかを聞かせてく。 (Can you describe for me how you think the language and culture of Tokunoshima have changed?)

It was clear in the results that the interviewees believe that Tokunoshima language and culture have changed and are changing due to many factors. One of the main reasons cited was that young islanders leave the island out of economic necessity (17: 42.5%) since Tokunoshima's industrial and employment base cannot support the number of children graduating from junior high and high schools. In fact, virtually all young adults leave Tokunoshima by the time they reach the age of 18. The current reasoning is that if children do not leave the island to attend university or college, then their only employment alternatives are to become farmers, fishermen, or store clerks. Economic reasons for leaving the island after the World War II are described by one participant:

If Tokunoshima were able to keep and continue its life style from pre-WWII, then I think Shima-guchi and culture would be sustainable in their present or earlier state. However, due to WWII, Tokunoshima had a crisis in food supply, and consequently the Japanese government started to control us through a reduction in rice production that almost devastated the stable staples on Tokunoshima. As a result, Tokunoshima people had to rely on money, and we became dependent on a modern lifestyle. In order to have an income paid in currency, children had to leave Tokunoshima to go to mainland Japan to work. Some of those who went to mainland Japan came back, but many did not come back. Even those who did not come back to live on Tokunoshima did come back to see their family members on occasion. When people returned to Tokunoshima from mainland Japan, they looked very sophisticated and smart compared to people who were living on Tokunoshima. (2009_1106, p. 3)

Another interviewee described it this way:

Almost all children leave the island in order to get a job or to attend university right after graduation from junior high school or high school. Those children who lived on mainland Japan come back to Tokunoshima

tainted by mainland culture. Exposure to mainland culture is making Tokunoshima people want to change our Tokunoshima culture for a more convenient life, just like on the mainland. For example, Obon (ancestors' spiritual return home August 13-15) ceremony was prepared in each household in my mother's time, but I cannot do the same preparation. I do not remember how and I have learned to buy pre-prepared items from stores. Our ceremony has been simplified by our own desire for convenience. (2009_1143, p. 3)

And finally, one participant explained that:

Tokunoshima people need to learn to speak the mainland language prior to leaving the island. As a result, Tokunoshima people themselves emphasized learning Yamato-guchi (standardized Japanese) in formal education. (2009_1145, p. 1)

Tokunoshima people who left to go to Yamato or Satsuma (i.e., mainland Japan) to provide economic support for their families returned to Tokunoshima with influences from the mainland language and culture. Unfortunately, the majority of people who left Tokunoshima did not come back to live on the island but rather came back from time to time to see their family members, forcing islanders to feel shame at their country ways, and triggering the education system to shift toward teaching more standardized Japanese and preventing the use of Shima-guchi. Both participants 1143 and 1145 above explained that standardized Japanese and culture was brought onto the island by family members who were supporting the family financially through hard work on the mainland. Their ways appeared to be shining and promising in comparison to island ways.

Indeed, 40% (16) of the interview participants mentioned the reinforcement of standardized Japanese learning in the formal school system along with efforts to eradicate Shima-guchi usage in their lives. This was well-illustrated by many participants. Some examples follow:

In my case, I did not experience wearing a sign from my neck but there were weekly goals to be achieved on the blackboard every week "Let's not use Hougen (dialect, meaning Shima-guchi)." I somehow remember that if

we used Hougen then we had to do some kind of physical punishment such as cleaning the toilets. I did not have to do that, but there were students who wore a red armband going around watching the other students and if they found individuals who were speaking Shima-guchi, they'd give them a physical punishment. I started elementary school in 1952 but I do not have memory of the above experiences from when I was in elementary school. Shima-guchi usage with physical punishment is a memory from my junior high school. (2009_1111, p. 4)

Another participant explained that, although her traditional Tokunoshima lifestyle supported the use of Shima-guchi, the school system tried to take it away from her:

I spoke Shima-guchi in my daily life since I grew up in a three-generational household. Unfortunately, I was not allowed to use Shima-guchi at the formal education schools and was forced to speak standardized Japanese while I was at the school. We had to experience shame by wearing a sign hanging from our necks which said "Hougen user." It felt like we were bullied by school system. After school, we were able to use Shima-guchi between friends, neighbors, and within the household. (2009_1134, p. 1)

A female participant now in her 50s explained that:

I used to speak Shima-guchi with my mother and I still do, but I do not recall speaking in Shima-guchi with my close friends or family members. I do not know what happened to Shima-guchi but it has gone somewhere... I still remember being taught not to speak Shima-guchi at elementary school. Recently I have heard there is a new movement to re-evaluate and revitalize Shima-guchi at school. It makes me think "Ha?" (What is this?) (2009_1119, p. 2)

One participant was able to recall a specific physical punishment for using Shima-guchi at school:

In the formal education school system we were forced to use standardized Japanese. If a person used Shima-guchi then that individual was forced to wear a tag hanging from the neck, and this tag had "I used Shima-guchi"

written on it. When I was growing up, the school needed to build a water line for running water to go somewhere in the school field so we had to work whenever we used Shima-guchi. When we got caught speaking Shima-guchi then the teachers told us we had to carry sand from the ocean and pile it up for the workers to use in mixing concrete. (2009_1110, p. 1)

Together, these quotations provide a good illustration of how standardized Japanese was imposed on the islanders of Tokunoshima when they went to school. Additionally, it is not only that standardized Japanese was forced on school students in elementary and junior high school, but also that interviewees talked about how the mass media later magnified the language and cultural shift/change toward standardized Japanese. Radio, newspapers, TV, cinema, internet, cell phones, and other cultural artifacts are influencing the traditional language and culture of Tokunoshima. In fact, 13 participants (32.5%) identified mass media as one of largest factors in language and culture change on Tokunoshima.

Therefore we can see that there are both involuntary and voluntary aspects to the shift to standardized Japanese to access information, an involuntary shift during early schooling, and a voluntary shift at the present time that allows access to Japanese popular culture. The people on Tokunoshima are currently requesting more and faster information dissemination from mainland Japan as well as from around the world. As just one example, the Japanese government reorganized the broadcasting system infrastructure, changing from an analog television signal to a digital signal with the deadline of July 2011. At the beginning of the reorganization, the Japanese government focused mainly on urban areas. When technical supports and solutions took more time and resources than they had anticipated, the Japanese government announced to Tokunoshima islanders and other Amami people that their proposed projects would not be completed by the due date, meaning that once the analog signal was terminated, Tokunoshima and Amami islanders would be left with no signal at all. Everyone from the island complained and brought up the injustice, unfairness, and even cited human rights issues, in order to ensure that they would be able to watch mainland television

broadcasts in standardized Japanese. Several participants spoke to the impact of media:

I think it must come from variety of information from mainland through mass media such as TV. Once information starts to flood in, then the same information is thought to be common sense and people want more information than before. (2009_1133, p. 3)

While another participant explained the effects of marriage to non-islanders (overall 5: 12.5%) in addition to the influence of media:

...Tokunoshima people must learn to speak standardized Japanese since some of their parents are not from Tokunoshima but from the mainland. In addition to the influence of non-Tokunoshima people as children's parents, TV was introduced to the islanders. When I was growing up, we had no TV, but in recent years, most of the children are learning standardized Japanese from television programs. Even at home, children are exposed to standardized Japanese and the formal education system teaches standardized Japanese in school settings... (2009_1138, p. 3)

Another participant stressed that the pace of change began following World War II, and grew in tandem with the television industry:

I think language change started with World War II and continuing to now. This change of Shima-guchi is taking a parallel line with the introduction of television. (2009_1134, p. 2)

While another participant noted that the shift from radio to television broadcasting accelerated the change:

Television shows and broadcasting may be the cause of language and culture change... the change from the radio era to the television era in the late 1950s...now-a-days, it is the internet. There is almost no time lag for information to enter Tokunoshima from the mainland and the world. (2009_1127, p. 8)

Similarly, one participant noted that by the 1960s there had been such a shift to standardized Japanese, that speaking Shima-guchi became a notable thing:

...eventually TV started coming in to Tokunoshima...it was around the 1960s...by the time of 1965 or so we were feeling free to say to each other that “you spoke Shima-guchi, you spoke Shima-guchi” as shame....

(2009_1110, p. 2)

In one interview, the participant explained one way in which the dissemination of television and television programs changed Tokunoshima islanders' lifestyle:

In the past, people on Tokunoshima used to go to bed by nine pm but recent television programs have shifted to late night. Due to television's prime time shift, islanders' lifestyles have changed. (2009_1142, p. 4)

Moreover, we cannot ignore the facts of natural shift, transition, or decay of the island language and culture. During our interviews, 11 (27.5%) participants mentioned that change and shift are natural processes. Interestingly, one participant explained that Tokunoshima and Amami people have always had an ideology that permitted the integration of new ideas into the ideas that they already possessed; that is, they have always been ready to accept new ideas and digest others' practices as their own. People of Amami have never been confined by the need to stabilize and sustain their own language and culture:

...Shima-uta (island-song) culture used to be free from the current forms of restriction. Utasha (singers) used to change their songs according to the occasion and the audience...Utasha used to change the melody and the places where they took a breath, which directly affects the synchronization between the lyrics and the melody...This change in lyric and melody synchronization may have happened just because the Utasha (singer) was getting older and was unable to sustain his/her breath.... In the Amami area Utasha (singers) used to steal lyrics, phrases, tunes, and melodies, when Utasha were visiting other communities/Shima or islands...it may be that it worked as copyright system.... The Utasha (singer) would talk after the singing about who was listening and the Utasha would identify who was from the shima or who was from neighboring shima and the Utasha would continue saying things like “therefore, today, I sung something almost impossible to understand.” At the time, I thought to myself “what does that

mean?” Now I know that those audiences from the neighboring shima were there to steal lyrics and/or melodies from the Utasha singing. On the way home, audience members would discuss what the Utasha had said....

(2009_1112, p. 10)

Many explanations focused on the change in the world order that accompanied American style capitalism. Twenty percent (8) of the interviewees cited the time of World War II as the beginning of wide-scale change. Three (7.5%) participants mentioned that during WWII, Tokunoshima fell into a food supply shortage that was then exacerbated by Japanese governmental policies. Policies mandated the reduction of rice (staple) production on Tokunoshima and it was enforced on the island without any exceptions. In fact, Tokunoshima rice fields were turned into sugar cane fields, replacing the soil by decree, in order to support the Japanese pursuit of wealth (University of Kagoshima project, 2004) for the second time in its history (the first time was after the colonization of the island by Satsuma-han in 1609).

The combined effects of WWII and mainland Japanese policy after the war has had various trickle down effects which were talked about frequently by participants, such as: material transportation (2: 5%), simplification of ceremonies (2: 5%), economy (i.e., money based capitalism) (11: 27.5%), islanders leaving Tokunoshima (17: 42.5%), increased movement of material/transportation (2: 5%), islanders unable to adapt to mainland language and culture and returning to island (5: 12.5%), nuclear family structure (5: 12.5%), policy based Shima-guchi elimination (16: 40%), and marriage to mainlanders or non-islanders (5: 12.5%). These explanations of language and culture shift were best expressed this way:

I think that if WWII had not come to Tokunoshima then our language and culture would not have changed. However, Tokunoshima's food supply deteriorated due to WWII. During and after WWII, we lost most of our food supply to the mainlanders and soldiers; moreover, the Japanese government introduced a new policy after WWII to reduce rice production on the island. After losing their dietary staple, people had to rely on a cash/money-based economy to sustain life on Tokunoshima. As a result, the mainland Japanese

lifestyle started to encroach on Tokunoshima, and the language and culture of Tokunoshima fell into decay, since Tokunoshima people required money to sustain their lives in order to buy rice and other food items. For the people on Tokunoshima it became crucial for every family to send one family member to mainland Japan to earn cash income. Those who were sent to the mainland were expected to work hard and send back part of their payment. Once those who left Tokunoshima decided to return or visit their family on occasions (e.g., New Years and Obon), they came back with the mainlanders' language and culture. For us who stayed on Tokunoshima Island, those returnees looked very good; they looked smarter and more sophisticated than us. Many returnees decided to remain on Tokunoshima but they decided not to use Tokunoshima language and culture. I could not understand why I was not allowed to use Shima-guchi at school when I used to attend formal school (i.e., elementary, junior high, and high schools). Even though I could not understand why I was not allowed to use Shima-guchi at school, I have to admit that mainland culture and civilization items did look like something very special. This new flow into the Tokunoshima economy, and simultaneous cultural/language change made us change our mentality into the mainlander's mentality of "work, work." This "work, work" mentality is well known to be the stereotyped mentality of Japan. There is an image of Japanese working for the sake of working to put Japan on the economic map of the world.

Prior to WWII, the purpose of Tokunoshima life was to protect family and community. People then worked to protect themselves and their family members, but after WWII, I think peoples' mentality shifted toward wanting to gain a civilized life. To gain a civilized life and lifestyle, people had to earn money. It seems to me that increasingly with each younger generation, people are no longer happy just to protect their lives and their family members. They would rather "work" to obtain money to further possess civilized life and items. With the movement/shift of peoples' mind set, Shima-guchi and culture deteriorated to its current state.

In contrast to this deterioration in Tokunoshima language and culture, local governments are currently providing efforts to revitalize Shima-guchi and Shima-uta by hosting public speech contests and competitions. Through these efforts, peoples' ideology has been shifting towards protecting and revitalizing our language and culture. However, these efforts are not enough to reverse or even suppress previous political decisions and policy-based efforts to eliminate Shima-guchi and Shima-culture. The policy used to be influential only at school when I was growing up but now this old policy has penetrated into the households of most Tokunoshima families. I think this old policy of speaking standardized Japanese at formal school was adopted in many homes unconsciously. The current state of the language and culture on Tokunoshima shows that not only they are practicing the old policy at home, but also that people can only speak standardized Japanese.

Many grandparents now have to make an effort to use standardized Japanese to speak to their grandchildren just to converse with them. I regret not speaking to my children in Shima-guchi. It is too late at this moment, but I would like to provide more effort to revitalize Shima-guchi.

(2009_1106, p. 1)

Another participant talked about how people have changed island culture willingly owing to a change in Tokunoshima's world order:

...many of the traditional ceremonies have been discontinued with the permission of our ancestors (my grandfather prayed to his ancestors). In fact, I clearly remember on the 24th night of April on the lunar calendar my grandfather and other family members stayed awake until the moon came out while we peeled peanut shells off the peanuts with incense burning around us. I remember that we used to stop peeling peanut shells and went to bed as soon as moon came out. We used to have traditions and ceremonies, but these traditions and ceremonies were discontinued just because our ancestors did not want us to have traditions and ceremonies that no longer made sense to life on Tokunoshima. This did not only happen in my family but it happened to my wife's family as well. In particular, the 24th

night of April's moon watching was to prepare for the seeding of peanuts the next day. These cultures (i.e., traditions, and ceremonies) were directly connected to Tokunoshima people's lives. Tokunoshima culture was the life of Tokunoshima people itself. This can be extended to Tokunoshima's famous bull fighting, Shima-uta, Odori (dance), and many other things but I am not really interested in these aspects of life so I am not the person to speak for them. (2009_1115, p. 6)

Interestingly, four (10%) of the older age group participants pointed out that younger people do not make enough effort to understand the Tokunoshima language and/or culture. One example follows:

...yes, younger age groups are unable to speak and that is why they do not speak. They are ashamed to speak Shima-guchi, therefore they do not speak. This is a bad cycle of language change. I think we are changing Shima-guchi without any valid cause.... (2009_1131, p. 4)

In this example, the participant was from the 30s generational group, while the others who made similar comments were in their 40s, 60s and 70s. Their Shima-guchi fluency was "not so fluent," "quite fluent," "fluent" and "fluent," respectively. None of them stated that they could not speak Shima-guchi; all reported at least a degree of familiarity with Shima-guchi. Of great interest to me, no one who could not speak Shima-guchi assigned responsibility for their failure to learn Shima-guchi, while older interviewees and those who could speak Shima-guchi well seemed to suggest that the younger islanders and/or non-Shima-guchi speakers are responsible because they did not learn Shima-guchi.

These interview results can be interpreted through theories about strong neighbors and small numbers of speakers of threatened languages. Additionally, however, these quotes clearly describe the steps people took to change their lives in response to insecure food sources, maintaining their life security in the face of a strong (and colonizing) neighbour. Over one or two generations the people of Tokunoshima switched their behaviours due to forced circumstances. Therefore, there must be an element of choice in Tokunoshima islander behaviour. The above example from participant 1115 clearly introduces how scientific knowledge

made Tokunoshima's traditional culture meaningless and useless. It became useless in that people did not need to rely on their ceremonies and traditions (i.e., culture) to sustain their lives because seeds were available at any time and weather could be predicted. Food did not need to be harvested at any particular time because food could be shipped onto the island of Tokunoshima at any time of the year. Cultural traditions and ceremonies became redundant to Tokunoshima people's essential life, nothing more than another chore they had to do.

Question 3b. Did this change in Shima-guchi and culture happen in your lifetime?

All 36 participants (90%) who answered that Tokunoshima language and/or culture has changed and/or is changing also answered "yes" to this question. People on Tokunoshima believe that Tokunoshima language and culture has changed during the course of their lives. The change was drastic and fast; according to their responses, it only took one generation to change the world order of Tokunoshima. None of generation, age group, gender, fluency in Shima-guchi or standardized Japanese, location of residence, and occupation appeared to influence the belief that Shima-guchi and Shima culture changed over a short time (within their life spans). It is almost possible to conclude that Shima-guchi and Shima-culture shift happened rather quickly; consequently, it is possible to argue that Tokunoshima language and culture change is not merely due to the natural language and cultural shift over time. Three (7.5%) people did not provide any answer at all; however, none of them were born or grew up on the island, so they actually had no idea that many Tokunoshima islanders think their language and culture is changing.

Question 3c. Has this change in Shima-guchi and culture happened historically?

Seven participants (17.5%) felt that the change in Tokunoshima language and culture happened over a long historical span as well. Yet, 11 (27.5%) people disagreed, suggesting rather that Tokunoshima language and culture did not change over a long time span. Unfortunately 18 (45%) people did not reply to this question, and three (7.5%) participants said they did not know.

Question 4. 徳之島の島口や文化の変化がなぜ起きているもしくは起きたと考えますか。(Can you explain why you think the language and culture of Tokunoshima have changed? (or not changed?))

Answers to this section happened to appear to be very similar to answers to question three. Most (19: 48%) people replied that the language and culture change stemmed from the elimination of Shima-guchi and reinforcement of standardized Japanese by the formal education system. The second most common explanation was islanders leaving the island for reasons of economic necessity or as a natural consequence of increased human movement, which was the reason cited by 18 (45%). A third common explanation was that the Tokunoshima lifestyle shifted to economics, a capitalism-based life (16: 40%).

Six additional explanations resulted. First, 13 participants (32.5%) noted the reduction and/or discontinuation of Shima-guchi usage in families. Second, 10 participants (25%) explained people are not passing on Shima-guchi. Third, 10 people (25 %) responded that Tokunoshima people have chased civilization rather than pursuing traditional forms of Tokunoshima language, culture, and identity. Fourth, three people each spoke about disappearing ancestral beliefs and Tokunoshima islanders' traditional adaptability to a new social dynamic (7.5%). The sixth point, noted only by one person, was loss of identity due to information overload (2.5%).

One point of interest is with regard to the location of responsibility for Shima-guchi loss. Question 3 indicated that some people feel the responsibility for not learning Shima-guchi belongs to the younger generation (4: 10%). Replies to question four further revealed that 6 people directly place the responsibility for not being able to speak Shima-guchi on the younger age group. However, responses to question four also reveal that 10 people (25%) suggested that the responsibility for the younger age groups not being able to speak Shima-guchi lies with the older age group who did not pass on Shima-guchi.

A number of explanations were proposed by participants for why Shima-guchi was not passed along, most of them having to do with not using Shima-guchi in the home. Participant 1109, from the 70s generational group noted that:

...honourific terms in Shima-guchi are not easy to learn. Learners must use them with elder persons.... Even though I left Tokunoshima, I had used honourific terms at home since I lived with my grandparents. We used Shima-guchi within our family daily conversations. Moreover, I felt Shima-guchi must be spoken...now-a-days Tokunoshima people are no longer speaking Shima-guchi at home. (2009_1109, p. 1)

A second participant, in her 50s, noted that:

In recent years, I found out by chance that my mother speaks Shima-guchi. In fact, my friend told me. According to my friend, my mother spoke Shima-guchi fluently. I told my friend my mother does not speak Shima-guchi. The reply from my friend was “Why don’t you know that your mother is fluent in Shima-guchi?”...I asked my mother about her ability to speak Shima-guchi. My mother said “I am fluent in Shima-guchi. But I had no opportunity to speak at home anymore.” I guess speaking Shima-guchi requires someone to speak with in conversations. My father does not speak Shima-guchi. (2009_1112, p. 1)

In some of the clearest explanations assigning responsibility for the younger generation not speaking Shima-guchi, some Shima-guchi speakers admitted that they had not spoken it to their children:

There are many people who came back from mainland Japan. As a result, people started to use lesser and lesser amounts [of Shima-guchi] as time progressed. Of course I hear from business people that they have to use standard Japanese. ...I agree with that statement. To run their businesses, they have to use standard Japanese; therefore, their children speak standard Japanese...even my husband and I do not speak to each other in Shima-guchi so all three of my kids cannot speak Shima-guchi at all. They cannot even understand when they are listening to Shima-guchi....Some kids can understand when listening to Shima-guchi but they cannot speak it...Well it is impossible for the kids to understand Shima-guchi if parents do not even speak it to them. (2009_1139, 1113, p. 5)

Although there seems to be two different opinions about whose responsibility it is to learn/speak Shima-guchi on Tokunoshima, there is some consensus that responsibility lies with the older generations. Even those who suggested that the younger age groups need to be willing to learn and speak Shima-guchi also admitted in response to further questioning and probes, that the responsibility lies with older age groups (e.g., parents) who did not force Shima-guchi on their children.⁴⁷

Question 5. 昨年（2008年）に行ったアンケートの結果によると、回答者の年齢にかかわらずに回答者の祖父母が上手な島口を話すと考えられているところがわかりました。高年齢の回答者までもが本人からみた祖父母は上手な(流暢な)島口を使っていたと回答した。この結果は、徳之島の文化の知識そして慣習についても同様でした。そこで、なぜこのような結果が出てきたのかその理由となると考えられるものを教えてください。(The survey indicated that each respondent thought that his or her grandparents spoke an older, more pure, form of Tokunoshima language. Even the oldest respondents on the survey felt that their grandparents spoke a “gold standard” of the Tokunoshima language in comparison to their own language. This was also true of cultural knowledge, and cultural practice. Are you able to suggest any reasons why this is the case?)

島口について (For language?)

徳之島の文化の知識について (For cultural knowledge?)

徳之島の文化の慣習について (For cultural practice?)

People provided multiple reasons and explanations for question five. My thematic analysis showed that there were two main reasons, given by 40% or more of the people who participated in the interview sessions. Those two common explanations are “different standards or reference point” (17: 42.5%) and “because people are not using it” (16: 40%). Sample explanations from those who

⁴⁷ In my experience, one speaker is enough. It takes will.

cited different standards or reference points appeared to be predominantly from the older generations;

Those who are in the age groups of 10s and 20s have heard people (who are in their 60s and older) speaking; therefore, it is not a surprise for me that the younger generations thought the older generations are fluent. However, these same younger generations may not have any idea of the abilities of the 70s, 80s, and older generations with regard to Shima-guchi and Shima-culture. Moreover, they will not have any idea what their grandparents, great grandparents, their ancestors' Shima-guchi and Shima-culture were like. Looking back over my own memories, I remember my parents and grandparents used to speak Shima-guchi in all aspects of their lives. Compared to the time of my grandparents, we have lost so much vocabulary from Shima-guchi. (2009_1106, p. 5)

Another participant similarly spoke about the loss of vocabulary in Shima-guchi:

I think it is just because older generations and ancestors know more vocabulary and phrases than people now. That is the reason we have results like this now. (2009_1123, p. 4)

Echoing their responses, participant 1109 added that:

When younger generations (10s and 20s) see older generations (30s and 40s) then I can understand why younger generations might view the way they do. Younger generations people cannot speak Shima-guchi so when they see someone speaking more than they can it makes the younger generations mistake a little more language for fluent Shima-guchi. (2009_1109, p. 7)

Participant 1111 (60s fluent in Shima-guchi) and 1121 (20s unable to speak much Shima-guchi) demonstrated the same point of view in the following exchange:

The younger generations speak only standardized Japanese only in recent years. As a result, when younger generation people observe their parents and grandparents, they must think their parents and grandparents are speaking good/fluent Shima-guchi. These younger generation people simply do not know their ancestors.... As I was saying earlier, language (Shima-

guchi) shifts/changes over time naturally. So, is there a difference between your Shima-guchi and your grandparents' Shima-guchi? That is my question to you. I have trouble expressing myself with respectable forms of speaking to elder people. (2009_1111, p. 5-6)

To which participant 1121 responded:

Well, I cannot tell the differences between yours and your grandparents' Shima-guchi (2009_1121, p. 6)

And one other participant also explained:

This result is the final outcome of Shiman-chu being unable to speak Shima-guchi. Since they cannot speak Shima-guchi, when they hear someone speak Shima-guchi they believe those speakers know, understand, and are fluent in Shima-guchi. Even though I can speak Shima-guchi, I view speakers who know a little more than me as better or more fluent speakers than me. This phenomenon definitely applies when I see older generations speak Shima-guchi...I assume those who are in their 60s and 70s are likely to see me as using non-sophisticated Shima-guchi, just because my knowledge of Shima-guchi is limited compared to them.... This phenomenon is directly related to the change of language and culture. There used to be a line connecting the dots, but the line is progressively fading away in the current society.... (2009_1118, p. 3)

In terms of frequency, these responses were followed by “People cannot provide thoughts or opinions about language if they have not experienced it” (9: 22.5%), “human movement” (8: 20%), “shift of social foundation” (8: 20%), and “natural language shift” (6: 15%). One participant in her 30s who is unable to speak much Shima-guchi explained that:

I think there are more people who leave the island with each succeeding generation. I think, going back in time, there would be a lesser number of people who left Tokunoshima. I think this is the reason for question 5. Along with this trend of people moving in and out of Tokunoshima, I think there is a strong relationship between Shima-guchi usage and the number of teachers from mainland Japan. I remember when I was young more than

half of the teachers came from somewhere in the Amami islands. However, it is rare to see teachers from Amami these days.... (2009_1131, p. 6)

Participant 1132 noted that not only teachers, but other workers as well do not speak Shima-guchi:

You know, all the people that temporarily migrate here teachers and postal workers and policemen, all these people are coming from other sites and you cannot speak “hougen” with them.... (2009_1132, p. 8)

While two participants in their 50s who could not speak Shima-guchi well added that:

Even though we say “let us use Shima-guchi” it does not mean we can, since there are so many people on the island of Tokunoshima who came from outside so they cannot speak or understand. Therefore, we must speak standardized Japanese to have communication. This communication problem in Shima-guchi includes public workers at both the federal and local levels. As a result, gradually we increasingly do not speak Shima-guchi in public spaces as time goes by... especially in business settings, people have to speak standardized Japanese every day, otherwise there would be no business for them. These phenomena are magnified, and have resulted in a gradual reduction in ability to speak Shima-guchi....

(2009_1133 1128, p. 4)

A particularly eloquent explanation was given by participant 1125, who is unable to speak Shima-guchi:

Language is like a game. The game is called “Den-Gon-Game.”⁴⁸ Language transfer between and/or within people of different generations happens just like passing information from person to person so that the last person’s understanding is the same as the first person’s—which never happens.

Language is just like a game without a solid record; it changes its own state of being. Language changes its meanings, contents, and being over time.

And no one can tell when or how it changed or shifted. This is how

⁴⁸ Unfortunately, this game does not exist in English with an established name but has often been called “whispers”, “telephone game” and other names.

language becomes something else over time. Therefore comparisons between multiple generations prove that they cannot converse with or understand each other, but between adjacent generations they are still capable of conversations. This is same in cultural aspects—just like how language change has been explained.... (2009_1125, p. 4)

The rest of the explanations were minor in that they accounted for 10% or less of the explanations. They include: “movement of material” (4: 10%), “shift from ancestral beliefs to scientific beliefs” (4: 10%), “unable to understand differences between Shimas in speaking of Shima-guchi” (4: 10%), “change of family structure to nuclear family” (4: 10%), “formal school education (increased number of non-islander teachers)” (2: 5%), “conscious decision not to pass on” (2: 5%), “young generation is changing the language” (2: 5%), “information and media increase” (2: 5%), and “environment and living conditions, specifically that there is a trend toward same-generation gatherings rather than inter-generational gatherings” (1: 2.5%).

Question 6. 今回(2008年)のアンケートの結果によると、徳之島のしまんちゅうであることの自己認識(私はしまんちゅうと思う・思わない)は、各回答者の自己申請による徳之島の島口・徳之島の文化の知識・徳之島の文化の慣習の有無とは別に独立していることが見て取れた。そこでなぜ徳之島の島口・徳之島の文化の知識・徳之島の文化の慣習を会得していない回答者でも強く「徳之島のしまんちゅうである」と感じていると思いますか。(The survey revealed that having a Shiman-chu identity was strongly independent from knowledge of language (Shima-guchi) and culture (knowledge and practice). Can you think of any reasons why people strongly identify as Shiman-chu, even if they don't speak the Tokunoshima language or understand and practice Tokunoshima culture?)

この質問についてどう感じますか。(How do you feel about this?)

あなたの自己認識について感じていることを聞かせてください。

(How do you describe your own identity?)

There were multiple answers to question six. There are two emergent ideas that were supported by more than 30% of participants as the main reason explaining why Tokunoshima people have strong Shiman-chu identity despite their lack of ability to speak Shima-guchi. These two are “because they grew up on the island (47.5%)” and “because they were born on the island” (37.5%).

Some participants, like the one below, combined the two answers:

If I were to ask a foundational question of what is the standard/reference point of “what is Shiman-chu?” then answers probably have to be “Is the person born on Tokunoshima?” and “Did individuals grow up on Tokunoshima?” I think there are different standards/reference points for younger generations and older generations. (2009_1116, p. 9)

Similarly, participant 1138 cited the importance of growing up and being born on the island, noting that being Shiman-chu is like a birth certificate:

For the younger generation, it probably means they were born on and grew up on Tokunoshima...From the older generations' point-of-view identity will include more than being born and raised on the island. In addition to these facts of being born and raised on the island of Tokunoshima, individuals need to speak Shima-guchi and use Tokunoshima culture in correct ways. Therefore, for older generations, if the individuals cannot use Shima-guchi and/or use Tokunoshima culture then those individuals are not considered to be Shiman-chu. For individuals to obtain and use Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture is the standard or reference point for the older generations of Tokunoshima... Younger generations were born on Tokunoshima and they are simply living on the island. I think that for the younger generation, being Shiman-chu is like a birth certificate. In other words, it is like something, a situation or condition that the younger generations cannot escape from.... That there is a different standard or reference point between younger and older generations is a good explanation to this question. (2009_1138, p. 6)

One of the youngest participants, a young male in the 10s generation, who has one parent who is not from Tokunoshima and one who is said:

I do not know about the culture of Tokunoshima. I do not feel like I am a Shiman-chu. I think I am an outsider. (Probe question; what do you think about question six why did people answer the way they did?) I think those who answered this way must have been born on Tokunoshima and grew up on Tokunoshima.... I do not think I am Shiman-chu since I would like to leave Tokunoshima...(Probe question; do you think when you start to live outside Tokunoshima then you will start to think you are Shiman-chu?) I think so. (Probe question; do you think you would feel like you are at least half Shiman-chu when you leave Tokunoshima?) I think so. (Probe question; do you think half of you is Shiman-chu?) Yes, I do. (Probe question; so you think half of you is Shiman-chu even though you cannot speak Shima-guchi and do not know Shima-culture)? Yes, I do. (2009_1126, p. 2)

The following answers were supported by more than 20% (8 out of 40) of the interviewees. Tokunoshima people must have “heart and spirit” (10: 25%), “because they are living there (present, past, and length of time)” (9: 22.5%), and “love of the island (have roots)” (9: 22.5%). For example, participant 1122, a person in mid-50s not fluent in Shima-guchi explained that:

I think it is the spirit of what individuals possess...that is, because the individual's body has continued from their ancestors. (2009_1122, p. 3)

Answers that attracted 10 to 15% of interviewee's answers were eating and enjoying “Tokunoshima food” (6: 15%), “language and culture” (5: 12.5%), “ego/self/honour/pride” (5: 12.5%), “different reference points or standards” (5: 12.5%), “corresponds to knowledge of Shima-guchi and island culture” (5: 12.5%), and “you have Tokunoshima blood” (4: 10%). One fluent Shima-guchi speaker in the age range of 70, for example, explained that the younger generations have a different reference point, one that does not include traditional Tokunoshima food, language, or culture:

Those individuals must be internationalized and behave like Americans. The younger generations eat bread and butter, and drink coffee. However, for older individuals, they appear to be eating foreign food and their diet has

been changed and that is all about it. Therefore those who are eating different food from traditional Tokunoshima food firmly think they are Shiman-chu. The younger generations' hearts may appear to the older generations as having changed from the traditional heart/spirit which we believe is not really Tokunoshima spirit/heart. I think individuals' expressions (e.g., food, clothes, language, and culture) are important, but that does not mean individuals are feeling the same way or wanting to change their heart/spirit. Probably the younger generations do not think they are changing their identities but it appears to the older generations who are watching from the side that younger generations have changed their identity from Shiman-chu to something else. (2009_1124, p. 12)

Another interviewee, in the 20-year-old age range, who did not speak Shima-guchi well explained that:

When a person like me who cannot speak Shima-guchi well, in fact, someone like me who has almost no ability to speak Shima-guchi at all in comparison to my grandparents, says that I think of myself as a Shiman-chu, it means "I love Shima" and "I am very proud of my Shima." Many of my classmates are the same as me. Tokunoshima can offer up to only high school education so most of us had to leave Tokunoshima to attend higher education, but we all wanted to come back to Tokunoshima. Even though we had to leave Tokunoshima at least once in our lives, we promised to each other that we will come back to the island. Of course, there are many who did not want to come back to Tokunoshima at all. I think that the difference between me and them are differences in whether they liked Tokunoshima or not; that must be it.... (2009_1125, p 7)

Another participant, in the 40-year-old age range, who is fluent in Shima-guchi explained the differences between the younger generation and older generation with regard to the issue of identity this way:

I think this result happened just because parents and older generations are thinking too lightly/shallowly about this issue. Parents and the older generations tend to think that language and culture usage is the defining line.

Moreover, the younger generations do not and cannot play the same kinds of play (e.g., fishing, swimming) as the older generations did, which may be additional reasons. I think my son is Shiman-chu. I kept telling myself my son is Shiman-chu and must be Shiman-chu. He may not be able to speak Shima-guchi like me but he can understand as much as you (i.e., me) can. Those who are born on the island are Shiman-chu. It is not about what the individual knows or how much an individual can use the language and/or culture of Tokunoshima. The older generations cannot—they are not allowed to—deny the younger generations from being Shiman-chu. If/when the older generation and/or parents deny their Tokunoshima being of Shiman-chu, then the children will leave Tokunoshima and will not return to the island. New generations will be gone if we continue to deny the next generations their own ideas of being. (2009_1134, p. 6)

Finally, the rest of the explanations (which were supported by fewer than 10% of the interviewees) are listed here to give an indication of the diversity—and yet the similarity—of the opinions held by islanders. “Because people have lived on the island for many generations” (3: 7.5%), “a person cannot become Shiman-chu just because they lived on the island for a long time” (3: 7.5%), “inscription of cultural standards through the generations” (3: 7.5%), “Shiman-chu is used as the idea of hometown (*furusato*)” (3: 7.5%), “lifestyle (includes play and nuclear family)” (2: 5%), “Group mentality” (2: 5%), “bull-fighting” (2: 5%), “beautify your past (old time stories...these days, young people....)” (2: 5%), “participation in traditional events and culture” (1: 2.5%), “ancestry and belief system” (1: 2.5%), and “testing” (i.e., proof of competency by standardized testing—a nation-state idea) (1: 2.5%).

Many of these explanatory themes have been covered by earlier quotes but these ideas are also supported by such quotes as this from a person in the 60 year old age range, who demonstrates the truth of participant 1134’s assertion that the older generations have more strict criteria for being Shiman-chu. Even though this participant does not speak Shima-guchi well, this person has established Tokunoshima blood on both sides as the ultimate criteria and feels that people

cannot become Shiman-chu just because they want to be Shiman-chu, or simply by living on the island:

This answer came just because people have Tokunoshima islander blood. When both sets of parents are from Tokunoshima, then their children are Shiman-chu. However, when only one parent is a Tokunoshima person, then their children may not become Shiman-chu. Maybe that is where the differences start in terms of Tokunoshima identity. There are strict standards about being Shiman-chu. To be a Shiman-chu, both sets of parents must be Tokunoshima persons. I have heard stories about people who grew up on Tokunoshima with non-Tokunoshima parents from the mainland saying they feel half and half in terms of identity with Tokunoshima islanders and mainlanders. I think there are different reference points that exist between them and us. As a result, people are calling themselves “Shiman-chu” even though those individuals have come from mainland Japan just because they like and want to live on Tokunoshima. I think people call themselves “Shiman-chu” just because they wanted to be Shiman-chu. I think they are calling themselves “Shiman-chu” because they are here already. Moreover there are numbers of Tokunoshima people with Tokunoshima blood who have a tendency to think that children of mainlanders/outside’ who grew up on the island can be thought of as “Shiman-chu.” (2009_1143, p. 5)

Participant 1131, a person in the 30 year old age range, explained that participation in iconic cultural events such as Togyu (bull fighting), not just as gambling, but in terms of preparation of and caring for bulls can contribute to the identity of Shiman-chu,

I think there are things that cannot be described in words...if I were to ask my child, then my child will likely say “I have the ego of Shiman-chu”...their ego probably comes from being integrated into (Tokuno)Shima. What else could it be?... Maybe because younger generations are participating in bull fighting. If I were to ask them then they will likely answer that they know and understand what “bull fighting” is all about. This bull fighting issue is not restricted to whether younger individuals own a

bull or not, but also includes how they grew up with bulls. Some may grow up with bulls just because their fathers own bulls. Maybe because individuals have pulled on the leash of a bull to take the bull for a walk on a public street to prepare the bull for a bull fight, they feel that this has provided their identity as Shiman-chu. I can understand how the younger generations feel they are Shiman-chu, but I cannot express in words to provide explanations. (2009_1131, p. 8)

Participant 1140 stressed the importance of returning to the language and culture of the parents:

Children will come back to where parents are.... Children will do what parents did and children will speak what the parents spoke. It is like reincarnation; children will eventually mimic their parents when they become parents themselves. In this case Tokunoshima culture and language may be crawling at this moment. Language and culture may not be walking well at this moment, but they are going forward. (2009_1140, p. 12)

And, one 50 year old age range participant who is fluent in Shima-guchi has relatively “loose” criteria—having island roots:

This simply means that there are still parents that individuals can come back to visit.... I think it is the food. Food on the island meant pork and seaweed but kids now eat pizza, pasta, and bread. They do not eat traditional food, claiming that pork is too oily to be eaten. This is directly influenced by recent parents not teaching their children traditional ways of being. After graduating from high school all of the young generation islanders leave the island having only 18 years of experience on Tokunoshima. That is all they know about their being. This even includes me as well, I do not know about Tokunoshima much.... Tokunoshima families used to be three generational but now-a-days the nuclear family structure is the norm. I grew up in a three generational household with my grandparents. (2009_1119, p. 4)

One thing that is clear in considering all of the responses to question 6 is that there are multiple definitions of what it means to have the identity of Shiman-chu, and that these interviewees also largely supported the idea found in the

surveys, that having and claiming a Shiman-chu identity is something different from simply speaking the language and knowing the culture. It is less and it is more.

Question 7. 今回(2008年)のアンケートの結果によると、多くの回答者は日本人や奄美んちゅうとして強く自己認識していましたが、しかし上記のように回答した方々は琉球人としての認識がほとんどありませんでした。なぜこうした回答結果となったかをあなたの見識・見解をお聞かせください。(下記は見解の例です、他にもあればなんでも結構ですし、まとめてもらっても結構です) (The survey showed that respondents also had strong Japanese identity, and Amami identity, but they did not report having a strong Ryukyu identity. Would you be able to explain for me why you think this is the case?)

歴史的見解 (Historically?)

経済的見解 (Economically?)

教育的見解 (Educationally?)

政治的見解 (Politically?)

The survey finding that Tokunoshima people feel they possess an identity different from the Ryukyu (Okinawa) identity⁴⁹ is explained by: Historical, geographical ideology (17: 42.5%); political governance differences/policy (17: 40%); original cultural zones (12: 30%); World War II/repatriation to Japan after the war (8: 20%); experiences under American occupation (5, 12.5%); economic connection (5: 12.5%); differences in lifestyle (e.g., gravestone) (4: 10%); discrimination against the south by mainlanders (4: 10%); intermingling and interaction of culture (3: 7.5%); and shift or change in social foundation (1: 2.5%).

Two major lines of reasoning come from the historical and geographical identity of the region, and from political governance differences, and differences in policy. The majority of answers are related to these two themes as well. It seems that nation state issues have a lot to do with current identity differences

⁴⁹ Takahashi (2006), writing about the neighbouring island, Okinoerabu, found a similar result. She attributed it to being administered by Kagoshima rather than Okinawa.

between Tokunoshima and Ryukyu. However, beyond the issue of the dominance of the nation state, Tokunoshima people also identify the importance of geographical differences between the two locations. The existing geographical differences were further exacerbated and conflated, and then expressed through political workings of the nation state, specifically, through physical violence.

Participant 1115, aged over 70 and fluent in Shima-guchi, explains the historical links that may be important in defining the differences and similarities between Ryukyu and Amami identities:

This issue of different identity between Tokunoshima and Ryukyu may have to go back to foundational question of “was Tokunoshima really part of Ryukyu-ko.”⁵⁰ I think the issue has to be related to this question of what really happened in the past. There was a time when trading through Ryukyu existed, as well as a time for trading through Satsuma. Whichever and whoever provided the most profit to Tokunoshima has always protected (ruled) Tokunoshima—in fact there are graves that exist on the island which prove that Ryukyu sent soldiers to protect Tokunoshima from others. I am not an anthropologist, so the details must come from academics, but I assume there are more people who came to Tokunoshima other than just the Ryukyu, such as Kagoshima (Satsuma) as well as people from elsewhere who became people of Tokunoshima. I started to think that Tokunoshima had its own culture independent from Ryukyu and Satsuma. It must be independent of Amami. Many of the languages, songs, and dances may be gained by trading with Ryukyu and Satsuma. To further my argument, looking at graves clearly defines the difference between Ryukyu and Tokunoshima as well as Satsuma and Tokunoshima. Similarities and differences in graves to each of Ryukyu and Satsuma include the following: Ryukyu graves are massive but Tokunoshima graves are similar to Satsuma graves. On the other hand, Tokunoshima graves are all facing south but Satsuma (and mainland Japan) graves face west. This is the direction of

⁵⁰ Ryukyu crescent: participant is referring to the academic argument of where exactly the Ryukyu Kingdom ruled

India (Buddhism) and is meant to respect the origin of religion. Just by traveling around in my life I came to encounter with these facts which make me think the Amami area may have been independent from other locations in terms of language, culture, and identity. Finally, it is impossible to ignore the importance of political influences on Tokunoshima. (2009_1115, p. 8)

Another participant, in the 60-year-old age range, who also speaks Shima-guchi quite well, links the associations with history, and with the discrimination that mainlanders feel toward the south.

Well, there is a thing about whether we like or dislike certain areas, and in the past, no one wanted to look in the southern direction. North meant Tokyo. Those who were born in the South used to look toward the center (North, Tokyo). To explain further about identification with earth and Asian identities is that the earth is the place where people exist. The area of Asia is not well identified on the world map; therefore, information is not well inputted to Tokunoshima people and being Asian does not have a good relationship to their own beings. That people on the island of Tokunoshima have Japanese identity comes from being part of Japan. Japan is their country. Tokunoshima people visit Kagoshima more often than they visit Okinawa. Despite this, we have been told to be a part of the Ryukyu-ko and that direction does not stay in our mind well. Instead Ryukyu reminds me of the ferry from Hanshin (Osaka area) stopping by Tokunoshima in the middle of the night before heading on to Okinawa. That is all that crosses my mind. Amami people fought against the American government in order to be returned to Japan as an area after WWII. (2009_1138, p. 7)

Contradicting the results from the survey, participant 1127 (aged in the 60s) who is fluent in Shima-guchi, expressed a personal feeling of closeness to the Ryukyu Kingdom, but attributed the disassociation of others to personal decisions:

I think Tokunoshima is close to Ryukyu...I do not think Tokunoshima people are Ryukyu people but closer to Ryukyu people. I think all of this (language and culture of Ryukyu and Tokunoshima) are closer and similar to some area of China...many things of cultural aspects are done

independently from other families as well as area. Maybe people have made the decision to be independent. Just like that...tradition came to be each family's own ways of ceremony (rather than enforced by some force)....
(2009_1127, p. 18)

Expressing the views of the youngest age group, participant 1126 who does not speak Shima-guchi at all said that school taught them they were Japanese:

I do not think I am an Amami person, Kagoshima person, or Ryukyu (Okinawa) person. I think I am Japanese. I do not think I am Asian. I am an earth person. I know the Islands used to be their own countries. I learned in social study class that the Ryukyu Islands used to be their own kingdom in the past. (2009_1126, p. 3)

Question 8. Question 8 in the interviews begins by explaining to participants the results of the survey and asks them to explain why this result may have been obtained. But, part B of the question includes my survey analyses in that the language and culture of Tokunoshima have been firmly linked to the historical past of the island, while business and industry are linked to the future, to modernizing, to civilizing, and to Japan. I therefore point out the contradiction in the interviews, and ask the participants to comment on it:

今回(2008年)のアンケートの結果によると、回答者は徳之島における産業、企業、政府による支援・援助金、そして科学的知識がより多く必要であると回答しています。それと同様に回答者は理想の徳之島、徳之島の島口、そして徳之島の島唄を継続・継承したいと回答しています。(The survey revealed that while Tokunoshima people want more industry, technology, governmental support, and scientific knowledge, they also want to maintain their ideas about Tokunoshima, Shima-guchi, and Shima-uta.)

なぜ回答者は上記のように考えていると思いますか。(Why do you think people feel this way?)

この回答結果は回答者が「徳之島の過去(の世界)を継続したまま新しい未来(世界)へ進むことができる」と考えていると見てとれると思いますか。(Do you believe that this indicates

that people want to maintain the past and still go forward into the future?)

過去を継続したままの未来が可能だと思いますか。(Do you have any insights whether this is possible or not?)

There were so many different explanatory themes for question 8 that the results are listed in bullet form below, from the most common explanations to the least common explanations. In each case, the number of interviewees who gave each response is listed first, followed by the percentage of interviewees this represents. Interviewees often gave more than one response; therefore, the total is greater than 100% of the interview sample:

- 9: 22.5%
 - It's a dilemma, a contradiction,
 - It is difficult to have both
- 8: 20%
 - Important to create new things/integration
 - Having industries and businesses (will draw [young] people)
- 7: 17.5%
 - Economic foundation and culture are different things
 - Language and culture will revitalize when [young] people gather
- 5: 12.5%
 - Already new things like culture have been created
- 4: 10%
 - Industries, businesses, university, knowledge are needed
 - I do not think it is possible
 - Must have both: Island people need to have a world outlook and world language
- 3: 7.5%
 - There are no places/locations to pass on culture and Shima-guchi
 - Already new things like language have been created
 - It is possible to grab both
 - It cannot be perfectly done, but there are possibilities

- 2: 5%
 - It requires government support; the nature and land of Tokunoshima are controlled by the Japanese government (corruption)
 - In order to be prepared for development, Shiman-chu will require moral/ethical improvement
- 1: 2.5%
 - Shima-guchi needs a writing system
 - We are greedy and want to chase things we do not have
 - Will increase number of I-turns (outsider coming/moving into Tokunoshima)

Although the themes are too numerous to give citations for each one, several examples will give evidence for the kinds of responses this question garnered. Participant 1106, a 70-something fluent Shima-guchi speaker, explained that on Tokunoshima, it is foolish to believe that the old and the new can co-exist, but that without population on the island that comes from having new industries, there is no language and culture to worry about:

Currently we are following a civilized lifestyle. Therefore, I think that this phenomenon of shifting from a traditional life to a modern life cannot be prevented. Looking at this issue from the perspective you have raised in the question will make me think that it is irony to pursue both old and new lives at the same time. However, there are no industries or businesses to attract the younger generations and make them want to come back to Tokunoshima. To overcome the lack of industries and businesses, we need to invite and promote them onto Tokunoshima. As I was saying, even while inviting and promoting new industries and businesses, I would like to revitalize and continue Tokunoshima language and culture into the future generations. I understand it is an irony what I am suggesting for the future generations. I guess I am very greedy person who wants everything.

I do not think it is possible to have perfectly both past (Shima-guchi and traditional Tokunoshima culture) and future (modern life) at same time. Yet if we try harder to have both, then we might able to have all up to

certain point. I think enticement of industries and businesses must rely on and delegate to government. After there are industries and businesses on the island of Tokunoshima, then younger generations have a place to come back and be able to work. (2009_1106, p. 9)

Participant 1115, also a 70-something fluent Shima-guchi speaker, expressed similar views, and also believes that maintaining both a commitment to development and a commitment to the language and culture is possible:

To be honest, thinking about the advancement of social and cultural aspects of life, according to mainland Japanese language and world language, all factors must be taken into consideration in order for us to develop as human beings. As a Tokunoshima person, I think it is important to practice Shima-guchi, Shima-uta (songs), and Shima-odori (dances). Taken together with Tokunoshima's traditional ways of being and lifestyle, like language, songs, and dances, also including the gambling aspects of bull fighting, are all important parts of culture. Tokunoshima and people on Tokunoshima will need both tradition and modernity in order to incorporate these different ways of being. I think it is difficult to continue language and culture without a person who can lead the communities. This continuation without a good leader will likely result in money lining the palms of peoples' hands, and then continuation will become impossible.

Currently the government and the people of Tokunoshima have started new projects such as speech contests and Shima-guchi competitions within and between communities on Tokunoshima. Moreover, competitions are held which include multi-generations such as elementary school age children and the grandparents' generation. I think these festivals of Shima-guchi, Shima-uta, and Shima-odori and competitions are a great influence for people on Tokunoshima.

There are some people who have written Shima-guchi using the Japanese writing system called katakana. However, I cannot read this written system of Shima-guchi. But, when we have learned to read written Shima-guchi, it will allow people to think they have become traditional

Shiman-chu people. The problem with the approach of writing down Shima-guchi is that there are so many pronunciations that do not exist in mainland Japanese. We have to overcome the problem of using a foreign writing system to provide Shima-guchi with a writing system. Maybe the standardized Japanese writing system may not be sufficient; if not, then maybe even the Roman alphabet could be used to express Shima-guchi.

I believe we can have both traditional Tokunoshima being and a modernity-based lifestyle. As I mentioned above, Tokunoshima people must be able to write down Shima-guchi and must be able to use Shima-guchi as text. When Shima-guchi is in written form, then Tokunoshima people can sustain their language, culture, practices, and the rest of tradition while simultaneously pursuing modernity to gain industrial, economic, and scientific knowledge. (2009_1115, p. 10)

And, a final 70-something participant, also fluent in Shima-guchi, also concurs with the opinion that young people are needed, but that they will simultaneously change and retain the culture and language:

I think this is true that more industries, businesses, and even financial support from the government will force the people of Tokunoshima to fade away from their knowledge of culture and language. All these foreign concepts will increase traffic to the island of Tokunoshima from the outside world, and this increased number of outsiders will thin out our language and culture further. In fact, the numbers of mainlanders, visitors, and returnees on Tokunoshima has increased, and these people even brought new cultural forms such as Obon and Bon-odori. These new customs were not traditional dances and cultures on Tokunoshima but now they are practiced around the island.

I think it is somewhat true that industries and businesses will bring mainlanders onto Tokunoshima. As long as people on the island retain the importance of Shima-guchi and Shima-culture and are true to them, I think language and culture will be sustained. Tokunoshima should focus on tourism so that Tokunoshima can remain untouched without

industrialization. As I mentioned earlier, with more globalization and progress, the islands' culture thinning out cannot be avoided. (2009_1140, p. 17)

A 50-something participant who does not speak Shima-guchi well questioned whether the island culture could be preserved, since it isn't clear whether people know what it is anymore or not:

This is a contradiction. In reality, we all want culture. Culture is like proof of Shima being. The problem is this culture itself. In fact, we do not know what Tokunoshima culture is anymore. I do not mean Tokunoshima culture does not exist but I do not think we know what it is anymore. (2009_1128, p. 9)

Two participants in their 60s, both of them able to speak Shima-guchi well, offered differing points of view. One of them disagreed with my analysis, though acknowledged its validity, and suggested that it is not possible to pursue both goals simultaneously:

I can see that Tokunoshima people would like to continue their traditional world (past) and they mean that they also need time to proceed to a new world order (future) as the question states. Even though I agree with how past and future of Tokunoshima are represented as two different world orders, this does not mean I agree with your statement of the question. I do not think people on Tokunoshima are able to have both worlds at same time.... (2009_1139, p. 10)

The other suggested that the solution lies in developing something hybrid:

I think two different worlds should not exist as separate beings but that those two worlds need to be melded into something new and unique.... (2009_1138, p. 10)

Question 9. In question 9, my interview questions began to depart from referencing the survey a little bit. I was hoping to gain more of an understanding of how the participants understood the relevance of Tokunoshima language and culture in their future, as well as present, lives.

あなたの生活の中で、この先いかに徳之島の島口や文化を使っていき
たいと考えているかを少し教えてください。(Can you tell me a little bit
about how you would like to use the Tokunoshima language and culture in
your life?)

- A. 家庭内Home?
- B. 教育の現場Education?
- C. 仕事場Work?
- D. 社会生活Social life?

The results showed that people were divided about where they thought it was possible to use Tokunoshima language and culture. Most of them showed that they were torn between their views of the current reality on Tokunoshima, and theory or ideal conditions in terms of what could or should be if certain conditions were met. Those answers that I considered to be “reality-of-life answers” were ranked, in order of importance, from use in social life (9: 22.5%), formal education (4: 10%), work (2: 5%), and finally home (1: 2.5%). On the other hand, theory- and ideal-based answers were different, nearly opposite, from views of the current “reality of life” on Tokunoshima. Ranks and numbers of theoretical and ideal conditions are: home (23: 57.5%), social life (22: 55%), and both formal education/work place (8: 20%). One participant aged in the 60-year-old age group who was fluent in Shima-guchi explained that:

If people on Tokunoshima were able to speak/use Shima-guchi and Shima-culture, then those practices must be done in their households. I think it is impossible to speak and practice Shima-guchi or Shima-culture within the formal education system. There are so many teachers who do not speak or understand Shima-guchi at all from mainland Japan, and they are teaching within the formal school system; therefore, the formal education system is not a good place to use or practice Shima-guchi and Shima-culture. Shima-guchi and Shima-culture use/practice is done best within each household. It is just like learning English (as a foreign language). When people speak the

language at home with repetition... I hear even people from the mainland can understand or speak Shima-guchi after listening to it for a prolonged time. Therefore, I think it is important for people to use Shima-guchi at home. (2009_1145, p. 11)

One 30-something participant who could not speak Shima-guchi expressed annoyance at being addressed in Shima-guchi in the town hall, and was contradictorily-minded about whether Shima-guchi could be taught in schools or not:

Even now when I visit town hall there are people who speak to me in Shima-guchi. Unfortunately, I cannot understand and therefore I get lost in the conversation. It crosses my mind to say “can you please explain properly.” If all of us could use Shima-guchi then there would be no problems. However, I cannot imagine using it in the formal education system; it is impossible.... It is important to use Shima-guchi with pride... people may be able to use simple Shima-guchi in places like shops and stores.... I think it is still possible to teach Shima-guchi in the formal school system in special classes and events. That is, it can be taught through having cultural events at schools and by presenting Shima-uta and performing plays. In fact, these activities are happening in the current formal education system.... (2009_1131, p. 14)

Also showing commitment to believing that Shima-guchi is important and relevant, and at the same time being unable to imagine islanders using Shima-guchi in any socially-relevant contexts, one quite good Shima-guchi speaker in the 50 year old age range noted that:

I do not think it is possible to speak Shima-guchi. Maybe in each household or possibly in places on the rest of list, that is, the formal education system, work, and social life... currently a small number of people are still using it in their houses and social lives. I just cannot imagine the entire island of Tokunoshima speaking Shima-guchi. Shima-guchi may be used in tourism and business situations.... By using Shima-guchi and Shima-culture as part of a show to promote tourism, it can be definitely possible to use Shima-

guchi.... I do not think Shima-guchi will ever disappear.... Shima-guchi and Shima-culture must be continued to the future. (2009_1142, p. 13)

Question 10. アンケートの結果をご覧になってから何か徳之島の島口や文化について以前とは少し違う意見がありますか。(After you saw the results of the survey, did you think any differently about the Tokunoshima language and culture than you did before?)

A. もしありましたら、それはどんな違いですか。(If yes, how?)

B. もしなければ、徳之島の島口や文化についての考えを教えてください。

(If no, can you explain to me your thoughts about Tokunoshima language and culture?)

C. 徳之島の島口や文化の継続・再生・再興についての考えを教えてください。

(What do you think about revitalization?)

The group of questions in section 10 were not really replied to well at all by participants because they did not seem to understand that I wanted them to talk to me about how their ideas or attitudes had changed from viewing the survey results and participating in the interview; yet, it is still possible to see that there are different thoughts and ideas that were expressed. Desire to proceed with language and culture revitalization/continuation (10: 25%) was the most frequently expressed attitude, followed by answers similar to “I was not interested in this subject before, but this made me feel like I want to try” (7: 17.5%). Several interviewees suggested that there is a great need for interaction between the generations (6: 15%), and three people (7.5%) each answered with such thoughts as, “We must do it, but it seems to be very difficult and I don’t know what I am supposed to be doing,” “Language and culture are naturally shifting and changing,” “It is important to produce it, make it and use it,” and “Shima-guchi is my heart’s language.” Five percent of people (2) answered with each of these expressions: “It is not a bad thing for language and culture to be shifting and changing according

to the needs of the era,” “there needs to be different ideas,” and “We somewhat deliberately stopped passing on the language; we need to give up on what we cannot do.” Finally a number of individuals (1: 2.5%) were able to present unique ideas, ideas cited by only one person. Those are: “I will do the things I have to do,” “Tokunoshima people are likely to become merged into wherever they go,” “The results were as expected,” “A disappearing language and culture will not stay there naturally,” “We do not want to put Shima-guchi into the category of archeology,” “As each year passes by, the possibility of Shima-guchi survival diminishes,” “Island culture and language will endure,” “Those who use fluent Shima-guchi and Shima-uta are particularly mentally acute,” “Those who left the island have only dreams and theories and they can’t see reality; they are not trying at all,” “My children are the only ones who can pass on my heart,” and “I have a question about scientific development.”

One 60-something participant, fluent in Shima-guchi explained that the results were pretty much as expected, but noted that different age groups would probably have responded differently to the question:

Yeah, I think the results were as I expected. I think there were more replies of “I agree...” rather than “I strongly agree...” than I thought there would be. If the survey were conducted only with the age groups of 70s and 80s then answers would have been more “strongly agree” than the results you obtained. (2009_1145, p. 13)

Another person, in the 30 year old age range who was completely unable to speak Shima-guchi, seemed fairly eager to work toward revitalizing the language and culture of the island, but it is difficult to determine whether this was something previously considered or not:

I have started to think that we need to use a variety of ideas to approach language and culture revitalization and the continuation of Tokunoshima culture. We need to use good ideas like we have been talking about—these issues like making television or radio commercials in Shima-guchi. (2009_1144, p. 18)

Participant 1144 (above) would have some assistance in learning Shima-guchi from at least two 70-something participants, both fluent in Shima-guchi, who were eager to initiate such things:

I would like to start (Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture continuation)....
(2009_1122, p. 16; see also 2009_1111, p. 17)

One interviewee who is completely unable to speak Shima-guchi, suggested that perhaps the language and culture will survive, even though people in the 50-year old age range are often unable to speak or practice:

I do not have anything special to add. I felt sometimes in my past strong crises in the same areas. Yet, at this time of my life, I have started to think that it (Shima-guchi, Shima-culture, and Shima-uta) will last tenaciously for generations. These issues are often referred to as our language and culture turning into a mere shell. I think that any language and culture that is turning into mere shell can still reverse its state by people pouring their hearts and spirits in. However, I think that the possibility of returning to their former states is decreasing as time goes by. By saying the following, I am sure some people will make harsh criticism of me, but there are some opinions about making people sing Shima-uta in standardized Japanese instead of Shima-guchi... Without singing Shima-uta in standardized Japanese... otherwise... well, we cannot force people to do things that they cannot do. That is impossible. There are already many people who can only express their feelings in standard Japanese. I think it would be best if people could use Shima-guchi and Shima-culture, but I do not want us to be turning Tokunoshima's language and culture into a mere shell form for the next generations.... (2009_1112, p. 29)

One 40-something participant, fluent in Shima-guchi, put it eloquently:

...I believe my son is Shiman-chu. I do not talk to my child about this subject. I do say "they do not speak Shima-guchi..." about my children in some situations. Whatever I say, they (my children) are Shiman-chu. My children are the ones who continue my heart and spirit. They are my copies and they are the ones who have my DNA. We all must think like that

but...this trend of older generations not thinking of the younger generations as Shiman-chu is disappointing.... It cannot be helped that our grandparents' generations tend to think this way. However, if they continue to do so then the younger generations will completely change into completely different beings. (2009_1134, p. 19)

Question 11. As is the usual case with Western style interviews that I have seen, I chose to ask the participants this final question:

他に私に聞いてみたい質問等、もしくは追加したいこと等ありましたらお聞かせ下さい。(Are there any questions that you might have for me or anything that you would like to add?)

I got absolutely no replies to Question 11. I think that I may have received more responses if I had phrased the question in terms of what they would like to request from me.

Chapter 6

Testimonials: “In their own words”

*Our ancestors have been enduring the extractions
Of the Satsuma state. Deep-seated rage
Contained within Island songs.*

By Yoshi Nakagawa

(Translated by Satoru Nakagawa, 2012)

Earlier, in Chapter 4, I explained that the many the counts, tallies and quotes from the interviews that resulted from my initial analysis proved not to be a very satisfying form of representation for the interviewees who had committed time and effort to my research project. I noted that my reasons for not adopting more traditional case study report forms was multifold, having to do with islander preference for first person narration, and the equally important need for anonymity. Therefore, the question for me was “what kind of format should I use in order to tell these stories?”

The struggle I had was to find a way to do so without simply transcribing the interview data verbatim. I considered creating composite stories that would represent all of the participants, perhaps gender by generation, with one composite story to represent each generation for a total story count of about eight. However, that was ethically and morally complicated; it seems intellectually dishonest to create characters⁵¹ or stereotypes to represent the injustices done to many people. Moreover, if composite reports were the only reports I was going to give, then why would I have bothered with qualitative research at all? I next considered choosing five or six stories that were the most representative of the general narrative, but I could not bring myself to prioritize some voices over others when all of my participants were equally generous with me, and all of them were invested in my research; therefore, making choices on the basis of who was the best or most complete storyteller did not resonate with me. I soon realized that I could not relate every story in detail, but neither could I choose to represent some

⁵¹ Said (1993), in another context, speaks about created “caricatural essentializations” (p. 307), a practice I did not want to engage in, as by definition these are generalizations that take on a life of their own.

of the interviewees in detail, while representing others not at all. Each of the participants had suffered trauma as a result of LCI loss, and each was entitled to tell the personal consequences of their personal loss. Specifically, as Grauby (2011) reminds us,

For Indigenous researchers, our positions within our communities mean that we have a responsibility to listen to the multitude of voices that speak there. While it is doubtful that any kind of consensus will emerge in terms of political, social, and economic relations with the settler society in the near future, our community-based relationships nonetheless require us to pursue more harmonious and empowering relations among our people. (p. 123)

Grauby (2011) goes on to reflect on how important it is to level “a powerful and disabling critique at the colonialist system” (p. 123), which, to me reflected the importance of allowing all of the multitudes of voices to make this critique. I therefore considered detailing all of the interviews, and thereby give up any control I was trying to maintain over the length of my dissertation. Not only was length an issue, but I also had to remain aware at all times that it was the individual uniquenesses in some stories that would reveal the identity of the interviewees; therefore, I could not relate too many of the details from each individual.

Testimonies

In the end, I was influenced by Smith’s (1999) description of testimony, which seemed to be the most relevant for my participants, many of whom had shared experiences. Smith (1999) notes that:

Testimonies...are a means through which oral evidence is presented to a particular type of audience. There is a formality to testimonies and a notion that truth is being revealed ‘under oath’. Indigenous testimonies are a way of talking about an extremely painful event or series of events. The formality of testimony provides a structure within which events can be related and feelings expressed. A testimony is also a form through which the voice of a ‘witness’ is accorded space and protection. It can be constructed

as a monologue and as a public performance. The structure of testimony – its formality, context and sense of immediacy – appeals to many indigenous participants, particularly elders. It is an approach that translates well to a formal written document. While the listener may ask questions, testimonies structure the responses, silencing certain types of questions, and formalizing others. (p. 144)

Given this description, testimony seemed to be the best form of representation I could use. It is a form of “witnessing methodology” as recognized by Qwul’shi’yah’maht which can validate, confirm, and heal. Moreover, as Wilson (2004) notes, testimony demands a “moral response” from members of the dominant majority (p. 79), who, in Japan, have no idea what has happened historically to the people of Tokunoshima. Although I do not expect a moral response from Japan, I do feel that positioning islanders in the role of plaintiff makes sense. That is, the most important aspects of testimony are, as Gibbons (2004) suggests, “the desire to address injustice (although the injustices differ) and, secondly, the project of recovering from traumatic experiences” (p. 3). Gibbons (2004) also suggests that the “recovery” made possible by giving testimony refers to bringing back, curing, and delivering a verdict that allows for restitution (p 3). In other words, giving testimony, speaking out against the “essential problems” of being “denied, medicated, rationalized, ignored, or hated” (Alfred, 1999, p. 35) that affect all Indigenous peoples, is important and healing—whether or not the voices are heard.

It is my position that if you are bored or frustrated by the testimonies, then you are sitting alongside the guilty parties, admitting that you do not care or do not need to know about the pain caused by dominant societies. If you are one of the people giving testimony, then you will be crying, and nodding your head in agreement when other people are giving testimony, and feeling validated by the ceremonial aspects of the process. So, I caution you, as readers, that if you find this section boring, then you may be in a different state of mind/ideology with a different set of experiences from mine. I am not bored.

At the same time, however, I needed to be wary. Stewart-Harawira (2005) notes that, for Indigenous researchers working in Indigenous communities, it is essential to be cognitive of the potential for harm in revealing too much. She writes:

The fine line between revealing too much and stating what is necessary in order to ‘give voice’ to those who have been generous of their time and trust, to support the goal of transformation and empowerment, and to validate the research, requires a delicate balancing act (p. 22).

To my way of understanding, she is reminding us all that there is a need to protect knowledge belonging to an individual, a family, or a community, and to understand that some knowledge is sacred, and therefore not to be shared at all.

With these ideas in mind, I returned to the most salient points⁵² in the interview transcripts, and created a standardized template for each of the testimonies. In that way, I treated each participant’s story as testimony to similar events and experiences, and allowed them to bear witness to those experiences. The results, presented below, may be somewhat less entertaining to read than the stories that my interviewees would tell, but they address the commonalities: the theft of our language during school, the shift, change, and pidginization of Shimaguchi itself, the punishment and shame of our young people (that is, the older people expressed their concern for the young people, while the young people themselves showed that they had no idea about the loss of the LCIs or the historical consequences of colonization), the loss of traditional forms of networking, the encroachment of capitalism, the confusion of our identity, and the desire to keep the past alive with a view to living in the future. To me, these stories are similar to the testimonies of residential school survivors in Canada (see, for example, Sniderman, 2012), and they should be recognized in the same way. Each participant’s pain and rationale for why events happened as they did needs to be equally honoured. It is not up to me to choose who should be given voice, and who should not.

⁵² In chapter 3 (specifically pp. 102-103) I explain the process through which I found the themes in my data. Here, I do not use the words “thematic analysis” because this chapter is intended to read more Indigenous-ly and less like academic research.

So, this chapter is constituted by the formal testimonies that have resulted from analysis of the interviews. To be clear, I did not go in asking my interviewees to give me testimony. Rather, I transcribed the interviews in whole or in part in Japanese, and I later collected all of the most important ideas that the interviewees had addressed. I then made a list of the ideas/points, and wrote out what each of the participants had to say about those from my transcripts; that is, testimony is the result of my data analysis. I gave the resulting testimonies to each participant and had them edit them themselves. They returned the edited copies to me, and I translated them into English to the best of my ability.

Reading these testimonies will work best if we imagine that we are in a courtroom in Japan, that my islanders are the plaintiffs, and that I am their lawyer because they would rather be represented by a Western-educated islander than by a trained lawyer from the dominant culture. The others in the courtroom are Yamato clan (mainland Japanese) or Satsuma clan (dominant Kagoshima people) and some foreigners who have just located Tokunoshima on a map of Japan and realized that it is far enough away and tropically exotic enough to make this mildly entertaining, but not relevant to them in their everyday lives. There are also a number of Tokunoshima islanders who have made the journey to Kagoshima City (the capitol city of the prefecture) to hear those who have been chosen to speak on their behalves, to offer support, and to make sure that in a land without human rights, those who have been chosen to speak are not the only ones who will suffer consequences from their testimony. I am asking each witness to speak to specific points in a ceremonial—rather than a storytelling—manner.

Courtrooms in Japan are solemn and formal, and my island people speak quite softly against the dominant society (that is, they do not normally speak truth to power in Foucauldian terms), which fits in well with a courtroom. Islanders never yell at the dominator because the dominator is deaf to their language. They never accuse their slave masters because they know it will just come back to bite them. They are seldom bitter because bitterness solves nothing. They simply speak. Imagining these stories below as testimony also helps us to rationalize using numbers for the interviewees instead of names. These are depersonalized

testimonies, but they are also deeply personal. We readers may all grow tired of the same ideas resonating throughout, but it is important to understand that my interviewees are speaking with consistency, and that together with me we/they are establishing a body of evidence.

Testimonial 1106. This is the testimony of a 70 something year old female from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as I know the generations go back. I can speak both *Shima-guchi* and standardized Japanese fluently. I used Shima-guchi until I started elementary school; therefore, I feel that Shima-guchi is the language of my heart. I was born and grew up in Isen; however, I have now moved to Kametsu. I have finished raising my children. Currently, I am a housewife and a part time farmer.

I received my education on Tokunoshima until high school. In elementary school, junior high school, and high school I was taught not to use Shima-guchi by the Board of Education. When we spoke Shima-guchi, we had to wear a placard saying “I spoke Shima-guchi.” This used to hurt us as children. In order to take the plaque off your neck, you had to find another friend and report that friend to the teachers. As a result, we used to see each other through that lens (we were policing each other). When there were Japanese vocabulary words or phrases that we could not say or did not know, we had to give a phrase at the beginning, so that when we said it in Shima-guchi, we were allowed to express what we wanted to say. Wherever the school could not keep an eye on us, everything was lived in Shima-guchi.

Traditional events or festivals used to be big factors within the household, society, the community, and the shima. That practice itself and life itself was the language and was the culture. However, we do not see those practices anymore. Tokunoshima used to have horizontal connections which were called “*yui*” and/or “*yuiwaku*.” This cannot be seen, or does not exist in the current society; moreover, I do not think those kinds of horizontal connections can be made anymore.

Therefore, I see that Tokunoshima’s language and culture have changed. The process of Tokunoshima language and culture change started from about

World War II, which caused a lack of food, a change in social structure (to a currency-structured economy—money capitalism), which furthered the lack of food because money and Japanese government supported the reduction of rice making on Tokunoshima by shifting us to sugar cane production. Tokunoshima used to have its own economy within the island, which supported Yuiwaku. After World War II, this changed to Japanese and world-based finance, known as capitalism.

Due to World War II, Tokunoshima's living standard decreased. As a result, islanders left to go to the mainland, reducing the Tokunoshima population. Moreover, those who left the island, when they came back to the island to visit, brought stories of living in hardship on the mainland—for example, they couldn't speak the language so they were eliminated from society outside the island—and they introduced mainland language and culture to the island, which made islanders insist on using standardized Japanese. Because of movement like this, islanders start to change their ideology to more resemble capitalism and the finance-based economy, and began looking for cash income. They moved to the mainland with that idea in mind. Therefore, the number of people who have been leaving the island in order to get a job or to attend school increased. In summary of this section, I mean this. Before World War II, islanders worked to support their families and themselves, which was the culture. The workload was the culture. After World War II, they wanted to follow the “civilized” lifestyle. In order to do that, they needed to work for money. That's how it seems to have changed.

Many of those changes unfortunately happened within my lifetime. Prior to this, I do not think there was much change.

Of course, the above change in Tokunoshima language and culture happened because islanders thought that having a unique islander language and culture was not as important as the emphasis on civilization. Because of all of this change in language and culture in recent years, when I look at the older generation, it is true that we think that they speak and hold knowledge of practices of culture. We have no way of knowing how our ancestors used their language or how they

used their culture. At this point, I can't even recall many of the vocabulary items and ways of saying things anymore. I cannot provide any opinion about my ancestor's language and culture since I have no recollection in living memory. Those long gone, my ancestors were, of course, fluent in language and culture. I think the reference point or baseline of what I think language and culture is, and the younger generation's baseline of what they think language and culture is, is different. Even within the same generation, there are individual differences. Maybe that is the reason the older generation seems to be better language and culture users.

About the Tokunoshima language and culture, there must be a difference within their own standards and experiences. From this, differences in the standards and experiences are likely to provide the explanation of why older generations failed to see the younger generation as Shiman-chu. However, the younger generation is saying that they are Shiman-chu with confidence, which comes from the love of the island instead of fluency in Shima-guchi or ability to practice island language and culture. This means they are saying "it comes from being born, raised, and living a long time on the island" not only from fluency in Shima-guchi, or knowledge and practice of culture. It seems that absolute definition of Tokunoshima identity is dependent on whether the person likes Tokunoshima or not. However, relative identity seems different. Respondents [to the survey] said they believed themselves to be Global, Asian, Japanese, Kagoshima person, Amami person, but not Ryukyu persons. These results come from Ryukyu now being an American territory and, after World War II, economic connection to Ryukyu from this island has been changed by Japanese policy.

With regard to the question about Tokunoshima language and culture from the past and mainland Japan and the world based civilized life standard for the future, it is true they cannot perfectly coexist. It may be contradictory, but gathering from the responses of the young generation I believe there are still possibilities of still keeping both past and future. In order for young people to come to live on Tokunoshima, Tokunoshima needs to have more industry, businesses, and places where people can learn scientific knowledge. Of course to

do this, Tokunoshima would need government support from the mainland. But, I think that when the young generations gather in Tokunoshima, people will start to use *Shima-guchi* within the society and within the family. Unfortunately, the education system which tries to eliminate Tokunoshima language and culture, and workplaces that increased material movement which ended in creating a wall between generational language and culture continuation are not likely to end. (Education tried to eliminate language and culture and workplaces enhanced this). Of course, to live within the economic life is necessary; therefore, standardized Japanese and *Shima-guchi* are both needed.

Testimonial 1107. This is the testimony of a male in his 20s who lives on Tokunoshima.

I am native to Tokunoshima as far as my memory goes back. I speak fluent standardized Japanese, but I cannot use *Shima-guchi*. I used standardized Japanese both at school and at home. I continue to live on the island currently. In the past, I did not know, and never heard about the Tokunoshima public school ban on *Shima-guchi* usage. Furthermore, I did not know that those who use *hougen* (direct translation is “dialect” which is how *Shima-guchi* is commonly referred to by younger generations) at school had to wear a sign from their necks saying “I used *hougen*.”

About the change in Tokunoshima language and culture, unfortunately, I cannot answer that because I have not experienced the Tokunoshima language and culture, so I simply don’t know if it has changed, is changing, or has not changed.

The survey results indicate that the older generation speaks fluent *Shima-guchi* and the younger generations cannot speak at all; however, I don’t know about that much. Even at school, if my friends used *Shima-guchi*, even scattered words, probably I wouldn’t have recognized those words.

The absolute identity of Tokunoshima seems to depend on whether a person has Tokunoshima spirit or not. The relative identity in terms of being Global, Asian, Japanese, Kagoshima, Amami, Tokunoshima, seems to be agreed on except for Ryukyu identity. I have never heard any historical points of view about

Ryukyu and Satsuma (Kagoshima: the conqueror from mainland Japan in 1609), or my ancestry stories. I think I am a Kagoshima person.

I cannot imagine at all that between friends and within the household, people would use Shima-guchi.

Testimonial 1108. This is the testimony from a female in her 50s.

I have lived on Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back and as far as generations go back. I can speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and received all of my education up to high school there. While I was growing up, all of the conversation was in Shima-guchi. This means that in the family, with friends, neighbours, all the time we used Shima-guchi, except for during school education. The schools' education banned Shima-guchi usage by force, and school teachers only allowed us to speak standardized Japanese. If we used Shima-guchi, we had to do some kind of penalty like cleaning. At that time, most of the students who were told not to use Shima-guchi were boys. When we had things that we could not say in standardized Japanese, first we had to say "if I say it in Shima-guchi" then we were allowed to say it in Shima-guchi. Before and after school, we only used Shima-guchi, and reinforcement of standardized Japanese stopped by the time we went to high school because we all used standardized Japanese by then. By the time I graduated from junior high school (around 1960), that wasn't there anymore.

I think Tokunoshima language has changed. My child entered Shima-guchi competitions, but at that time, I remember I had great trouble translating standardized Japanese into Shima-guchi. There were so many things you couldn't say in Shima-guchi. This means it is not only that Shima-guchi has changed, but there are so many people who don't speak Shima-guchi. This is symbolized even in conversation; when people who can't speak Shima-guchi enter the conversation, the conversation will change into standardized Japanese from Shima-guchi. Looking at the problem like this, then makes me think that it looks like there is a fault in parents who didn't use Shima-guchi. This Shima-guchi change is caused by the introduction of standardized Japanese through television, internet, mass

media, and those kinds of information media. Through these, nowadays, information enters the island with almost no time lag.

Tokunoshima's language change has happened within my lifetime. Even from a historical point of view, I think it happened. Probably it happened at the end of each era in history. Shima-guchi's difference is not shown at the end of its era in history, but each community (shima) location shows differences as well. This change has happened over the generations with Tokunoshima's people's lifestyle change. Of course, Tokyo's language is beautiful.

Older generations or our ancestors seem to speak better Shima-guchi and use Shima culture well. But the younger generation is unable to do so. By looking at these results, I think Tokunoshima's Shima-guchi is naturally disappearing. This is because there is no place to use Shima-guchi. Not only that, there are no people to speak to since our society doesn't live with three generations together anymore. Those who didn't have a chance to speak Shima-guchi would probably think that any people who are able to speak more Shima-guchi than they can, are good Shima-guchi speakers. They would automatically assume this. At this time in history, we all speak standardized Japanese, even with the older generations. That even applies to our own grandchildren. Because our grandchildren don't speak *Shima-guchi*, we have to speak to them in standardized Japanese. I think the reason that the older generations speak standardized Japanese quite well is because they are also watching television and listening to standardized Japanese all the time. Probably, just like Japan, in the Tokugawa era, when Japan closed the country to other countries, Tokunoshima had almost no contact with other places. Therefore, information did not come in to Tokunoshima from outside, which allowed us to use Shima-guchi in all aspects of life. This means even between the communities (shima didn't have communication or transportation)—or at least it was very difficult. This is like Tokunoshima being a scaled down version of old Japan.

Younger people think of themselves as Shiman-chu, but when older generations see them, the older generations disagree with the younger generations being Shiman-chu. The problem with this is that this question does not bring the

foundation of Shiman-chu into it (so people will pick and choose what they want). They probably think “I am Shiman-chu because I live here” or “I’m Shiman-chu because I can use Shima-guchi.” If this question asked the responder “what does it mean to be Shiman-chu” then I would say whether the respondent likes Tokunoshima or not. At least that is the younger generation’s foundation for what it means to be Shiman-chu. Probably people from Tokunoshima would say “I am so Shiman-chu” if they were told “you are not Shiman-chu” by non-islanders. I think this is the foundation of this survey question.

For the most part, I agree with the survey results about the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amami, Japanese, but I agree a little bit less with Kagoshima, Asia, and I don’t agree about Ryukyu. I think Tokunoshima is close to Ryukyu. Especially, places like Omonowa and Tokunoshima, the name itself can be seen as it’s facing Okinawa; that is where the name has come from. Moreover, Tokunoshima’s culture will always go back to Ryukyu culture, and that is rooted in Tokunoshima. However, at this time, there is almost no place that carries events and ceremonies according to the traditional lunar calendar. Even the food that is served in ceremonies and events, is different between Shima. When you see things from a distance over all, it all appears the same, but when you look closely, small differences exist, such as the way they cook or how many serving plates are on the table. I am trying to write this tradition down, and capture images with my camera, but it is difficult to pass on the meaning to the next generation.

Tokunoshima people want to have past and future simultaneously. I don’t want to go back to the past. But, those who went to Tokyo wished to come back, and many could not come back. They still cannot come back. From that point of view, it is more important to come back to Tokunoshima, and those who can are the happiest people.

Even if all Tokunoshima people were able to speak Shima-guchi, I still think it would be impossible to use it in our school education. I think that it could be used in social life. Not only that, but at this time of our lives, I will say greetings in Shima-guchi when I see people who can use Shima-guchi.

Testimonial 1109. This is the testimony of a male in his 70s who is from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as memory goes back through the generations. I can speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I used Shima-guchi until I left the island when I was 20 years old. I used standardized Japanese at school. I was born in Inokawa and was raised there, but currently I live in Kametoku. I left Tokunoshima when I was 20 and worked on the mainland of Japan for 40 years. After my retirement, I came back to Tokunoshima. Currently, I practice and teach Shima-uta and sanshiru (shamisen, a stringed instrument). While I was living on the mainland for 40 years, when I had contact with Tokunoshima people, I always used Shima-guchi and Shima culture. This means I was intentionally practicing Shima-guchi and Shima-uta. At that time, we were discriminated against for being Amami people (from Amami) but I held my pride in being of Shima blood and continued to practice my language and culture. Even for a person like me, it is a little bit difficult. There is a limitation for my usage with respect to vocabulary/expressions in Shima-guchi. It doesn't mean I cannot use them; I have been using them, and I think I have to use them and to continue to use them.

Looking at it from this perspective, I think that Tokunoshima language and culture has been changed. After leaving the island, and coming back for 20 years after a considerable time lag, Inokawa, where I was born and grew up, has changed its language. It feels like Inokawa's Shima-guchi has remained inside me. Young people in junior high schools nowadays speak standardized Japanese in their daily lives. When they become high school students, then they start to practice Shima-guchi. As a result, their own individual hougen language (this is a specific reference to the individual dialects of the island) is contaminated with other shimas' hougens or other areas' or other communities' hougens or by Japanese. People don't use their own hougen any more. People don't use Shima-guchi; therefore, Shima-guchi has become a pidgin language; that is, it is an imperfect form of the earlier hougens and it will become a creole. Including within the family, the problem is that people just don't use the language anymore.

Again, after returning to Tokunoshima, 20 years later, Shima-guchi has totally changed. Unfortunately, all these changes have happened within my lifespan.

Due to all of this Tokunoshima language and culture change in recent years, it is true that respondents say that they view older generations as having a more pure language and culture...it must be true. I don't know and there is no way of knowing how my ancestors used their language and culture. At this moment, I can't even recall how people used their vocabulary and expressions in the past. I cannot tell how my ancestors whom I have never met used language, but I can say that my parents were fluent in the language and culture of Tokunoshima. Probably what I obtained as a standard of Shima-guchi and Shima culture is different from the younger generations' standards. Those of them who look at the older generations probably see us as fluent users. Thinking from this perspective, probably Shima-guchi and shima culture have been shifting and changing slightly over time. I assume this.

Tokunoshima Shima-guchi and culture show differences between the generations in terms of the standards. From those different standards, I can understand why the older generation does not recognize the younger generations as Shiman-chu. However, when the older generation expresses their confidence and recognition of being Shiman-chu, this comes from Shima-guchi and shima culture rather than just pride in being Shiman-chu.

It appears that the absolute identity of Tokunoshima lies in whether a person likes Tokunoshima or not. However, the relative identity of being global, Asian, Japanese, Kagoshima, Tokunoshima, Amami, the majority of people hold onto all of these concepts of identity except for the identity of Ryukyu person. In my opinion, this results from the fact that Amami is drawing a line between themselves and Ryukyu. Therefore, the cultural groups are seen to be different areas (Amami and Okinawa). I think even within the Amami area, there is a line between the north of Tokunoshima and the south of Okinoerabu. The south, Okinoerabu, are more influenced by Ryukyu, it seems.

The survey results show that Tokunoshima people would like to have language and culture as well as a world standard of civilization, and I would like

to have both as well. I wish those two things could be merged into one in some form. In order to do so, Tokunoshima needs to review many foundational ideas such as Tokunoshima's ethics and morals. By doing so, Tokunoshima people may be able to hold their pride and be able to introduce themselves to the world and be able to promote tourism.

People in Tokunoshima nowadays think that Shima-uta are sung by specialized people, singers, but in the past those songs used to belong to everybody, and everyone else was singing everywhere. They were singing at the top of their lungs while they were cutting the fields, or while they were working. Now, we don't hear that anymore. I wish people would start singing Shima-uta again while they are working in the fields.

Testimonial 1110. This is the testimony from a female in her 60s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on Tokunoshima as long as I can remember and all the generations prior to me are native to the land. I can speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and I received all of my education here until high school. I spoke standardized Japanese at school, except for that, in the household, in reality, I spoke only Shima-guchi. I was instructed not to use what was called hougen, but rather to use standardized Japanese from the school education system. Not only was I told not to use hougen, but also those who used hougen were given physical punishments. In the beginning, those who spoke hougen at school were forced to wear a red plaque around their necks, but later they were forced to carry sand. This sand was collected from the beach and the student had to bring it to school. That was used to make concrete for the water line construction. I left Tokunoshima after graduation from high school but I came back to the island and continued to live on Tokunoshima.

I think Tokunoshima's language and culture are changing. People can't use good respectable forms of the language. As a result, those who can't use the Tokunoshima language are playing with the language forms, and they have thereby created a kind of pidgin. This language shift and change has coincided

with each family's structural change. The nuclearized family structure and the introduction of television around 1956, is the origin of the young generation no longer using Shima-guchi. That era was the hougen-banning era. These Shima-guchi and shima culture changes have happened in my lifetime. Even looking at this from the historical point of view, the change of Shima-guchi and Shima culture are something I wonder about; I am not really sure about it. At that time (historically), Tokunoshima islanders still had their traditional life. But, with the increase of human movement and material movement, the language and culture of Tokunoshima has changed. After World War II and the island's return to Japan, the population of Tokunoshima decreased drastically and also the number of schools and the amount of work has decreased.

The results from the survey said that the older generations, including my ancestors, speak and practice fluent Shima-guchi and shima culture. The younger the generation gets, the less ability in Shima-guchi and culture they have. In the past, there were more connections between humans (human-to-human). The communication within the family has disappeared. In the past, we didn't have even a thing called overtime work that is really common now; however, I said that the reality is that there is no communication that exists nowadays. There are so many wonderful, incredible sayings that exist, but they have not been passed down to the generations. Those who know about these sayings and use them are mostly those in their 80s and 90s.

The younger generation thinks they are Shiman-chu, but the older generation disagrees with their opinions. This also comes from the fact that people are not using Shima-guchi in their families. There are things about growing up on Tokunoshima, like compassion, island heart, and loving hearts that come just from growing up here. At this moment, people don't use Shima-guchi at their workplaces, but it might be helpful to use Shima-guchi at their workplace. I guess Shima-guchi is not equal to Shiman-chu.

With regard to the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amamin-chu, Japanese, to a lesser extent Kagoshima, Asia identities being positive, but people not having Ryukyu identity, I think that even though the results showed that people didn't

say they were Ryukyu people, I assume they didn't say they were Kagoshima people. These results may rely on the different age groups. The older the age, probably, the more people will say they are closer to Ryukyu—due to the historical discrimination from Kagoshima. In reality, we have been called kurobe (black beings) and doujin (dirt people) by the Kagoshima people.

Tokunoshima people seem to want to have the past and the future at the same time. I can understand the way they think. Moreover, in the past exists the future. It is important to participate in Shima-guchi competitions and communication with grandparents. If all the Tokunoshima people were able to speak Shima-guchi, then we need to assign a day for the people to use Shima-guchi within the family. Other ideas would be to greet each other in Shima-guchi at school and in workplaces.

Testimonial 1111. This is testimony from a female in her 60s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as memory goes back: I am native to the land. I can speak Shima-guchi quite well, and I can speak standardized Japanese fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and received my education until high school on the island. The household conversation was almost 100% hougen. This was extended to between friends, neighbours, except for school. I wasn't allowed to use Shima-guchi in the school system. In the school system I was taught not to use hougen. When we used hougen at school, there used to be a person of the week who was a behaviour watchdog and wore a red band on their arms. They would find out, and force us to do cleaning up jobs or physical penalty.

My family consisted of three generations. We lived with grandparents and children altogether. My own children used to live with their grandfather, so I remember them using Shima-guchi. However, the youngest child of mine used only standardized language in her life. My daughter, who is in her 20s, when I look back at her time, maybe the boys were still using Shima-guchi, but I don't remember the girls using Shima-guchi. Unfortunately, there was no Shima-guchi teaching in the school system. My daughter grew up in a three generational household. Even though we used to live with grandfather, different from other

families, we used standardized Japanese within our family for family conversation. The only thing that I used was the vocabulary and it wasn't used as a Shima-guchi conversation, but rather I scattered some Shima-guchi vocabulary in a standardized Japanese conversation.

I don't think I can say that Tokunoshima language has changed, but I think that it is now possibly changing. I think it has changed a little bit. This change comes with an increased number of non-Tokunoshima people coming to the island because of such things as marriage. As islanders, we emphasize communication, understanding each other, so in order to understand outsiders, islanders used standardized Japanese. About the culture as well, we discontinued having events and ceremonies and also stopped producing the food that we used to make at that time. This comes from a simplification in our lifestyle. In the past, we could only eat certain food at each event or ceremony day, but nowadays we can eat them any time. These changes have happened within my lifetime, but I can't tell you what happened prior to that.

Shima-guchi and shima culture were fluent in ancestral generations, but as we look at younger and younger age groups, individuals can't speak well or use our culture well. This is because children are using standardized Japanese language only, in all of the conversations in their lives. Therefore, the older the generation, the more it looks to the younger generation that they are good at it. This probably happens in every generation and has always happened in every generation. The reason most people think that the older generation speaks fluent Shima-guchi is that probably they do not know about their generations. In my house, when we speak between three generations, the conversation involves mostly standardized Japanese mixed with Shima-guchi. This is my personal opinion, but I think the language influence from the mother is very strong. What you pass down from the mother is the relationship with society, how people should be connected to each other, so that also includes language and culture.

Despite the younger generation believing they are Shiman-chu, the older generation has a tendency to see the younger generation as not Shiman-chu due to differences in Shima-guchi and shima culture's experience and standard. I think

that's because people are born on Tokunoshima and they grew up on Tokunoshima. My children probably think they are Shiman-chu at this moment, but from now I think my children became city people. My children are not good at Shima-guchi, but my daughter was born and grew up on Tokunoshima; therefore, she is Shiman-chu. For other people's children, we say their children are just like city people when we want to praise them. However, that is a different point of view for praise from the point of view for your own children.

The identity, self-identity of Shiman-chu, Amamin-chu, Japanese is quite strong, but there is a fading away identity of Kagoshiman-chu, Asian person, and a ruling out of identity with Ryukyu because, before and after World War II, Tokunoshima's returning to belonging to Japan seems to be the origin of that idea. Me, myself, I have very little consciousness of being a Kagoshima person. Kagoshima/Satsuma conquered Tokunoshima and dominated history, which probably makes me have very little consciousness of being a Kagoshima person.

It is showing that Tokunoshima people want both Shima-guchi and shima culture from the past and the new ideology and life standard from world civilization for the future, simultaneously. About this point, I also think that you can think this way. However, it would be very difficult. Even though it might be difficult, I would like to continue Shima-guchi.

If Tokunoshima people can speak Shima-guchi, then I think within the family and somewhat in social life, would be the place where people can use Shima-guchi. I think that the workplace will continue to be based in standardized Japanese. Of course, if we're talking about someone who continues to work as a farmer, then it is a different story. If the life concerns are within your own family and connections, then it is possible. In reality, social life and neighbourhood communication is often in Shima-guchi, but if those who do not understand Shima-guchi join the conversation, then the conversation switches to standardized Japanese. On the other hand, it would not be so simple when meetings and community gathering situations occur, since under those conditions, people have to pay respect to the bureaucracy. Sometimes, the people who come from outside

the island have worked hard to be able to use Shima-guchi. This continuation of Shima-guchi and shima culture comes down to an individual's willingness to do it.

Testimonial 1112. Testimony of a male in his 50s not from Tokunoshima.

I started to live on Tokunoshima. I can speak standard Japanese fluently; however, I cannot speak Tokunoshima Shima-guchi. Originally, I was born on Amami Oshima and received elementary school education on Amami Oshima. Both of my parents are from Amami-Oshima. My father was born on Tokunoshima, but after 6 months of being there, he moved to Kagoshima. When he was 7 years old, he came back to Amami-Oshima. My mother came from Kikai Island, but she has been in Naze (the major city on Amami-Oshima) since then. Since my father lived in various places, he cannot speak Tokunoshima Shima-guchi. And, he somewhat speaks Amami-Oshima language. I am sure his listening ability is good. My mother, on the other hand, seems to speak fluent Shima-guchi. The people I know have told me so. After that, I asked my mother, and my mother said "yes I can speak Shima-guchi, but there is no reason to speak it with anybody." Therefore I realized that without other speakers, the words don't come out.

I think Tokunoshima language and culture are being lost. This means that Tokunoshima language and culture is losing against mainland language and culture. That's what it means. With regard to Tokunoshima and Amami-Oshima area's language and culture, the southern part of Amami-Oshima is very similar to Tokunoshima. About the beautiful person, in Amami Oshima, we say kiyoramun, which means "pure person;" therefore, beautiful comes from clear (meaning the heart rather than the physical being). However, the southern part of Amami Oshima and Tokunoshima has changed this to kiyuramun. When you go further south of Okinoerabu to Okinawa, it changes to chiuramun. The language is shifting, changing. As a result, the change of language is due to natural shift by geographical and temporal factors. Currently, with our senses, and our generation, the islands are isolated because of the ocean. In the past, I think people did not feel the same way or the same senses that we are feeling. That means they might

have thought they were connected rather than disconnected by the ocean, by the sea, water.

Tokunoshima's language and culture is changing and becoming an empty shell. It is separating from the actual life that people are living. In Amami-Oshima, it is becoming a show, a staged performance. At this time it doesn't exist in our day-to-day life. For example, in Tokunoshima, when I first came to Tokunoshima 27 years ago, both sides of the straight road used to have rice paddies lining the road, but when I came back 8 years ago, all those rice fields had become sugar cane fields. Even on Amami Oshima, there is almost no place where you can hear rice-planting songs anymore. In Tatsugo town, a place called Akina, there is still some rice being produced. I think civilization can be obtained easily as soon as you pay money (purchase it). For example, electric household items make it much easier to bring in civilization (you pay for it; you get it). I think about culture, it is represented by language and the practice of tradition, so it is easy to lose. You can make culture, but it takes time.

When I used to live in Saitama (the mainland) the day-to-day work was hard, and I was eating lunch at the café, I heard Amami songs through some speakers. Until that moment, I never liked Amami or Shima-uta, but the moment I heard Shima-uta, my body reacted by itself and I couldn't stop my tears from coming out. Even I was surprised that I was crying. I couldn't believe who I had become in my forties. I wondered why that happened. Well I can say that it could be in the DNA.

Hearing the expressions of Amami or Tokunoshima in different places makes you nostalgic. In your heart, you will return to your furusato (hometown) instantly. Just like that, for singers or famous people to come to Amami area, if they were able to sing popular local Shima-uta or songs, for example, for Tokunoshima, it would be Tokunoshima-kouta or Waidobushi, makes local people open their hearts to the singer. Not only that, prior to singing, if they could say good evening in the local language (you ne umagera), this would also provide closeness to the local people.

There is an increased number of Shima-uta singers recently. When my father was young in the past, in the 1930s and 40s, the person who sings Shima-uta seemed to have an association with being a playboy. Those who sang Shima-uta, girls liked them. Michi biki shamisen (the person who sings songs on the streets) especially those who had young nice voices had popularity amongst the opposite gender, just like folk music and rock music nowadays. Therefore, from the parents' point of view, they were not believable trusted people; they were rebels. When the parents heard michi biki shamisen, parents used to tell their kids "go to bed now." There was nobody who learned to play sanshiru or learned to sing Shima-uta officially. It seems to be that when the father had gone out, the kids would practice by recalling the melodies. While they were concentrating on practicing, the parents would come home and the parents would normally get mad and beat them up. The kids would be told "don't use my shamisen. I didn't give you permission. If you continue to do this, you will become a bum." I hear stories like this often. The thing is, you hear an island song and you memorize it. You record it with your ears. This recording by hearing seemed to provide language and melody change and shifts. The following are some examples.

When there were occasions for Shima-uta in the next community, people used to go to steal songs. The expression of stealing—when I asked those people "what do you mean by steal?" they would reply "if I hear good tunes, then I will borrow them." Utasha (a singer of Shima-uta) move their own experiences and knowledge through their life into their Shima-uta. When the residents request a song like Asabana, Utasha can select freely and recollect; therefore, there is no guarantee that it would be the same lyrics as the last time they sang it, or the same lyrics as someone else. Even the melody, even an experienced singer like Mr. Tsuboyama, the way he sings has changed from when he was in his 50s to when he was in his 60s. There is a thing called magei; that is the sections of songs. There are changes in magei and there are many reasons for it. One reason is that when the Utasha gets older, they cannot sustain their breath, and are unable to continue, so where they are unable to breathe, they stop. At that time, the lyric and the melody change. The next reason is that they are putting the function of copy

guard (copyright). As I was telling you earlier, the next community's singers will come to steal my tunes, the singer's tunes, so they are preventing that. The singer will be looking at the listener's faces and thinking "well, he is from another place; he is here to steal my song," then he will sing so that it will be very difficult to listen to. You would think "what is that about", but you wouldn't want your songs to be stolen. Finally, there are changes that come from mistakes happening when you learn through listening. The practice of Shima-uta and shamisen requires only recording by ears; therefore mistakes will happen. As a result, I think Shima-uta has been and will be changing. It is impossible to identify which Shima-uta is the original Shima-uta. Just like Shima-uta, Shima culture and language change at the borderline between the villages. I thought there would be similarity between the neighbouring community's cultures, but sometimes people from neighbouring shimas recognize something totally different from each other. Especially, they sense that the neighbouring shima is different. Instead, further distant places may share some of the same cultures. I think those distant shima are connected by ships and oceans. Therefore, at first, Konya (on Amami-Oshima) and Tokunoshima being the same was a mystery to me, but watching the maps, I understand they are quite close to each other by the sea. San (a town in the north of Tokunoshima) and Yoro (a small island north of Tokunoshima) are controlled by one Nodo. This is like a shaman. This person has looked after both areas. The political area was the same in the past. Nodo and Yuta existed. Yuta is the one who does the shamanism, and predicts the future. Nodo is the one who prays. There was Satsuma who took over everything, including Okinawa; Satsuma took over Ryukyu. Satsuma did not want to destroy this system; instead, they (the Satsuma han) used the Nodo and Yuta system. Especially, Satsuma used Nodo. They placed Satsuma government/policy. They did not deny or ban, but rather included and used the Nodo system. By using the existing system, things went very smoothly I assume because instead of being told to bring something by Satsuma people, they were told to bring something to please the governors by Nodo, which would have worked very well.

The survey results showed that despite their age differences, most of the people answered that their grandparents spoke fluent Shima-guchi. Even the older generations answered that their grandparents spoke fluent Shima-guchi. This result was the same in cultural knowledge and practices. I think this comes from environmental changes. I am not sure if Japan is strong or weak on this point, but I think it reflects the lack of communication between the generations—it has been lost. Prior to World War II, families lived with three generations in Japan, from babies to elders. However, nowadays the family structure has changed into the nuclear family. It depends on where people are living and what culture they are in; despite the effort of passing down the culture, there are almost no places for us to practice the culture. Even if parents spoke fluent Tokunoshima language when there were no places for children to use the language, then it will weaken and eventually die. It is getting thinner and thinner; therefore, Shima-guchi and shima culture is being lost, I think. But, as long as Tokunoshima exists, language and culture can thin out, just like thinning out the taste with water, it becomes further and further from the original the taste, but it will never become water (there will always be some flavour).

The survey results showed that the identity of being Tokunoshima Shiman-chu seems to be independent from Shima-guchi and cultural practices and knowledge. This answer could depend on what the survey people thought of as a standard. What they think of Shiman-chu it probably comes from a different standard. I think that those who are just standing around when there is a festival, or when the language is being spoken, without participating, are not Shiman-chu. Therefore, I think if the person is willing to dance with everybody else, then he or she will be treated as Shiman-chu. I think it is a much simpler thing; you just have to participate. If you are just standing, then you just become another tourist. First you have to make an action. Currently, Japan has many certificates (for specialization). The problem with that is that your identity as a Japanese is judged as “first class” “second class” “third class” as a result of examinations. Even Kagoshima has a Kagoshima certificate, that is, you have to be able to say things such as where you are born in Kagoshima language or dialect. There are

advantages to having a certificate of Kagoshima language; that is, you need it to become a tour guide in Kagoshima. Even if we make a Shiman-chu certificate, evidently many of the young generation would fail. However, there would be a helping hand built into the system by labeling people with “beginner” “middle class” and “expert” levels.

On this island, Tokunoshima, there is an Oshima society. When I first came to Tokunoshima, someone pointed out to me “do you know the Oshima society?” I didn’t know, so I asked “what is that?” It is the society that those who came from Amami Oshima to Tokunoshima because of work, or because of marriage, etc. after 20 or 30 years, people get together and meet once in a while. The point is people from Amami-Oshima get together and speak Amami-Oshima language and just feel each other—in a way somehow, reminiscing about identity or being submerged in that language again. It’s nothing heavy, what we meet about. It’s just like when you hear shima language or Japanese in Canada...your happiness switch turns itself on. It’s the same. Usually when I am speaking on Tokunoshima I don’t feel anything, but there’s a few people on this island from Amami-Oshima, but there’s an old woman who runs an okonimiyaki shop, and she’ll say to me “Brother, you’re from Amami-Oshima aren’t you?” and I say “right, right.” She’ll say “you’re from Naze right?” “right, right.” It’s different from talking to a Tokunoshima older woman. It’s different. It’s like trying to keep water on a standing board (the water just runs over it; nothing stays). I cannot clearly analyze this situation, but the conversation lights up with Amami-Oshima people. I would feel “yeah, there is something different.” Again, I can’t say what is different—it could be intonation. Tokunoshima gives me sort of fluffy warm feeling, while Amami Oshima seems to lack that; therefore, I can understand. It is not like I talk about different subjects; simply, I want to use Amami Oshima language as a tool, and I just want to use the tool once in a while. It’s not that I want to keep it sharp. I am not thinking that I want to make it rusty. I think, “I just want to go back to Amami Oshima.” I just thought about this; in order to express my heart the most matched tool is the language. I think change or shift of language and culture is more like a gradation between the generations. If the old colour was black, the

colour would change to whiter, but it will become the whitest gray; it will never become white, and I don't think it can become white ever.

The results of the survey showed many people answered that they feel relatively strong identity with being Japanese and Amaminchu, but they didn't recognize themselves as Ryukyu people. This result probably goes back to when the Amami area returned to Japan prior to Okinawa (after WWII). Amami was returned to Japan almost 20 years prior to Okinawa being returned. Of course, the US occupied the south of Japan from north of the 29th parallel in the south. We became an American colony. But, politically, Amami islands have no value to them...I'm not sure if that is the truth or not....and the Amami islands were returned to Japan in 1948. At that time those Amami persons who were working in Okinawa towns, villages, or city offices were told to leave since they were Japanese. They were discriminated against by the Okinawans. It was because they (Okinawans) decided that they could not share pain with the Amami people anymore; the Amami people weren't part of the group with the Okinawans.

The results of the survey show that Tokunoshima people would like to have both language and culture, and industry, government, support, businesses, scientific knowledge at the same time. If I can talk about my experience through Shima-uta, Utasha has now retained some type of status. When my father started recording Shima-uta in 1951, it was almost impossible to make a life out of singing Shima-uta. At that time, Shima-uta singers were seen to be among the lowest ranked people in a cultural way. At that time, those who sang and played shamisen were thought to be only women working in bars and entertaining customers. Therefore, especially for the women, those who played and sang Shima-uta were thought to be shameless hussies. Nowadays, the perception has changed and when we see a person like Hajime Chitose who plays Shima-uta in jeans we see her as "cool." They can't play shamisen, but are very good singers.

Prior to WWII, there were lots of things called Utaashibi (playing with Shima-uta) especially in Uken village in Amami Oshima. In this Utaashibi, uta has a different meaning. Just like we are talking here, there is a melody, but it is a conversation. Just like "Mr. Nakagawa, I saw you walking with a pretty girl

yesterday...who is she?" you have to answer. You would say "no no no, that's just my younger sister", and the person would say "I thought you had only an older sister." Then you are forced to say some line like "she's a girl just like my younger sister so and so." The person would say "Oh, if the girl is not your actual younger sister, are you allowed to go places with her, and are you allowed to do things like that with her?" and you have to say "oh well, those things were instantaneously done." You just say "those things" and everybody laughs about it and it becomes a joke. It doesn't matter if it is fiction or non-fiction. There is a set melody, but you change the lyric instantaneously. And, the old folks, all of them could speak Shima-guchi well. Therefore, we all say "it was fun today" and all those things will disappear. If somebody said "please recreate that again", you couldn't do it, but you can share the memory of that moment, how it was fun. Those who can recall are only those who were there together.

Nowadays, there is a thing called a recorder. Maybe that is not a good thing. Shima-uta is the same. Somebody sang very well, and it has been recorded, and everybody tries to copy. For example, In the 1960s, my father and Mr. Ogawa made a record called "The best of Tokunoshima folklore songs." Eight years ago when I came to Tokunoshima, we did the Shima-uta festival, and we went around to three towns. When I decided to come to Tokunoshima, one of the reasons was that Tokunoshima songs were fun. Within the song, the actual person comes out, and this is my experience. Mr. Tamekiyo from Kedoku sang a song called Mochitabore. He existed. He was a very rich person, but he was very cheap, so when we went to ask him if he would share with us some mochi, he actually gave us a small bit of it. So that is what the song was about. That is how the song goes. In order to make this CD, he had to go to the town, city hall, and talk to Mr. Zenji Kono. And Mr. Kono said "sh sh sh." And I asked "what happened?" and Mr. Kono said "well, there is the descendant of Mr. Tamekiyo." So I asked "I thought that was a 200 year old story" and he said "no that was his grandpa." So I guess I cannot talk about what I thought was the old old time.

Therefore, continuing from the previous main story, I thought I would be able to listen to the songs like a comic; it would be fun. I would be able to listen

to Tokunoshima songs. Well, people are singing exactly the same songs that my father and Mr. Ogawa recorded 44 years ago. Same lyric, same melody, exactly. I therefore think I heard the bad part of the recording machine. Of course, there is a problem on the user's side of the recording machine. That might be a good thing, but I thought "are you guys still using that?" It's like a specimen in a specimen box. But, without doing that, you would do it wrong, so that is the dilemma.

How I wanted Tokunoshima language and culture to be used in my life is I hope everybody uses it in every situation. It's not like Okinawa, but use it on the radio. Recently Amami Oshima launched a radio station. It's a local station. They are trying to produce local colour so they intentionally use Shima-guchi and the accents of Amami-Oshima. When I hear them, it makes me relax, and makes my heart easy.

At certain times, I felt critical or dangerous feelings about language and culture, but instead right now I started to think that it won't disappear, it will stay. It won't go away. No matter how much it becomes a bare skeleton, people might say that the skeleton will remain. We can put the spirit back onto the remaining skeleton through words or language, but it is becoming more difficult compared to the past. People may resist and be opposed to the idea if I say the following: But there are some people and opinions about "maybe we should sing Shima-uta in standardized Japanese." Those ideas surface because you can't force others to do something that they cannot do. And that cannot be done by government or some special people. There is nothing you can do. Of course, it's better to be able to speak Shima-guchi. At the end, if the song remains only a bare skeleton, it is a sad thing.

Testimonial 1113. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back and generations go back. I speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and grew up on Tokunoshima until I finished my high school education.

I was educated in elementary school to speak only standardized Japanese, and we had physical punishments when we spoke *hougen*. When we couldn't say what we wanted to say in standardized Japanese, we had to say "what we say in Shima-guchi" prior to saying the word in Shima-guchi. Physical punishments were given to those who used Shima-guchi when they were tattle-told-on to the teacher. There were students who used to tip off the teachers, but this gradually disappeared around junior high school when everyone started speaking Japanese because it was more natural then.

I don't think Tokunoshima language has changed much, but I think the culture has changed during my lifetime. From a historical point of view, until the 1930s, many of the events and ceremonies were very tight. As time went by, getting closer and closer to the current time, it became less tight and it felt like it was quite thinned out. I have a feeling that until I was in high school, it was tighter, but after leaving the island to go to the city, I started to meet many of my friends who returned to Tokunoshima. With the increased number of those people living in the city, I have a feeling that we started to use less Shima-guchi. Due to the increased opportunity to use more standardized Japanese, we did not speak Shima-guchi to our children; therefore children cannot speak Shima-guchi. With regard to the difference in Tokunoshima Shima-guchi and culture between generations, I agree that my parents know more than I do. In my generation, even those who stayed until they finished high school on Tokunoshima cannot speak Shima-guchi. Currently, people use standardized Japanese, even if it requires effort from some of them, even within a family conversation. This is because when we realize that a person cannot speak Shima-guchi, then we don't use *hougen* anymore.

Despite the older generation not seeing the younger generation as Shiman-chu, due to differences in their experiences and Shima-guchi, shima culture, and their own standards, the younger generation still believe that they are Shiman-chu when they see themselves. This must be because the younger generation has an attachment to Tokunoshima, because Tokunoshima is the place where they were

born and grew up. Even my daughter seems to feel safe and comfortable when she comes back to Tokunoshima.

The absolute identity of being a Tokunoshima person seems to be rooted in whether a person likes Tokunoshima or not. The relative identity of Global, Asian, Japanese, Kagoshima, Amami, and Tokunoshima was agreed to by more than half of the people in the survey, except for identification with Ryukyu people—I think that this must come from the political separation that comes from being part of Kagoshima prefecture. I feel that Ryukyu is closer to us, but individuals are feeling they are Kagoshima prefectural persons—that’s what they seem to think or feel because that is their political boundary.

Tokunoshima people seem to want to both retain the past Shima-guchi and Shima culture; they want to grab the future of the life-changing and ideology-changing world and Japanese way of life, simultaneously. This could be possible if we put an equal amount of effort into what it would take to do both. Currently, an increased amount and degree of communication and contact with cities is why we have Shima-guchi contests, and many other things like that that are happening. I do feel distanced even with my children when they go to the city and they start speaking a different language. Looking at it from this perspective, we must speak Shima-guchi within the family. It is important that between the generations we can communicate without problems. This results in differences in languages between Shimas (because different Shimas exist, and different languages are in those shimas, it is important to keep the language within the family).

If all Tokunoshima people could speak Shima-guchi, then I would imagine people actually using Tokunoshima language and culture in a variety of situations. If that is even possible, it wouldn’t happen within the school education system. Many teachers are from Kagoshima and they cannot speak Shima-guchi. In public locations such as town halls, despite knowing Shima-guchi, I speak standardized Japanese language with my best effort. In social life, it is possible if everybody else is speaking Shima-guchi to speak Shima-guchi. Where I work, many of the older females are speaking hougen. It gets easier when somebody else starts using

hougen. There are so many people who know hougen, but they don't use it. The conversation gets engaging and fun, with more laughter in Shima-guchi.

Testimonial 1114. (see 1131)

Testimonial 1115. Testimony of a male in his 70s.

I have lived in Tokunoshima for as many generations back as I can remember. I can speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima, but when I was in grade 3 I had to leave the island to avoid World War II. From grade three, I stayed away from Tokunoshima until I was 22. While I was away from Tokunoshima, I stayed with my relatives; therefore, the household used Shima-guchi all the time. As a result, my listening ability for Shima-guchi and to a lesser extent my speaking ability, developed. After graduating from high school, I studied agriculture and animal husbandry. I learned agriculture and animal husbandry in Kitakyushu and Nagano, then I returned to Tokunoshima. Originally, I was born in Isen town and I grew up there. Currently, I live in Kametsu. I used to work for the sugar cane industry, but now I have retired from that and I am running my own farm to support my family.

I taught myself Shima-guchi while I was working for the sugar cane factory because it was necessary to use Tokunoshima language in order to teach/direct the sugar cane farmers in how to raise sugar cane the best way.

I view Tokunoshima language and culture as having changed. The young generation nowadays seems to like to shorten and simplify the language. As a result, on this island, people use language that is neither Shima-guchi nor standardized Japanese. I don't think this is a good thing to happen.

Regrettably, these language and culture changes are a trend of the current times, and it is an unfortunate thing. The older generation can understand the younger generation's language, but the young generation cannot understand the older generations' language. I think the younger generation needs to put more effort into learning the older generation's language. This change in language did not happen at the young generation's level, but it was happening in the workplace level. Instruction or directions to the farmers were done in Shima-guchi. However, between the factories and the agricultural union, the town, the province, and

country-level communication, we needed to use specialized language that required standardized Japanese.

I think language and culture change was happening even in the past. On Tokunoshima, there was less contact with the outside due to isolation because of our being an island. But, after Japan lost World War II, and due to Japanese policy, Tokunoshima had to increase the transportation of materials and humans with those outside the island. Due to this, Tokunoshima's circumstances changed very much. I can imagine that these changes did happen prior to World War II, but compared to after World War II, I assume there were much milder changes. I believe that the current increase in information in the current society has increased human and material transportation, and vice versa. The change in Tokunoshima language and culture has happened because people thought that replacing their unique Tokunoshima culture with civilization was a good thing.

The survey respondents indicated that they felt that the older generation spoke and used better Tokunoshima culture, I think, because Tokunoshima's culture and language shift itself is framed like that. People who were born in the Meiji era had almost no opportunity to leave Tokunoshima, but after the Taisho and Showa eras, people increasingly left the island to go to mainland Japan to earn more cash, which changed the language. As I said above, after World War II, human, material, and information transportation increased greatly, which is the main reason for the changes. Therefore, to talk about fluency in Shima-guchi—I think those who were born in the Meiji era (1880s) should be the reference point. Again, this change in the language and culture trajectory is due to human material information increasing. For example, I remember my grandfather ceased continuation of Tokunoshima's unique language and culture by succumbing to the currents of social change. On the 23rd night of January, the family needed to peel peanuts while praying for the family's safety until the moon comes out. These practices were stopped because my grandfather did not want his descendants to go through these troublesome practices. These practices were directly connected to the Tokunoshima lifestyle. Practices like peeling peanuts directly influenced the next day's planting of peanuts. I think Tokunoshima's culture meant the life on

Tokunoshima. These Tokunoshima lifestyle things, like Shima-uta, Shima-odori (island dance), Togyuu (island style bullfighting), are examples, but the current society has turned them into mere shells. Togyuu is a good example of this. The meaning of bullfight has changed greatly from what it really meant. If we can return to the original state of Togyuu, it may bring more meaning to us. I think that when we talk about the culture of Tokunoshima, it was not currency-based capitalism, but it was a spiritually-based ideology. Of course, I think these differences are a result of the difference in using Shima-guchi versus standardized Japanese.

Tokunoshima's language and culture have been changed, but those who lived on the island over many generations and grew up on Tokunoshima, I think they are Shiman-chu, despite the change in language and culture. Unfortunately, I don't think that those who moved to Tokunoshima will ever become Shiman-chu, no matter how much they try. Maybe their children and their young children who they brought with them and who spent time growing up on Tokunoshima would become Shiman-chu, not perfectly, but at some degree. Their children would almost become Shiman-chu, and I think it takes often three generations to become Shiman-chu, sometimes two. Among those who moved to Tokunoshima as adults, for their own benefit to pursue some kind of life, some of them would calculate the amount of benefit they receive by saying they are Shiman-chu—and then they say they are Shiman-chu.

When people say they are Shiman-chu, most of the people do have absolute identity of Tokunoshima, but when respondents are asked about relative identity—such as Global, Asian, Japanese, Amami—most of the people said they are in agreement with all of the statements except for the Ryukyu identity. That response needs to be questioned. Was Tokunoshima part of the Ryukyu crescent? Looking from a geographic point of view, Tokunoshima is close to the Ryukyus and I am sure they had fairly high frequency contact with each other. I believe that there was Ryukyu domination on Tokunoshima prior to Satsuma domination. Either way, both sides at some point ruled over Tokunoshima, and that can be seen from the shape of the graves. Tokunoshima's language, song, dance are very

similar to Okinawa's but the shape of the gravestones has more in common with mainland Kagoshima. Therefore, I don't think we can completely deny the political influence in Tokunoshima people of not thinking they are Ryukyu people.

I think it is possible for Tokunoshima people to continue Tokunoshima language and culture along with the development of economy and scientific knowledge (which is civilization), and I believe it needs to be done. Tokunoshima's language and culture is important but on top of the current world structure (economics, capitalism, scientific knowledge) something beyond the Tokunoshima ideology is needed as well. About the existence of Tokunoshima language, as I said above, for many specialized area's specialized language usage, Tokunoshima language needs to have a written text. The current Tokunoshima writing system is almost impossible to understand in reading. The "intextization" of Tokunoshima language can be done in the education system.

At this moment, Tokunoshima language and culture are used in social situations and in some workplaces only. In an ideal world, it should not be used only in social situations and the workplaces, but Shima-guchi needs to be used in individual's lives. When a person can't use Shima-guchi, and therefore that person doesn't use Shima-guchi, it is important for that person to try to speak, even if it's impossible to do so. Just like we've done, the younger generation should do the same as we have done before. Speaking with friends, I use Shima-guchi, but to talk about the specialized areas, it does require standardized Japanese, even with the same friends. The importance of this is to develop personnel who are able to use both resources. This is the main item of importance.

Testimonial 1116. This is the testimony of a male in his 40s from Tokunoshima.

I have been living in Tokunoshima as far back as I can remember generationally. I can speak both Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I used Tokunoshima language until I entered into the school system; therefore, I feel that the Tokunoshima language is my heart's language. I was born and grew up in Omonawa, and currently I am working in Tokunoshima history, folklore and cultural items related work. I received my education up to the high school level in

Tokunoshima, and in elementary school, there were so many Tokunoshima teachers, therefore we were able to use Shima-guchi (it was understood by teachers) but when we went to junior high school we were unable to use Shima-guchi anymore. At the beginning when we used Shima-guchi, we were told on, and received shame, but as time goes by, the message changes into “don’t use Shima-guchi.” When we couldn’t express ourselves, we used to say “when we say in Tokunoshima language XXXXX” then we were allowed to say it in Shima-guchi. I remember people giving me the cold shoulder when I used Shima-guchi in mainland Japan.

I think Tokunoshima language and culture is changing. It is because Tokunoshima’s lifestyles are changing to resemble city life. With that, language is changing as well. Those who can use pure Tokunoshima language are in their 80s and older, and those who haven’t left Tokunoshima. I sometimes go out for interviews with Tokunoshima people. Even when I have thought they spoke the pure language, they say they have been outside of Tokunoshima; therefore, they don’t think they do anymore. If the person speaks a pure form of Shima-guchi, then I don’t even understand what they are saying at all. Therefore, I think it is changing. These changes in Shima-guchi and Shima culture are due to the elimination of Shima-guchi and standard language reinforcement by the school education system. And, other reasons are the nuclear family; mass media; natural change of language by new creation of words and simplification; shift of word meaning. These changes in Shima-guchi and Shima culture happened within my lifetime.

Shiman-chu identity seems to exist beyond the generational differences that were evident in the survey, despite cultural and language knowledge and practices. But, if the question of Shiman-chu identity addressed the standards and baselines for claiming that identity, then I assume the answers would have been different, such as, “I was born on Tokunoshima,” or “I grew up on Tokunoshima.” The younger generation and the older generation must have different standards for what they think and what they mean by Shiman-chu.

Relative identity measured in terms of Global, Asian, Amami, Japanese, Tokunoshima, the respondents feel rather that they hold those identities, but they did not report themselves to be Ryukyu people. This result is due to the current political situation in which Tokunoshima is considered to be under Kagoshima prefecture, even though historically, they shared the same Ryukyu cultural area with Okinawa. This separation from political influence is shown in our difficulty in communicating with different islands (Yoron, Okinoerbu and Okinawa). This is also geographical distance at work. Therefore, Ryukyu probably echoes like a foreign country. We are not Kagoshima; we are not Okinawa, but we remain Amami. I think Amami has its own unique cultural area. When Ryukyu and China had a trading arrangement, Amami may have belonged to their cultural area, yet it was independent, I think. Kagoshima conquered Tokunoshima and extracted sugar for nearly 300 years; therefore, Kagoshima is rather disliked.

An indication of the co-existence of Tokunoshima language and culture from the past and shifting ideology and life standard (world civilization) which is supposed to take us into the future, is like comparing Japanese civilization-based karaoke against culture-based Shima-uta and sanshiru. Yet, in both cases, the main purpose of these activities is to find a marriage partner—this is an argument that can be made. Island culture and “civilization” are basically different foundations, and they are completely different. I think Shima-guchi and shima culture should remain for the later generations.

In order to continue Shima-guchi and shima culture, I can imagine Shima-guchi and shima culture being used in social life, but I think it is impossible to use them in the workplace. In school education, there are so many teachers who come from outside Tokunoshima, that I don't think it is possible. Currently, if the person sees another person from the same shima, they use Shima-guchi at the worksite; however, such Shima-guchi usages need to be brought into the household and families for the language and culture to survive.

Testimonial 1117. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s on Tokunoshima.

I am native to Tokunoshima and I have lived on Tokunoshima as far as my memory goes back. I can speak standardized Japanese fluently, but Tokunoshima Shima-guchi is something I am not that good at. I was born on Tokunoshima and received all of my education up to high school on Tokunoshima. After that, I left Tokunoshima to attend college. After graduation from college, I came back to Tokunoshima and continued to live here on the island until this date. While I was growing up on Tokunoshima, conversation in everyday life within the family was almost all in Shima-guchi. This of course extended between friends, neighbours, everywhere except the school system. In the public school system, we were taught not to use Shima-guchi. When we used hougen, we had to wear a sign from our necks that said "I used hougen." At that time, there was a kid even in Kametsu who was raised by his grandparents. This boy was fluent in hougen, and I remember him wearing that sign all the time. However, I stopped using Shima-guchi after I got married because my husband's parents had jobs in which they had to move all the time, and he wasn't good at speaking Shima-guchi. I used Shima-guchi vocabulary within the conversation but I was speaking Japanese. At this time, I speak Shima-guchi only with my parents. Speaking to my parents does not require me to use the respectful forms; therefore, I almost never use Shima-guchi other than with my parents because I am not good with the respectful forms of language.

I think Tokunoshima language is changing. I don't think it changed fundamentally at the core, but I think that children don't use it anymore. If I had to say boys speak more Shima-guchi than girls. This does not mean that girls cannot speak Shima-guchi, but simply they just don't speak it. When I was growing up, it was starting to tend that way. Therefore, there were more boys who wore signs from their necks. Compared to the past, I am sure a lot of things have changed about the language. This change probably is due to nuclear family. People don't live in three generational households anymore, and that is allowing the mainland culture to seep into the households. Shima-guchi and Shima culture changes have happened in my lifetime. Moreover, it has happened more quickly currently than when I was younger.

The results from the survey show that the older generations speak better language and know about the culture, and the younger generation can't speak the language or practice the culture well. This is because children experience all of the conversation in their lives in standardized Japanese. Therefore, when children listen to the older generations, the older generations seem to use fluent, or good Shima-guchi and shima culture. I agree with that opinion. I think my parents' grandparents speak good Shima-guchi, but when I think about my parents and grandparents and grandparents' parents, probably each generation spoke much deeper language—a wider range of Shima-guchi. Development of civilization was introduced to Tokunoshima and consequently Tokunoshima became very convenient, but the culture here has deteriorated. The culture seems to have disappeared not because civilization's convenience was so good and people have forgotten the old ways, but rather what good about island culture has gradually disappeared.

The older generation sees the younger generation as not being Shiman-chu, but the younger generation themselves believe that they are Shiman-chu. That is because individuals have roots in Tokunoshima. For some people, including me, there might be a little bit of a questionable point about whether my own children are Shiman-chu or not, but when my children see themselves, since they have roots in Tokunoshima, I believe they see themselves as Shiman-chu. As for the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amaminchu, Japanese, being strong—Kagoshima, Asia less strong, but Ryukyu not identified with at all, that's because Ryukyu is not in Kagoshima prefecture. Prefectures, which are the bureaucratic government-designated area from mainland Japan imposes that form and creates that situation. Moreover, we do not share exactly the same culture with Okinawa. Songs, and dance for example, Katsashu and Ryokucho are different from Tokunoshima songs and dance. However, I think there are more strong feelings attached to the bureaucratic flavor of this issue. Tokunoshima people seem to want to have both past and future simultaneously. I think I can see that perspective. But, it is almost impossible to go back to the past. But, I think it might be a good idea, even though it is very difficult, to merge the past and the future, and create a unique

Tokunoshima, which is different from the mainland of Japan because of the way we think. However, by merging the past and future, I feel uncomfortable for the current Tokunoshima language and culture which have a large possibility of being changed. This merging needs to have balance. I think it is important to have balance—bringing convenient things such as folklore and civilization of the mainland, but Tokunoshima’s traditional folklore must remain intact.

If Tokunoshima people were able to speak Shima-guchi, at this moment I can still see and imagine people using it in the household. But, in order for children to use Shima-guchi, it is hard. I don’t think it is possible to teach Shima-guchi in the education system and the extrapolation in using our language from the education system to the workplace also has problems. I think it is possible just to use greetings at the greetings level. When I say it is impossible to use Shima-guchi at the workplace, it means that the workplace requires communication and transportation with the cities for trade. As far as I know or have heard, there is nobody who wishes to go back to 100 years ago when Tokunoshima was isolated.

Testimonial 1118. This is the testimony of a male in his 50s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back in generations. I am native to the land. I speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and received my education here until high school. I used Shima-guchi only in all life situations except for school. At school, I spoke standardized Japanese. In school education, we were told not to use hougen, but to use standardized Japanese. When we used Shima-guchi, we had to wear a red tag and red sign that said “hougen user.” I left the island after graduation from high school, but eventually I came back and continued to live on the island. I cannot really tell exactly what has been changed in Tokunoshima language and culture, but I think it has changed. Accordingly, I think standardized Japanese itself has changed as well.

Tokunoshima’s language and culture are very beautiful things, especially respecting languages is wonderful. But, including myself, when we need it for a situation, there are no longer many people who can speak. I think this comes from

change of nuance due to change of generations. As a result, between parents and children there are slight differences that exist. Originally, Shima-guchi as a language was a very polite language, but I think people didn't try to use polite language. With their lack of effort, I think the invoice has come around and now it is due. I think those who can use beautiful Shima-guchi are those who are in their 80s and older. This language and cultural change has happened in my lifetime.

This sudden change of Shima-guchi and culture are the result of the civilized lifestyle of Tokunoshima from the mainland. The culture of the cities has now come into Tokunoshima and is changing the rhythm of life. This is because life from the city is much more convenient. I was born four years after World War II ended, and the economy and industry have developed incredibly with me (while I was growing up). This development is correlated to the speed of time. Tokunoshima's traditional agriculture-centered life rhythm has deteriorated. From that I think that the language and culture have also changed.

The older generation, including ancestors, can speak Shima-guchi fluently, and know and practice shima culture. However, the younger the generation gets, the more their ability to do so is decreasing. The root of this result is in each respondent's level of Shima-guchi knowledge. Even when those in their 60s and 70s, people see me (I can speak fluent Shima-guchi), I probably appear to be using impolite, rather violent, Shima-guchi. This decreased level of language and culture is reflected in the results. Furthermore, it will connect to further change. If each generation can be thought of as dots, in the past, those dots were connected by lines, but those dots are disappearing nowadays. From this, when a person who doesn't speak Shima-guchi sees a Shima-guchi speaker, the non-speaker thinks that the speakers are great. Those who were thought to be great, when they see those who speak more than them, think those speakers are greater even than them. That's all about language. Language is the continuation of effort. This is the same in culture as well. For example, when outsiders to the island move to Tokunoshima, islanders visit them on weekdays. At that time, they were asked "what's the business today?" (that is, they were asked by the outsiders "why were you visiting me today?"). After the outsiders said that, the islanders could never

go back to that house again. Those stories still exist. These are the factors in losing the lines that connect the dots within the community. I think the accumulation of this social change is causing a cultural change. With these kinds of results, even Tokunoshima's time and the speed of time have changed. At this point, life is running past us minute by minute. I think it should be that people are able to visit just because they felt like it, for no reason.

The younger generation responded that they identify themselves as Shiman-chu, even though the older generation do not see them as Shiman-chu. This is a good tendency in recent days. Moreover, people are trying hard to pass down Tokunoshima culture. Until recently, there was an era in which we didn't want to tell anybody that we were Shiman-chu. There was historical background but now Okinawa culture and multi-folk culture (multi race culture) has been reviewed. Until now, including Tokunoshima, Japan has been developing and weighing the importance of materialistic development. By doing so, I think they have forgotten something more important. Moreover, those who do not associate with materialistic development were stereotyped as "not good enough in terms of their skill of living" or "out of date" people. They were rated low. Especially Tokunoshima people had an image of themselves from others such as "wild undeveloped barbarians/savages"; therefore, Shiman-chu from Tokunoshima did not find it appealing to identify themselves as Shiman-chu. But the older generations not thinking of the younger generations as Shiman-chu reflects the same ideology for all people in all places. There was an ancient Egyptian text that began with the words "young people today...." Those older people who said that to the younger generation were probably told the same thing when they were young. People like to beautify and clarify their memories.

As for your question about the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amami, Japan, global, and a little less with Kagoshima and Asians, while Ryukyu identity was not claimed, originally, Tokunoshima people were Ryukyu people, but under Satsuma's domination that was denied. That's what it means to be dominated and colonized. On top of that, currently Tokunoshima has been placed under the district of Kagoshima politically, so relationships with Kagoshima are top-down,

yet the sideways relationship to Okinawa does not connect anymore. Geographically, Tokunoshima is close to Okinawa, but even that point has been lost since we were forcefully placed under Kagoshima. The closeness to Ryukyu can be seen through the dance of Okinoerabu, kachasu, and our still retaining a strong taste of Okinawa. For good or for bad, Amami and Tokunoshima are placed in between. This is the destiny of subordinated people in the community. There is no such thing as a single race that exists anywhere around the world. But, when the transportation methods are introduced, then new or original culture is born, and it must have been so born in the past. That is why Tokunoshima's Shima-guchi is disappearing. What's important here is that I am not saying it's okay for Tokunoshima to lose Shima-guchi.

Tokunoshima people seem to want past and future simultaneously. When we think about the island now, it is not possible to have or live the old lifestyle. We cannot live like hermits. Reality is harsh. Nowadays the land, even the mountains have been developed. Red soil has drained into the ocean. Pesticides have been bombed on us to kill the pests, but they have also killed dragonflies and their larvae. I don't think Tokunoshima's current life got richer by making choices in the past. What it boils down to is that an isolated island like Tokunoshima will have to make a decision whether to pick the economy or culture. This choice is like whether you want to cut off your right hand or your left hand. Of course, we don't want to lose either, but you will have to choose one. In the city, special and sacred areas can be made where culture and language can be continued, but on Tokunoshima, the land is limited so it is probably impossible. The old lifestyle, such as gathering firewood, going to get drinking water, cannot be done because the mountains are now under control by the Japanese government and we are not allowed to do that by law. There is no such thing as the natural woodland that coexists with a nearby populated area any more (satoyama—outsiders are banned; only villagers can go). Population control was even done with Japanese guidance. Of course, those things are not even an argument you can make. It doesn't matter now or in the past, there is not even a single soul who is willing to lose their family members for the sake of getting rid

of a mouth to feed. Ocean transportation was banned by Satsuma, which reinforced the isolation of each Amami island. This was the result of Amami trying to get dominance, when Satsuma wanted dominance. With this, Tokunoshima ended up having local production, local consumption, which came to be our own unique language and culture.

Even if all the people on Tokunoshima were able to speak Shima-guchi, I am not really sure what could happen. Even now we are not using Shima-guchi. To use Shima-guchi requires humans and place. This has to be done intentionally; otherwise, it's impossible. If we do it intentionally, then it becomes a show or event, and it is very inefficient. I think culture is an inefficient thing. To do so, a lot of people's labour, time, and money will be required. To have help from the government for our language and culture normally means infrastructure, boxes, and it is meaningless. If money is involved (helping money or grant money) then it switches the people's purpose for living and loses them. There are no elderly people who possess important things and wisdom. And, to sustain the social foundation for our language and culture, which is multi-generational households, does not exist due to the nuclear family. At this moment, what we need to do is to practice culture, just do folklore—that is the far most important thing. When people gather, there will be a new energy born and created, and that is the energy that is required at this time. At the same time, we need leadership who can do that.

Testimonial 1119. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s.

I have lived on Tokunoshima for as long as memory goes back. I am native to the land. I speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima, but all of the education I received right through until high school was in standardized Japanese only. I was instructed not to use hougen, but to use only standardized Japanese in school education. I left the island after graduation from high school, but I came back and continued to live on the island.

I think Tokunoshima language and culture are changing. I think those changes in Tokunoshima language and culture come from the Japanese prohibition on having more than two children. In the past, where I grew up, a place called Tokuwase, there were a lot of children there. At any event time, a lot

of us went to the shoreline and we used to throw a net into the water and pull the net together, but that practice doesn't exist anymore. At that time, the event called Hamaori, I remember was a very special day because we were allowed to buy new clothes. In current island households, there has been an increase in income, so there is no reason to only purchase new clothes for a specific event. I think each family's decreased number of children and increased income has influenced the change of language and culture. Even to this day, the conversation with my mother and me is still Shima-guchi. I wonder where the other Shima-guchi speakers have disappeared. It is true that when I was in elementary school I was taught by the school education system not to use Shima-guchi, but now there's a feeling of "let's review that past decision" which is the new current, and I remember I was thinking "huh? What?"

It is impossible to get rid of the feeling that after children finish their schooling and leave the island, they might have a tough time or problems. There is a great amount of expense that people have to spend on education, so having a reduced number of children has accelerated recently. These are the things that have changed the language and culture on Tokunoshima. In the past, only a handful of children from rich households could attend university, but now anybody can go. For that price, people had to reduce the number of children that they had. I had six siblings; therefore, there were things I couldn't do, that I wanted to give to my children. My children practiced piano, Japanese dance, tea ceremony. I did that because I was hoping that my daughter would not become ashamed in her marriage family. And, she will take care of parents, ancestors, and be able to say greetings in Shima-guchi all the time.

The results from the survey said that the older generations, including the ancestors, speak and practice fluent Shima-guchi and shima culture. The younger the generation gets, the more reduced the ability. I think that children nowadays all leave to go to the city; therefore, I don't think they know anything about the island, for example the 15th night (jugoya), keidonahi (elder's day) and other events. The parents have not taught their children each month's event days or anniversary dates of ancestor's deaths. There are some parents who do it, but

when it comes to this point, it won't continue well. Even without parents making individual decisions, there is a problem with whether we should do it or not.

The younger generation thinks they are Shiman-chu, but the older generation disagrees with that statement. I think their belief comes from their parents still being well and living on Tokunoshima. They can come back for Obon and Shougatsu. More than anything else, I think it comes from the food. In the past, islanders ate pork and seaweed mainly in their diet, but it has changed now to things like spaghetti. I think it is all influenced by parents not teaching traditional things, and people (children) leave the island when they are 18. You just don't understand things about Tokunoshima from only the first 18 years of your life. In the past, a family meant three generations; it was a big family. Grandparents lived together. Not anymore. The younger generation thinks they are Shiman-chu just because they have some place they can go back to.

From Okinawa and Amami-oshima, there are a lot of talented people produced who have become famous. But Tokunoshima is in between those two. Maybe that is why we don't have many talented people. I feel that people from Okinawa have pure eyes; therefore, I feel they have wider and deeper hearts. Instead, Tokunoshima looks like it is opposite.

Tokuoshima people seem to want to have the past and the future at the same time. I understand their wish to continue both simultaneously, but I believe that it will be very difficult. The younger generation may find it possible, but when we talk about the older generation, they can't even understand the relationship between a video recording and a current picture or past picture (they may look at the TV and say "I thought that person was dead who is singing now").

If all the Tokunoshima people were able to speak Shima-guchi, even with that there are problems. Even I don't understand some parts of Shima-uta when I hear them. I speak Shima-guchi with my husband, but it seems that it is a little bit difficult for my children to listen to Shima-guchi, even in the family. Unless you are involved with agriculture, it is impossible to use Shima-guchi in the workplace. Even when I am doing farm work, I speak Shima-guchi with older people, but with my own generation, I don't use Shima-guchi much. I think I might use it

(Shima-guchi) for greetings and social life. Even my children called me “papa” and “mama” and I taught them to do so, but now I regret that I didn’t teach them to call us “Otousan” and “Okaasan” (these are not Shima-guchi terms, but rather standardized Japanese terms). I think language is part of the daily life rhythm. It will influence children when they hear how their parents use their language.

Testimonial 1120. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as my memory goes back in generations. I am native to the land. I can speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and received all of my education until high school here. All the school education was in standardized Japanese, and we received instruction not to use Shima-guchi at school, but only to use standardized Japanese. I left the island after high school graduation, but I came back and am living on the island now. When I left the island, I still talked to my parents on the telephone in Shima-guchi. I spoke almost all Shima-guchi in the family when I was growing up because my parents are islanders.

I think Tokunoshima language is changing. Especially in Kametsu, there are so many people coming in from outside. Even the practices and folklore are simplifying the language toward the city language.

I think these changes in language and culture come from of the start of Shima-guchi usage by school education. In the past, it was the usage of standardized Japanese, but somewhat now schools are saying “let’s use Shima-guchi.” I think this change of Shima-guchi and culture has happened in my lifetime. Viewing it from a historical point of view, this change of language and culture seems to have a large relationship to outside islanders moving in. Until the increased convenience of transportation, communication stayed within Tokunoshima, even though there were differences in Shima-guchi and the pronunciation of words even between shima. Despite that, we mostly understood each other. In the study of history, we know that there has been a shipwreck. From that, we can understand there has been material and communication transportation that existed even in the past.

The older generation can speak and use fluent Shima-guchi and shima culture, but the younger generations show decreased ability with the generation. There are many things that I can't even recall anymore. For example, the words for washbowl (basin), and furoshiki (a wrapping cloth), and there are many other things I can't remember.

Younger generations believe and identify themselves as Shiman-chu, even though the older generation disagrees with that statement. I think this is because the younger generation grew up on the island. Even my child currently living in Osaka says that he/she is glad to be Shiman-chu (meaning born on the island). There is discrimination against people from Tokunoshima on the mainland; it is true. I think Tokunoshima people have much more compassion than other people. It comes down to the younger generation being born and growing up on the island. In terms of the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amaminchu, Japanese, and to a lesser degree Kagoshima, and Asia, but not at all Ryukyu, I think there is a subtle closeness to Okinawa, but I feel closeness to Amami and Kagoshima.

It is true that people on Tokunoshima seem to want to hold onto the past and embrace the future simultaneously. I can also see the people wishing to have past and future at the same time. However, it is difficult to say "wait" to things that we are losing (such as language, culture and nature), but we are trying to inherit them and pass them to the next generation. I really wonder what will be happening 20 to 30 years from now. I am just hoping that this condition will be continued for 30, maybe 50 years from now. To do that, our children who are in their 20s need to inherit language and culture. The children have not worked in the sugar cane fields, and have never worked on the rice fields. If they had done those things and experienced agriculture as well as Shima-uta and Shima odori, then we would have a hope of them inheriting the culture. Since they haven't done it, it would be very difficult.

If all the Tokunoshima people were able to speak Shima-guchi, I can imagine Shima-guchi being used in the household, but I cannot imagine it being used in the workplace. Thinking from that point of view, I have started to think

that it is impossible to use it even in the family household situation, since how the family exists together has already changed.

Testimonial 1121. This is the testimony of a female in her 20s.

I am native to Tokunoshima and my family has lived here as far back as I can remember. I can speak standardized Japanese fluently, but Shima-guchi is something I am not good at. I only speak a little bit. I was born on Tokunoshima and received education here until high school. I left the island after high school, but currently I have come back and now I live on the island. When I was growing up on Tokunoshima, almost all the conversation in my family was in standardized Japanese. This extended to all other activities I was involved in, such as conversations between friends, neighbours, and at school.

About the question about do you think Tokunoshima language has changed or not, I have no idea at all.

The older generation of Tokunoshima people, including my ancestors, seem to know well how to use Shima-guchi and shima culture. The younger the generation, they are unable to do so or they don't know how. The children currently on Tokunoshima use only standardized Japanese in any conversation, and for all circumstances in their lives. Therefore, when they see the older generations, to them it seems that the older generation's Shima-guchi and shima culture looks fluent. I felt the same way. My parents and grandparents speak fluent Shima-guchi, but I cannot tell if there is a difference between my parents Shima-guchi and my grandparent's Shima-guchi.

The results show that the older generations have a tendency to see the younger generations as not being Shiman-chu, due to differences in standards and experiences in Shima-guchi and shima culture. Yet, the younger generation seems to think of themselves as Shiman-chu. I believe that these results come from individuals being born on Tokunoshima and growing up on Tokunoshima. In reality, I don't know much about Tokunoshima's language and culture, but I feel I am Shiman-chu.

The identity of Shiman-chu, Amaminchu, being Japanese, are quite strong. It is a little weaker for identifying as a Kagoshima person or Asian person, and a

lot weaker for Ryukyu person. In my case, I do not recognize myself as a Kagoshima person. In fact, I probably feel more Ryukyu person. I don't know anything about the historical background, but I know there was colonization by Kagoshima that caused a hard life on Tokunoshima. When I see these historical points, then I don't dislike Kagoshima, but I have a feeling that there is nothing to be connected to or understood between us.

Tokunoshima people seem to think that the past and future can co-exist. I think this is somewhat difficult. It may be difficult to understand, but the merging of the past and the future creates a unique being on Tokunoshima, which is a little bit different from Japan, at least I think this was some of the people's ideas. I do agree on that point, and I wish that something like that could be possible. However, by merging the past and future lifestyles and ideologies, I would probably feel awkwardness because there is a large possibility of change from the current Tokunoshima language and culture now.

Instead of saying if all the people on Tokunoshima were able to speak Shima-guchi, maybe we should think that if island children were able to speak Shima-guchi in the school system, such a thing may be a good idea. When I think about my elementary and junior high school, I wish I had a class that taught about Tokunoshima. I wish I knew more about Tokunoshima's history or lifestyle, industry, more than I wish I knew Shima-guchi itself. I realized this when I left the island. I really had to realize it in the city when many people asked me questions like that.

Testimonial 1122. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s from Tokunoshima.

I am from Tokunoshima and have lived in Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back in generations. I speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I spoke Shima-guchi until I left the island. I spoke standardized Japanese at school. Originally, I was born in Kedoku and raised there. Currently I have moved to Kametoku. After leaving the island, I worked on the mainland and then I came back to Tokunoshima again.

Looking from my perspective, Tokunoshima's language and culture has been changed. In Kedoku where I grew up there were lots of childrens' play songs, but we don't hear them anymore. I think that children's play itself has changed. The songs of the children, there was lots of hougen built into them.

The reason for the changing of Tokunoshima language and culture comes from the disappearance of Yuiwaku; even though there are blood connections between people, there is no human connection. As a result, in the past, there was a united-ness, but that is disappearing within the shima. Moreover, when I came back to Tokunoshima from the mainland, people stopped calling me by my nickname, and most of the people were using standardized Japanese. When I was growing up, I used to babysit many neighbourhood kids. At that time, a babysitter was required when it was time for planting rice and/or working in the fields. And, at that time, while babysitting, I used Shima-guchi only. However, after coming back from the mainland, it was a great surprise to me that islanders were using standardized Japanese. That memory has been burned into my brain. That change did not remain only within Shima-guchi, but it also changed with the values and wealth of Tokunoshima people. When I was growing up, we didn't have enough rice, so we mixed sweet potatoes with it, but when I came back from the mainland, people were drinking soft drinks one can per person—while even on the mainland we shared one can of soft drink among three people, adding ice to our cups. As in the Shima-uta, Tokunoshima's nature, scenery, and environment did not change, but I realized at that time, people's hearts had changed.

Even though the older generation sees the younger generations as not being Shiman-chu, all generations think of themselves as Shiman-chu. This comes from the respondents retaining the spirit of Tokunoshima. Moreover, their physical beings are connected to the generations on the land. Tokunoshima's absolute Shiman-chu identity seems to have its roots in whether or not a person has obtained the spirits of Tokunoshima. However, the relativeness of identity in terms of being Global, Tokunoshima, Asian, Amami, Japanese, Kagoshima, most people answered in agreement except for the identity of Ryukyu persons. This result is due to Amami itself drawing a line between itself and Ryukyu, and

pointing out that it has a different culture. Within Amami, it appears to me that there is a distinct line between Tokunoshima and Okinoerabu. This can even be seen from the thickness in [sanshiru] string difference between Tokunoshima and Okinoerabu. Amami and Tokunoshima is the same; south of Okinoerabu is the same as Okinawa, thicker. In my business, I have reflected this difference by making two different types of business card. One card is for me being a Tokunoshima person.

The survey respondents expressed that they would like to obtain both Tokunoshima language and culture that continues from the past, and the world standard of civilization which is likely to change our foundation of life and ideology. I would like to have both of them as well. I think that in order for Tokunoshima to develop, it requires islanders to have morals in their hearts. (The meaning of this is that islanders don't have morals at the present time). In order to develop Tokunoshima, the island requires public relations and tourism, but Tokunoshima must remain beautiful; otherwise, we cannot register as a world heritage site, and also we need to remain beautiful in order to become a tourism site. I think it needs to start from the people keeping the ocean beaches clean, and not littering. This has to be the starting point. I want people to have pride in being born on the island, and to be able to welcome visitors and take them around with pride.

Recently, a world famous Hungarian composer came to Tokunoshima. He expressed his opinion after listening to Tokunoshima language and songs. He is wondering why Tokunoshima does not advertise Shima-guchi as their own mother tongue to the world, and to Japan. Following this, Shima-guchi should not be disparaged as a hougen, but rather, it should be recognized as a language. By losing the language, humans beings will destroy themselves. Therefore, "please keep or retain Shima-guchi," he said.

Testimonial 1123. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived in Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back. I can speak both Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I have finished raising my children and am currently working in agriculture, as well as being a household person.

I received an education all the way up to high school, but in elementary and junior high school, I was taught not to use Shima-guchi. There was a physical punishment if we used Shima-guchi, such as washing the washroom (toilet).

I think Tokunoshima's language and culture are changing. This change correlates to a change in economics and education. The amount of education fees compared to the past has increased and has forced both parents to work in order to pay for their childrens' education. This has changed the language and culture. I often hear the pure Tokunoshima language from those who left the island to earn money, and who came back about 30 to 50 years later. When I talk to those people who came back, it forced me to realize that they retain the pure form of Tokunoshima language, but by living on Tokunoshima, standardized Japanese has been mixed into it, and the pure form of Shima-guchi is disappearing. Those who left the island to go to the mainland of Japan have retained their group togetherness on the mainland, and they gathered from time to time, for example, meeting for undokai, Tokunoshima society, and Kametsu society. I used to think that Tokunoshima retained the pure form of Shima-guchi, but I am now realizing that those who lived on the mainland hold a pure form of the language as well, which has made me surprised. This is because many Tokunoshima people have married to the outside islanders, and my children are not an exception to this. Tokunoshima's language and culture must be continued and reinforced throughout the generations because Tokunoshima culture and language were rarely understood by the mainland of Japan. The Japanese standardization of their own development through media has made transmission of knowledge difficult. These changes have happened in my lifetime.

Those who leave the island after graduating from high school and the disappearance of nature/environment due to development are current phenomena rather than historical phenomena. Atrophy or degeneration of Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture is due to development of the economy and the thoroughness

of the education system. For this language and culture change, human movement is greatly contributing. That is, because of human movement, Tokunoshima pocket communities and Tokunoshima's own market boundaries have broken apart. Within Tokunoshima, many people have moved to Kametsu and outside islanders have moved to Tokunoshima, and have caused a large change on the island. Tokunoshima people have shifted their marriage partners from those within the shima to those outside the shima to those from even further away—outside the island. As a result, people have to use standardized Japanese in order to communicate within the family. The undercurrent of this is based on the phenomenon of human movement. In short, outside islanders are moving into Tokunoshima.

Older persons seem to be able to speak better or more fluent Tokunoshima language and are able to use Tokunoshima culture, which means that each generation holds a different standard. Those who can speak a little bit of Tokunoshima language are viewed by those who cannot speak any Shima-guchi as quite fluent.

Tokunoshima's language and culture changed; however, Tokunoshima people still have Tokunoshima blood, therefore they identify themselves as Shiman-chu. Those who came here at a young age, prior to puberty, can be seen or recognized as Shiman-chu up to a certain point. I think there are people who move to Tokunoshima just because they like Tokunoshima, and even without Tokunoshima blood, they identify themselves as Shiman-chu.

The relationship between Tokunoshima and Ryukyu is much older than the relationship between Tokunoshima and Satsuma (Kagoshima). The language here itself is more Okinawan. For me, when I hear the word Ryukyu, it would give me images like Korea and China.

It would be a good thing to revitalize or reactivate Tokunoshima culture (songs, dance and many other things) by government help, industry, and businesses. Both past and future forms of culture and civilization—I don't think Tokunoshima people can have both, but I too wish for both. Currently, I too am learning Tokunoshima songs and dance. Those who are learning with me are kids

who have already mastered songs, drumming, and dancing. The actual rice field planting dance that I try, I have had pointed out to me that my movement is based on sugar cane harvesting movement rather than rice planting movement. It is difficult to learn the movement such as rice field planting that I have never experienced in my life.

The current state of Tokunoshima language and culture is that it is mainly used in social life and workplaces. Ideally, I think Tokunoshima language and culture should be used within the family on top of social and workplace events.

Testimonial 1124. This is the testimony of a male in his 70s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on Tokunoshima as long as my memory goes back in terms of generations. I am native to the land. I speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I have used Tokunoshima Shima-guchi continuously, up until today. I used to use standardized Japanese in public schools. Even after retirement, I continued to live on Tokunoshima. When I used to attend elementary school and junior high school, Tokunoshima Shima-guchi was banned at the school. There was a time, right after the time of World War II when we had to leave the island to go out to the mainland to work with mainland Japanese. At that time, it would be very difficult for individuals who were unable to write and/or who were delayed in schooling as the basis of education, not to use hougen and so they couldn't work on the mainland. So, those who used hougen at school were forced to wear the tag from their neck which said "I used hougen." In order to remove this sign from around my neck, I had to find anybody who was actually speaking Shima-guchi. I needed to tip off others about my friends. In order to do so, I remember I made my friends surprised or scared so that they would say some words in Shima-guchi unexpectedly.

I grew up in a community where there were lots of elders around, so life was always in Shima-guchi. When I went to the mainland cities, I saw and heard people using Shima-guchi, and I did feel the difference in terms of folk/ethnic customs and history. After that, in 1958, I became a schoolteacher, but I remember in my classes every week's goal setting was "let's not use hougen."

And, after that for a long time, that was the goal for every week. A goal like this seeps through faster and more efficiently when the communities are smaller. Smaller communities lost their Shima-guchi before everybody else did. However, farmers with houses far away from each other remained strong in Shima-guchi. Tokunoshima communities each have their own unique language. Kametoku where I grew up and Kametsu are only two kilometres away from each other, but I think that the languages are separate, different. Each shima has its own environment, and people in the shima rely on that in order to live. Therefore, each shima developed a different language and culture.

I think that Tokunoshima language and culture has changed. Tokunoshima culture, ancestry, respect for ancestors, are falling into disuse, but they still exist. Tokunoshima's language and culture change has happened gradually over time. The change is correlated to time and era, including historical events, which includes war. Looking at it from these points, I think Tokunoshima's language and culture will not be stabilized or solidified, but will continue to change from now on.

The survey results show that the older generations speak better Shima-guchi, while the younger generation speaks less or no Shima-guchi, and the same thing happens to culture. I do think the same. I agree with that. But, even though children don't speak much Shima-guchi, when they grow up, they'll start to use Shima-guchi increasingly. As individuals grow up, they want to mimic their own parents. Of course, sometimes they resist.

Between generations, there is a different baseline for the recognition of Tokunoshima identity. I think this comes from being Americanized, or even I can say people are internationalized. For example, a change in eating habits or diet will make you think that way. People are no longer eating the original food from Tokunoshima, and they are not using the original ingredients, but that doesn't mean that people have changed their hearts. This probably is the same in language as well. The Shima-guchi that we have forgotten or that we don't use anymore, when we become adults, we will wish to use again. Because individuals are not

using the language, or don't know the language, does not mean decreasing of identity of Shiman-chu.

I think the absolute identity of Tokunoshima Shiman-chu is rooted in whether an individual holds onto the spirit of Tokunoshima or not. The relative identity of Earth, Asia, Japan, Kagoshima, Amami and Tokunoshima obtained agreement by more than half of the people on the survey. But they did not think they had the identity of Ryukyu. When these responses are seen in light of the historical background, I think Tokunoshima and Ryukyu had a deeper relationship. Unfortunately, this relationship was forcefully severed after Satsuma conquered Amami and Ryukyu. The oppression of Satsuma over time has forced people to stop having their original ideology and to develop an ideology of having no relationship to Ryukyu. However, there is still a residual common feeling left when the high school baseball tournament is happening; I am cheering for Kagoshima prefecture as well as Okinawa prefecture. Somewhere in me, there are feelings I have in common with the Ryukyu, like the feeling of being isolated islanders, and a feeling that our genetically-engraved songs and language as well as culture must have some kind of connection.

The survey results indicating that Tokunoshima people are wishing to have Shima-guchi and shima culture as well as industry, business, government help, and scientific knowledge simultaneously is a result of our increased relationship to the mainland. The increase in numbers of people coming into Tokunoshima, clearly reflected in numbers, correlates with the loss or thinning of Tokunoshima culture, which may disappear. For example, Tokunoshima now has Bon odori which has replaced Tokunoshima's traditional ceremony. This is like outsiders taking advantage of Tokunoshima. As a result, we Tokunoshima people have neglected things from our past. In other words, Tokunoshima people have merged themselves with the mainland people. Even the scenery is becoming just like the mainland; along the seashore are a lot of ugly concrete-based breakwaters which have destroyed the local unique scenery. It is also reflected in the Tokunoshima diet. People on the island welcome visitors with mainland standard food rather than Tokunoshima's unique food. Tokunoshima is globalizing; therefore the

island spirit is thinning out or decaying. To lose the cognition of “I want to keep the island” can be seen even today.

I think Tokunoshima Shima-guchi and culture must be used in the household. Each community, each shima, should be using their language. Followed by that, I would think it might be a good idea to have a play in Shima-guchi—by doing so, there might be more and deeper connections between generations. But in the school system, even though there are some students who learned Shima-guchi, the teachers are from outside Tokunoshima, so probably they will not be able to use Shima-guchi. Furthermore, schools do not encourage Shima-guchi usage in schools. When island people go to the mainland, they still have to compete with mainlanders in standardized Japanese. Therefore, I think in the school system, they have to use standardized Japanese. Those who are away from the island for a long time, they don't forget Shima-guchi. Finally, I've seen a mainland person move to Tokunoshima and become fluent in Shima-guchi.

Testimonial 1125. This is the testimony of a female in her 20s.

I have lived on the island as far as memory goes back; I am native to the island. I can fluent standardized Japanese but I don't speak Shima-guchi well. I was born on Tokunoshima and received an education here until I finished high school. After graduating from high school, I left the island, but I came back and currently I live on the island. While I was growing up on Tokunoshima, daily life and family conversation was almost all accomplished in standardized Japanese. This, of course, extended to friends, neighbours, and schooling. I can use Shima-guchi in a conversation at the level of vocabulary items. I cannot make any sentences in Shima-guchi. My Shima-guchi is limited to listening. I can understand the conversations between my parents and grandparents. One of my parents is from Inokawa, and I used to participate in their ceremony called hamaori, but lately I haven't been participating. Even though hamaori followed auspicious days in the past, now, due to increased numbers of participants from the mainland and the rest of Tokunoshima, it has been changed to follow specific dates and days—Saturday. In my generation, we can all dance, but we cannot sing. However, nowadays the children are learning how to sing and dance—called

Natsume odori—at elementary school. Therefore, when those children grow up, they will be able to sing and dance. My mother said she cannot even sing songs.

I think Tokunoshima language is changing. When I was younger, both my grandmother and grandfather used to use Shima-guchi, so I am able to listen, but my grandparents have passed away. Shima-guchi has disappeared from our family conversation. My sister who is in grade 9 probably cannot understand Shima-guchi. I assume that when my sister was much younger, she used to listen to our grandparent's conversation, so I am sure she can understand a bit. But now, she has no exposure to Shima-guchi, so I assume she has difficulty in even listening. My mother uses Shima-guchi when she has a conversation with the neighbours, but when my sister is around, they shift the conversation to standardized Japanese. When I talk about standardized Japanese, it is more standardized Japanese that is influenced by Shima-guchi, so it is more like pidgin Japanese. This change in how we use Shima-guchi has occurred in my life, as well as my parent's life. But, my parents can use both, while I can only listen to Shima-guchi. My grandparents mainly use Shima-guchi. Therefore, I assume that Shima-guchi was changing before. My grandfather was able to listen to standardized Japanese, but he could not speak it. On the other hand, I can understand Shima-guchi, but I cannot speak. Therefore, our conversation involved speaking our own languages and listening to each other's languages. I think the change of Shima-guchi, if I had to say, I think it happened after World War II until now.

Shima-guchi and shima culture continue to be used in the older and ancestor generations, but as the generations get younger, islanders can't use them. This is because children in the current time use standardized Japanese only in their lives. Therefore, when they hear the older generation speaking Shima-guchi, they hear them as fluent. This is like that game (Chinese whispers). By just listening to the language, there is always misunderstanding, miscommunication, and lack of memory or fuzziness of memory, which causes the different meanings at the end—or different words at the end. Furthermore, it would be forgotten. This is I think what happened in between generations. Of course, this process is also happening in the practice of culture as well. Therefore, each generation before the

current generation gets closer to the right or correct Shima-guchi and shima culture—that is probably the way they think.

Even though the younger generation sees themselves as Shiman-chu, the older generation has a tendency to see them as not obtaining Shiman-chu identity. This I think comes from individuals just liking Tokunoshima. Everybody, at least once, leaves the island. And there are people who want to come back to the island, while there are those who don't think that way—and that is what makes the identity difference between them. Those who don't think they want to come back to the island probably don't think they are Shiman-chu.

The relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amami, Japan, Kagoshima, Asia are considered as agreeable, while Ryukyu is not acceptable to the people in the survey. That's just because Tokunoshima belongs to Kagoshima prefecture. In my head, I have a feeling that Okinawa is something different. Of course, there are more times I go to Kagoshima than I go to Okinawa.

Tokunoshima people are wishing to have past and future simultaneously, but I don't think that it is possible to have both at once. Tokunoshima doesn't have a university, so the students have to leave. When they leave the island, they realize and understand the beauty of Tokunoshima's sea. But if Tokunoshima was able to have a university, then we may not ever realize the important things that we own. Before knowing the importance of what we have, we might lose it. In fact, I think there is always a trade off, and so the language and culture will disappear. Human beings wish to have things that they don't have. That is who they are. I think there are so many things that we would lose by having a university institution, industries, businesses, and many other things. Therefore, I think it is impossible to have both at the same time.

If all Tokunoshima people were able to use Shima-guchi, then I can imagine that people would be using it in the family at this moment. Furthermore, it has to be that way, in the family; otherwise, it won't continue. In the workplace, the connection between individuals is horizontal; therefore, it is not going to be possible to use Shima-guchi. In school education, as well, it is impossible because of the rapidly decreasing number of teachers who come from Tokunoshima or the

Amami area. If we assume we can speak Shima-guchi, then we would love to use it in our social lives. I think it is difficult to see using it in the workplace and school education. Even in social activities, it is getting harder. For example, to go to do hamaori (going to beach ceremonies) is becoming impossible just because the beaches are now formed by concrete. It is just like in the school system—children are inhibited from climbing trees; therefore, they can't climb any more. They don't know how. As a result, children forget and are unable to understand how it feels to be island children climbing trees. They don't understand what it means to play, and what it feels like to play, in their hearts.

Testimonial 1126. This is the testimony of a teenage male.

One of my parents was the first generation to start living on this island. My other parent is an islander. I can speak standardized Japanese well, but I cannot speak Shima-guchi. I was born outside Tokunoshima, and I moved to Tokunoshima and I am receiving my elementary school education here currently. I speak standardized Japanese in all aspects of my life.

I don't think Tokunoshima's language and culture have been changing. There is nobody who can speak Shima-guchi in my grade at school. I don't know why people can't speak Shima-guchi anymore.

The results said that the older generations, including the ancestors, speak and practice fluent Shima-guchi and shima culture. The younger the generation gets, the more ability is reduced. I think my grandfather speaks fluent Shima-guchi, just because in the past, people only used Shima-guchi.

The younger generation thinks they are Shiman-chu, but the older generation is disagreeing with that statement. I don't know much about Tokunoshima culture. I don't think of myself as Shiman-chu (The meaning being expressed is that he thinks a little, but mostly not). To get this result, those who are responding to the question are doing so just because they were born on Tokunoshima. I grew up on Tokunoshima and I am always living here, so I can't wait to leave the island. I think I guess I am Shiman-chu, or maybe half of me might be Shiman-chu. That is, even though I can't speak Shima-guchi and don't know anything about Shima culture, I still feel that way.

About the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amaminchu, Japanese, less identification with Kagoshima, Asia and much less for Ryukyu, I myself don't think I am Amami, Kagoshima, Okinawa, or Asian identity person. I think I am Japanese, and a Global person. The reason people feel there is a difference from Ryukyu is that in the past, different islands used to be different countries. I learned about the Ryukyu kingdom in my social studies class.

Tokuoshima people seem to want to have the past and the future at the same time. I also think Tokunoshima can use civilization that comes with industry and business, help and grants. I do have a feeling that I want to use Tokunoshima language. But the question of this wishing to have both at the same time, if it is possible or not possible, in that area, I think it is impossible. It would be great to have all, but going back to the past would make our life more difficult. I think, looking at the Tokunoshima people's current lifestyle, it is possible to see that Tokunoshima people are trying to have past and future simultaneously.

If all the Tokunoshima people were able to speak Shima-guchi it would be different. In order for all the people on Tokunoshima to use Shima-guchi—well, if Shima-guchi were taught in schools, then I would like to be taught. I don't want to study it with my best effort, but I would still like to learn about it. Moreover, if all the people were able to speak Shima-guchi, then I can imagine speaking to my parents and great grandparents in Shima-guchi. I think I can imagine speaking in schools a little bit. I think Shima-guchi would be used at the workplace, but I think it might be difficult to use it in social life. At this moment, I am speaking to my parents in standardized Japanese, but I would like to use Shima-guchi. I would like to try speaking to them in Shima-guchi.

Testimonial 1127. This is the testimony of a female in her 60s.

I have lived on the island as far as my memory goes back. I am native to the island. I am fluent in both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi. I was born on Tokunoshima and I received my education up to high school here. While I was growing up on Tokunoshima, daily life was all conducted in Shima-guchi. This extended to friendship, neighbours, everything except for school education. Usage of Shima-guchi during school education was banned. Those who spoke Shima-

guchi received a penalty. It was with reinforcement. Under those directions, we were told to speak standardized Japanese only. If we used Shima-guchi, we were forced to do cleaning and many other things. Therefore, if we couldn't express our thoughts in standardized Japanese, first we had to say "when I say it in Shima-guchi" then we were allowed to use Shima-guchi. Even at that time, there were a large number of teachers who were from Kagoshima. However, the current school system has progressively decreased the number of teachers from the islands so now no one knows Shima-guchi. I used to use Shima-guchi before and after school. The reinforcement of standardized Japanese only existed when I was younger. When I went into high school, most of us were already speaking standardized Japanese dominantly. After graduating from high school, I left the island, went to Tokyo, spent 11-12 years there, then came back to Tokunoshima, and I am continuing to live in Tokunoshima.

Tokunoshima language has not changed what it is, but people do not use Shima-guchi within their families, and they have replaced it with standardized Japanese. I recall my children getting upset and angry when I spoke to them in Shima-guchi, just because they couldn't understand me. At this moment, I just don't hear Shima-guchi anymore. I think that the number of people who can speak hougen has decreased. On top of that, even those who are in their 90s or over 100 years old, can speak standardized Japanese, and they do. This change in Tokunoshima language is due to the introduction of standardized Japanese through television, education, media, internet, and mass media. These are the large influences: Increased information from the city, and with that, Tokunoshima's culture has changed.

Tokunoshima's Shima-guchi change has happened in my lifetime. Looking at the change through historical aspects, probably it was changing before. In the past, many Shima-guchi speakers used different forms of the language between different generations, just like in standardized Japanese, but where I grew up, the language did not have that. There is a difference in hougen between the three towns as well as between shima communities. There is a great possibility that Tokunoshima language has been changing from the long past. That can be said

because Tokunoshima language has a strong relationship to ancient Japanese. These changes in Shima-guchi probably come from Tokunoshima's cultural development. In the past, there was agriculture, fishing, and mountain life (that is, hunting/gathering) only. But now, there is television and radio in life, and to follow that language and life, people had to change Shima-guchi itself. I used to be mistaken for northern Japanese when I used to live in Tokyo. These changes happened very gradually after World War II, but it changed with the islander's consent.

Older generations and ancestors were fluent in Shima language and shima culture, but as the generations get younger, the ability to use the language decreases as well. Older people, no matter what their generation, think the generations older than them speak and use Shima-guchi and shima culture fluently. As to your question of why this is happening, I can't answer that. It is true that the parents and older generations are fluent, and from their perspective, probably their parents and older generations were much better users. There is no end to this argument. This change comes from, just like I said above, the introduction of television and radio, and the reduction of conversation within the family. Even I speak standardized Japanese.

Even though the younger generation thinks of themselves as Shiman-chu, the older generation has a tendency to see them as not Shiman-chu because of their different experiences and standards of Shima-guchi and culture. This may be because people who live on the island have island spirit with them.

The relative identity of Amami, Shiman-chu, Japanese, a little bit less identification with Kagoshima and Asian but no identification with Ryukyu I cannot answer. I think Ryukyu and Tokunoshima are close. I don't think I am a Ryukyu person because there is a difference. That's because Ryukyu is more like China, more similar to China.

Tokunoshima people would like to have the past and future at the same time. I don't want to go back to the past, but language and cultural practices are very important. Being successful outside of the island should be pursued up to a certain point. When a person is young, he or she needs to get out and study, then they

should come back after that and work with the island for the island's development. Then, I think the fact that people are coming back is important. However, when the person comes back after age 60, there are only limited things they can do; therefore, I hope islanders will come back earlier. To do that, if those who leave the island become too successful, then they cannot come back even if they wish to come back. Probably people would come back to the island if there were work to be done on the island.

If all the people on Tokunoshima could use Shima-guchi, then at this time, it would be used in family, work, and social life. But, if that's not the way it is, then it is the end.

Testimonial 1128. The testimony of a male in his 50s from Tokunoshima.

I am native to Tokunoshima as far as my memory goes back in generations. I can speak Shima-guchi somewhat. I can speak standardized Japanese fluently. Currently I live in Kametsu. I received my education through high school in Tokunoshima. In the public education system, I was educated not to use hougen. When we used hougen at school, we had to wear a sign, but I personally have never experienced that. As a result, we were using pidgin Japanese. In order to get rid of the sign, we had to find another person who was using hougen, then we could pass on our sign. We didn't have a physical punishment for this. It must be due to the different teachers and the different ways of dealing with hougen.

Tokunoshima's language and culture has changed. This is due to the increased quantity of information coming into Tokunoshima. The increased information such as TV has the result that the city's information comes to Tokunoshima all at once, and people have to adapt to that—and that is the standard way of dealing with life.

The results seem to show that there are differences in Tokunoshima Shima-guchi and culture by generations. If I view myself from the childrens' viewpoint, I may look like I can speak Shima-guchi, but my Shima-guchi is not real Shima-guchi. This can be applied to my parents as well. I think it started from my parent's generation. My grandparents used to use standardized Japanese to express their care and worry even though Japanese was unnatural for feelings.

That was pidgin Japanese. There are people who know Shima-guchi words, but they can't use the words in Shima-guchi sentences.

It seems that the younger generation are not recognized as Shiman-chu from the older generation due to different standards and experiences of Shima language and Shima culture, but I think they are Shiman-chu. This Shiman-chu may be more a definition of hometown (*fursato*) rather than identity. The older generations probably think that language and culture included Shiman-chu. For the younger generations, probably there is more of a sense of simply hometown. This is because if the younger generations were really feeling they are Shiman-chu, they would be showing their interest in *hougen*, *Shima-uta*, and culture, and they would probably learn and practice them. But I don't see that.

The absolute identity of Tokunoshima/Shiman-chu is rooted in whether the individual likes Tokunoshima or not, but the relative identity (Global, Asian, Japanese, Kagoshima, Amami) having positive associations except for Ryukyu, I don't know. I don't think I am a Kagoshima person. Kagoshima is the one who oppressed us. Ryukyu is the one who ditched us. I was able to obtain this much information through television and other media. I think that the older generations believe that they are Kagoshima people, and they don't think they are Okinawan. Overall, they are feeling that they are Japanese. I recall being distrusting of Okinawans.

It is an irony that Tokunoshima people would like to have both Shima-guchi and Shima-bunka (island culture) from our past, and world/Japanese civilization that is changing our ideology and standard of life for the future, simultaneously. Yet, I too would like to have both. Especially, I would like to retain the culture, but it is impossible to know what the original form of the culture was and what forms of culture were for. There has been a record of Tokunoshima people doing sumo, but that is not a cultural form of this culture. There is nothing remaining of what was Amami prior to Satsuma coming in. Even the *Togyuu* of Tokunoshima, at this time, it is not a part of culture, but rather it is gambling now. If it wasn't, then the current form should not retain records of winning and losing.

Tokunoshima wasn't only under the Ryukyu and Kagoshima, but it was also

under the United States. In fact, my wife used to be a foreigner rather than Japanese for a short time. With that in mind, I don't really know what our culture is, what we need to share. It is becoming difficult to know.

The only place I can imagine using the Tokunoshima language and culture is within the family. But, I don't think it can be done in reality unless all people can speak the language. It can't be helped. It might be a good idea to have Shima-guchi language classes, or conversation classes, just like foreigners teaching English conversation. It will become not the actual Shima-guchi used in day-to-day life, but it would become Shima-guchi conversation as hobby or interest. Moreover, without it being like that (in the family), we would have to create the situations for speaking or else there would be no place to speak Shima-guchi. I guess that's just the way it goes.

There seems to be an idea in people that there should be an independent Amami. At the end, those who started the independence movement will gather all the benefits, so it won't be any solution. Those who left the island say "remain or continue Shima-guchi and culture" but I don't think they have any courage to use Shima-guchi in the city. What it boils down to is, that's what it is.

Testimonial 1129. (see 1131).

Testimonial 1130. The following is the testimony of a Tokunoshima male who is in his sixties. The witness has chosen his own, sometimes incorrect, questions to answer.

I am a Tokunoshima descendant as far back as I know in generations. I can speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. When I was growing up, until I entered elementary school, I only spoke Shima-guchi. I was born and grew up in Kametsu, and received my education until high school in Tokunoshima. When I was in elementary school and junior high school, the public education system taught us not to use Shima-guchi at school. However, at recess and after school, we used Shima-guchi only.

After leaving Tokunoshima to attend university, I taught English outside Kagoshima prefecture. As of this year, I retired from my job and came back to Kametsu. I see Tokunoshima's language and culture as having changed. This

change is due to the increasing influence of the media on the island. Through the information flood created by the media, there has been a direct influence on Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture. When I was growing up, the media meant only the radio or the silver screen. The radio is just a sound, and it did not have the power to influence like movies; however, when I am talking about movies, comparing ourselves to Tokyo, Tokunoshima used to be delayed more than half a year. This delay meant that immediate influence from the media was avoided. However, the introduction of TV, internet and cell phones has increased the overload of information, which further increases material and human movement. Due to the consequent change in Tokunoshima values, sustaining Tokunoshima Shiman-chu identity has become more difficult. Now we need to be questioning our own identities within our world rather than questioning the value of Tokunoshima identity. All of the above change unfortunately happened within my lifetime. I think these large changes came from the proliferation of television.”

Elder peoples’ depth of thought and understanding can be felt through their fluency in Shima-guchi and traditional Tokunoshima cultural practices. In the past, Tokunoshima had strong ideas about respecting elders, and that was the traditional practice. Moreover, there were more families that lived together as extended families in the past. Under those circumstances, I think, of course, grandparents had the most influence in the family in that situation. I think I often saw my grandparents teaching my parents Tokunoshima’s traditions and practices. It is easy to imagine that grandparents were using fluent *hougen* to teach at that time. However, younger generations grew up within the nuclear family system. Within the nuclear family, it is rare to see grandparents teaching Tokunoshima culture and practices in fluent Shima-guchi. I think the standard language, Japanese, is used in nuclear families. Therefore, it is clear that Shima-guchi and island culture and island practices and knowledge production, as well as the value of Shima-guchi, would decline in the nuclear family.

I think Shiman-chu identity exists beyond the different generations, despite their differences generationally in the knowledge and practice of Shima-guchi language and culture.

I can think of several reasons for language and culture loss, but I think that the dissemination of middle- to high- level education has to take a large part of the blame. I think Tokunoshima people used to be very poor and they had to live day-to-day life; therefore, they did not receive middle and higher level education, and they could not allow their children to receive too much education in the past. After World War II, the general public literacy levels increased due to the proliferation of elementary and middle level education. Even on Tokunoshima, there were an increased number of people (those who can read newspapers and books) who were able to express their opinions in text. A large number of Tokunoshima people started to show an interest in Japan and world events. This helped the people of Tokunoshima expand their horizons. I think the parents of those who received a middle level of education wanted their children to receive higher-level education. Tokunoshima only offers up to middle level education (that is, high school graduation). Therefore, to receive a higher level of education, people must leave the island.

There are many parents who send their children to the mainland of Japan to receive elementary and middle level education too. Those who leave the island will experience many things about city life—any place other than Tokunoshima is a city in comparison to Tokunoshima—and on many occasions islanders will feel pressured by non-islanders and experience inferiority. It is just like Sosuke Natsume, Japan's great author, when he went to London to study, he almost never went outside, but stayed in his room to read. We are just like that— to leave the island to go to the big city, a person will feel the pressure—whether it is a bigger part or smaller part, everybody will have an inferiority complex. At those times, I think I have Tokunoshima identity. It's just like Ishikawa Takuboku, (another author), when this happens, it makes me feel nostalgic for my home country or hometown. I think that is the original shape or pattern of Shima-chu identity. I think this is an influence from Okinawan people calling themselves Uchinanchu or Shiman-chu, due to their own entire prefecture being made up of islands.

About Shiman-chu identity being independent from the knowledge and practice of language and culture, it all depends on how the survey question was

asked. But, someone will feel strong identity when that person is away from the cultural centre (in this case, away from Tokunoshima in Tokyo). Away means distance, geography, culturally and economically, the greater the distance, the stronger the person will feel about their identity. I think those who have been exposed to the city then came back to Tokunoshima would feel stronger about Shiman-chu identity. Of course, a person who is fluent in Shima-guchi and knows well about the culture would feel stronger being Shiman-chu.

About people not feeling much Ryukyu identity, one thing I can clearly say is that Tokunoshima belongs to Kagoshima prefecture. Then Tokunoshima is part of the Amami Islands, and of course, we are citizens of Japan. On the other hand, the name Ryukyu is different from Okinawa. A person who lives in Okinawa prefecture would become a Ryukyu person. Therefore, residents of Tokunoshima do not think they are Ryukyu people, and this is natural. However, those who have a deep understanding of Tokunoshima history and Okinawa history will likely feel some kind of closeness to Ryukyu (culture).

On the other hand, if Kagoshima prefectural government or the Kagoshima mainland people brought policy that goes against Tokunoshima's economics, health, social security, etc., then we would feel that we are part of the Amami Islands and we would realize that we receive great influence from Ryukyu geography and culture, and we might appeal to belong to the Ryukyu Islands. I understand that in the past when politics were unstable, many politicians created opponent countries/states in their imaginations, and that ideology provided a mentality of belonging and togetherness.

If it were possible, (to have the industry and language and culture together) I would probably think the same way and want to have it all. There is no limit to human greediness. If I can put myself aside and say that Tokunoshima needs industry, business, and grants as well as the scientific knowledge, then the way this question is expressed...shows that it relies too much on others to help us. There is this connotation attached to it. In my observation of other prefectures, other islands' towns show that Tokunoshima residents must know what they want in detail then make action. This is very important. I think it is very difficult to

imply that we have need for scientific knowledge because current scientific technology is developing on a daily basis. In order to solve this type of problem, it would become impossible when we rely on government too much. The key point is to provide scientific technology education opportunities to the young generation of Tokunoshima, and lay the groundwork for excellent workplaces for them. The current information-based society person does not have to be located in the city, but can execute the tasks of the workplace even if the person is on the island. I believe people want to continue to revitalize Shima-uta and Shima-guchi, and that this is a reflection of the current elementary and junior high schools on Tokunoshima cultural teachings (teaching in the schools).

This was an unthinkable phenomenon when I was growing up; however, the development of scientific technology (civilization) together with Tokunoshima's continuation of culture and language, in harmony, may require careful attention. I think civilization and culture is just like water and oil. In English, civilization means to make a city or town (gathering center); however, culture comes from "cultivate" which is turning the soil and adding the field of "agri" in agriculture. Since Stevenson's steam engine invention, civilization has developed rapidly. Since then, the concentration of CO₂ has increased. Therefore, I think the civilizing of society has to be done very carefully; we have to weigh the pros and cons of civilization. Nature-friendly, human-friendly must be taken into account. If we destroy Tokunoshima and the people on the island, we will ruin everything from the ground up.

Testimonial 1131. This is the combined testimony of four females in their 30s. Much of it is being read into the courtroom proceedings because they are still single and prefer not to say things that could be thought of as assertive. Three are from Tokunoshima and they have been living there as long as their memory goes back. Those three were born on Tokunoshima and received their education until high school on the island. Out of the three, one person said she could somewhat speak Tokunoshima language and the other two said they could not speak Shima-guchi at all. All three of them said they could speak fluent standardized Japanese. The one remaining person said she was born of Tokunoshima parents, however

she was born on the mainland of Japan. As far as blood goes, she is a Tokunoshima person from way back, but she wasn't born or raised on Tokunoshima. She cannot speak Shima-guchi. She is fluent in standardized Japanese. All four are currently living in Isen town in Tokunoshima, working in Tokunoshima history, folklore and culture-related employment. The three who were born on Tokunoshima had their school education totally in standardized Japanese, but their children are learning Shima-guchi at school. They felt they could understand but not speak Shima-guchi.

The three from Tokunoshima believe that Tokunoshima language and culture has changed because there are already people who cannot speak or understand Shima-guchi in existence on the island. (I will now use the plural form as they did).

We understand the language itself changes all the time by creating new words. It is transformed by itself in terms of meaning; however, we do not know what the previous stage of language was; therefore we do not know how it has changed. This change of language and culture happened because the younger generation used culture and language without understanding them. They used the culture and language on their own terms, for their own benefit. From the perspective of students in the education system, they would have to leave the island anyway, so they would have to learn city or mainland language, and they would then forget Tokunoshima language and culture.

These three things—change of Shima-guchi and shima culture has occurred within our life span. Of course, we cannot use the language and culture, so we don't use the language and culture. We feel ashamed to try to speak Shima-guchi; therefore, we will not speak. The person who was born outside Tokunoshima commented “I have never thought about stuff like this before. I have no opinion.”

The survey concluded that the older generation spoke Shima-guchi better and know shima culture better. This comes from the younger generation having a higher percentage of each generation leaving Tokunoshima. This has a further relationship to the education system. School teachers, many of them, come from outside Tokunoshima. Tokunoshima teachers are coming back to Tokunoshima

after their retirement, or they are coming back as principals or vice principals only. When we see it from our standard, it is absolutely true that older generations from us speak better, more fluent, Shima-guchi. At the same time, viewing my children, they are learning Shima-guchi at school. As a result, they speak better Shima-guchi than we do.

The survey results show that Shiman-chu identity exists beyond the generation, despite the amount of language and culture knowledge an individual has. However, there is something that exists that words cannot explain. For example, one aspect of Tokunoshima culture is Togyu. That is, I participate in Togyu. I know it. I own a bull and my parents own a bull. We've already formed the sense of being Shiman-chu. That would become more like an "ego" in a way. I cannot explain what that is in words. Maybe Shiman-chu in Tokunoshima is a much more transient term. People are saying they are Shiman-chu even though they don't know the language or the culture, but just because they live on the island they say they are Shiman-chu. Furthermore, if the person was born on Tokunoshima and grew up on Tokunoshima, that might be enough to say they are Shiman-chu. When we think this way, maybe the younger generation's identity of Shiman-chu itself is understood according to a more vague standard.

About the relative identity showing more than half of the people do not think they are Ryukyu people, this is because Tokunoshima is politically located within Kagoshima prefecture, despite its historical background of being in the Ryukyu cultural area. Political districts influence our thinking, even within the different areas of Amami, and, as a result, neighbouring islands cannot talk to each other. Therefore, when we hear the word "Ryukyu" it sounds like a different country. We think we are Amami rather than Kagoshima or Okinawa. Amami is a unique and independent cultural area. Amami used to belong to the Okinawan culture when Ryukyu used to trade with China, yet we think that Amami was more independent from them. Kagoshima conquered Tokunoshima and exploited sugar for almost 300 years; therefore, we have a taste of dislike for Kagoshima.

Tokunoshima people are suggesting that their language and culture from past generations and the standard of life and ideology shifting world standard

(civilization) with an eye to the future should co-exist. By having industry, business, and government support grants, there will be more people coming in to Tokunoshima. Without people, Tokunoshima will not be revitalized. That is, revitalized means culturally and economically robust. We believe that Tokunoshima culture and language must be passed on to the next generation. In order to do so, the workplace, schools, and everything else should be on the island.

In order to continue the language and culture of Tokunoshima, we can imagine it being used in social life, but probably not in the workplace. In school education, it is probably impossible because so many teachers come from outside the island. Currently, people from the same shima use Shima-guchi at the workplace, but those Shima-guchi users must use it at home within the family as well.

Testimonial 1132. This is the testimony of a female in her 40s.

I did not grow up on Tokunoshima Island or receive education on the island of Tokunoshima. I moved here as an adult and I have not yet learned the Tokunoshima language. I do not use Tokunoshima language or Tokunoshima culture.

Yet, I think Tokunoshima language is changing. Even though I was not born here on the island I can see from a long time ago that the language of Tokunoshima is changing. However, the traditional dances and songs have not changed. I think that the language change is due to modernization and increased transportation between Tokunoshima and the outside as well as increased movement within Tokunoshima. The Tokunoshima cultures are well preserved except for language--which is something I can see at Matsuri and other times. Interestingly, due to the lack of transportation in the past, communities were able to isolate themselves from other communities. I think there is down side to that tradition. That is, peoples' bloodlines have not been mixing enough and this can be seen in their family names. Often one community has one or two dominant family names, and those families with the same names intermarry and often have mentally or physically challenged persons in the group. No one talks about it, but I think it has a lot to do with not having enough genetic mix. Even information is

shared intimately within community members. Strangers like me are always talked about on a regular basis. These phenomena are typically seen in the older generations but not so much with the younger generations. Persons from this island are almost always related to someone from another community. It is a small island. This phenomenon is also closely related to the movement of material and people. Maybe this is a good time to move around people and material since Tokunoshima's blood and ideas are saturated to the maximum, and if new blood and ideas do not come in then maybe Tokunoshima will not be able to function. Maybe it is time to mix things up. The mix of people may already have happened with my people (i.e., my parents and their ancestors, outsiders to Tokunoshima) in the past and now it is finally happening to Tokunoshima. People do need transportation of material and ideas, which comes from human movement. This happened over my life span. Tokunoshima people live a long time, and I think it is maybe because they stay put at same place, away from many diseases from avoiding outside human contact.

People on Tokunoshima have answered that the older generations speak better Tokunoshima language and use/know Tokunoshima culture. Even though I am not the one who said this, I will respond to the question. Old people said their grandparents, way back, spoke a gold standard of the language, even more so than those who are now in the 60-70 year old range. My parents-in-law speak well in my opinion; they say we do not speak very well but that they (older generations) speak/spoke great. I do not know why that happens. That's a question! But, everyone still speaks it.

Do you know what..... I wonder if you know kids in different areas. The kids who are in Isen probably won't go anywhere else but will stay in Tokunoshima and live here forever. Those people will still speak the language. Those people who do go out...well, it is hard... but my sons won't speak the language. Everybody else thinks somebody... It is happening because they are noticing that they are hearing words they do not know. So actually, why do they not know, if they are listening to their parents all the time, why are they not learning those words? Islanders are not using Shima-guchi anymore and so they

don't become more fluent/efficient with their own language and culture. I am listening to them but they are not using the language and culture, if they are not using them, then that means both are going to, little by little, go away. Right? Why do you need it? In twenty more years, when this generation has become adult, all the people that have authority here—teachers and postal workers and policemen—all these people will come from other sites and you cannot speak “hougen” (dialect) with them. I think increased transportation has changed and caused an even deeper sectioning of Tokunoshima and that was shown in the survey results because there were no differences among the three towns.

Tokunoshima islanders seem to think they have a Tokunoshima identity independent from island language and/or island culture. I think that is just because they are born here, so they feel like they are “Shiman-chu.” Older people look at the younger people and older people think that the younger people are changing, so they think they are not island people. However when I asked my son if his generation feels like they are Shiman-chu he actually answered with “no.” I thought they would say “yes” but they felt differently from me.

Most of those who answered the question have said they would identify themselves as Japanese, Amami person, Tokunoshima person, but not as Ryukyu persons. I cannot really believe that since my husband has family members on Okinawa so his family often visits Okinawa. However, many Tokunoshima people are saying they do not feel like they have a Ryukyu identity. I think this may come from the political situation. Tokunoshima used to belong to Ryukyu but now it is a part of Kagoshima. As a result, people do not go to Okinawa except for vacations.

Tokunoshima people answered that they would like to continue to use Tokunoshima language and culture at the same time they have civilization, governmental financial support, industries, businesses, and scientific knowledge. I would agree with any proposal for bringing a University here. I think the cultural aspects of Tokunoshima have not yet changed much from the past. Unfortunately, I am different because it's not in my blood so that is why it does not really interest me. But, this kind of stuff is so like an old fashioned kind of dancing. So

somebody like out in an *inaka* (rural area) just started doing some movements like this, you know. No choreography. But it is so traditional. That has not changed. I think Tokunoshima can continue into the future without losing the past. I agree less about the language but I disagree that culture is disappearing in your statement.

I think Tokunoshima people will need to keep teaching Tokunoshima language and culture in school, just like English. There are so many who are learning English but they are not learning it well because it is not a home language. They have to learn English at school and the parents are going to have to do Tokunoshima language at home. Children just do not have enough time in a day to do it all: English and Hougen.

Testimonial 1133. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s.

I am native to the island as far as memory goes back in generations. I am not fluent in Tokunoshima language; I am able to somewhat speak Shima-guchi. I speak standardized Japanese fluently. I used to use Shima-guchi when I was growing up. I used standardized Japanese in the school system. I currently live in Kametsu. I received my education until high school on Tokunoshima. In the public education system, I was educated not to use hougen. When we used hougen at school, we had to wear a sign. As a result, we used pidgin Japanese. In order to get rid of the sign, we had to find another person who was using hougen, then we could pass on our sign. Luckily, we didn't have a physical punishment for this.

I think that Tokunoshima's language and culture have changed. Especially during the ceremonies or festive events, or memorial services, I feel it. This probably comes from the increased amount of information coming into Tokunoshima. This increased information has happened after World War II until now. I don't think it was like this before.

I also feel that Tokunoshima's language (Shima-guchi) and culture are becoming different with each succeeding generation. This means that the younger generations do not know the language and culture well compared to prior generations; simplifying the cultural practices is something that cannot happen gradually. Furthermore, children have almost never heard Shima-guchi. Most of

the school teachers come from the mainland, and those people in the past have decided “let’s use standardized Japanese” because they could not understand Shima-guchi. Those who run businesses are unable to use hougen in order to communicate. If you speak to the older generation in standardized Japanese, they speak back with faltering standardized Japanese.

Due to these differences in Shima-guchi and shima culture’s standards and experiences, the older generation has a tendency to see the younger generation as not having Shiman-chu identity. However, despite what the older generation thinks of them, I myself think I am a Shiman-chu just because I live on the island. In addition to this, I think it comes from the younger generations enjoying Togyuu and things like that. That is, Tokunoshima’s absolute identity of Shiman-chu is rooted in whether an individual likes Tokunoshima or not. But the relative identity in terms of Global, Asia, Japanese, Kagoshima, Amami and Tokunoshima—but not Ryukyu—well, I do not feel like I am a Kagoshima person.

I think it is an irony that Tokunoshima people responded that they want both Shima-guchi and shimabunka from the past, and the world and Japanese civilization for the future. Yet, I would like to have both as well. Especially I would like to keep the culture of Tokunoshima, but I am confused about what that really means. For example, a funeral does not hold to traditional methods anymore; there are many other ways of holding a funeral. Currently, what I can remember or understand of culture is the hamaori. Togyuu is mainly for gambling. It might be a good idea to teach Shima-guchi as a foreign language. The mainland people are just not going to understand Shima-guchi.

Where I can imagine people using Tokunoshima language, culture is in the family household. However, in reality I don’t think it is possible. After all, all people must be able to speak Shima-guchi to do that. It might be a good idea to have Shima-guchi classes.

Testimonial 1134. This is the testimony of a male in his 40s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as memory goes back. I am native to the land. I can speak Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I was born in

Tokunoshima, and I grew up and received an education on the island until high school. I left the island after high school graduation, but now I continue to live on the island. When I grew up on the island, I had a three generation family in my household; therefore, daily life was lived in Shima-guchi. This was also true of my friends and my neighbours. We all spoke Shima-guchi, except for during school. School education did not allow us to use Shima-guchi. Moreover, they banned Shima-guchi usage in school. Those who spoke Shima-guchi were forced to wear a sign which said “Hougen user” and they had to wear it all day. It felt like bullying by the school. Even so, after school, before school, we only used Shima-guchi. This Shima-guchi usage in social and daily life started to shift and change to standardized Japanese, sometime around the 1960s Olympics and the wide television broadcasting, which even came into each community on the island. I think Tokunoshima language has changed. Tokunoshima Shima-guchi change is due to what I said above: Ban of Shima-guchi usage by the school system, introduction of media and television, and the disappearance and destruction of the three generation household.

Tokunoshima’s Shima-guchi itself is different in each community, which is shima. That is, vocabulary, pronunciation, the way to say things, are all slightly different in individual shimas, and the further the shimas are separated geographically, the more impossible it becomes to have conversations or communication.

The older and ancestor generations are fluent in Shima-guchi and shima culture, but in the younger generations, fluency is reduced. That is because currently children use only standardized Japanese for all of their daily activities. Therefore, the older generation’s ability to use Shima-guchi looks good to them. Even though my grandparents didn’t go to school, they had a lot of knowledge. I think it is important to pass those kinds of knowledges on, and to respect their knowledge, for that knowledge is important. This probably has a great connection to ancestral worship. Respecting language and culture allows you to connect to the ancestors.

The younger generation seems to think they are Shiman-chu, even though the older generations seem to disagree with that, probably due to the differences in experiences and culture. Nevertheless, I think I see my children as Shiman-chu—they are in high school. My generation, who are in their 40s, do not recognize those who are in their 20s as Shiman-chu, which probably comes from the fact that they cannot speak Shima-guchi. The importance in this is that we cannot deny the next generation their own Shiman-chu identity because we want to enforce our own kind of form/standard. If we use such standards, such criteria, our youngsters, our next generation are unlikely to come back to the island.

About relative identity, I think this comes from the fact that we possess our own unique culture, meaning Amami. Despite Amami and Tokunoshima possessing a unique culture, we still think we are Kagoshima. This comes from after World War II and being north of the 29th parallel. South of the 29th parallel became the United States territory, which included the Amami islands, but the Amami islands wanted to return to Japan. The strength of that wish changed us into thinking that we are people of Kagoshima prefecture. Probably Okinawa felt the same way, but Ryukyu wasn't allowed to return to Japan, so the connection to Okinawa is not through language and culture; instead it was created by the situation between Japan and the USA. Young people nowadays think we are the nation of Amami rather than the nation of Ryukyu. That is reflected in the language and the Amami islands have now developed their own unique creole, which is different from Okinawan. These languages are not the same as traditional Shima-guchi, and it is not standardized Japanese; they are unique to each island, and unique to Tokunoshima and within each community (shima).

The survey results said that Tokunoshima people would like to have the past and future simultaneously, but I don't think we can have the past and future simultaneously. When we talk about culture, there are many areas within the culture, for example, arts, language, food, songs, and many other things. Tokunoshima is taking in and changing its own wind and soil, adapting to the city and to world culture in its own way. Newly taken in things are mixed into our own surroundings and made into our own. This will continue to happen.

If all the Tokunoshima people were to speak Shima-guchi, I cannot even imagine people would use it in the household. It's not only my imagination; in fact, it's not being used anymore. Talking about the workplace, it all depends on the type of work. Some work places use it, others maybe different. In social life, there are situations in which we use Shima-guchi, that is, when I see a person from my own shima (community), then Shima-guchi (from that community) just comes out of my mouth. Yet, when I see a person from another shima, my Shima-guchi (language from the island) doesn't come out. At this time of my life, my usage of Shima-guchi is quite limited. Now the only time I use it is when I see my relatives at a gathering. Even if we could use Shima-guchi more and more, there are always people from outside the island living here; therefore, communication will be in standardized Japanese. When we might be able to use Shima-guchi (the community language) then because each shima is different, it is impossible to use it in a social environment.

Testimonial 1135. This is the testimony of a female in her 30s from Tokunoshima.

Three generations prior to me either both or one of my parents' ancestors started to live on Tokunoshima. I can speak standardized Japanese quite well, but I cannot speak Shima-guchi. I was born on Tokunoshima. My parents were able to use Shima-guchi, but I can only listen, unable to speak. I received all of my education up to high school on Tokunoshima. People in Kametsu didn't use much Shima-guchi, so when I went into high school, friends who came from Isen and Amagi were using hougen and that made me very surprised. There was such a thing as Shima-guchi usage ban in school education, but there was no physical punishment or being forced to wear a sign around one's neck for using Shima-guchi that I saw.

I think Tokunoshima language has changed. I think this language and culture change has happened in my lifetime. Of course, when I see time in units of 100 years, then I think it has been changing from the past. This change has been variations from different eras, history, and even in different areas. Even within Tokunoshima, there are slight variations between towns and communities. I think

this change of language and culture is due to an increased amount of civilization coming into Tokunoshima and that has changed the balance.

The older generations are able to use Shima-guchi and shima culture, and the younger generations have a decreased ability. I think this is because people are not speaking Shima-guchi. Moreover, there is less chance of speaking Shima-guchi. Since Tokunoshima people's life and environment has changed, and the conversation between generations is disappearing under conditions like that, then when people see others speaking Shima-guchi, they think they are fluent. When the situation is like this, grandparents will speak standardized Japanese, even though they are not good at it, since they know their grandchildren are unable to understand Shima-guchi.

The younger generations think of themselves as Shiman-chu, but when the older generations see them, they describe the younger generation as not Shiman-chu. When I was younger, even though I like Tokunoshima, there was a time that I wanted to deny my identity. When I left Tokunoshima, I felt very small because I grew up in a different environment. When I started working, and started going back to my own island, I started to feel that I am glad I was born on the island. Nowadays children are using a lot of internet sites to gather information at school and at home. However, I don't go to Tokyo often. When I go to visit Tokyo, I start to think that their life is not a rich life. Materialistic things and spiritual things, both of them—all the people in Tokyo are too busy pursuing a life. This even applies to clothing. When I see celebrities wearing clothes, it makes me think that they are beautiful, but those support people such as regular workers in overfilled trains, I especially feel that way. I can't really explain it, but a Shiman-chu means I think people somehow have a kind of spirituality, or maybe not, I don't know.

The relative identity of positive responses, Shiman-chu, Amami, Japanese, and less with Kagoshima and Asia, except for Ryukyu, I think Amami and Tokunoshima are different. I think Tokunoshima's language and culture is rooted in Ryukyu. Even in Kametsu, at the time of Obon, we send our ancestor's spirits to the grave, contrary to other areas on Tokunoshima. Moreover, we have a wake

at the graveyard. When I tell that story to other friends in other areas, they often say “you did that much? Why?” Therefore, I even feel why is it so different, even though we are so close? Not only that, the events and ceremonies have different foods, numbers of foods, types of foods; all are variants. This seems to even happen in Nagasaki prefecture. Nagasaki people traditionally ate mainly pork, just like Tokunoshima; therefore, I felt there was even a connection there as well.

People in Tokunoshima seem to want the past and future simultaneously. I don't want to go back to the past. But there are people who are wishing to come back to the island from Tokyo, and unfortunately, they are unable to come back. That's because Tokunoshima has no employment, so they cannot come back. As a result, Tokunoshima will require civilizing, and that is how it could be connected to this story.

Even if all the people on Tokunoshima could speak Shima-guchi, I don't think there is much chance that people will be using Shima-guchi at their work from now on.

Testimonial 1136. This is testimony from a female in her 50s.

I have lived in Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back. I am native to the land. I can speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and received my education until high school there. After high school graduation, I left the island and I came back to Tokunoshima when I was 30 years old. Since then I have continued to live on the island. While I was growing up on Tokunoshima, daily life and family conversation was all in Shima-guchi. This didn't stay within the family; all my friends and neighbours used Shima-guchi, everywhere except for school education. When I was in school, I had to work after school helping my parents with the field. When it was harvesting time, I did not even have time to study.

I think Tokunoshima language has changed. This Tokunoshima language change, Shima-guchi change, comes from actively bringing standardized Japanese into the school education system, and prohibiting the usage of Shima-guchi, as well as from the reduced numbers of school teachers from Tokunoshima. When I was in elementary and junior high school, we used to get yelled at when we used

Shima-guchi, but nowadays schools are encouraging students to use Shima-guchi. I think that it is kind of too late to be doing that. I think that Tokunoshima's language change has happened in my life span. I think that even Shima-guchi itself is simply gradually changing according to its own time or era in the area of pronunciation, how they say things. The existence of language and the way people think will change according to their own times and currents. This current has existed from way back in the past. It didn't just start now. According to that, English education started in elementary school. If that was going to happen, then I think it would have been better to teach Shima-guchi instead, just because standardized Japanese is different from Shima-guchi. There is no heart touching communication with elders when we use standardized Japanese and it is impossible to use it in text, even if we in-text-ize Shima-guchi to read it, it involves great difficulty.

Tokunoshima's language and culture change is due to outside island culture and civilization moving onto the island. I think this is caused by the movement of humans and the materials that outside people bring with them from the city, or what people bring back from the mainland after leaving Tokunoshima and coming back. This transportation of material includes our food culture as well.

Tokuoshima language and Tokunoshima culture are fluent in the older generations, but as the generations get younger, it gets more difficult to find fluent speakers. This is because residents of Tokunoshima see the earlier generations (elders) and they are thinking that the elders are fluent in Shima-guchi. That means individuals respect their own parents. Currently, many households express that the fathers are useless and no good, and that is what is different from the past. At this time of our life, there is a change in our hearts with regard to how we respect our parents and ancestors. That's where the difference is, I think.

The younger generation seems to feel that they have retained Shiman-chu identity but the older generations seems to disagree that the younger generations are Shiman-chu. That recognition of the younger generation not being Shiman-chu comes from a different standard in which the younger generation cannot speak Shima-guchi as well as the older generations do. On top of that, the younger

generations are using standardized Japanese almost exclusively. Even though the younger generation can't speak Shima-guchi, still they identify themselves as Shiman-chu just because they have pride. This means that there is almost no relationship with how much you know about the culture or whether you were born on the island. The older generations draw the line in a different place than the younger generation—they draw it where the younger generation can't use language or culture.

The relative identity of Tokunoshima people showed that they feel the identity of Amami, Japan, a little less identity of Kagoshima and Asia, and that they don't really have a feel of identity with Ryukyu. I also agree because I think Ryukyu is something different. I also would say I am a Kagoshima person. I wonder if that is because we live under Kagoshima prefecture, and we are recognized under that condition. We start our address as Kagoshima-ken, Oshima-gun, but we cannot start with Okinawa-ken. We recognize ourselves as Kagoshima when we come to those points.

When I think about Tokunoshima people wanting to have past and future simultaneously, I also think the same way as those who answered that they want both. I think it will be good for the next generation if we can find a way to have both past and future at the same time. To achieve this, there will have to be lots of effort which comes from those who are in their 60s and 70s, but younger generations than that probably will not volunteer themselves to continue Shima-guchi and Shima culture. This is a result of time limitations for them; however, more than that, their ideology has changed to the point of "why are we doing this to help other people so much?" This ideology gets clearer as the generation gets younger. Followed by this, this social change is another factor. There are a number of people returning to Tokunoshima after divorce, coming back as single parents. We cannot expect those people to volunteer to spend time and effort continuing language and culture. Tokunoshima's old traditional spirituality of *yui* which means helping each other in order to live collectively, seems to be disappearing. At this time of our lives, receiving cash has replaced helping each other by means of physical work. Those who worked under harsh conditions in

the past had much stronger psychological and physical beings, but now it is opposite.

Even if Tokunoshima people were to speak Shima-guchi, I cannot imagine that people would be using Shima-guchi in their households—not in the workplace, nor in social lives either. I cannot imagine it. The reality is that we are not using it. I have started to think that it is meaningless to continue a language that people are not using anymore. When I start thinking like this, it makes me wonder what culture is. Is it agricultural? Is it *Togyuu* (bullfighting)? I have no confidence that I will be able to produce rice fields. Even when I hear the rice planting songs, I don't understand them. There are not many people who wish to do these meaningless exercises to maintain a culture. When we lose our point where we can use something, it is something that can't be helped. Instead, we have to go along with the current. It might be a good idea to merge those things if it is possible. I think it will be the best to intake all of the convenience and not get rid of it, but rather view and change the ideology of new convenient items according to Tokunoshima ways.

Testimonial 1137. This is the testimony of a female in her 40s.

I have lived on Tokunoshima as far as memory goes back. I am native to the land. I can speak both standardized Japanese and Shima-guchi fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and I received all of my education here until high school. At school, I spoke standardized Japanese only. At home, in reality, I used only Shima-guchi. Thanks to that, I am capable of speaking Shima-guchi, including the respectful forms of Shima-guchi. I received instruction to use only standardized Japanese, but not *hougen*, in school education.

After high school graduation, I left the island, but I came back. Currently, I am living in Kametoku, a different place from where I grew up on Tokunoshima. Even at Kametoku, not my original home, I prioritize the social relationships between neighbours. In the beginning, when I first came back to Tokunoshima, my Shima-guchi didn't come out of my mouth as much as I wanted it to, so I had to put a lot of effort into it. Even now, it is difficult to memorize and recite many things that I only hear in Tokunoshima language, cultural practice, and knowledge,

so I have started to write those things down. I go out with my friends to find food in nature. We cook together and eat together. From that experience, I feel that Tokunoshima's food, the material, is best suited to Tokunoshima cooking methods. The food from the local areas supplies the material that the body requires. So, it is best to emphasize local production, local consumption. I rarely purchase raw food at the store. The food we are given comes from reciprocity between those who we know and our neighbours. If someone gives me food, then I will cook it, and return it back to those who gave it to me, which is *yuiwaku*. There are some people who have high blood pressure, and so they drink shochu with local oranges. The name is *suigunin*. There are those who like to cook mixed yoghurt and plums together and they use the local Tokunoshima food and enjoy all of those.

I think Tokunoshima's language and culture has changed. The change in Shima-guchi in this case has happened in my lifetime. Even so, I don't recognize those changes happening except over a long time or over generations.

The older generations speak and use fluent Shima-guchi and fluent Shima culture. However, the younger the generation gets, they more they lose their ability in language and culture. The results of the differences between those in their 40s and those in their 50s is the difference between being able to speak and not being able to speak Shima-guchi, which ultimately comes from the national policy. When I was in grade 5 approximately, well, those times had propaganda directed at not using Shima-guchi. Even though I was taught not to use Shima-guchi at around grade 5, for me it was too late. I don't have any problem with Shima-guchi, but those who received their education under or after this policy, many of them, probably cannot speak Shima-guchi anymore. Between the genders, I remember boys stubbornly used Shima-guchi until the end, while girls tried actively not to use Shima-guchi. Even when male friends call me from the city nowadays, they speak to me in Shima-guchi. In that respect, males are much stronger. Those who are from the older generations speak better and more fluent Shima-guchi, which comes from the change of generations and era, probably. Life gets richer, the houses lost their vegetable gardens; they don't raise pigs and they

don't know what is necessary to slaughter them anymore either. When you go to the store, there are plenty of foods for sale. Humans seem to have reduced their own abilities to figure things out for themselves as their lives got richer. The younger generation seems to adapt their ability to all new things much better. For instance, the PC and internet—kids know way more than I do.

The younger generation seems to identify themselves as Shiman-chu, despite the fact that the older generation does not view them as Shiman-chu. I think this comes from the love of their homeland, because they live on Tokunoshima. I think that if you don't live on the island, the love of the hometown will never mature. This probably does not require one being born on the island, but it does require one to localize (localize one's ideology) as the source. It is important to live here on Tokunoshima, but just to be born here isn't good enough. Unique folklore and temperament of Tokunoshima exists and we have live within that. That makes individuals Shiman-chu. Whatever it is, to grow up with Tokunoshima is the important thing.

Testimonial 1138. This is the testimony of a male in his 60s.

My family has been living on Tokunoshima since about five generations prior to me, and somebody from five generations back, started living here (one or both parents). I can speak Tokunoshima language and Japanese fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima, and received a high school education on Tokunoshima. The structure of my family was a three-generational family, and 100% of the conversation was in hougen. This was not only true of the family, but it also applied to friendship, the neighbourhood, everywhere except for school. Unfortunately, in the school education system, I was not allowed to use Shima-guchi. In the school system, I had to use standardized Japanese. At that time, speaking standardized Japanese itself was a strange thing, but if we used hougen in school, we had to wear a sign hanging from our necks and we usually had another penalty as well. We had to say “in Shima-guchi” in case we couldn't say things in standardized Japanese, then we were allowed to say it in hougen. While we proceeded through the grades, we must have learned more standardized Japanese so when we got into junior high school and high school, these issues

disappeared. After leaving Tokunoshima to attend university, we had to use standardized Japanese, but we continued to use Shima-guchi between Tokunoshima people. After that, I became a schoolteacher and life as school teacher meant that I used 100% standardized Japanese in my life. One of the reasons is that even in the Amami areas (where I taught) the language was differentiated from place to place. For example, in Kasari, I could not use Tokunoshima Shima-guchi at all; therefore, I had to use Naze language in the conversation to be understood; otherwise, I had to use standardized Japanese. When I was a teacher, I taught in mainland Japan for five years, in Ouma and Bouma only. The longer that I stayed in the mainland, the less I was able to speak Shima-guchi. The thoughts didn't come out in Shima-guchi, and I was unable to express myself in Shima-guchi. I started to use more standardized Japanese. It depends on who I am talking to to determine if I speak hougen. For example, in speaking to Grandma, I will use Shima-guchi.

Tokunoshima language has changed and will continue to change from now on. There are many words that are now dead and forgotten. For example, “nib” which means “dipper” and “uru” which means “futon” are gone.

The change of language and culture, I think it comes from the environmental change in children's lifestyle. Standardized Japanese has become the common language to be used in the school and the family now. People from outside the islands have started to move onto the island. The way children play, which is influenced by television, shows a large change from when I was young. With that, the change in the nouns we use, which comes from replacement of the household items with new names, is due to transportation. The reason islanders had to learn standardized Japanese was that when they leave the island, they would not then have shame or trouble pursuing their careers. I don't recall when the dissemination of standardized Japanese started, but it already existed when I was in elementary school. According to my memory, it was after World War II. Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, the new generation (*Shinjinrui*—new species) came out and they changed the lifestyle and conditions. Now those people have become parents and the language has changed from Shima-guchi to standardized Japanese.

It is likely that our ancestors' lives did not involve the use of standardized Japanese; therefore, it is true that the older generation knows more about Shima-guchi and shima culture—and the younger the generation gets, the less ability there is to do so. In other words, our ancestors could not speak standardized Japanese because there was no need to. As a result, from now, people will be able to speak less Shima-guchi because there is no need to. In the past, the island was closed. If there were communications or movements to the outside, it is unlikely that islanders took those things with them while replacing their own lifestyles.

The results are showing that the older generations seem to recognize the younger generations as having lesser Shiman-chu identity due to having different standards of experience of Shima-guchi and shima culture. Yet, the younger generations seem to feel that they have Shiman-chu identity. I think this comes from them having been born and raised on Tokunoshima and nothing else. The older generation probably is using a standard that involves Tokunoshima language and culture use on top of just being born and raised on Tokunoshima. For the older generations, I think that is where the standard is. From the young people's point of view, being born and growing up on Tokunoshima as well as having their official registration on the island is the boundary for feeling Shiman-chu.

It is clear that Tokunoshima resident's absolute identity of feeling Shiman-chu seems to be whether an individual likes or dislikes Tokunoshima. But about the relative identity—in the past, people didn't want to face south. In this case, north refers to Tokyo. Earth means where they are living—the most part of their existence. The feelings of Asia compared to the world as a geographical location is not really familiar to Tokunoshima people. Japan is its own country. Kagoshima identification means only that compared to Okinawa there are more communications and associations currently with Kagoshima. Therefore, Amami may not seem to be part of the Ryukyu crescent—if you don't have communication, then it is difficult to sympathize with the identity. Moreover, Amami feels like the Amami islands fought to be returned to Japan after the war. As a unit, therefore, they are more united in their hearts.

The results show that Tokunoshima people would like to have both Shima-guchi and shima culture from the past, and life and ideology changing world-based civilization for the future, simultaneously. However, it is important to merge and deal with both at the same time instead of separating “this is past; this is future.” In reality, the proliferation of water lines forced “nibu” (dippers) to disappear; it’s the same thing. We will continue to pass on things that are necessary, convenient, that develop life, and new things have to be integrated into it. Therefore, all of the old things cannot be continued with us.

The fork in the road for civilization and culture exists in a variety of aspects of life as well as in different locations. Many Indigenous people currently locate themselves at the fork in the road, the diversion point, and they believe that they exist at that place at that moment, and they are thinking about many choices. But Tokunoshima’s diversion point has been passed already. Our choice in terms of the changing point, I think, I don’t know if it was political power or what was the decision making point, but for Tokunoshima it happened unjustifiably. It was forced. As a result, medicine came in and because of that we survived into the new generations. It would be great to have universities on Tokunoshima; unfortunately, there isn’t enough population to support that. However, I think it is a good idea to have such educational institutions.

If older people on Tokunoshima could use Shima-guchi, then my hope would be that Tokunoshima people would use both their language and culture in a wide variety of situations. Moreover, it will be great if we could use Shima-guchi according to the communication partner. For example, with visitors from outside the island, standardized Japanese would be used, while within the family, hougen will be used. This requires all islanders to reach a consensus. Each month, on the 18th, is called “futuba no hi” (Yoron’s hougen), and it will be encouraged to use hougen on that day. But, there is almost nobody who follows this, even me, who grew up with Shima-guchi, but left the island. Even I sometimes have trouble speaking Shima-guchi in conversations.

Testimonial 1139. This is the testimony of a female in her 60s.

I have lived on the island as far as memory goes back. I am native to the land I guess. I can speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. But, I was born outside Tokunoshima. When I was really young, I came back to the island. When I was in elementary school, we were educated to use only standardized Japanese. If we spoke *hougen* (dialect) then we received a penalty. If we didn't understand how to say something in standardized Japanese, then we used to say "If I say it in Shima-guchi," before speaking Shima-guchi, then it was allowed. When we used *hougen*, the penalty was cleaning. That only happened when we were told on to the teachers. There were students who tattle-tailed. By the time we were in junior high, this eventually disappeared.

I think Tokunoshima's language and culture is changing. At the same time, I have a feeling that it has already changed. As above, I think this change has happened in my lifetime. Even from my observation from a historical point of view, until the 1930s, most of the people were born on the island, grew up on the island, and even if they left the island, most of the people came back. However, after that time, people stopped coming back. Those who had a city experience have changed their views of human relationships and of the events of the three towns on Tokunoshima. When people came back, especially in Kametsu, lifestyles changed drastically due to those returnees. This can also be seen in the corporatization of the island (mainland influence). Corporatization has even been changing the face of Tokunoshima culture, influencing such things as marriage, funerals, birth, etc. These changes, I think, came from great influence of material movement from outside the island. I think that this was happening when I was growing up. There was a difference in lifestyle between the farmers' children in Isen and the town of Kametsu children. Even the food has changed, even for traditional events like marriages and funerals (referring to what they eat in the ceremonies).

There seems to be a developing difference in Shima-guchi, Tokunoshima Shima-guchi and culture, between generations. That is, from the children's point of view, people can speak. I agree with that. My grandparents definitely speak Shima-guchi fluently. Within the same generation, fluency in Shima-guchi is not

the same, even between me and my husband, for example. Ability in language and culture is very much influenced by how you grew up. My husband left the island when he was attending high school, and he was away for a long time. He is not good at communicating with the older generation in respectful Shima language.

Due to their experiences and different standards of Shima-guchi and shima culture, the older generation has a tendency to see the younger generation as not Shiman-chu, but the younger generation themselves think they are Shiman-chu. That is because people have a strong attachment to the island. Children seem to have much more attachment to Tokunoshima than parents or adults think they do. For example, when a person returns to Tokunoshima from the city, they start liking things that they used to hate about Tokunoshima like some of the food.

It seems to be that absolute self-identity as Shiman-chu is rooted in whether a person likes Tokunoshima or not, but that the relative identity in terms of being Global, Asian, Japanese, Kagoshima, Amami, Tokunoshima, or Ryukyu people is connected to a period in history when Satsuma (Kagoshima) conquered and dominated us. But, during the high school baseball tournaments, once Tokunoshima high school team loses, I will always cheer for both Kagoshima and Okinawa prefectures. I have a strong and great attachment to Okinawa. This is, of course, different from feeling that I am an Okinawa prefecture person. I do not feel I am a Ryukyu person, but I have more affection/love for them than for Kagoshima.

I personally think it is a bit difficult to maintain both Shima-guchi and shima culture from the past, and the Japan/world “civilized” life, ideology-changing, future simultaneously. I think it is important to appeal to the younger generation about the good things from the past. Of course, there used to be a time and era when we used to be ashamed of those parts of our lifestyle. This is true. But it is important to keep remembering what it means to be an Amami and Tokunoshima person. Wherever we go, we don’t want to lose our own bestowed gift. This even applies to living within Tokunoshima’s communities (shima). People don’t want to forget their own shima’s Shima-guchi, their own shima’s

culture. Of course, the differences between the shima often provided misunderstandings in communication.

I cannot imagine people using Tokunoshima language and culture at school, in education. There are textbooks in the classrooms; therefore, it is impossible to use Shima-guchi. I don't see using it in hospital situations either. There are many situations and problems that exist now. People from this island cannot explain the symptoms of their difficulties in Shima-guchi to the mainland-originating doctors. Especially those in their 80s and older, they cannot explain the type of pain they are feeling in Japanese and the doctors don't speak Shima-guchi. Often, nurses need to translate for them at those times. Within the social life situation, we use Shima-guchi to those who we know, and to neighbours. But, when we have a person in the group who does not understand hougen, then we will automatically describe our thoughts by changing to standardized language. It might be a good idea to use Shima-guchi to introduce and greet people, and in community meetings and gatherings. But, in doing so, there might be a possibility that people will start using Shima-guchi, and there are some things that cannot be explained or expressed by standardized Japanese that can be in hougen. That is, the things that only exist on this island—folklore and other things. The conversation itself will become increasingly engaging in Shima-guchi if we use it.

There is a theory of Amami independence that some people think needs action. Those who start the revolution will take all the benefit anyway, and they will become dominant, so independence is not a solution to me. Those who left the island are saying to us we should be keeping our Shima-guchi and culture, but they don't have the guts to use Shima-guchi in city situations.

Testimonial 1140. This is the testimony of a female in her 60s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as my memory goes back and as far as generations go back. I can speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I became fluent in Tokunoshima language after I got married. I used to use standardized Japanese in households and schools. I grew up in Amami because my parents had to move locations. I went around living in the different

Amami areas. Since I had to go around to the different locations when I was growing up, I didn't have much opportunity to speak Shima-guchi.

I think that Tokunoshima's language and culture have already changed. Tokunoshima's culture and respect for ancestry is disappearing, but there is still something left. Tokunoshima's language and culture change has happened gradually. Language change is reflected in every specific time and era. However, *toshinoiwai* (event for reaching a particular age) things like that we need to keep, whatever happens, with all of our best effort.

There seems to be a tendency to believe that the older generation speaks fluent Shima-guchi and the younger generation doesn't really know Shima-guchi—it is indicated in the survey results. Just like those results, I had almost no opportunity to use Shima-guchi until I got married to my husband. My husband insisted on speaking Shima-guchi only in the household. And to speak to his mother, I had to speak Shima-guchi. While I was doing that, I eventually became fluent in it. At this time, I speak Kametoku Shima-guchi with people in Kametoku. Unfortunately, my son cannot speak Shima-guchi. He understands when he listens but he cannot participate in the conversation.

There seems to be a different recognition of Shiman-chu identity between the generations. This probably comes from whether identity is viewed only on the surface or not. For example, identity could be related to anything from food and lifestyle to clothing. Because the younger generations don't eat original Tokunoshima food, and because they don't use Tokunoshima things, it does not mean that their hearts have already changed. This is the same in language. The Shima-guchi that they have forgotten, or haven't used for a long time, still remains and when individuals become adults, they start to want to use Shima-guchi. Because they don't use it now, or they don't know it now, probably does not mean their identity is decreasing.

It appears that absolute value of Tokunoshima identity resides in whether individuals hold the spirit of Tokunoshima or not. When questions of relative identity were asked of respondents (Global, Asian, Japan, Kagoshima, Amami, Tokunoshima, Ryukyu), I do not agree with this result. Yes, we are closer to

Kagoshima but when we hear the Shima-uta such as *Waidobushi*, or when we hear the drums from Okinawa, our hearts somehow start to dance. That's just because Okinawan blood is running through us.

I still think that Tokunoshima's culture and language need to be used in island households. Of course, the community, the shima, should be using them too. After that, maybe we could arrange some kind of stage play in Shima-guchi; maybe that could be good. By doing that, there would be a connection between the different generations, and that connection would get deeper. Unfortunately, even when children become fluently able to use Shima-guchi, when they go to school, most of the teachers are from outside Tokunoshima, so they cannot use Shima-guchi. Moreover, schools are not encouraging Shima-guchi usage. People who left the island for a long time, they just don't forget Shima-guchi in their hearts. Interestingly too, there are some people from the mainland of Japan who now can use Shima-guchi quite fluently.

Testimonial 1141. Testimony of a female in her 50s living on Tokunoshima.

I have lived on the island as far as memory goes back. I am native to the land. I speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I was born on Tokunoshima and received all of my education here up until high school. I spoke only standardized Japanese at school. We were instructed not to use hougen but to use only standardized Japanese in school education. After high school graduation I left the island, but I came back. Since then, I have continued to live on the island. Even after I left the island, I used to use Shima-guchi when I telephoned my parents. My father moved to Tokunoshima himself. Therefore, when I was young, my mother spoke to me in standardized Japanese; however, we used to live with our grandparents. They used Shima-guchi. As a result, I can express my thoughts and ideas and feelings with island language. The wrapping cloth (*furoshiki*) is *uchikui*. Basin was *bindare*. I remember that. My conversation with my grandparents was absolutely in Shima-guchi.

I think that all of these changes in language and culture have happened in my lifetime. In the recent past, during one of the Tokunoshima cultural events—Togyuu—when the event was on, people used to drum while they were walking

on the street. However, now traffic is controlled by the police; therefore, the people need to have permission to drum in the streets. On summer holidays, elementary school students used to gather at 6:30 in the morning, and start the day with exercise called *rajio taiso*. But now, they don't come anymore. Before after a typhoon passed through the island, it was the community all together who cleaned up, but now that doesn't happen often. This is reaching not only into the culture, but I feel like it is reaching into folklore, scenery, and we are turning into something city-like. Furthermore, we all are simplifying everything. This simplified culture, folklore and scenery, it is everywhere. I have asked respected knowledgeable elders how we can maintain what specific things are supposed to look like. This person said to me, "you should create your own, based on your knowledge and understanding of Tokunoshima."

Those changes above in language and culture are thought to be caused by instruction from school education authorities not to use Shima-guchi. Because of this instruction, students were obedient and they were in like a jail and they were told to engage in surveillance of each other. Teachers encouraged that. Because I didn't want to be told on by my friends, I tried to use standardized Japanese with everybody else. It just started from knowing that if you speak Shima-guchi, you get scolded. That's where it started. Instead nowadays, schools are encouraging Shima-guchi usage. Of course, getting islanders to use standardized Japanese was to help people when they left the island with their communication with mainlanders. That can be understood. (In the interview is a revealing story about an individual coming back to the island because of inability to speak standardized Japanese that would compromise confidentiality).

I think Tokunoshima's language and culture have changed within my lifespan. I think that even prior to the current transportation and convenience system, there was communication outside of Tokunoshima but not like today. When I was growing up, I remember going for field trips overnight. We had to walk along the shoreline. Outside Tokunoshima there seemed to be a lot of transportation and communication within Japan and outside Japan, but Tokunoshima didn't even seem to have communication or transportation within

the island much less with the mainland. That changed. I think there is a correlation between Tokunoshima's language and culture change and transportation speed and communication speed.

The results from your survey show that the older generations, including ancestors, speak and use Shima-guchi, but the younger the generation, the more their ability to do so decreases. I wonder does this mean, or is it suggesting, maybe that the older generation of Shima-guchi may not be the true form of Shima-guchi? The current language has been standardized; therefore, there are many words in Shima-guchi from the past that we don't use anymore, such as the words for wrapping cloth, basin, which are just a few examples. We feel that people are really fluent speakers when we hear those who know how to use those words—but looking at it from the ancestor's perspectives, to them it is common sense. This does not apply only to Shima-guchi but it also applies to shima culture as well. I have experience making dango (sticky rice ball) on the nights of the first, 15th, and 13th of the month, but there is nobody who does that anymore.

The younger generations believe that they are Shiman-chu, but the older generations disagree with their statements. I don't know the reasons for this; I don't understand it. I asked my children, and they said: "well we are born on Tokunoshima; that's why we are Shiman-chu."

About the relative identity of Shiman-chu, Amami, Japan, Kagoshima, Asia, and the relative non-identity of Ryukyu, I personally think Okinawa has a hint of being similar to us, but I feel they are also different. If I were asked to choose Ryukyu or Amami/Kagoshima, then I will definitely take Amami/Kagoshima. I recognize totally different things within myself from Okinawa.

Tokunoshima people seem to want both the past and the future to co-exist. I also wish for co-existence, but I think it is difficult. I think it has to go one way or the other eventually. The balance won't be kept. If we decide to keep the old stuff, then individual effort would not be enough to do that. It has to be done within the community and life. But, with regard to that, it would be impossible to get rid of our civilized lifestyle. I think there is a possibility of making specialized districts for the language and culture, but to do so it would require an incredible amount of

energy. In reality, kids want to leave the island. Parents wish for them to stay on the island. It's the same thing. It's like maintaining the rice planting songs from Tokunoshima without maintaining the rice fields. The kids will not understand why they are doing it when there is no necessity.

If all the people on Tokunoshima could speak Shima-guchi then I could imagine that the language would be used in the family. I don't think I can imagine Shima-guchi being used in the workplace. I think in the end, you'd be able to use it with others who are close to yourself, like between parents and children (within the family). However, with the nuclear family, the existence of family has changed already; therefore, communication between the parents and children would be impossible in Shima-guchi.

Testimonial 1142. This is the testimony of a female in her 50s.

My family has lived on the island as far as I know. I am native to the land, I guess. I am fluent in standardized Japanese, but I don't speak Shima-guchi well. I was born on Tokunoshima, and received all of my education until the end of high school here. I used only standardized Japanese in school. I left the island after graduating from high school. School education taught me not to use hougen and to use only standardized Japanese. I think that was done for the people like me who had to leave the island. In the city, people say "that's a local language" to me. I still felt ashamed using hougen. When I met my friends from Tokunoshima, I used to speak Shima-guchi in the city. In places like on the train, people used to say to us that we were Koreans; therefore, I can understand that standardized Japanese education on Tokunoshima is for people who are going to leave the island to work and live, so that they won't feel ashamed or have problems. There are an increasing number of people who are immigrating to Tokunoshima with a view to having a slower paced life.

I think Tokunoshima's language has changed. That doesn't mean that 100% of the language has changed. That means comparatively, there seems to be more change than non-change; therefore, I answered this question with "changed." I assume at this time, we are at the point where we will now look back and reminisce about the good old days, to learn from history. It's important for us to

be taught by the older generation because of their variety of knowledge about many things. I heard a story the other day: One of the communities wanted to make zorii (sandals) like we used to, but they realized that because we don't make rice, they didn't have the material for making sandals. As a result, they had to bring in the materials from mainland Kagoshima. There is almost nobody who makes rice on the island anymore. There are only a handful of farmers who make rice on Tokunoshima. It's sacrilegious not to make rice since Tokunoshima can even manage double cropping when we plant rice. Mainland Japan cannot do that. At Inutabu elementary school, the students are learning to make rice.

The change of language and culture seems to come from each individual's change in life habits. For example, people go to bed very late now, just because there is the practice of watching television. At the same time, transportation became much richer. As a result, material movement has developed and there are many things even from Hokkaido that are in Tokunoshima. From this material movement, and human movement, simplification of events and ceremonies are also happening. Simplification of events and ceremonies is not happening because the purpose is to simplify the practice, but rather because people's way of thinking has changed, and the simplification of ceremonies is the final phenomenon that we are seeing. Adding to this, increased work hours for females seems to have a relationship to language and culture change. It is likely that, compared to the past, there are almost no housewives; therefore, there is no time to have ceremonies and events.

I think these changes in language and culture have happened in my lifetime. Looking at it from a historical point of view, I don't think there was much change in language and culture until the early Showa era (approx. 1900). At the end of World War II, I think, the change started to accelerate. After World War II, Tokunoshima returned to Japan and there was a lack of food, and then there was the Tokyo Olympics, and then it started to change really rapidly. After about 1959, Japan has had a high pace of growth and things started to change drastically. Even in my house, my father purchased a television set in order to watch the Olympic

games. Consequently, I think language and culture change originated in economic growth.

The older generation is capable of speaking Shima-guchi and using shima culture fluently, but the younger the generation gets, they more they lose their ability to do so. In reality, I also wonder if the younger generation really knows what the true or pure form of Shima-guchi is. For example, even my son can speak only half Shima-guchi, half standardized Japanese; therefore, probably he really doesn't know what true Shima-guchi is about. I can speak Shima-guchi, but there are words that I can't use, and that I don't know. I think the younger generation doesn't know what the real shape of Shima-guchi is beyond what is correct, what is wrong, what is true and what is not true (lie). Therefore, lots of differences start to show with any individual's knowledge of Shima-guchi. When I say what is true here, I mean the things in the books about Shima-guchi, how it has been recorded. At least, that is what I meant by true.

The younger generation believes they are Shiman-chu despite the fact that the older generation disagrees with that opinion. This result from the survey comes from where the reference point is for the respondents. That's what is important. Maybe just because they live on Tokunoshima—maybe that's why people say they are Shiman-chu. I assume people from the city wouldn't say they are Shiman-chu, and that their children may not be either. From this, those who were born on Tokunoshima and received the culture and language probably think they are Shiman-chu. Those who were just born on Tokunoshima, they probably don't think they are Shiman-chu. I left the island and came back, but I still think I am Shiman-chu, and I learned a lot after I came back to the island about Tokunoshima. Those who answered this survey, such as high school students, may not be like that. When they come back to Tokunoshima, or after learning many things about Tokunoshima, then they will become Shiman-chu.

About relative Shiman-chu identity, I don't have any cognition of being a Ryukyu person. In fact, if someone asked me if I was a Ryukyu person or Kagoshima person, then I would probably answer Kagoshima person. There is no specific reason for this, but I think we have roots that go back to Kagoshima, and

the bureaucratic districts are under Kagoshima. Political separation is the reason. Yoron and Okinoerabu are under Kagoshima district, but they are provided many lecturers from Okinawa in the areas of medicine, health care, and public health. Looking at the question of identity from this position, probably there is more colour left on Tokunoshima with Ryukyuan culture. It's not only that Tokunoshima is under the district of Kagoshima, it's not that simple, but understanding that Tokunoshima is located at the connecting point between Ryukyu and Kagoshima, might be related as well. How I feel about this is that we are culturally Ryukyu, politically Kagoshima. Kagoshima provides a strange awkwardness due to the passiveness of their acts against the Amami area (that is, they are not promoting the Amami area).

Tokunoshima people seem to want to have both past and future simultaneously. I am feeling that the coexistence of those two is impossible. I believe that we need to raise our human capital so that we can be proud of ourselves, but there will still be those people who will leave the island after high school and they won't come back. Therefore, for Tokunoshima, it might be troublesome for people to be too successful. It's at the questionable point of how much effort islanders are willing to put in. We need people. We need to raise people who are rooted in language and culture. Where I work on Tokunoshima, in the food industry, we don't have food processing technology; therefore, we can't really succeed in that area. There is a handicap on transportation. We need to overcome that problem. There are so many ideas, but technically whether can we do it or not is the question. There are so many problems like that. Thinking this way leads me to realize that how much we can learn techniques and technology at the city and bring them home to the island will start to become the issue.

Even though all Tokunoshima people can speak Shima-guchi, I don't think we can continue to use it in our lives anymore. Maybe there is a small chance that some families or some workplaces may be able to do that. I cannot think that all of Tokunoshima will become Shima-guchi and shima culture users only.

Testimonial 1143. Testimony of a male in his 60s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived here as far back as I know about my family in history. I speak fluent standardized Japanese, but I am not really fluent in Shima-guchi. I was born in Kametsu, and I stayed here on the island until I was in junior high school. From junior high school until I graduated from university and started working, I stayed in mainland Japan. I came back in my 20s or 30s to work at City Hall. Therefore, I am not good at Shima-guchi. When I was on the mainland, I did not speak Shima-guchi at all; however, I do have the experience of growing up on the island, and currently I do live on the island. Therefore, in terms of listening ability, I have no problem. Currently, I have retired from being a public servant, and am enjoying my life after retirement.

I think Tokunoshima's language and culture is changing. When I go to the old school buildings, I see that the buildings are covered with graffiti in Shima-guchi. When people come back from the mainland after 30 to 50 years and we talk to them in Shima-guchi, we hear the real original Shima-guchi coming out of their mouths. I realized at that time, people who come back from the mainland after a long time, they sustain pure Shima-guchi with no contamination. Those who live on the island have been influenced by standardized Japanese so much that there is almost no form of pure Shima-guchi here.

I think that Tokunoshima's language and culture diminishment or change comes from the island's economic development and from public schooling's thoroughness and insistence. Human movement also has a strong relationship to the change because human movement has broken down the boundaries between island communities (which had their own marketplaces) and trading systems within them. That means movement within Tokunoshima island between shimas (many of the people moved to Kametsu), as well as movement from outside Tokunoshima have together brought about big change. People on Tokunoshima used to marry within the shima (community) but now that trend is shifting toward marriage outside the shima, even outside the island. Nowadays, it is almost impossible to see people getting married within a shima. Therefore, when islanders have marriage to an outside-Tokunoshima person, or in marriage of between-shimas, people are forced to use standardized Japanese to communicate.

This change in Tokunoshima language and culture has happened within my lifetime.

Human movement and material movement and ideology (and religion) remains the basis of change in language and culture. Even Tokunoshima's unique ancestral belief system seems to be in decline.

I think that the respondents to the survey view the older generation from their own generation and believe that the older generation seems to speak and use language and culture more fluently. Each individual and each generation has a different standard. Even if you can speak a little bit of Shima-guchi, then when you are viewed by a person who cannot speak Shima-guchi, you are seen to be fluent in Shima-guchi. Although Tokunoshima's language and culture have changed, Tokunoshima islanders know that they still have Tokunoshima blood; therefore, they seem to identify themselves as Shiman-chu. I think that if people move to Tokunoshima when they are babies to pre-teenagers, then we can identify them as Shiman-chu, up to a certain level. There are those who believe they are Shiman-chu, even though they moved to the island recently, just because they want to be Shiman-chu.

Tokunoshima's connection to Ryukyu is much older than the island's relationship to Satsuma, viewing it historically. And, our language is also an Okinawan style language. However, Tokunoshima people don't seem to think they are Ryukyu people because, I think, they have learned the ideology of disrespecting southern people from the mainland. There is a tendency for Japanese, if you are a mainland Kagoshima person, to look north toward Osaka/Tokyo with respect. Yet suddenly, popular music, the southern type of music, often has explosive popularity at this point in time because people probably find their original point in it. I think this is the regression to the original point.

It is natural to change the language and culture with increased material and human transportation. Tokunoshima is trying to catch up to the mainland of Japan because of the island's lack of material possessions and lack of spirituality. That's

why we want more, and more and all (language, culture, and civilization, and civilization's past as well as future).

The current state on Tokunoshima is that Shima-guchi and culture are mainly used in social life and workplaces. In an ideal world, I would like them to be used not only in social gatherings or workplaces, but I think Shima-guchi and island culture need to be used in families.

Testimonial 1144. (see 1131)

Testimonial 1145. This is the testimony of a male in his 60s from Tokunoshima.

I have lived on Tokunoshima generationally as far as my memory goes back. I can speak both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese fluently. I grew up speaking Shima-guchi until I entered into the school system; therefore I think that Shima-guchi is my heart's and spirit's language. I was born and grew up in Inokawa. Even now I live in Inokawa after my retirement, and I am working on Inokawa's Shima-guchi, shima-culture, and the recording of them as well.

I received my education up to high school on Tokunoshima. I was taught in elementary and junior high school not to use Shima-guchi. To me, this education system took the position of trying to eliminate Shima-guchi. It was like a movement for the eradication or annihilation (very strong words) of Shima-guchi. Currently there are Shima-guchi and Shima-uta competitions, but unfortunately the competitions consist of listening to somebody reading aloud rather than to somebody speaking. This probably can't be helped because those who don't use Shima-guchi on a daily basis at home are in the competition. If they used Shima-guchi, they wouldn't be in the competition. I am trying to continue Shima-guchi and culture so that it won't disappear.

I think Tokunoshima language and culture has been changed. When Tokunoshima had island shimas (communities in distinct areas), each with its own language and culture, then that shima itself was an enclosed society, but each shima's material and spiritual borderline has been thinning. This can be said about marriage too. It was common to get married within the shima, but nowadays, people commonly marry outside shima people. People think it is now common

sense to move across the shima boundaries easily. These changes in Shima-guchi and shima culture come from the influence of the mass media, increased communication and transportation between the shima and outside the island, and banning Shima-guchi usage in the education system. These are the bases of change. These changes have happened in my lifetime. Language is life, it is a living thing; therefore, I am sure it has been changing and shifting prior to that. Definitely, banning Shima-guchi usage in the school system started just before my generation.

It is true that when respondents see the older generation speaking Shima-guchi fluently and using and knowing the culture fluently, then it is just because the older generation knows more vocabulary and explanations than younger people that they are seen as perfect Shima-guchi users. Because the older generation has experienced knowledge, practice and customs in Shima-guchi, those cannot be detached from Shima-guchi. If they are, then Shima-guchi becomes just the sounds of reading aloud or recitation. Shima-guchi and shima culture was the concentrated form of connection between the shima (location) and shima, human to human, which is based on Yui relationships and competition between Shimas.

The survey shows that people have a strong Shiman-chu identity throughout the generations, despite their lack of knowledge and practice of culture and language. This Shiman-chu identity is obviously not made up of language and culture only, but rather it comes from where a person is born and grew up; a person's nature and environment has been a great factor. This is summarized by Japanese famous writer, Shimazaki Tousan "connection through blood to the hometown (furusato), connection through language to the furusato, and connection through the spirit to the furusato." This expression shows that language and culture share only a third; therefore, Shiman-chu identity beyond the generations cannot be assessed only through measuring the person's knowledge of, and practice of, culture and its own quality and quantity.

The absolute identity of Tokunoshima islanders is not only dependent on language and culture, but it also includes blood—which is physical and has a

heart/mental relationship. On the other hand, the relative identity of being a Global person, Asian person, Japanese, Kagoshima person, Amami person, and even Tokunoshima person, (but not a Ryukyu person) is due to the current political situation in which Tokunoshima is under the rule of Kagoshima prefecture, despite Tokunoshima's history of belonging to the Ryukyu cultural and political sphere. This political influence of Kagoshima (Satsuma) comes from the extraction of sugar cane to support their economic profit-based policies.

About the language, Okinoerabu and Yoron islands geographically are distanced from Tokunoshima; therefore, they are unable to converse with Tokunoshima islanders. Maybe that also makes Tokunoshima people think that they are different from Okinawans.

Summary of Testimonies

In this chapter and the previous chapter, the interview data and results section of my dissertation, I have given as clear and accurate a picture of the qualitative data responses as is possible. I have made an effort not to unduly influence the results by presenting my own interpretation, but of course, I realize that I have likely done so anyway.

Giving testimony assigns blame. Tokunoshima language and culture is shifting toward standardized Japanese and Japanese culture. Clearly, in the testimonies, people blame first, the education system, second, encroaching civilization, third, human and material movement, and fourth, a change in food sources. The "evidence" brought forward here suggests that Tokunoshima people would like to continue Tokunoshima language and culture which is connected to the past, and would also like to bring Japan and world civilization to the island which is changing the standard of life and ideology. This can be explained, first of all, by the fact that people must first be able to live. That is the basis of their opinion. At the top of their minds is the belief that by bringing industry and business and support funds to the island, people will move into Tokunoshima and stay. Revitalizing Tokunoshima economically, mentally, and physically cannot be done without people. However, the base of economic life (civilization) and the base of cultural life must be thought of as different things. For our cultural life,

totalness of the community (yui and unitedness) is a necessity, and this cannot be passed down only from individuals to individuals. In order to pass down or transfer the language and culture of Tokunoshima, people must use Shima-guchi and shima culture in the family. But, it is impossible to use Shima-guchi and shima-culture within the school system, because the education system requires teachers from outside the island to teach on the islands. Currently, Tokunoshima people use Shima-guchi at their workplaces, but Shima-guchi has to be brought into each household for it to survive.

The next section of my dissertation moves beyond reporting of the results to interpreting and discussing the results from both the quantitative and qualitative data, and to do that I will be using the overarching framework of the major themes that have clearly emerged from the data: resistance, resilience, refusal and residue. I will be discussing each of these themes in terms of orthodox theory, by which I mean existing theoretical frameworks such as language loss, culture shift, identity development, and theories of the nation state. I will also discuss each theme in non-orthodox terms, meaning that I will move outside of existing theoretical frameworks, in some cases because I do not agree with them, and in other cases because they are insufficient to explain the data my research has produced.

Chapter 7

Discussion

*“Sacrificing is beauty,” I used to think
When I was young. Looking back,
I was simple.*

By Yoshi Nakagawa

(translated by Satoru Nakagawa, 2012)

This is the most difficult part of my dissertation. Some people struggle with data collection or analysis, others with reviewing the literature, still others with having nothing to say. I don't. I struggle with voice because this section is the discussion, and discussion means “using voices.” I can speak from my head with a Western worldview, or an industrialized Japanese worldview, or I can speak from my heart using the worldview of my childhood. But, no one holds, uncorrupted, my heart's worldview anymore, including me. I can use my academic voice, my dominant voice, my minority voice, my storyteller's voice, my philosopher's voice, or my prophet's voice, but I have to find a voice that can be heard to express every idea that I am trying to get across. Like Meyer (2001), I find that writing a discussion means “learning to barter in the language and culture of power to get a message across and thus resist erasure” (p. 189). Like Wilson (2008), I notice that my writing style changes over time and space (p. 9); it also changes with the audience I imagine for what I am writing. My audience changes all the time; sometimes I address islanders, sometimes my committee (who know me), sometimes people beyond my dissertation committee; sometimes I imagine a private argument with my wife or parents.

Not only do I have many voices, but also the context I live within and against is constantly changing. In the time since I collected my data, my world has re-directed. In early 2010, the Japanese government wanted to turn over Tokunoshima to the American military as part of their promise to the Okinawan people that they would not have to suffer American intrusions any longer. My people did not want the American military either. We engaged in battle against the Prime Minister's decision. In the end, we “won,” and the Japanese Prime

Minister resigned. It was not a real victory; the American military did not want to move to such an undeveloped and inconvenient island. But, when I returned to Tokunoshima in September 2011 and again in December 2011, I learned that the winds had shifted, that we “rural Japanese people”, we islanders, now recognize ourselves, proudly, as Indigenous peoples. I am Indigenous *with* my islanders now, no matter what the UN or Japanese government declares or recognizes.

In March 2011, Japan was shaken by an earthquake and tsunami, followed by a nuclear disaster. I was simultaneously proud and ashamed of my nation, proud of the people for responding according to an Indigenous way—getting to work without complaining. The Western-named, so-called “*Fukushima 50*” was actually a series of groups of ordinary men, totaling more than 350, who anonymously, with full knowledge that they would die, gave their lives so that all the others in the world could have their own lives. I was ashamed for living in Canada when I heard that American soldiers (who are ironically “protecting” Japan) and Japanese soldiers maintained their distance while Japanese boy scouts searched the shorelines for bodies. I was proud that teachers stayed in schools caring for children whose parents would never come to pick them up. I was disgusted that the president of the Tokyo Electric Power Plant was hospitalized for stress and failed to address the disaster he had profited from, but did not help to clean up. The most powerful people hid; the least powerful people took action. The most powerful expected to have human rights; the least powerful did not, but instead rose to do their human duty. Throughout these two crises, I learned that I am Amami, but also that, even if the Japanese people don’t really accept us, I am a Japanese man with all the contrary-minded-ness and difficulty this implies. In this way, I realize that I am a typical islander, trapped among assigned, claimed, and imagined identities (Anderson, 1983; 1991; Kanno, 2003).

It is important, prior to engaging in a discussion of the research, to return to the questions that motivated my research originally because these events have changed the way I view the questions. The major question that I set out to answer was “What is it that Tokunoshima people want for their language, culture, and identity going into the future? Within that question, I raised various sub-questions

for myself. Referring to the literature, I asked the question “How have capitalism, colonialism and education converged to produce language shift in the Amami people?” I have explored much of this work in my literature review, and I will continue to discuss the existing literature with reference to the data that I have collected. This is what I will now call the *orthodox approach* to my data sets. The second and third subquestions that I raised for myself were: “What is the actual measurable extent of language/culture, and identity shift on Tokunoshima?” and “What are the attitudes of the community toward that LCI shift?” The first of these two was addressed in the survey and the results were reported in the findings for the survey; the second was addressed in the interviews, and the results were reported in the findings for the interviews. The results will be discussed in more detail here, with reference to my data.

My final question, “What possible kinds of remediation can halt LCI shift and limit the degradation of LCI-based and biologically-based diversity on Tokunoshima?” requires me to step outside the data that I have collected and to take what I will call an *unorthodox approach* to my data sets. I need to explain my worldview, and the worldview of the people of Tokunoshima. That explanation is itself an answer to the question. That is, I will take a stance that is not merely critical (which means still operating within a Western frame of reference), but which, as I have explained previously (Nakagawa, 2009) moves beyond the critical into what Western people will probably regard as the realm of the strange, weird, or outlandish, what Stewart-Harawira (2005) notes is “relegation to the ‘myth and magic’ of indigenous cosmology” (p. 16). In short, I will take an Indigenous approach, a not-so-orthodox approach to my research findings.

Orthodox Approaches to the Data

Herein, I first discuss the findings in the data in light of the literature on language loss, death, and maintenance with regard to several themes that I think have emerged during my research. These themes are resistance, resilience, refusal and residue. This first part of the discussion provides further insights about questions two and three above, and will integrate question two and three with

question one. That is, I provide comparisons with previous research and theory, followed by a more theoretically-based discussion (not-so-orthodox approach) of the data, including question four.

Resistance. The word resistance, according to any on-line or print dictionary, implies that there is an opposing—or at least a retarding—force. On Tokunoshima, resistance can be frequently noted in the data with reference to Shima-guchi and Shima-culture survival. One aspect of resistance is historical—the resistance of the islanders who managed to maintain their language and culture in the face of over 400 years of oppression. Beginning with the 1609 conquering of the island by Satsuma, resistance can be seen now in the islander’s stubborn belief that we should continue living on the island and speaking Shima-guchi for generations to come. Resistance can be found in the stories of young children speaking their banned native Shima-guchi at school, even in the face of physical punishment. These are all positive forms of resistance when we are concerned with understanding language, culture, and identity survival.

But, there is another side to resistance as well. There is a resistance among islanders to changing themselves. It is clear that saving the Tokunoshima language and culture in its current form will require effort on the part of all islanders. Many participants in my research interviews cited the need for older people—who grew up in a time prior to globalized education and therefore speak Shima-guchi fluently—to act as mentors and to teach the language to the younger generations. They also spoke about the need for the younger generations to exert themselves and make an effort to learn Shima-guchi fluently. While some participants emphasized either the role/responsibility of the younger generation or the role/responsibility of the older generations in the movement toward language revitalization, it was nonetheless clear overall that everyone had a role to play in language and culture revitalization.

Clearly, in my data, the participants showed resistance to organized and effort-full change if it affected them personally. Unlike the situation observed on the Isle of Man, a small island engaged in revitalizing a language that lost its last native speaker in 1974 (Wilson, 2009), native Tokunoshima islanders are not

hostile to the idea of language revitalization. On the other hand, they are resistant to the idea of having to make changes in their lifestyles so that they can apply themselves to the revitalization of their language and culture.

I also find it useful to think of resistance as referring to resisting Western forms of knowledge, especially those learned at school. It is clear in my research, especially in the testimonies, that the elder people on the island are eager to talk about the damage that was done to them by blindly accepting the dominant education they were given. It is clear that they are sounding a warning about straying too far from island ways, and now understanding that they have to protect their children from what they learn at school and through the mass media. I find it encouraging that young mothers seem to be aware of these life lessons, and encourage their children to learn Shima-guchi by whatever means, and that they seem to be coming back to a norm of respecting their elders who still know and practice island ways. The disrespect for island culture, language, and life that I knew growing up, that was ingrained in me at school, is being replaced by a renaissance that is not entirely due to outsiders romanticizing and exoticizing our songs, dances, festivals, and traditions.

Finally, resistance can also refer to resisting solutions to Indigenous current problems that are devised by outsiders. Alfred (1999), for example, notes that “our deference to other people’s solutions has taken a terrible toll in Indigenous peoples” (p. 29). In my surveys, I found that Tokunoshima people wanted both the past and the future, that, like Alfred (1999), they did not think it was realistic to “jettison the structures in place today for the romantic hope of a pre-[contact] life” (p. 29). At the same time, that did not mean that they felt there was no place for traditional values or traditional knowledges.

Residue. The residue, as we generally understand it, is the small amount (of something) remaining after the main part of the something has been taken away or used. It is what remains after something has been used, taken, or stolen, or, in the case of evaporation or distillation, it is the essential core that remains after the water is gone. In this sense, identity on Tokunoshima is residue—what is left after the language and culture are gone. Residue is also apparent in the ongoing

resonance and relevance of the lyrics and practice of Shima-uta, in the observance of island customs and ways, and in the prioritizing of historically-embedded social relationships, the prizing of *yuiwaku* and allegiance to *shima*, above all else.

In my research, contrary to other research on LCI in other contexts, it is clear that identity has become separated from language and culture, that it is possible to identify as Shiman-chu, to feel a strong allegiance, kinship and love for the island, and yet to be unable to speak the language, or to practice any but the most salient forms of culture. In this regard, I particularly recall being told that survival is the most important thing, and I agree with Alfred (1999) who stated:

Today's challenge must be shouldered proudly because it is no less than the sacred heritage passed on by generations of ancestors who sacrificed and died to preserve the notion of their being. For all the chaos and pain brought by colonization, and all the self-inflicted wounds, the first step in getting beyond the present crisis must be to celebrate the inherent strength that has allowed indigenous people to resist extinction. (p. 33)

To my way of thinking, Shiman-chu identity represents the strength of islanders. It is the residue of what we once had, our sacred heritage that we have received that allows us to continue.

Undeniably, in keeping with many Indigenous languages, the island of Tokunoshima is experiencing language loss. Even without academic verification, most members of the general public on the island know that—and understand why—language loss is occurring. At the same time, researchers from a wide variety of fields have concluded that language loss occurs in communities, in families, and even in individuals who cannot remember a language that they spoke when they were children (Wong Fillmore, 1991; Fishman, 1997; Hornberger, 1996; Kouritzin, 1999). Languages have been lost, changed, shifted, forgotten, replaced, watered down, phased out, disappeared, and any of a variety of different verbs which can be used to describe the discontinuation of a local language over a short period of time—usually less than two generations—with the result that parents and their children speak a different dominant or native language.

In 1991, Fishman provided an overview of research on language shift, reviewed in my analysis of the literature in Chapter 3. It resulted in the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS). It is still commonly used today for describing the state of language loss in communities, measuring the linguistic vitality of a minority language. The GIDS has eight stages, in which Stage 8 is the most linguistically disadvantaged position. Using this commonly-used scale to speak about Shima-guchi's position is a little bit complicated, even from an orthodox point of view. Shima-guchi speakers are geographically isolated. There is no standard form of the language to record or reconstruct; those who speak it, *speak* it. The language is changing over time; no "gold standard" form of the language exists (Nakagawa, 2008). Clearly, as my results support, Shima-guchi is used by the older generations much more than the younger generations. There is little intergenerational transfer of Shima-guchi. There have been a few recent attempts to provide lower levels of schooling in Shima-guchi. Shima-guchi is an oral language so formal literacy in the form of written text is not possible, but if I look at the participants' responses through the lens of multi-literacies, the oral literacy represented by Shima-uta and other traditions is still an important part of the culture (see Hayward & Kuwahara, 2008).

As my surveys and interviews reveal, Shima-guchi is used in less specialized work areas, specifically in the sugar cane fields and among farm workers who are considered to hold lower level positions. Workers and farmers normally engage in business transactions in standardized Japanese however. There is little possibility of fulfilling any governmental activities in Shima-guchi. There is little use of Shima-guchi in the mass media, though there are some uses of Shima-guchi on the radio or in community events. Shima-guchi is not on the Japanese national radar, so it will never be used in higher education, central government, or in the national media, unless it is used as a linguistic sample, a curiosity, or an example of backwardness.

From my participants' perspectives, the situation on Tokunoshima is that Shima-guchi is not relevant from an economic point of view. In fact, the political economy of the island appears to work against the viability and vitality of Shima-

guchi. As David (2008) has observed in Malaysia, Singapore, and the Phillipines, despite current efforts to introduce Shima-guchi as a subject in schools and despite recent research and campaigns to promote Shima-guchi, “the majority of these minority languages speakers, especially the young ones, have shifted away from using and appreciating their respective mother tongues” (p. 85).

Analysis of how viable languages are from the GIDS perspective is different from asking questions about why languages are less viable or vital. Fishman (2001) and others have suggested a few possible causes why language loss and language death occur: (1) the effect of having a strong neighbor (Fishman, 2001), (2) lack of a large fluent language base, or a small absolute number of speakers of a minority language (Krauss, 2007), or in some cases (3) what is commonly referred to as “language suicide” (Denison, 1977), (4) lack of spaces in which to speak the minority language, specifically official high status functions, like government and education (e.g., Hinton, 2001). In all cases, however, the common denominator is that languages are lost or die because parents do not use them, and therefore do not transmit them to their children.

The first point, the effect of strong neighbor(s) is generally accepted by many people in the general public as well as many academic researchers. In this case, as dominant world languages encroach on minority languages, the minority languages come to be associated with traditional ways of life that are not compatible with modern, technologically-advanced societies. Hinton (2001) noted that,

In a world of around 250 nations, there are over 6,000 languages. This means that there are very few languages with a country of their own. A language that is not a language of government, nor a language of education, nor a language of commerce or of wider communication is a language whose very existence is threatened in the modern world. (p. 3)

In this instance, what I am calling the strong neighbour theory is the most common explanation for language loss, the forced extinction of a minority language when it succumbs to pressure from a dominant majority language, often by deliberate political intervention such as education, national language policy,

commercialization, or other forms of genocide (Hinton, 2001b). Makihara and Schieffelin (2007), speaking specifically about islands in the Pacific, note that contact with strong neighbours stemming from activities as diverse as “...missionization, education, and tourism to conversation efforts, sustainable agriculture, the extraction of resources (timber, minerals, petroleum and fish), and nuclear testing” (p. 3) have had a profound impact on Indigenous language communities. The speakers of the minority language in such situations view the loss of their language as undesirable and involuntary; often, older generations of minority language speakers felt that they had their languages stolen, as in the case when Canadian Aboriginal children were taken from their parents and placed in residential schools (Haig-Brown, 1988).

This almost non-debatable theory is supported by Fishman’s (1991) and others’ interesting and numerically-convincing arguments that the numbers of speakers affects the viability of the language. There is a threshold (generally agreed to be approximately 10,000) of speakers of a language, and if the numbers of speakers falls below that threshold, then languages will start to lose their vitality, wither, and then die. The argument is, as Krauss (2007) suggests, that when the number of speakers of a language falls below 10,000, even in a geographically isolated area, the language is particularly vulnerable because there are fewer children, therefore less intergenerational transmission, and a greater likelihood that the language could be entirely destabilized because of famine, disease, warfare, or political factors such as merging with another minority language group (see also UNESCO, 2003). Another aspect of the threshold of speakers argument is that smaller communities “depend on the imagination, creativity, and charisma of fewer individuals” (Makihara & Schieffelin, 2007, p. 19); therefore, during times of cultural contact/collision, small communities can experience accelerated language change.

In 1977, Denison introduced the concept of language suicide, by which he meant conscious parental choice not to transmit a minority language to the next generation (more recently changed to the term “linguistic suicide” by Beck and Lam to remove the agency in suicide from the language). Denison argued that,

...there comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until *there is nothing left for them to be used about*. In this sense they may be said to “commit suicide.” (1977, p. 21, emphasis in original)

Speaking minority languages in these cases causes the speaker to run the risk of becoming associated with lower standards of living and “backwardness” because Indigenous speakers of those languages are excluded from some or all of the advantages of the industrialized lifestyle that surrounds them. Economic and social pressure to belong to the majority language and culture can lead to doubts about whether there is any usefulness in the Indigenous minority language, with the result that a negative attitude towards the minority language develops, and frequently Indigenous groups who have been enveloped by dominant cultures make a “voluntary, conscious decision” (Hinton, 2001, p. 3) to speak the dominant language so as not to become marginalized. That is, as “the focal point of the *commune* has changed from the world within to the world outside, and for the most part, the attractions of the latter outweigh those of the former” (Jones, 1996, p. 65), the emphasis shifts toward the dominant language being the language which is more useful in surviving, and in achieving the markers of success.

Finally, a large number of academics (e.g., Hinton, 2001; Hale, 2001) and many in the general public who wish to revitalize language have suggested that it is necessary to establish language schools, especially language and culturally submerged schools. A number of my interview participants, as we have seen, echoed this concern, perhaps best expressed by participant 1115 who noted (above) that:

Tokunoshima language needs to have a written text. The current Tokunoshima writing system is almost impossible to understand in reading. The “intextization” of Tokunoshima language can be done in the education system. (2009_1115, p. 3)

It is important in this quote to notice the reference not to immersion schools but submersion schools that will force children to either sink or swim. The second language communities who are at the cutting edge of the language teaching profession have emphasized the importance of immersion rather than a submersion system of education (e.g., Swain & Johnson, 1997), but they are making a number of assumptions, including the assumption that the dominant language is spoken at home.

There are many reasons for language loss/change/shift effect and these effects are based on a somewhat-solid ideology of what constitutes a language as opposed to a dialect, pidgin, Creole, or non-standard language. What constitutes a language is a political rather than a linguistic decision. For instance, despite declaring commitment to the preservation of minority and Indigenous languages, even the United Nations recognizes only six “world” official languages (i.e., English, French, Russian, Chinese (Mandarin), Spanish (Castilian), and Arabic); anyone speaking in the UN may speak in any of these languages, and no document is considered published until it is written in each of the six languages (see GA/11116, resolution on multilingualism, July 19, 2011, located at <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2011/ga11116.doc.htm>). Each of the languages listed has standard and non-standard forms, most notably Chinese, which has three major (Cantonese, Mandarin, and Toisan) and many minor dialects, which are mutually unintelligible, but which share the same writing system. At the same time, the UN states that over 160 nations exist and the official languages of those nations are named; they number approximately 35. Yet, some linguists note that 6,000 languages exist around the world, one of those languages being Tokunoshima language. Clearly, not all languages are languages of a nation state.

These orthodox views of what constitutes language, who decides what is a language, or how language(s) recede from the language shoreline are well supported by my data sets and results. Starting from the survey data, in general, my data has shown that most people who are in their 50s and older are fluent or somewhat fluent in speaking Shima-guchi, but those who are in their 40s and younger have much less ability to speak Shima-guchi. The ability (or inability) to speak Shima-guchi was inversely proportional to the respondent's reported ability to speak standardized Japanese. Even though the survey data showed that those who are in their 10s and 20s claimed to be able to use Shima-guchi, or at least know Shima-guchi, (that is, they consider themselves to know Shima-guchi when they make comparisons within their own generations), the interview data showed that when those of the younger generation compare themselves with the older generations (i.e., 50 and older), they admit that they speak almost no Shima-guchi. This clearly shows that a strong and clear language change/shift is already happening on Tokunoshima. In fact, in my interview sessions, all 40 interview participants noted that either Tokunoshima language has changed or is currently changing. It is not debated that it is changing; what is debated is why it is changing.

The above-mentioned causes of language loss—strong neighbor theory, numbers reduced from a critical mass of speakers required for vitality, and language/linguistic suicide theories—were also supported by the data in my research. The survey data indicated that most of the people who completed the survey want the island of Tokunoshima to continue developing toward future integration into world systems which includes governmental financial supports, formal and secondary education expansion, the adoption of scientific knowledge as a foundational principle, and a net increase in the number of industries and businesses. These answers suggest that the survey respondents are willing, consciously or unconsciously, to relinquish control of the island to those who are outside Tokunoshima, either in terms of monetary and resource support to the island, in terms of abandoning the island language and culture, and/or in terms of islander pursuit of scientific knowledge and its applications.

Simultaneously, almost all of those who answered the survey answered that they do want and wish for Tokunoshima people to speak and use Shima-guchi as well as to know and to be able to practice Tokunoshima culture. Almost all interview participants noted that it was not possible to fuse the past and the future by retaining everything and simultaneously importing everything, but that did not keep them from wishing for that to occur in a synchronized way. Some respondents noted that the future and the past need to be merged and that someone in power on Tokunoshima should create a new language and culture. However, as soon as they suggested that a new language should be created, participants retracted their words about language and suggested instead that traditional Shima-guchi contains too much meaning to be merged or changed. So, in the end, they concluded that Shima-guchi must stay as traditional as possible.

Refusal. My understanding of the word refusal is that it expresses the desire not to do or to take something that is being offered for acceptance, or perhaps demanded of you. It is a denial of opportunity or offering. Likewise, in this situation, refusal means denial, the denial of some islanders by other islanders, and it is primarily found with regard to identity. My findings show plenty of evidence that the older generations deny the “Shiman-chu identity” of the younger generations. There is also younger generation refusal to accept the demanding definition of Shiman-chu identity given by the older generation, and their forging of a new Shiman-chu identity which “comes from being born, raised, and living a long time on the island” (see participant 1106).

From the perspective of the older generations, the younger generations refused to accept their responsibility to learn the language and culture. From the perspective of the younger generations, the older generations refused to accept their responsibility to teach them the language and culture. This was, in the findings, a strong theme, best expressed by participant 1134:

The older generations cannot—they are not allowed to—deny the younger generations from being Shiman-chu. “If/when the older generation and/or parents deny them the Tokunoshima being of Shiman-chu, then the children will leave Tokunoshima and will not return to the island. New generations

will be gone if we continue to deny the next generations their own ideas of being.” (2009_1134, p. 6)

Showing a similar refusal of identity participant 1135 reported the desire to deny having an island identity when living in the dominant culture, even though he felt like a Shiman-chu and loved the island:

The younger generations think of themselves as Shiman-chu, but when the older generations see them, they describe the younger generation as not Shiman-chu. When I was younger, even though I like Tokunoshima, there was a time that I wanted to deny my identity. When I left Tokunoshima, I felt very small because I grew up in a different environment. (2009_1135, p. 4)

Another aspect of identity refusal is that many islanders refused the identity category of Ryukyu, or they refused the identity category of Kagoshima. It appeared that they refused one or the other because of the current political situation in Japan in which the Amami Islands, including Tokunoshima, have belonged to Kagoshima prefecture for the past 400 years since 1609, and Okinawa is now considered to be dominated by Americans (e.g., participant 1106). Prior to that, Tokunoshima was either dominated by or an integrated part of the Ryukyu Kingdom, depending on each participant’s point of view. Those who refused Ryukyu frequently accepted Kagoshima identity, while those who refused Kagoshima often accepted Ryukyu. Participant 1110 ascribed it to age, noting that “the older the age, probably, the more people will say they are closer to Ryukyu—due to the historical discrimination from Kagoshima. In reality, we have been called kurobe (black beings) and doujin (dirt people) by the Kagoshima people.”

Other participants noted that islanders cannot refuse to acknowledge the impact of the political and economic system. Looking at strong neighbor theory again, I notice that it can be explained by simple analyses of the current world order under US dollar based economy from which almost no one can escape. For example, if a person wears a T-shirt, eats a hamburger, and/or plays standardized organized sports, then they are already participating in American ideology that is based on capitalism. This was already explained in Chapter 4 in examining how

the power holders at the end of World War II used or threatened the use of force to “encourage” nations around the world to embrace American ideology in the form of an industrialized lifestyle, nuclear family, belief in democracy, and formal education.

The replies from Tokunoshima people that I recorded documented their concerns about how their lifestyles have changed over time. Although they are sorry to lose their language and culture, in general, Tokunoshima people want to continue and proceed with the development of Tokunoshima, meaning accommodation to their strong neighbor in terms of language, culture, education and credentials, economy, and lifestyle; that is, it would mean more islanders speaking standardized Japanese. Indeed, in my interviews, a number of people also suggested that Shima-guchi will only last as long as those who are in their 50s, 60s, 70s, and 80s remain alive. Participants sadly noted that Shima-guchi likely will be spoken less and less in families as well as communities with the passage of time. Some people on Tokunoshima are already doing some simple math and predicting that Shima-guchi will only last the next 20 to 30 years, following which, it will disappear. Some people believe that this is Tokunoshima’s reality while others are beginning to lose hope that revitalization of Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture will happen, allowing them to exist into the future. In other words, as the number of fluent and/or native speakers of Shima-guchi decreases, the language will become less vital, and there is a smaller and smaller chance of it surviving. The language would be more susceptible to catastrophe, as in orthodox analyses.

The facts of having strong neighbor(s) and a reduced number of language speakers have burrowed even further, penetrating into peoples’ ideologies. That is, Tokunoshima people need to use standardized Japanese to earn and then maintain relationships with mainland Japan and its economy, policy, politics, education (formal), material and human transportation, and many other aspects of modern life. The more people use standardized Japanese to complete the functions of everyday life, the fewer chances there are for members of the younger generations to speak Shima-guchi fluently. At the same time, the ideology not only about

communication with outsiders for instrumental purposes, but also about familial language use is changing. In my interview data, for instance, many islanders responded to my question probes (not in the questionnaire) that grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s) are no longer trying to speak their native language (i.e., Shima-guchi) with their grandchildren and/or great grandchildren. They speculate that this is because the younger generations cannot understand Shima-guchi.

On the other hand, the same effects might be observed and viewed as a kind of refusal on the part of islanders to give up what is really important. To explain, some interview participants and many casual conversations on the street revealed that the social structure has changed on Tokunoshima due to the Japanese policy of encouraging nuclear households and two children per family in the 1960s (instituted by Japanese Prime Minister Satoh Eisaku). Nowadays, many people on Tokunoshima cannot imagine life with a multi-generation household. In fact, not only are young people unable to imagine or remember the days of multi-generational households, but also even those who are in their 50s, 60s, 70s, and to some extent their 80s expressed their own unwillingness to live with the younger generations and/or they spoke about the difficulties they would anticipate in living with multiple generations of offspring. Due to this ideological shift/change, the older generations (mostly 60 and older) appear to refuse to speak to their grandchildren or great grandchildren in their native language (Shima-guchi).

Many participants answered “yes” to my question, which can be paraphrased thus:

“I have talked to many people and in many cases older generations are no longer speaking to their grandchildren/great grandchildren in Shima-guchi just because they would rather communicate with their new family members and would like to continue having them visit. If grandparent(s)/great grandparent(s) did not speak standardized Japanese, then their newest family members, lacking the ability to communicate in Shima-guchi, would be less willing to visit them.”

In short, the older generations have become willing to speak standardized Japanese even when they do not feel comfortable at all. They would rather have the younger generations visit them and have some communication, even in

standardized Japanese, than have nothing at all. These actions may be seen as willingness to give up speaking language (i.e., “language or linguistic suicide” above), especially to outsiders who are trying to describe/research/learn about the situation rather than living and feeling the invincible forces of social/economic influence on situations like this.

In all of my life experiences and in all of my conversations with those islanders who participated in this research project and previous ones, I have never heard anyone saying they do not want to speak Shima-guchi. They have never once said that the language will die with them anyway, so they should stop speaking with others now. I have come to realize that Tokunoshima people stop speaking Shima-guchi just because sometimes there may be more important things in their immediate minds than maintaining traditional forms of the language and culture—family connections for example, or face-to-face communication, touch, smell, anything to do with the five senses, connections to ancestors, and the sharing of a worldview. Yet researchers and academic papers have continued to characterize what is happening to Tokunoshima’s language and culture as language/linguistic suicide meaning that somehow parents have made a choice to stop intergenerational transmission of the language. I am completely against this characterization. It is not language/linguistic suicide at all, but rather making a sacrificial *refusal to let go* of the next generation in the face of encroaching domination, holding onto familial and community relationships in the face of yet another attempt to intellectually as well as physically colonize Tokunoshima islanders.

Resilience. What is resilience? It is not merely the ability to withstand pressure from the outside; rather, resilience means the ability of an object, person, nation, or body to regain its original shape/position/identity/form after illness, misfortune, change, rupture, or stretching. Resilience is elastic-ness. Within the definition of resilience is contained the idea that the body must have been penetrated, changed, or mutated, but that it was able to recover to its original state. In the case of LCI, if there was an original form of Tokunoshima LCI, which may be known as the “gold standard” that has been mutated, then successful

revitalization approaches would prove that Tokunoshima LCI is resilient and that the apparent death blows delivered by the 21st century are not greater than the blows that Shima-guchi, shima-culture, and Shiman-chu identity withstood in the past.

In keeping with many orthodox approaches (e.g., Kroskrity & Reynolds, 2001; Johns & Mazurkewich, 2001), I find in my data some clear direction given by islanders to researchers, community leaders, teachers, and politicians to start providing leadership by teaching Tokunoshima language and culture. In the process of my data collection, I was told by several (older) people that I need to learn more Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi) and culture in order to establish my position as an “expert” prior to starting to ask other people if they speak Shima-guchi and know/practice Tokunoshima culture or not. Many of the participant Shiman-chu told me that we need to teach our children their language and culture. Additionally, some people in attendance at my public presentation expressed the urgency to revitalize the language and culture when I presented the results of my previous research on Shima-guchi and its gold standard (Nakagawa, 2008a). When one person stood up during question time to passionately argue that we need to use Tokunoshima’s traditional ontology and epistemology, most, if not all of those who attended the presentation, nodded their heads in agreement.

In the interviews, participants, especially those from the younger generations kept repeating that Tokunoshima’s Shima-guchi and Shima-culture need to be taught in the school system; if they are not, then a language-school-like system is needed in the communities, they suggested. Those who are now in their 30s often mentioned that they wish they had had Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture lessons in the school system just like their children are having today. Due to having Shima-guchi and culture (i.e., mainly local Tokunoshima traditional dance/songs) as part of their formal school curriculum, many young children know more about island language and culture than their parents. As a result, parents who were in their 30s at the time of interviews also seemed to highly value teaching Tokunoshima language/culture within the formal educational system. In this way, they lend credibility to the arguments in language

revitalization texts, which frequently argue that producing texts and other forms of literacy in oral/Indigenous languages is a necessity for their survival. They equate a literate form of Indigenous languages with high status and high status with positive identity associations, making such arguments as:

Literacy in indigenous languages, however, remains primarily restricted to schools, buttressing rather than replacing home- and community- based language transmission. Yet literacy is a powerful symbol of indigenous identity; it valorizes the community and publicly demonstrates the ways in which it is using its language in active and creative ways. By providing new forms for the preservation and transmission of traditional knowledge, indigenous literacy tangibly connects the language with the culture and history of its speakers.” (McCarty & Zepeda, 1999, p. 208)

Yet, in this quote, clearly literacy is not *for* the people who are using the language, but rather it is promoted as an important aspect of identity proof to show to outsiders. When languages are promoted in schools, there is a shift in thinking that accompanies the relocation. Like Latin, a language is taught like a dead language. It is not for any formal use, but rather to help youngsters have positive self-identities. One message that sends is that “you can’t have a positive self-identity if you’re just a *speaker* of that language” so it can be seen to reinforce the lower status of the Indigenous language.

Additionally, several participants who were in their 20s mentioned that they would like to learn more about their island (Tokunoshima), just incidental fact-based things such as population, industry, and history, and that this should be taught to them in school. They mentioned that their lack of knowledge became clear to them when they left Tokunoshima after completing high/junior high school to continue education in mainland Japan. They learned that most of their peers, including themselves, could not answer basic questions about their own island. It is interesting to note that this generation of 20-somethings and younger did not only ask the Board of Education to take on teaching Shima-guchi and island culture in the formal school system, but also they thought the education system needed to focus on local matters much more. In short, the younger

generation wished for more learning opportunities within the school system (e.g., elementary and junior high schools) that would affirm their identities as islanders.

The older generations, on the other hand, showed that they felt quite strange and awkward when they thought about their language and culture being taught in school system. Some expressed sorrow but admitted that it was necessary for Tokunoshima language and culture to be taught in the school system just like foreign languages. Some felt Tokunoshima language and culture should be taught as a foreign language in multiple systems such as private schools and businesses. The tendency to desire Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture being taught as subjects, in any circumstances other than within the family and/or the community, rapidly declined with each succeeding older generation. However, even those who showed the least willingness for the language and culture to be taught in the dominant culture system (that is, the school system) in the end somewhat agreed that teaching language and culture to new generations must occur. Their reluctant agreement was in line with my earlier finding in the descriptive analysis that language and culture revitalization is strongly desired.

The older generations did not often reveal their own implication in the failure to pass on the language and culture intergenerationally; they did not seem to realize that they had missed their chance. At the present time, most participants do not seem to feel that they have the time, energy, and/or financial commitment to carry out the maintenance or revitalization of Shima-guchi/culture. If they are unable to find the time to engage in language practice in the home and the community, then, as Fishman (1991) points out, further language loss/shift/change/attrition will occur: “it is in the family that the peculiar bond with language and language activities ... is fostered, shared and fashioned into personal and social identity” (p. 409).

The most typical general public response appears to be that teaching language and culture in the school system is the only way to revitalize and then continue traditional knowing and Being. It seems that Tokunoshima people wish to continue their language and culture, but that they feel they have no time or resources to do so and are looking for other options. Instead of providing

language and culture in the home and the community, islanders seem to feel that the system of formal education will be able to replace their work and carry out their wishes as a professional challenge. Keeping in mind that most teachers on Tokunoshima are not from Tokunoshima (even when islanders are able to pass the teaching license examination, they are sent to other, even more isolated, islands) and are not familiar with the ideology of Tokunoshima, it appears that islanders are either willing to place the locus of control for their language and culture outside of the island, or else they have not thought about it.

In addition, many respondents from the older generations suggested that traditional language communication could be taught and maintained in conversational schools in each town, and that those schools could be run by private industries. Interestingly, taken together, these points appear to suggest that the community is no longer capable of providing a Shima-guchi submerged environment for language and culture learners. Communities appear to feel in need of manmade (artificial) spaces for language submersion. This is an irony since those who are in older generations (60 and older) can speak the language fluently and they know and practice the culture, but they seem to feel the need for artificial educational spaces. It almost appears that they have capitulated completely to the dominant culture.

In the literature on language and culture revitalization, the impact of women is frequently cited. Women are seen to be the repositories of language and culture; they are the primary caregivers, the educators, the ones felt to be responsible for transmitting the language to the next generation (e.g., Iqbal, 2004). Kibrik (1991) has suggested that language maintenance is dependent on children being brought up in the family environment, especially if the children live with their grandparents. Tsunoda (2005) calls this the “grandmother effect,” suggesting that it “seems often to be the grandmothers, rather than grandfathers, who influence their grandchildren linguistically and transmit the language to them” (p. 56). But, in my data it became quite clear that women on Tokunoshima have given over their responsibility for teaching Shima-guchi and culture to the school system as well. There are many possible reasons for this. Mothers may have found that it

necessary to be employed, leaving them little time to spend with their children, which could have been a major contributor to the easily-observed expansion of daycare facilities on the island over the past ten years or so. Public daycare facilities have curricula, and children sit in school desks once they are old enough to do so. They engage in organized activities in standardized Japanese. Or, mothers may find that without the extended family unit and owing to the demands of public schooling, there is little conversation and social time with the older generations that would permit their children to be part of daily activities in Shima-guchi where the language is still spoken, such as in the sugar cane fields or on farms. Of course, this does not explain why the older generations of grandmothers chose not to take care of their grandchildren and allowed them to enter daycare instead. One possibility is that mothers and grandmothers alike may have chosen not to speak Shima-guchi to the next generations because Shima-guchi was not going to benefit them economically.

The current solution proposed to this problem seems to be for us to move the teaching of our language and culture into the formal education system, specifically the elementary school curriculum, particularly in some form of immersion-style pedagogy. Additionally, efforts to revitalize traditional language and cultural practices have begun, taking the form of speech contests, traditional singing competitions, and traditional instrument playing—all taught at school. It seems that the ideology of Tokunoshima island people has shifted from one of *living within* a traditional life which supports and requires language and cultural practices, to one of *teaching about* traditional life, about language and cultural practices, through modern life experiences and the modern scientific approach of the formal education system, somehow without noticing the impossibility of doing so. Many islanders are now asking “What is going to happen to the island language and culture?” It is a frequent topic of conversation on the island.

Not-so-Orthodox Approach

Prior to a discussion of the data that focuses on what and how I see/think about my data, I believe that I need to provide an explanation of why I view the data the way I do, why islanders appear to view the data the way I do, that is, to

provide a bit of a window on my/our worldview, to explain my/our standpoint theory. Specifically, I am responding to the need raised by Nakata:

For Indigenous students, academics and researchers, standpoint theory in my mind is a method of inquiry, a process for making more intelligible ‘the corpus of objectified knowledge about us’...not to produce the ‘truth’ of the Indigenous position but to better reveal the workings of knowledge and how understandings of Indigenous people is [sic] caught up and implicated in its work. (2007, pp. 213 - 217)

As an insider/outsider, from my vantage point, I see that the foundational problem lies in island peoples’ thinking. I think Tokunoshima people have a strong tendency to look back in history for an answer to our language and culture problem, and then they ask themselves how they can both sustain their current lives and simultaneously go back in time to recapture their language(s) and culture(s). Island people realize that we, as island people, do not want to live in caves with bare feet—but there the thinking appears to end. To this day, I have seen very little in the way of an approach to research based in what we need to create for our (human) future by drawing a line from our past to our present state, and then carrying the line forward to extrapolate to the future. While there have been what may appear to be an overwhelming number of studies done on our past and current states (and while admittedly many remain to be done), nevertheless, I find that few if any studies have been conducted about future prospects and goal setting in terms of language, culture, and the sustainability of island life. Without setting targets for the future it is very difficult for island people to aim toward what we need to be doing in order to sustain our lives. Instead, we fire random bullets into the darkness hoping to hit something.

Foundational assumptions. Ignacio Martyn-Barro said “if you do not define your epistemology, someone else will do it for you” (cited in Meyer, 2001, p. 192). Therefore, as this dissertation concerns a group of people who do not share language, culture, identity or worldview with the West, I must first ground my discussion in an understanding of a specific worldview and ideological

context, the view of knowledge of my people, the Tokunoshima epistemology. To do so first requires an understanding of what it means to be Indigenous.

What is Indigenous? Most literature seems to begin and end with common sense assumptions about what the word “Indigenous” means. First, therefore, in this section I frame the concept of Indigenous-ness both within capitalist systems and outside capitalist systems, in a way that makes sense to me. Over time, academics and other citizens appear to have accepted the terms “first world,” “second world,” and “third world;” then after the corruption of communism, we seem to have switched to the terms “developed” and “developing” world, with some of the second world nation-states going to one category and other nation-states to the other. In these ways of dividing up the world, a binary appears between those states that possess information-, science-, and technology-based manufacturing knowledge and those states that do not possess information-, science-, and technology-based manufacturing. Therefore, the binary is expressed in terms of the “ideal” (developed) and the less than ideal (developing). This binary also operates at the level of the nation-state, meaning that there can be no recognition of people who live a materially deprived, marginal, developing world style existence within a developed nation—such as the Aboriginal peoples within Canada or other Indigenous peoples in Australia, New Zealand, Europe, or anywhere else. Within this kind of understanding, Tokunoshima islanders have wanted no part of claiming an Indigenous identity for themselves.

A better framework for understanding would include the connotation of material provisioning of the manufacturing states. Therefore, a better distinction may be “resourcing” and “resourced” peoples, in which “resourcing” peoples are those who provide raw materials and cheap labour, while “resourced” people are those who consume and digest them.⁵³ Only that which is not wanted by the resourced peoples will be shared (and sometimes fought over) by resourcing peoples. The best reason for using the terms “resourcing” and “resourced” to

⁵³ This is different from world systems theory (e.g., Wallerstein, 1991) in that the focus is still on the nation state rather than the world system. I want to find a way to express that Indigenous peoples form nations within nation states, forming a periphery even within a core nation, and cannot be judged by the nation-state that surrounds and oppresses them.

describe the division of the world is that it allows us to include inequality within both resourced and resourcing nations or states, as well as considerations of inequities between nation states. In both resourced and resourcing states, there is cruel class separation, with harshly discriminated-against and suppressed peoples being the ultimate resourcing agents. Thus, in order to address this issue, I prefer to refer to resourcing and resourced “worlds” rather than “states” or the notion of “nation-states.” My own Indigenous world of Tokunoshima exists within the highly developed nation-state of Japan; therefore, my own people can be more accurately defined as a resourcing world within a resourced nation-state (that is, we supply the center from the periphery). Within this kind of framework, it is more acceptable to us to identify as Indigenous.

Unfortunately even the terms “resourced” and “resourcing” worlds are unable to express the identities of those who do not, or at least did not, participate in capitalism or the colonizing of European states in the last 500 years. Tracing historical events as far as written records document, we can see domination, oppression, colonialism and feudalism only by oppressors who had written languages. Yet even before writing systems existed, it is clear that there were societies and dominant powers and therefore related power struggles can be assumed. On the other hand, non-capitalistic societies without currency accumulation would likely not obtain power over their own kind. They were likely to live life within their own areas, and depend on local food sources. They did not possess—and had no need for—accumulation of food or goods or currency to obtain or represent individual wealth. They did not use accumulation of reserves to control other people or their surroundings as modern societies do. Rather, they used fermentation and other techniques involving salt and sugar to turn perishable food stores to non-perishable ones, which would sustain their lives over a non-productive season such as a severe winter. Accumulation of reserves for future use is what I refer to as capitalism, or a capitalistic world. That is, I do not merely think of capitalism as the dominant economic ideology of recent centuries, but rather I consider the root word, capital, and take it to mean reserves of food or potential food, as in wealth, money, property, assets, land, goods, funds.

Those who do not (or did not until they were conquered) believe in a capitalistic world can be viewed as Indigenous people—even when we must, because of the ravages of colonialism, use money to change our lives and to fulfill fundamental needs like food, clothes, and shelter. For example, we can no longer live a traditional culture lifestyle on my island. In order to have access to our own land on Tokunoshima, everyone who lives within the nation state must pay some kind of land tax. This tax must be paid only in money; we cannot barter or exchange. Just being born on Tokunoshima costs thousands of dollars. Ironically, Indigenous people must have money to have lives if they were unfortunate enough to be born in a nation state. To deal with this irony, I define *Indigenou-ness* as maintaining lifestyles and worldviews without obtaining essential life goods through the exchange of money, meaning that Indigenous-ness applies to every people in the world, at some time in the past. On the other hand, in the current world order, I define *Indigenous peoples* as necessarily resourcing people. Once a people become a resourced group rather than a resourcing group, they lose their function and status as Indigenous peoples. In the current capitalist world order, Tokunoshima islanders are resourcing people, providing sugar, human capital and other forms of wealth to the resourced nation-state of Japan which has dominated them (us) and now threatens the viability of their (our) language, culture, and identity.

Worldview. When we view the world as a physical entity, we notice that there are no square planets or suns. Even all the galaxies known to our scientists retain circular and/or round shapes in their presentation of themselves. Black holes, white holes, even the big bang theory are all based on the concept of a three-dimensional circle and/or roundness, often described as a sphere (globe/ball).

Adding the more recent concept of time as the fourth dimension allows us to view the spherical objects above as having movement as well. According to Newton's third law, moving objects that are not under the influence of any other external gravitational forces will retain constant speed and direction. However, we are aware that no one knows how much gravity each individual particle, atom, or electron obtains as belonging to themselves relative to other objects or particles.

That is, no one so far understands a comparison of gravitational effects between objects. Scientists can measure gravity, yet they cannot explain how much gravity each minimum particle obtains according to its state of being. The current world is explained by scientists in terms of a common sense understanding of gravity as friction and “stickiness” on earth. Gravity as a force between humans is never considered, or if it is, it is ignored; such a gravitational force is immeasurable to science as are any gravitational forces between individual units that are smaller than the size of planets. Yet, the effects of gravity influence our concepts of time, (because time is dependent on our view of the earth circling around the sun), space (because gravity changes the shape of land with the roll of the tides), and everything else that matters. Thus, the Sphere seems to be the most fundamental form of our Being in terms of existence. As is true of most Indigenous peoples (keeping in mind that all societies were once Indigenous), the idea of the Sphere provides the foundation for our worldview.

Current discourses have used the concept of the sphere to describe each section/element of society as an independent section/element: the public sphere, the political sphere, the economic sphere, and so on. Therefore, these social elements expressed in terms of the concept of sphere are expressed as having independent existence from other beings (spheres) but we can also view these spherical social elements as constituting a whole, in the same way that each person on earth or individual particles/atoms create the elements of earth. This means that each element is just one part/expression/ideology of the total, or that they exist together in a larger existence/Being.

To illustrate this better I will use our earth as an analogy. That is, humans and other living creatures are only allowed to live on the outside of the earth; they may not dwell on the inside/core of the earth, even though we are fundamentally aware that gravity may exist within the core of the earth. We Beings are not capable of entering into the real core of the earth. Owing to this simple fact within the scientific approach and within the reality of human lives, I place the same limitations on our ideological notions of “Sphere.” That is, our ideological sphere exists within our core values sphere, which is inside our bodies somewhere.

However, we are not allowed to enter into this core Sphere; we cannot enter our own bodily spaces to view ourselves or others. Not only are we not allowed, but if we choose to do so, we will erase our thoughts or ideas by the physical reality of death. I therefore firmly believe that our ideologies can only be expressed by our Beings or our expressions of identity/Being. The ideological sphere, a constructed sphere, cannot be entered into; the outside surface can only be observed from the outside, much like the view of earth from space.

The sphere can be seen as a globe without the North Pole at the top and the South Pole at the bottom, removing the turning axis of the earth and with it the concept of north and south like in Google Earth. Any person can turn Google Earth in any direction along any axis in three dimensions. Yet, no one is allowed to see the inside of the earth since it is not possible or meaningful to the purpose of the program (the program being an extension of mapping). This Sphere can be seen as a globe, representing an astronaut's views from space. From a distance, the Earth or the Sphere always looks like a circle rather than a three dimensional sphere. Likewise, within my understanding, many North American Aboriginal and many world Indigenous peoples see the world/worldview as a circle divided into four sections to express the time circulation within a circle (e.g., seasons, directions, life circles, etc.). Other Indigenous people such as the Maori express their worldview as a spiral circle with the concept of time embedded within it (e.g., conch shells or snail (*maimai*) shells). In both cases, the dimensions of the circle contain the aspect of time.

But, it is possible to view these concepts from multiple viewpoints rather than from one viewpoint based on one social location or local truth (any local truth whether from Indigenous worldviews to scientific knowledge within/from Eurocentric perspectives). Local truths are all ethnocentric perspectives when they are exported to different lands; however, they are all truth (and therefore justice) within the local land/culture (see below). To view England as the center of the map on *Google Earth* relegates Africa and Asia to the periphery/edges of the world, but placing the "center" perspective on African and/or Asian territory means that a totally opposite view is obtained. That is, different viewpoints on the

sphere provide different perspectives, different founding opinions. When only one location (i.e., the United States of America) is the starting viewpoint, then this particular viewpoint becomes the equilibrium point (balanced point, norm, or standard). Shifting the axis of rotation or the reference point for this perceived central point relocates as well the periphery. Therefore, turning the sphere on different axis points provides different turns and shapes of spirals along with the speed and direction of the movement (i.e., time).

Viewing the sphere in two dimensions makes it appear as a circle; since two dimensions have no depth; a circle can only turn in one direction, and can be seen as a binary. To explain this shift from the circle to the binary system I draw attention to a circle made from paper or to a circular coffee cup lid. When these items are placed on a table and viewed from above, they appear to us as circles, but when we pick them up and view them from the side they become one line—which is the binary system. When the Sphere loses one dimension then it no longer encapsulates three dimensions but rather, like a circle of paper, even when it is turning, it is nothing more than a binary system. That is, within the Sphere are also contained the concepts of binary, circle, and spiral with the unavoidable concept of time.

In line with the concepts of the Sphere above, it becomes clear that if one local opinion dominates and manifests itself as THE one view, THE truth, THE legitimate knowledge, in the way that current Eurocentric social theories and philosophies do (Nakagawa & Kouritzin, 2011), then our mapping is reductive—a binary, circle, or spiral—and allows us to judge and deny other Sphere views. Rather, Spheres are fluid, always relative to where we are located, and always tied in this way to land/physical location/geographic territory. The Sphere worldview leads to a particular view of ideology that I will next explain.

Island Ideology. My foundation in approaching the topics of language, culture, and identity, indeed in approaching any aspect of human lives, lies in the land/physical location/terrain/geographical territories. The first pillar in my foundation is food. All animals or any other living creatures must eat or receive some kind of energy to create or recreate their own bodies for both growth/repair

and movements/functions. Without having a consistent supply, a constantly replenishing energy source, individuals cannot sustain their lives for whatever is their genetically-programmed expected lifespan. That is, food/energy sources must be secured in order to sustain any life on earth.

Food sources are provided through the photosynthesis of the various forms of plankton in the ocean and the forms of plants on earth. Energy from sunlight is thereby turned into different types of energy sources which eventually circulate in our food chain system from plants to plant-eating animals (herbivores) to animal-eating animals (carnivores) to animal- and plant-eating animals (omnivores) to decomposed organic material eaters (detritivores). Simply put, the lives of all living things involve transferring energy from one form to another form through various expressions of organic matter. This is generally known as “circulation” or “the food chain,” meaning the energy transfer system which takes place on earth either in the ocean or on land. It is important to note that without location, place, or physical space, nothing can happen; the required space can be created only in the relationship and combination of organic and non-organic matter/elements of earth as a planet.

I am assuming that particular spaces and places on the planet are the locations for the above-outlined energy transformation, and that the transferring system takes place as photosynthesis from complex sugar production (carbohydrates) to protein and lipids through different animals and creatures. It is clear that plants cannot move or transport themselves across space once they have taken root in a space on earth. But, herbivores have attached themselves to these plants as their energy source, the only way to guarantee their survival. Other animals such as carnivores and omnivores are then likely to rely on the locations/spaces where plants and herbivores are located. Thus, it becomes evident that the food chain is and must be tied to land. The same can be said of the ocean; however, the ocean is more “global” than land due to its fluid circumstance. For example, in quarantines enacted between borderlines establishing that raw material food cannot be transported, seafood has to be exempted because of the fluidity of ocean dwellers and the global nature of water.

In any study examining the context of human language, culture, identity, and other “human-ly” expressions, I am therefore constrained by land. Humans must live on land. To state the issue more simply, I concentrate on pre-modern status, before the invention of steam power or any other additional powers (combustion or non-combustion) that alone or in combination allow humans to exceed one person’s conventional expenditure of life energy/force. Restricting our view of humans to their prior abilities, and thereby to less globally integrate time in our view of the development of language, culture, and identity (LCI) and other aspects of human life, might allow us to have a more clear view of what LCI and other elements of human lives really are. Taking a view from pre-technological-development time rather than utilizing the conventional academic standardized viewpoint based in modernity will likely provide us with an understanding of how LCI and other aspects/elements have developed.

Acknowledging that land/physical space/place is the foundation of life, as it draws energy from sunlight, constituting the major contributor in energy circulation (except for that deep sea life circle stemming from volcanic energy sources) should help us form a basic understanding of Nature in our lives on earth. This is not only the basis of the scientific approach, but also the bedrock in many cultural and Indigenous approaches evidenced in the multiple practices of sun worship globally, the sun being a major figure or god-like figure in our lives. Specifically, place and energy to be received and accumulated, forming circulation through different formations and energy expressions, and transformations of that energy is located in all knowledge systems. All knowledge systems whether Indigenous, traditional, local or scientific recognize the circle of energy, and express it in terms like spiritual circle, life circle, and energy circle⁵⁴ respectively.

⁵⁴ One of my recent friends who is taking course in university told me that he has been taught that nuclear energy is categorized as renewable resource. I questioned that, saying that nuclear reaction is the only energy that cannot reverse its state. (i.e., once nuclear reaction happens then uranium changes into something different being which humans cannot revert to the original form). His answer to my question was that developed countries around the world decided to categorize nuclear power as a renewable resource. And he needed to pass his exam in order to obtain his degree; therefore, he will answer his exam as he was taught to answer. At the end of our short conversation, I told him to play the game of power but do not get brain-washed by the

Each level of the food chain, each level of energy transformation, each level of spiritual reformulation in this circle of spirit/life/energy perspective expresses understandings of the same phenomena from different approaches or worldviews. In order for each level/stage/state in the chain to obtain sustainability or advancement in their lives, a particular standpoint or *positionality* must be used. This means that cattle (herbivores) cannot have the feeling that a clump of tall grass is a beautiful being and therefore treat it as an ornamental object. Tall grass must be tasty and is the energy behind their lives, while carnivores and omnivores are threats to their lives. Likewise, carnivores cannot think of other mammals as cute pretty things to be protected rather than food. (In fact, it is hard to imagine a wolf thinking “this one is a cute bunny; I think I will name it and protect it from other bad beings”—yet kids see this on television all the time; that is a “good” wolf—but this is another story). Carnivores must see tall grass as a convenient object to hide behind, or perhaps as material to ingest to make them feel better when they feel sick (medicine). That is, herbivores and carnivores have worldviews based on interpreting the Nature that surrounds them to advance their own lives to their own advantages.

In keeping with this, herbivore and carnivore animals use forms of communication to sustain their lives—to protect themselves from their predators and to provide better food sources. These communication systems are often called “language” while the physical practices they engage in to eat for survival within a self-sustaining organization of their natural environment is called “culture.” To understand and feel other beneficial beings (such as food sources) and to detect harmful beings (such as predators or illness) means understanding themselves within their webs of relationships as having and understanding Being within themselves. When these relationships are expressed through their own ideologies as language, then Being becomes identity (i.e., identifying relationships through their established ideological languages).

Since I have eliminated globalization and scientific knowledge and practices in this approach, I will briefly describe my perspectives on these matters. Integrating scientific knowledge must come with globalization. In this approach to food security and source I will examine the possible contribution of science and its effect on people's LCIs. Looking at LCI from the point of view of food source makes it clear that to live as individuals, living creatures must eat, and that to eat, individuals must find food sources where they are located. However, with the advancement of scientific (information) knowledge we have had more power to move long distances within shorter times, and to harvest more food from the same amount of space/land, all of which greatly stresses the system in which we live (circumstance/environment/Nature/natural habitat). Science-based technological knowledge allows human animals to rely on technology in the face of lack of food—and for materials to be brought in from outside. This type of scenario allows people (human individuals) not to listen or obey or be suppressed by land/place. I believe that the beginning of the movement of material, the interruption of food security as tied to specific lands, is the beginning of globalization. Depending on someone else's food breaks understandings of language and identity that are perpetuated by culture, transmitted across generations, and are locally bound.

The shift from independent to dependent minds that accompanies looking to the outside while still being on one's own land also shifts a people's language, culture, and identity. Moreover, this shifting of mind set somehow blinds our ability to see that science and technology do not create anything, including grains of wheat and rice. Science and technology enhance production by abusing ecological systems to borrow from the past, present, and future for the present. That is, well-preserved energy (trees, fossil fuels) represent past energy sources consumed in the present. People subordinated by colonial mentality and a capitalistic mind (people in the developing world or resourcing people) are abused in the present by plunder of their food supplies. Nuclear power, stem cells, cloning, and space technology exploit future energy for current pleasure and convenience. By these processes humans now have almost forgotten the most

simple and foundational knowledge of all: that human beings cannot produce their own food. Humans must rely on land to secure food to sustain their lives for now and to have the ability to engage in sex to reproduce future humans. We must remember that in sex, reproduction, or childbirth there are no medicines that do more than aid a mother or child, and techniques we believe to be scientific (like test tube fertilization which allows for plant-like “pollination”) are merely tricks learned and passed on over time.

Moreover, no medicine can fix a person. Even the littlest cut on a finger cannot be fixed by doctors and medicine, though medicine can aid our bodies in healing better or faster. Humans might be intentionally misunderstanding and depending on science and technology, gaining illusions of security (that is, security of food and sex) for now and for the future. I am attempting to eliminate these illusions of ownership of present-self and future-self by removing science and technology from our lives to see the core values in human reality in relation to other living creatures.

This, in a nutshell, is the ideological framework (each creature’s survival as the foundation of all being) informing my work. My research is linked in this way to previous work by Matsuyama (2004b), Takahashi (2006), and Yamashita (1992) who have documented the narratives and counter-narratives of Tokunoshima history and island LCI survival. Within this ideological foundation is the ontology/epistemology of Tokunoshima which, I argue, has developed within an ideology based on geographical regions.

Tokunoshima ontology and epistemology. A final foundation, one particular to the ontology and epistemology of Tokunoshima, is the concept of “shima.” The concept of “shima” seems to be the basis of our society (see also Suwa 2007 for an outsider interpretation of what shima means). “Shima” has the same connotation as the words “territory” or “people” in Japanese, even though the word means “islands” or “where people are living.” Shima includes the physical territory as well as the emotional territory of people (land and Being) who were born in the community and grew up within the community. In a study of ethics on Tokunoshima (Nakagawa, 2008), one participant explained:

Some places in Amagi town there are people who use different customs and languages from the very next door [when islanders talk about “next door” it means they are less than a stone’s throw away from each other]. This happens due to where the shima lines are identified. Even though they are right next door, they prefer to use their own shima and to live their lives in accordance with their perceived community. (August 14th, 2007)

This is not just true of Amagi town, but of all communities in the Amami islands. I remember living in Amagi town myself and attending one schoolchildren’s community meeting in which we were quite clear about drawing lines around “from which house to which house should the children come to our meetings?” We would never have considered attending other groups’ meetings. Even the participant who provided the comment above reminisced about the past and said “we used to not cross the lines of shimas. For us, it was more like going over one bridge since it divided the community.” The participant continued, “I remember the next community that was called “Naka-ku” (middle ward) and “Kita –ku” (north ward) people expressed some things differently and did things slightly different than “Minami-ku” (south ward) people.”

Originally, I thought that customs like these are all past practices. However, my niece, when she was in grade five, attended “*rajio taiso*,” an early morning (6:30 a.m.) exercise routine broadcast on the radio which has been mandatory for all Japanese elementary school students for over four decades, daily throughout their summer holidays. To do this exercise, the students still gather in the public open places designated according to their shima. I talked with my sister about how strange it was that my niece had to ride a bike to attend *rajio taiso* with her community, when there is *rajio taiso* right across the road from her house. To do this, my niece has to wake up ten minutes earlier. Even for me, the ten minutes of extra sleep would be tempting, but my niece would rather attend with her own shima than go to the one across the road, even though all students from both shimas attend the same school and some are in the same classroom with her.

While many Japanese scholars have written about the concept of shima from a variety of perspectives (Suwa, 2007), I do not base my understandings of

what shima is or how it operates on the understandings of outsiders. I think it is clear that the cluster of Amami islands holds its own social system and ethics, but that this social system can be further divided into smaller townships and shimas. This notion is reinforced by how we refer to ourselves; we are “shiman-chu” or island persons. Each shima tends to hold its own identity (Shibata, 1988; Yamashita, 1992), separate and different from even the very-next-door shima. Each shima retains independent social ties/cultural capital/human relationships from other shimas. Moreover, it is not clear what is “me” and what is “shima” or where the lines are drawn because people on Tokunoshima do not practice individualism.

In past history, Tokunoshima islanders have never won against an oppressor. In the various manifestations of physical force-based oppression that they have experienced, Tokunoshima islanders developed a strong sense of “shima” because shima is where survival was located. That is, historically, there is no boundary around Tokunoshima as an island, with a sense of unity on the island, because the basis of people’s survival under physical-force-based oppression was the shima. If there was no unity within Tokunoshima as a whole, then there was also no unity of Amami people. However, in the past century and a half, the oppression has not been physical oppression but rather ideological oppression, the oppression of Japanese-based education (though with the constant background threat of the Japanese police). As a result, there is emerging a Tokunoshima identity. Unity among islanders is developing into a realization of island identity, an understanding that there is within-island (Tokunoshima: this is now quite strong) and between-island (Amami: this has not been completed) cultural, linguistic, and identity alliances.

Addressing the Data. It is time now for me to weave with my data. It is clear that it is hard for me to work within the straightjacket of standard academic prose and still remain true to my people, my worldview, and my ideology. It is not natural for me to separate/categorize/dissect/analyze data; to me it is all synthesis. In my world, there is only one truth and everything in the world is simply an example of, or means of, obtaining that truth. The truth is that there is nothing at

the foundation except the pursuit of food and sex, and an overlying means of maintaining/regulating/ensuring the food supply (food) and the continuance of a people (i.e., through sex) in wisdom-based educational practices and forms of spirituality.

Over time, oral languages have been turned into text and peoples' belief systems have shifted so that they believe texts are an inherent component of languages. Furthermore, texts are not only used to record ideas of individuals or what individuals wanted to believe were truth/reality/justice/facts but also texts have replaced them. In other words, I believe that texts have been used for individuals to obtain dominance over others. Texts helped the oppressors.

Writing selves into oppression. In the beginning, grains and other food sources became preservable for longer periods of time. Following that, money came to represent the storage of grain, because grain cannot be stored indefinitely or over larger spaces of geography. In other words, the concept of money allowed people to sustain their grain/protein source for a much longer time over much larger physical distances because it eliminated the need to worry about product quality being influenced by aging or temperature. As long as all people across nations, locations, and races “buy into” the concept of money simultaneously, people are freed from worry about the physical properties of food. Over time, people have allowed themselves to believe that currency/money is itself the basis of life, rather than food and its production—and procreation.

Despite their land-based nature, agriculturally-influenced approaches also represent the dominant ideology. Hunters and gatherers appear to have refrained from becoming oppressors of Nature/land, knowing that they could not over-hunt for fear of animal and plant extinction. Some may argue that most animals can be domesticated or farmed with scientific knowledge and energy combined with resources, entirely correct within our current world order, which I describe as materialistic-/accumulation-/currency-/scientific-based capitalism. In order to make money, farmers spend money (often on credit, but that is another story) creating additional value through enhanced taste, price, consistency, convenience, and other factors, that is, by sacrificing the diversity of species (e.g., genetic

variety), the cycle of life, the safety of products for human or other animal consumption, and also by sacrificing many un-quantifiable factors such as the meaning of life, the happiness of animals, and/or the spirituality of each Being. From a simple cost-benefit perspective, hunting and gathering is more efficient.

Even from just the very limited allusions in the above examples, it is clear that stable crops of accumulated grains over the long term allowed a shift in ideology/world view/truth/facts from a state of being subordinate to Nature to states of attempted domination over Nature and self-enslaving to money. Accumulation of money, as it represents protection from starvation, clearly frees individuals from the hardships/rough life/physical demands/dangers of collecting food. But breaking the cycle of Nature also results in the deterioration of potential well-being for future generations. Traditional Indigenous ideologies may not appear to be based on scientific knowledge; yet, Indigenous peoples traditionally did/do not choose to farm crops or animals. Instead, they allowed for such natural evolution of plant and animal life as has always occurred (Diamond, 1997), opting for sustainability (which science has not yet been able to achieve) rather than optimum yield.

If we accept that, then we also have to recognize that no existing crops or animals can be manipulated or controlled, even with all of our currency-based capitalistic scientific approaches, as they survive in the wilderness. Even with the current state of technologies, we cannot accurately predict weather day-to-day, much less month-to-month, or year-to-year. In order to farm crops and animals, farmers cannot have too many of these uncontrollable variables. Scientific-based farming must therefore control all other variables except for Nature (i.e., bacteria, viruses, weather and other natural disasters), which is the only variable it cannot control.

Stretching this a little bit, we can understand how, in this controlled environment, turning oral languages into text may be likely to produce truth/reality/facts; once the way to control other variables is written down, all individuals can benefit and capitalize on the knowledge, even those at a distance. But, this is to be done for each individual's profit not for future generations' benefit.

On the other hand, without the need for controlling all of these variables there is no need, no truth/justice/fact/reality for turning oral languages into text. To give just one example, it is clear that writing down where individuals can find food sources year after year would not be such a good idea. Indigenous ideologies take all unpredictable factors into account to predict where the food sources are in the current season and at the same time to protect them for future needs (Brody, 2004). Indigenous ideologies will never allow people to over-harvest their crops or animals. That is, because Indigenous ideologies are expressed through oral languages, they rely on information and experiences being relayed through contact, through context, through people spending time together in a local environment, through consensus (Nakagawa, 2009) and discussion and sharing, not through distant communication in writing information down as text. Just like the argument I am making here, I am not able to express what I think/know as text. As a result, I am hoping that readers can come a little bit into my space to have this same experience of what I am trying to say with me, but I am not optimistic because it is almost never possible to have such an experience via text. You have to experience words and air with me to be able to understand me—and we all instinctively know this. Police forces, for example, hire former criminals to help understand the behaviors, techniques and patterns that current criminals will engage in, because you have to have the same sweet spots to understand.

Moreover, even in the current capitalist world order, casual fishermen, hunters, and food gatherers will not easily tell others (rivals) where and how they found their resources, and they most certainly will not do so in text. En-texting knowledge is a certain guarantee that next time there will not be any of the resources that they wanted in the locations they found. This is a protection to conserve the natural state, as well as one allowing individuals to protect their own advantages. Even in a personal gain situation, we can somewhat see that the writing down of knowledge/experiences will not promise opportunities for the concerned individuals' future benefits, unless individuals can teach one another to re-create a natural state by using energy sources to pump reserves from power-shovel-created reservoirs to create storage ponds/lakes, or make dams and

reservoirs by destroying other Beings, and their land/nature. In this process researchers, government officials, and other individual profit seekers write down their knowledge (or sometimes the knowledge of other groups who do not have a written language, or who do not write a dominant language), and thereby solidify their own/stolen knowledge, to maintain their social status/income/power (e.g., Brown, 2003), which will in turn will allow them to hold onto their positions/titles and to hold onto their families/connections and their lives, which are ultimately represented as meritorious/right/justice/truth (as in the case of the Human Rights Museum in Manitoba) within the dominant world order.

In line with the above argument, merit-, truth-, justice-, facts-based ideologies cannot be written down as texts of experience at the time of knowledge creation. For example, having good experiences of fishing in one corner of one lake will not guarantee a lifetime supply of fish for a family, even if the information and experiences were written as text for family use. There are no promises there will even be a lake some 200+ years later. The important lesson here is that ongoing generations of individuals having experiences with good fishermen will enable new generations of fishermen to understand when, where, what, and how to fish. You cannot become a good fisherman by reading numerous books about fishing without having the experience of fishing with an experienced senior in fishing. Text can emphasize experience, but without applying that knowledge to local fishing conditions, it is irrelevant, since there is no one size fits all fishing condition (variables).

Why does this matter? Unfortunately, as a result, from a non-orthodox point of view, it forces me to have to strongly suggest that language and culture revitalization using text and/or a recorded gold standard may not be the best answer to current world phenomenon of language and culture loss/change/shift/decay/alteration. It seems that it is more important to teach and learn when, where, what, and how to fish than which corner of which lake is to be fished. That is, we must be clear in our understanding (i.e., world view/truth of local land/nature/environment) of why we are doing things that we are about to do. It is clear to me that passing down local ideologies to our children should be more

central than teaching them the language and culture of our historical selves through the means and pedagogies of dominance. We do so by surrounding them with understanding of how to create their own Beings which will ultimately result in language and culture, though likely not the same language and culture as existed in the past.

So what does this have to do with my data? As we all say in general, and as is reflected in my data in particular, we do not want to go back in time on Tokunoshima. More specifically, we all want the past and the future simultaneously, even though the participants indicated that they realized doing so was extremely difficult, if not impossible. Several of them even suggested that past and future ideas must merge into one to create a new Being on the islands. At the same time, this kind of creation only extended to the cultural aspects I questioned, not to the language questions. Most people who answered the questions about language or who even touched on this issue (mostly the older generations who are able to understand and use Shima-guchi) suggested that the language should not change or shift but rather that it should remain the same as it was in the past. On the other hand, the younger generations who could not understand or speak Shima-guchi did not even begin to suggest any solutions that involved returning to historic forms of Shima-guchi. Even if they had been inclined to make such a recommendation, no one from any generation could clearly define what Shima-guchi is, and whose form of Shima-guchi (both in terms of shima and age group) should be used as the standard (or “gold standard”) which would be written down, codified, and taught in schools.

Revitalizing worldviews and ideologies. I think it is time to realize and understand that what needs to be revitalized is not the languages and cultures of Indigenous peoples such as my islanders, but rather the ideologies/worldviews/local truths/justices which belong to local lands/communities/Nature/confined locations. People need to create their own cultures and communicate those cultures through languages, and thereby solidify local, embedded/entrenched identities. Culture cannot come to mean merely either a global pop culture or a subculture within modernity—which is supported by

materialistic, accumulative capitalism. Rather, culture must refer to local culture, that which has allowed local people to continue to live through support/provisioning by virtue of the gift of each local natural cycle within each confined location/local land. Without revitalization of the willingness to listen to local nature/land (i.e., ideology/world view/truth) there can be no true revitalizations of our unique Beings as local peoples. Belongingness, dependence, and subordination to the local land are the heart and core values of what we need in order to be able to revitalize language and culture. We do not need currency productions of language schools, textbooks, and/or fancy pedagogies, and we do not need money-guzzling cultural activities. I am firmly convinced that culture (cultural activities) must act in the service of feeding people; otherwise, they are some of the most inefficient activities people can engage in.

I have been speaking to people of Tokunoshima, those who are in leadership positions, teaching positions, and those who are older, perhaps considered elders. As the results of both the survey and the interviews suggest, people on Tokunoshima would like to be able to speak and continue to speak Shima-guchi from now and into the future. Shima-guchi has the concept of “Yui” or “Yui-waku” which means working together as community and living together. At the time of harvesting season, people still closely recall helping when their neighbours did field work; at that time, all of the other neighbors came to help you. It is all done within the notion of reciprocity, “what goes around comes around,” just like unpaid or volunteer work found in any society in North America (including Canada). This idea of working together did not start in recent years but rather this practice was engraved in the hearts of Tokunoshima islanders. There is no one who grew-up on the island who disagrees with this point. Many knowledge holders (who do not call themselves elders of our communities) have expressed that they believe in living in their communities as a people who are doing well living within the land/space of the community. By doing so they can sustain their hearts—which they call “Shima no kokoro.” As expressed earlier, “Shima” means not only “island” but it also has the meaning of community. The heart of the community comes from the life of people who live together and help each other.

This practice of living together may hold the idea or even truth of peoples: their heart/spirit (*kokoro*).

On my many visits to Tokunoshima to confirm and reconfirm my data and analysis, all leaders and knowledge holders who live in the community repeatedly expressed their frustration with the young people leaving by the time of mandatory education or high school education. Moreover, the formal education system and peoples' ideological beliefs have been shifted so that they prioritize earning money to sustain the lives of individuals rather than prioritizing living together within the community and its land/environment. It is clear that junior/high school graduates are leaving the island to either find jobs or attend higher educational institutions. Often those who obtain knowledge of our communities, our leaders, have told me not to come back to Tokunoshima because there is no work for me on the island. The goal of education is different between community-driven education and formal education. Community-driven education is focused on consensus building within the society/community but formal education has the hidden agenda to achieve colonial mindsets. Once this form of ideology is implanted in peoples' minds, then that is what people would like to have: information based knowledge and wisdom based knowledge (Nakagawa, 2008). Tokunoshima people are traditionally more invested in wisdom-based knowledge education in which people are educated to have consensus and cooperation with other community members, a form of knowledge which has allowed island people to survive for now and for the future within the provided natural resources. This seems to be the meaning of "*Shima no kokoro*," the "heart of island," and it seems also to be what Tokunoshima islanders are most nostalgic about.

I have asked questions in the past about language loss issues, what language loss means, where it happens, why it is happening now (Nakagawa, 2008). Clearly, language loss is not a local and unique occurrence in one small dark corner of the world (e.g., Abley, 2003; Crystal, 2000; Harrison, 2007) but rather it appears to be a world-wide phenomenon influencing communities around the globe simultaneously, though at varying speeds. This issue of language and

culture loss/change/shift seems to be synchronized in terms of time rather than place. In other words, language loss may be seen as the issue of becoming a gigantic oneness, undifferentiated by location. Locations are diminishing to become oneness at same time. Time as we know it may be synchronized by human wishes operating within and between humans.

As I have argued earlier (Nakagawa, 2008), language and culture can be seen as parallel to the policies of capitalism/currency based economy/American ideology. Here, I suggest that culture is nothing more or less than a Being's (in our case *human* being's) response to the policies of Nature/land. Culture (i.e., adaptation to the policy of Nature) in turn forces the creation of language to enable communication between members of a species so that they are able to follow and obey the culture (which is the policy of land). If a person/people do not communicate and thereby practice the local culture in tandem with others, then that person/people will wither and die. If a person/people do not practice culture that is appropriate to the land then that land (surrounding environment) will be destroyed, and, as a result, the people will be destroyed—if not immediately, then in the long term. If people do not wither and die, then perhaps Nature will physically destroy people through forms which we call “natural disasters,” created by making an imbalance in the natural cycles and states of our surrounding support systems. Although Harrison (2007) does not state this specifically, he alludes to it:

Most of what humans have learned over the millennia about how to thrive on this planet is encapsulated in threatened languages. If we let them slip away, we may compromise our very ability to survive as our ballooning human population strains the earth's ecosystems.” (p. 19)

Land is the base, the one requirement of all species in order to create life and sustain life. Without land, humans and all other living creatures would not be born or sustained either in the past or in the future. In order to utilize sunlight and/or geothermal energy (volcanic heat), animals and other creatures (including human beings) must have land. Ultimately, land allows for the growth of all plant life including plankton in the ocean, which allows light/heat to create organic solid

states (organic states are chemically very unstable states over time compared to other inorganic states). As a result, humans and other living beings must live with land; the land is the only thing that provides all living beings with a means to live.

Language and Culture

In accordance with the logic above, languages and cultures are products of local land and its formulation within a cycle system. Humans and others must live within the resources that the local land they live on can offer. But the current materialistic, currency-based capitalism is based on knowledge of how to use and abuse energy in order to exceed our immediate requirements so that we are able to overproduce on any given local land space. In addition to exceeding the natural energy consumption from local lands, societies that are based on the dominant world order rarely contain themselves to energy sources within the lands connected to local supply. This type of energy source expansion enables humans to consume luxurious amounts of energy to enhance/alter/alleviate daily activities and hardships. By de-placing their energy sources in this way from an individual level to a global level, humans are likely to similarly de-place their languages and cultures either by forcing them on others, or by giving them over to others who are insisting on being dominant.

I am intentionally describing dominant beings rather than nations, states, and/or nation states. I believe that this dominant ideology exists in each one of us. It is instinct. I stated above that humans and other beings are born to sustain their lives for the future. Except for some humans who are willing to end their lives for reasons most of us do not understand, most, if not all, peoples in the world have participated in currency-based capitalism in some way. It is normal to want to stockpile against future disaster. It is instinct to protect the human gene pool.

The data that I have here collected and analyzed show that people on Tokunoshima do not speak their own traditional language and do not know or practice their own traditional culture. The data results clearly showed that the older generations are able to use more Tokunoshima language and culture than the younger generations. As we switch our attention to the progressively older generations, we find that the respondents can use the language and culture of

Tokunoshima more than they can use standardized Japanese. The middle-aged generations (age ranges of 50s, 60s, and to a lesser extent 40s) can use both Shima-guchi and standardized Japanese language and culture fluently. As we view the data from progressively younger generations, we see that this starts to shift drastically so that the younger generations display more dominance in Japanese than in Tokunoshima language and culture, and most of those in the youngest generations (10s and 20s) find it almost impossible to speak Shima-guchi or practice Tokunoshima culture at all. In terms of orthodox views of language loss such as those based on the work of Fishman (1997), this is a dire finding, consistent with the most disappointing and desperate consequences to language and culture revitalization. The solution(s) almost invariably proposed to mitigate this disappointment and desperation is language and culture revitalization, reversing language shift, and/or formal language/culture continuation which normally means teaching language and culture within the current world order, in the formal education system.

Contrarily, within my perspective, languages are the product of culture, and culture is the policy of Nature, which supports the larger cycle needed for living beings. Within my perspective, our subjective being (that is, our heart, soul, spirit, language, culture and other things we cannot use as facts/evidence/proof/truth/reality) depends on our objective being (that is, physical things such as body, wood, rocks, water, and air). Living in accordance with my understanding/theory/concept/perspective, I would be forced to suggest that we cannot go back to our traditional language and culture without going back in time, which is not possible. That particular location in time supported the language and culture; therefore, without the same, or virtually the same, location in time, there can be no guarantee that the same language, culture, or ideology/worldview/truth could be revitalized—or even understood. People now do not live in the same conditions. Even if we were able to recreate a location in time, the question would arise: “which time/era/epoch should we be recreating?” I have asked this question through my research on the “gold standard” of language and culture and I have concluded that there is no gold standard for language and

culture in either dominant (i.e., standardized Japanese) or subordinate (i.e., Tokunoshima) societies (Nakagawa, 2008).

Thinking back to an example I gave much earlier about how the Crowfoot Glacier had melted away so that its name was no longer a reflection of what it looked like, I suggest that trying to recreate a gold standard in language and culture is akin to trying to reform the Crowfoot Glacier into its earlier form once global warming has been reversed (assuming that is possible). Not only is it impossible to reform it into its original shape, but should a system of machines and molds make it possible, it would be a questionable pursuit. As long as it serves the same (or similar) purpose that it did, as long as it supports the lives in its ecosystem, it is not important what its form is. What matters is function. In one sense, this may what interviewee 1132 was getting at when she claimed that “Tokunoshima’s blood and ideas are saturated to the maximum, and if new blood and ideas do not come in then maybe Tokunoshima may not be able to function” (2009_1132, p. 4). Change can be good.

The historical background of Tokunoshima even showed good support for my assertions about the importance of land/earth/local location to LCI. Throughout history, Tokunoshima islanders did not enjoy the experience of dominancy,⁵⁵ even on their own island; history in the Amami region after contact was written by the conquerors (China, Ryukyu, Satsuma, Imperial Japan, United States of America, and democratic Japan). Each of these military arms-based nation states maintained an era of control over Tokunoshima for the past 1,000 years without any break in between during which islanders ruled the island. In some ways, each of these nations still maintains control. Colonization prior to the domination of Amami by the Ryukyu kingdom was not so clear as far as written records go back, but after the Ryukyu domination era shifted to the Satsuma colonization era, written records document how people on Tokunoshima were physically forced to change their behaviours to support a heavy taxation load (just

⁵⁵ The experience of dominancy is what, to my mind, Americans and other dominant cultures call “freedom.” Freedom does not really exist for anyone who is not dominant; rather, freedom is only the ability to choose from within a set of options offered by those who are dominant.

like any dominant society requires as commonsense—without question). Their lifestyles and labour patterns had to be changed (as from rice production to sugar production discussed in Chapter 1), and they were forbidden to wear certain types of clothes and traditional hairstyles. However, if we accept certain allegations as fact, Tokunoshima peoples' hardships in life did not really seem to change from Ryukyu to Satsuma; rather it is just that suppressed people often claim to prefer—and/or talk better about—the previous system of dominance compared to current conditions⁵⁶.

Even under conditions of extreme hardship, throughout history, people on Tokunoshima kept their Ryukyu language alive and well despite the colonizing and enslaving forces of Satsuma (mainland Kagoshima, Japan) insisting that we use *their* languages (which are nonetheless currently regarded as dialects of the now accepted standard of Japanese), and despite their discrimination against Shima-guchi and the culture of Tokunoshima. In the year 2009, Tokunoshima and Amami islands commemorated the 400th anniversary of being conquered by Satsuma. Amami islands people have “celebrated” their survival in the face of colonization through festivals and music, but the data I collected showed that the people on the island of Tokunoshima clearly continue to practice/use a form of Ryukyu language and some culture. Of course, it is true that those islanders who are in their 40s and older are the generations which mainly use and understand the traditional language (Shima-guchi), but all of the generations responded that they would like to speak Shima-guchi and use/know Tokunoshima culture more.

My brief historical review of Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi) and culture is quite relevant to my arguments. In over four hundred years of colonization by Satsuma, Shima-guchi merely changed in the way that all

⁵⁶ I remember clearly being angered by the prologue of a book I read when I was younger. The book was about Tokunoshima being conquered by Satsuma. The prologue, written by a dominant culture person, claimed that Amami people have a tendency to remember that Satsuma people were bad colonizers. Interestingly, when you look back in history, you notice that the previous conqueror was as bad as Satsuma. People tend to remember the immediate threat and immediate pain; there has been a beautification of the Ryukyu domination being wonderful. First, he had no way of knowing that; there is no evidence that prior to Satsuma, island people were treated as slaves. Second, to conquered people, the experience of having one's life owned by others is not measurable in degrees of threat and pain.

languages changed, and the speakers of Shima-guchi remained fluent. After World War II, however, language shift accelerated. After World War II, people stopped speaking and stopped bequeathing their language to their offspring. In the year 2009, my interviews revealed that Tokunoshima islanders who have memory of the Second World War have each concluded that WWII changed Tokunoshima's language, culture, Nature, Being, and economics. Some interview participants revealed that they stopped using certain vocabulary items because those particular items have permanently disappeared from life. Words such as the traditional word for bamboo wind blowers (bellows) are no longer parts of our life since no one makes a fire to cook anymore, and if we did, we would not use bellows to increase the flame. We all have propane gas stoves in modern kitchens. Due to propane gas stove popularization, all island households have also stopped the practice of some forms of *Yui*. *Yui* is community participation and a support system, a means of indebtedness and obligation to one another, such as the exchange of work rather than currency. One participant (participant number 1132), for example, clearly remembered the days of having a fire pit in the kitchen—and the continuous attention required to keep the fire going. It was up to the mother of the house to keep the fire going through the night. When the mother accidentally slept, then this participant had to go to the house next door to borrow charcoaled fire called *hijiri*. *Hijiri* was on the end of a stick, so the participant had to swing the stick until he or she got to home to keep the fire from going out. *Hijiri* was used as a flashlight in the night time as well. The activities involved in having a fire at each household created both nouns (language) and neighborhood connections (culture), but after dissemination of propane gas became a reality on Tokunoshima, that dissemination literally destroyed the practice of this part of the language and culture of the island. Of course the fire keeping activities were also part of the local religion (animism) that taught respect for the fire god. People no longer practice this on a daily basis either.

I also had a conversation in 2008 while I was conducting the Tokunoshima-wide survey, in which one person who helped me to collect surveys expressed an interest in climbing the mountains of Tokunoshima. He has climbed two of the

three highest mountains on Tokunoshima (Amagi-dake and Inokawa-dake are about 500 to over 600 meters above sea level). However, this person had never gone to Inutabu-dake, the third mountain. According to this person, it has become almost impossible to find the route since no one remembers where the route used to be. So I went home and told my mother about this story and her reply was that she used to climb Inutabu-dake every month to collect firewood. My mother used to go with my grandmother and she could not wait to visit since on the way up and down she was able to gather wild strawberries, oranges, kiwis, and many other Nature-provided goodies according to the seasons. Not only did I come to realize that kiwi fruits were native to Tokunoshima (named kuga, the same as “egg”), but also my mother and I came to the same realization at the end of our conversation; we cannot do this now, even if we wanted to try, since those mountains are now controlled by the Japanese government and no one is allowed to take anything from the land, even fruit. That is, a Japanese national policy also led to the loss of part of our culture on the island.

I have heard that in order to climb mountains, maps are required—but those maps are kept under government control or in a safe at mainland universities of Japan. They are considered “research results” that are not to be returned to the islanders of Tokunoshima. One of my friends expressed distaste at this university practice. In the past, he was asked to show where a famous river in his community goes underground. He knew where it was since he grew up in the community and was willing to share his knowledge, in the same way that any Tokunoshima person would with visitors. With the help of his teaching and his guidance, the university team was able to write down the location, and they finished pinpointing it on their map. My friend then asked if they knew about any other caves on the island. Their answer really surprised him, according to him. They knew hundreds of caves that he had no idea existed. Not only that, but the Tokyo-based university researchers had been there many times, so they were able to locate the caves without a map.

My friend, who lived on Tokunoshima island while he grew up and came back to live on the island as an adult, was confused and he did not know how to

digest that strangers had collected the wisdom of many people, plotted it on their maps, and then knew more details about the island than islanders. He argued passionately to me that researchers need to return their data and their conclusions to the people who live on the land (Nakagawa, 2008). Returning is a wrong word, since he feels that the collected data, analyses, discussion, and the conclusions of research actually belong to the people who live on the land. He is not an academic, but he was clear that this must be done as ethical and moral practice in the relationships of human beings. Just like the artifacts stolen from developing nations in the past by developed nations (e.g., England, France, United States of America, Japan, and many others), the knowledge belongs to the land and the people, and must be returned. Furthering this argument would confine the issue to one that is located within currency/material-based capitalism, so I would not further the argument on this issue. But, I wish to illustrate, to highlight, to document, and to bear witness to the arrogance and ignorance of university researchers working with Indigenous populations, and the theft of our knowledge.

Unfortunately, according to my data from both the survey and the interviews, so far, no one has expressed a willingness to go back to the living and lifestyle conditions of the pre-World War II era. Tokunoshima has undergone great development, what I have referred to as “beautification by concrete” in the literature review, and it is impossible to undo the alterations to the shoreline and land. Life is easier—or at least less dependent on immediate weather and natural conditions—so no one wants to go back in time to have a traditional lifestyle, not even my mother, even though she desperately wished for Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture to be revitalized.

Going back to the historical background, I have provided clear indications that on Tokunoshima, local life *is* the language and culture. Language and culture cannot be separated from the actual lives of people, meaning not how people live, but rather, who they are and what food sources they depend on. If propane gas were indigenous to Tokunoshima, then it may be different, but propane is shipped to Tokunoshima, as is electricity. Electricity on Tokunoshima is produced by burning fossil fuel to create steam, which in turn propels turbines to create an

electric current. The original fossil fuel, oil, is shipped into Tokunoshima from outside the island. Furthermore, motor vehicles for transportation, fishing, farming, and other activities of the people on Tokunoshima are brought in from the outside. We have all become aware that it takes three hours to drive entirely around the island. There is no going back, even if we wanted because our mind/ideology/worldview has entirely changed.

Clearly, the survey data indicates that progressively younger generations possess less Shima-guchi fluency, but that older generations possess more Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima cultural knowledge and practice. Exactly opposite results obtained for standardized Japanese. This was also addressed in my interview data. Almost all of the interview participants thought Shima-guchi has already changed or was changing. All of those who answered that Shima-guchi had not changed or was not changing were not originally from the island, or they self-assessed as being unable to speak or understand Shima-guchi. Among those people who have lived on Tokunoshima for a prolonged period (approximately 5 years) and even among some of those who were just visitors (e.g., teachers or other professionals from the mainland) almost all would like to see Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture continue into the foreseeable future. However, the reality of participating in Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima cultural practice was not positive. People often felt that they do not have the time or the financial reserves to participate in language and cultural revitalization efforts. For example, generally people do not have time to volunteer on weekdays and if they do donate their time then they may have to sacrifice their income during those hours.

It is clear that the idea and reality are separate visions. There is a most definite gap between the idea of revitalizing Shima-guchi/Tokunoshima culture and the reality of time and cost. In the interviews, many people identified the obstacle of time, effort and financial consequences as a personal problem; the solution they felt able to point out was revitalization through the formal education system. A schools-based approach has been attempted by the educational administrations across island towns and is somewhat showing results from a coordinated effort; some of the younger generations are beginning to demonstrate

the ability to understand and speak nouns in Shima-guchi; they are able to sing and dance at traditional local gatherings/ceremony/events. These successes were spoken about by the mothers of children who are still in the formal education system. These mothers feel that such measures are a significant improvement, since they themselves were taught almost nothing and they report being unable to sing and dance at the ceremonies/events/gatherings of the community. Without practicing the dances and songs at ceremonies/events/festivals, these cultural icons will be forgotten by the newer generations who are not exposed to them. As a result, more than anything else, it can be argued that practice (even when devoid of meaning) is the priority; once people are familiarized with the culture and language and continue the practice into the future, all it takes is one person to think about why they are doing what they are doing. This person's reasoning may be different from the reasoning of those who started the practice in the first place—in fact, it must be different because the people would not be living under the same conditions on the land of Tokunoshima. But, through engaging in the practices, people may come to understand the reasons for living and thriving within such a confined location.

In two separate sections of my survey, people replied that they wish to revive and maintain past practices and they also wish for the future development of the economy on Tokunoshima simultaneously. The contradiction between these was posed as an interview question and the answers to this rather ironic comment were not really supported in the details. Maybe the apparent contradiction was created by me because the interview question was created by combining multiple questions from the survey into one, and I inserted the word “simultaneously.” But, in the interviews, participants clearly expressed their opinions that Tokunoshima cannot have past and future at the same time. In other words, in reality, people on Tokunoshima do not think they can have support from the mainland and continue developing Tokunoshima scientifically and economically at the same time; under those conditions, people on Tokunoshima do not need and have no place or opportunity to use Shima-guchi or Tokunoshima culture. Participants explained that, in order to develop, Tokunoshima people need to be able to converse with

mainland Japanese people and they need to import both the economic structure and the supporting knowledge onto the island. In line with this ideology, they simply conclude that Shima-guchi cannot and should not be used in public places like government buildings and/or business places, with the possible exception of farmers and fisherman who do not need to have close contact with the mainlanders of Japan. Most participants therefore concluded that both Shima-guchi and Tokunoshima culture need to be used in households and at the community level for social interactions. Some older participants were quite strong about this point; they claimed that they themselves had been able to separate issues and kept both languages and cultures—so younger generations just have to work harder.

From these types of results in both the surveys and the interviews, it may be concluded that Shima-guchi has committed language suicide (Denison, 1977) or that it simply faded into discontinued use, but I would like to repaint/recreate this orthodox conclusion and view my participants' responses according to a different worldview. People are not really willing to go back in time, and in fact cannot do so. No one can recreate the environment as it was in past. Nature is constantly, continuously, and steadily changing/shifting/moving/decaying. We can contribute to this alteration of land, as, for example, we contribute to global warming by producing more energy using science and various technologies and then try to use that same science and similar technologies to produce lesser amounts of emissions, but in fact no one can reverse the trend except for Mother Nature.

It is the one fact that no one, not politicians, not scientists can disagree with; human problems cannot be solved by humans. Poverty, a money problem, cannot be solved by money, since money is rooted in material capitalism as the foundation of life. Human problems exist just because humans did not restrain themselves by saying "I have enough for today." We all want to guzzle energy so that food sources come to us without effort, and we all live our lives in the pursuit of sexual pleasure, making that more important than production of the next generations. But these pursuits come with some kind of cost. What is the cost? The eventual elimination of humans as a species.

This now-inevitable consequence may in fact be the result of democracy. If people are asked what they want and they do not need to take any responsibility for their decisions, then anyone (or almost anyone) will assume an advantageous position which feeds them better and serves them better whatever the consequences are for other people. This may be the foundational principle behind the dominant ideology. In fact, Plato (*The Republic*, Book II) had Glaucon argue, in considering whether humans naturally tend toward justice or injustice, that justice is only a social construction:

They say that to do injustice is, by nature, good; to suffer injustice, evil; but that the evil is greater than the good. And so when men have both done and suffered injustice and have had experience of both, not being able to avoid the one and obtain the other, they think that they had better agree among themselves to have neither; hence there arise laws and mutual covenants; and that which is ordained by law is termed by them lawful and just. This they affirm to be the origin and nature of justice;—it is a mean or compromise, between the best of all, which is to do injustice and not be punished, and the worst of all, which is to suffer injustice without the power of retaliation; and justice, being at a middle point between the two, is tolerated not as a good, but as the lesser evil, and honoured by reason of the inability of men to do injustice. For no man who is worthy to be called a man would ever submit to such an agreement if he were able to resist; he would be mad if he did. (p. 31)

In this, Plato has positioned the Western man as we frequently see “him” today; the ideal is to do injustice without punishment, to be unaccountable.

In such statements, we can see that democracy does not consider what is good for our future or Nature, but rather that “what is good for me” is the foundation of rule. It would be possible to point out that many peoples, particularly Indigenous peoples, have suffered injustice without the possibility of retaliation throughout history, both with Nature as the source of injustice, and with men as the source of injustice. From an Indigenous perspective, Western colonizers and capitalist agents have been doing injustice (specifically, taking

away life, liberty, property and happiness) to Indigenous peoples without punishment for centuries. Democracy, as a form of rule, enforces and enhances the dominant ideology, which is “I am allowed to have anything, and I am allowed to take as much as I want.” Democracy may be tapping into most egoistic part of individual humans, the desire to control others. This is similar to the critique that each individual small vote can combine to make a monster when they are collected together to form government (Foucault, 1976), or a mob. In point of fact, governments are a form of mob, often led by men of charisma and no wisdom. For example, we can think of the possibility that under the leadership of such a ruler, a democratic nation could agree, through its government, to commit a terrible act, like making war on another nation, merely for the sake of resources/food/energy/capital that are limited (not everlasting and not unlimited). The result would be death and suffering for many people. But, the majority would not judge themselves as wrong or evil, since they themselves committed to that course of action.

If we can let go of our egos we may be able to see the actual state of being at our time. In the case of language and culture, I think we can/will continue to work inevitably toward what we really wish to have. We now have a different ideology than in the past. In our current state, we Tokunoshima people seem to want development more than traditional knowledge and practice. It is impossible to turn back the course of our lives with the current generation of islanders who have clearly expressed their views that it is unwelcome and unnecessary to do so, but it is important to know the choices and consequences of our decisions we are making in our lives for the future. We cannot rely on the excuse “we did not know so I am sorry,” since future generations will not be able to live their lives within and against the conditions/environment/surroundings/Nature/land as we now know it. In the same way that people now the world over are laughing at Christopher Columbus thinking that he found North America when actually he got lost and misnamed land, future generations will judge us for our lack of research and stupidity. Albert Einstein derived the $E=MC^2$ equation as a scientist, but suffered for the consequence of providing the impetus for the atomic bomb which killed

more people than anyone in the history of human kind. People on Tokunoshima need to think about the future generations—generations five, six, and seven generations removed from the current generations—and then the answers will be clearer. They will realize that we should not use more energy but rather simply say “I have enough for today and will consume what tomorrow requires tomorrow” as was the case within the *Yui* mentality in the past on Tokunoshima. It is frightening to think about the uncertainty that comes from not stockpiling; yet, stockpiling itself is no certainty either when resources worldwide are finite.

“Do nothing about it” may be a good choice.

With this in mind, I have to conclude that to “do nothing” about LCI loss/shift/change may be the obvious choice for the future—of course, in its ethical sense. That is, islanders may make this choice not because the dominant ideology state/persons have simply concluded those things that are gone are gone, and there is no point getting them back. Rather, this is the approach of a driver driving along a road, hitting a puddle at full speed, and splashing all over a local person’s traditional clothing which that person is wearing and has worn for all special occasions. It is all muddy and cannot be washed. The driver of the vehicle drives away, as they all do in the current society, taking no responsibility and offering no compensation, but rather sitting comfortably in an over-air-conditioned car with the butt warmer on. The traditional local individual continues to walk along and people walking by comment on how dirty the person is. Modern people insist that a person in this position must change his/her clothes to put on clean ones. They barter with the local person and offer to trade new clothes for the old traditional clothes that they can clean with their special cleansers and put in museums, assuming that will protect the clothes and allow them to survive forever. Of course, the traditional person will not ask for his/her clothes to be returned after they are cleaned, since that was the condition of bartering with the traditional person. Sooner or later, modern, dominant people start to tell the traditional person that he/she looks funny in modern clothes. But they also tell him/her that he/she cannot have their traditional clothes back since those are in the museum.

A few generations later no one knows how to make traditional clothes since our surrounding nature and environment has changed due to economic development forced on the traditional peoples by the nation state or by “insidious insiders” (Nakagawa, 2008). It appears that the traditional community members have gone through all the trouble to learn everything in the formal education system only to colonize themselves to work for their own wealth and fame. In an ironic twist, I have just lived this situation. On November 14th, 2011, I received a call from Canada Customs and Immigration because my 15-year-old niece was trying to enter Canada to visit us. According to the Customs official, she was too dark and swarthy-looking to be Japanese, so what was she doing with a Japanese passport? This is not the way I am suggesting. This is not one of the many possible solutions for LCI revitalization in this section. I am not talking about capitulation.

For me, it comes down to the question: what is important in language(s), culture(s), and identity(ies) changing, shifting, decaying, or moving? If revitalization, reversing language shift, or teaching LCI is important, then such initiatives through formal education and/or language nests (like the Maori) are one way to solve the problem. Unfortunately, in the literature that exists there is no documentation that I have found in which language revitalization efforts have been wholly successful other than in peoples who were able to declare their languages the official language of a nation (e.g., Zuckermann & Walsh, 2011). That is, as Zuckermann and Walsh (2011) point out, language revitalization is only successful over time, when speakers of that language have the right to self-determination, and, they stress, when revitalization is not approached from a purist perspective, but rather is pragmatic and functional, allowing for loanwords and non-standard usages.

There are no gold standards in either oral or written languages and this would be true even if every dialect, accent, local tongue, Creole, etc., were to be declared “languages.” Once it is fixed/standardized/gold standard, then the only way that a living language can behave is to change. We all know from experience that we did not want to speak like our parent(s) or teachers. We all wanted to be

different from the generation before. We all wanted the romance of being rebels rather than the keepers of the tradition; that is, subcultures knowingly develop their own dialects (Mizrach, 1997). To be a rebel in many ways is to display one's fashion, and speaking with different tones was innovative and attractive to others and provided more attention, all of which translates to food and sex for the younger generations. These are fundamental physical pleasures that the young generations require in creating the next generations. If eating and having sex only provided pain and hardship we would cease to exist. If I behave like my father, I might attract females in my father's generation, but it is unlikely that they will be able to provide the next generations for my line to continue. I need to create my own status through language and culture (including fashion).

The point here is that creating a gold standard will only disappoint both those who created the gold standard and those who put effort into learning a language and culture that cannot support them in achieving their need for food and sex. When food comes from outside of the community you cannot even purchase it since the gold standard of local culture requires individuals to turn the soil and fish in local lakes/oceans/river. Furthermore speaking like a grandfather will not attract young fertile females. When you combine both, you get a minimum amount of food and no wife, which is absolutely against what our ancestors did to create us. Clearly our ancestors had enough food and sex for us to be here. It is clear no one should be permitted to arrest/stop/intercept language, culture, and identity by creating an emotional barricade like the gold standard of language and culture.

Self-replication. Recently, owing to crises in our Canadian family, my Canadian nephew asked me a question I have been up against for a long time now: "Do you believe in after life?" How do you answer a question like this when you do not share a worldview with the person who is asking? My tall, blonde, body-builder, English-speaking-only nephew has never known anything except wealth, dominance, and privilege; even mainland Japan seemed somewhat primitive, noisy, and backward to him, a place where he couldn't get the exact

protein or calorie counts on his food packaging. How could I explain from my small, brown, rural, Indigenous, perspective all the way to his?

My grandmother from my mother's side always promised me that she would share her afterlife with me.⁵⁷ In fact, she was not what Western people would call my grandmother, but rather my grandmother's younger sister who raised my mother. My biological grandmother gave my mother to her sisters (one older and one younger) who did not have children, so in fact I had four grandmothers. The older sister passed away when I was still in the early stages of elementary school; I clearly remember the day of funeral. I was 8 years old, which I know to be 35 years ago since my parents had a ceremony to say the eternal good bye to her spirit two years ago on the anniversary of the 33rd year of her physical death. The younger sister was and is the one I remember with great love still. She was my roommate in my junior high school years. She passed away in my room while I was at school. That was a big day for me since I was able to do well in the sport I was in and I was looking forward to telling my entire family—but instead came home to sadness. I cannot remember the details clearly but I know I connected the two events together; she was visiting me and provided me with the ability to perform well as a gift during her departure. She always said to me she would be with me when I most needed her. She said to me “you cannot see me but I will be on your shoulder looking over your life.” I believed her and still do.

Recently I have talked to my mother about that story, and my mother confirmed that my grandmother was like that; she always talked about spirituality. Even my mother believes that she is with us and all of our ancestors are with us. But in a few years the 33rd year will arrive, and her spiritual being will come to take rest from us. This means that I have to work on to continue this ideology/world view/truth/belief system for the next generations. It is my turn to give soon so that all my ancestors can be continued physically as well as spiritually into the future.

⁵⁷ She has kept this promise. Traditionally, we believe that she would live together with those of us she loved for 33 years, following which her spirit leaves permanently. I do not have much time left with her, as I am now 44.

As is clear, life and death are not a binary. “Are life and death a binary?” is not even a question that I can appreciate. The way I was taught from my grandmother was that she will be with me all the time, even after her death. She taught me that her spirit will be always there to support me as long as I need her. This teaching of my grandmother can be seen to translate into the idea that one’s physical life on earth is just one form of spiritual expression; the spirit does not depend on the body, during life or after life. A spirit can transcend time and distance. Even though some Western religions profess to believe the same way, their belief is not backed up by action. For example, hearing voices and seeing images that others can not hear or see is considered to be a hallucination, a mental illness, not a spiritual state. To give a personal example, my wife tells the story often of her first visit to Tokunoshima. On her birthday, I said we would visit my relatives, so, together with my mother, she packed a lunch and drinks. We drove up the mountain to Itokina, and turned onto a small road. The road went through some trees and then ended in a flat plateau overlooking the valley and the sea. It was a graveyard. My ancestors were very happy to meet her. We visited them for a long while. After getting over the surprise of having her birthday lunch with the dead, my wife could not understand how I could be a scientist and still believe in spirits. I could not understand how scientists could not believe in spirits.

These stories may sound bogus to dominant culture people, just like other oral stories and tales sound counterfeit/fanciful/untrue/weird unless the listening person has an experience from his/her own life that resonates, or grew up with such ideas, or recently experienced/felt a similar sense. Even if I were to read my grandmother’s story as a text it may sound ordinary, not moving at all. Maybe I am too scientifically invested or even brainwashed. Even though I believe adding and subtracting are facts which are true, I also believe that the way we see addition and subtraction may differ from one LCI to another, because each belongs to a different location/land/place. Mathematics and science cannot be the foundation of our thoughts like language(s), Culture(s), and identity(ies). Mathematical equations are still a language to express our thoughts as text. Mathematics may be seen as “as close to truth as we can get,” but it cannot

provide any evidence of truth; mathematical equations are just explanatory devices within what we can imagine. Some things of our imaginations cannot be written by text and/or even by languages. However, I have tried to answer with my imagination combined with a kind of scientific approach to my nephew's question "Do you believe in the afterlife?"

Spirits and protein. I started to answer the question by addressing it in two sections: the existence of my physical being and that of my spiritual/mental being. I told him that the existence of a physical being after death can be scientifically approached if we start with what we know to be the facts of human body composition. Our bodies consist mainly of water, followed by carbon, oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, iron, calcium, magnesium, and many other varieties of atoms which create unlimited numbers of molecules. The scientific/mathematical or general/common sense knowledge that we all have is that nothing simply disappears from existence. It does not require scientific or academic studies or research to prove that nothing disappears from existence without a reason. Since our bodies are made from atoms and molecules, the formation of our individual beings may become corrupted (sick) and deteriorate (death) but what we consist of will never disappear from this land/location/earth/universe. My carbon, oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, and metals will remain and reassemble in different formations through the work of bacteria, reforming me into soil and/or other beings such as bugs, birds, fishes, and many other kind of meat-digesting beings. In other words, my body will not exist as a formation of me, but it will exist as a component of other being dwelling in the environment. I will become simply part of others as I nourish the food sources that they eat. If that is the case (it is) then I am a person who is built from the ancestors of that environment/land/surrounding/Nature. In my case, I grew up on Tokunoshima, so most of my body was built by my ancestors. But, now I live in Canada; therefore, my life is supported by the ancestors of the land that is currently called Canada. Owing to the world trade part of globalization, I am also consuming other people's ancestors from far-distant continents such as Central America, South American, Africa, Asia, Australia, and Europe (if this continent really exists), and many other continents that are not

named or considered not worth naming by Europeans. The point is that my body will be shared by others when I am gone, and that I am now consuming others to exist so my body and the bodies of others will never disappear from the existing world/reality. I will disappear as one formation of Being but will remain as another form of Being. Within this hypothesis, when I changed my location to Canada, and I began to feel more disconnected from my people, it is because I am no longer consuming my grandmother's spirit/protein, and the spirit/protein of my people, but rather because I am consuming the spirits/proteins of Others. Of course, when we eat non-local food sources, we are also consuming the spirits/proteins of Others. In a way, eating food of any sort can be seen as another form of cannibalism.

Spirituality and mind. Spirituality and mind is much less scientific and mathematical. Some things are almost impossible to explain within a mathematical text since there are too many influencing variables and those variables cannot be quantified through our ability to think. In other words, mathematical and scientific approaches deny and/or do not accept non-quantifiable variables, so they discard them as “not worthy” in life. For example, those involved in car racing will only look at laps and finish time, not how drivers were feeling or their mental status of that moment (unless, of course, something goes wrong). These feelings and other conditions cannot be measured and quantified according to scientific approaches. Even if feelings and other non-quantifiable variables can be turned into numbers, the problem becomes one of methodology, the reasoning behind how feelings are quantified. Such explanations cannot be agreed on across people/researchers. In fact, at this moment of our life, scientists in the United States of America cannot agree on simple measurements such as distance and weight, coming into line with the units shared with all others in the world. People cannot describe what constitutes “one.” One is an imagined concept that we, as well as science, would like to believe in. Moreover science is using this imagined concept of “One” as their gold standard absolute without providing any explanation as to why they are doing it or how they are doing it. The only explanation is that other language(s) and culture(s)

who have argued that one is not a true measurement just because they said so, have been annihilated by guns and missiles with nuclear warheads (Diamond, 1997). In short, it is difficult to talk about spirituality through a scientific ideology. Therefore this section requires general and common understandings of human tales and feelings, such as memories.

Since I cannot use/read/write anyone else's memory, I will refer to another earlier memory of mine. My grandmother, this time my father's mother, is with me all the time, whether I think about her or not. She is there even when I do not want her to see me. She is with me just because I believe her words. I believe her because I spent critical time with her. I may not have talked to her as much as I wish now that I had, but I spent quantities of time with her. I breathed the same air with her and coexisted with her within a confined space. I didn't go to Disneyland with her and spend all day visiting attractions; I lived with her, and for a long time, we shared a room. Her memory is engraved in me, and she is part of me. She is in me. I am her. She lives in me as long as I live and she will continue to live in my children and their children in different forms. She is her ancestors as well; therefore, I am all of them and I will become all of my offspring whether they like it or not. So, I told my nephew that I am him, and the more time he spends with me, the more I become him and he cannot help it. I have no blood connection to him so I could not speak my own heart's language to him, but he is me and I am him just because he spent crucial time with me. My influence and my belief system will continue in others in their beings and their spirits, which make others who they are.

In both cases of physical and spiritual/mental being can exist eternal in different forms. Since I am so selfish I would like to be shaped as human formation of atom/molecules rather than other beings. If the human species can no longer exist as humans, then there are no changes for me to exist as human but to be another being. As a result, I would love to see the human animal exist as a species in eternity. To do so, language(s), culture(s), and especially identity(ies) have to obey what local lands which support individuals and groups/communities tell them. In other words, change/shift/decay/alteration of language, culture, and

identity often translate into change of world view/ideology/truth which is created differently from local existing landscapes. This may start from either side (i.e., ideological change to Nature, surroundings, or environmental changes means change to the ideology of people who live within that location). One scary thing is that once ideology/worldview/truth is changed and forgotten it is almost impossible to even remember where their ancestors exist (within them). People will lose themselves with their belief in their right to dominate what they support. As a result, people will need to ask from other beings what they need to be doing such as praying. Everything and everyone tells and teaches us to give up the dominant view. This is not easy task. It can be taught to the brain, but cannot be taught or told to the heart. I am still on my way to this point but I hope at least my children will be doing the same problem solving for their children. It comes back to my nephew's question; the afterlife exists but does not really exist. It exists but not the way we would like it to exist. We need to let go of our ego to become part of them, to become "Mu" nothingness/emptiness of self, to become everything by destroying the self/ego.

This is nothing new; we all heard this from our grandparent(s) and parent(s) as "give, share, love", in the commands they gave and the behaviours they modeled: thank you, hello, sorry, smiles and few other things. As we all talk about, money is not important but we all learn through formal education how important money is. We tend to believe that until a person is no longer able to participate or produce items for the economy-based world order then they will not wake up and remember the important teachings from their ancestors. When they have reached that stage, it is too late to teach their children. I guess at least people will need to come down to the earth. Some do not come down to earth until their deathbeds and only thing they can do is to regret and cry. Science will not save a life nor will it ever create life.

My father, who has a terminal illness, says "as time goes by I realize that the only thing I can ask for is gods and ancestors; medicine (i.e., science) will not save me, nor do I want it to indefinitely." My father, in his advanced age, is prepared to live out his life in his current state and to accept whatever that is. He

does not wish to try to live on and on into a future that was never meant for him, knowing that living of his life further would be only the result of someone else's suffering (most likely people he can't see who are far away). Even my mother-in-law, who did not live close to nature, knew in her dying days that she was dying, comforted those who were not dying, and accepted her excruciating last months, weeks, days as what was due to her because she had cheated a natural death by invoking science many times over the last 29 years of her life. Living beside her while she was dying, I agree with my father that scientific ideology/world view/truth can only destroy lives and will never create any forms of life. In accordance with its historical background, science wanted to defeat religious worldviews to create one scientific truth based on one set of facts/reality/material. In my view, science has defeated all, or almost all, religions (the jury is still out on forms of Islam); moreover, science made itself a religion without calling itself religion.

We all believe in scientific world view/ideology/truth with no doubts, able to state true-isms such as $1+1=2$ without knowing what really constitutes one. Do we really believe what one means? Or are we even in consensus with this notion? What if one person eats one apple then there is nothing left? Is this right? The answer is wrong but how do you establish it in an equation? Do we conclude that because the units are different, people cannot eat apples? Something is wrong here. Mathematics based on scientific ideology cannot tell us that we cannot eat an apple without violating mathematical laws because we are not the same unit. Then what is the same unit? What is one in this case? Are we really in consensus with the notion of unit? That is, do we believe that 40 kilograms of person is equal to 40 kilograms of apple? Or do we even believe that an apple is the same as other apples just because they weigh same amount? Of course, each person's digestive speed is different so I am sure there are too many non-quantifiable variables to determine what happens to apples over a specific period of time inside a person and what part comes out. But science makes money and it is a good scheme for us until we cannot use it to play economic games anymore—whether this condition comes from aging or global warming or anything else.

What will happen when we can no longer accumulate?

The relationship between the commodification of material, labour, and colonization of language and culture of the Amami islands will be discussed in the following analysis of the relationship between the three worlds I live in: Indigenous Tokunoshima, modern Japan, and Western hegemony. On the one hand, the Japanese took material and labour through physical violence from the Amami islands, but the Japanese were not interested in converting the islanders into “real Japanese” people through their education or economic systems. On the other hand, American capitalism came into the island through the medium of the modernized Japanese constitution modeled on that of the United States (after WWII, courtesy of General Douglas MacArthur). In this way, American capitalism came to the islands of Amami as “justice” and the demand for human rights, equality, and economic and educational opportunities. This new era theoretically integrated island people with modernized Japan, and freed them from the “primitiveness” of the islands. However, the unforeseen trade off for education, economy, equality, and human rights was the languages and cultures of the islanders.

In his discussion of how capitalism can replace traditional social capital systems, Van der Grijp (2003) describes how people who married into the Indigenous community of Wallis (one of the Polynesian islands) used their education and technical backgrounds to establish successful enterprises because they did not enter the Indigenous kinship system. Instead, outsiders who married into the society converted the kinship traditions of their spouses into the accumulation of wealth, exploiting relationships without giving back. This illustrates a shift from valuing social capital into valuing capital itself.

In contrast, Indigenous cultures traditionally do not exchange human relationships or activities for money. Indigenous peoples’ use of alternative societal forms, a “social capital” or kinship system, has been cited by the United Nations (U.N.), as well as by scholars such as Coates (2004) who notes that Indigenous peoples were not poor, unstable, and in need of saving, but rather

perplexed by the idea of producing more than they could consume for profit or personal gain.

Traditionally, Indigenous worlds were not controlled by commodities or any other hegemony. Indigenous peoples were independent with autonomous societies based on kinship and social capital, leading not to accumulation of wealth but rather to the sharing of wealth between society members (e.g., Brody, 2004). These activities were possible because Indigenous people either did not have the knowledge to enable their accumulation for the future, or, lacking the desire to acquire, they abandoned the idea of accumulation for the future, in order to live with today.

How does this apply to my island people losing their language and culture? The answer is that the Tokunoshima people are already participating in this game, with or without consciousness. Most people on my island, including me, do not recognize their how decisions led them to participate in the phenomenon of capitalism. Participation takes only attending school, buying a refrigerator or installing a television set in an individual's household, actions which allow people to accumulate food or information (Van der Grijp, 2003). Going back to my journal at the beginning of this dissertation, I was really affected by the new social hegemony through the media of the new information age. I was convinced that production within a self-sustainable society was primitive and dirty, and that technology and a consumers' lifestyle was the only way to live. When I look back, the man who poured the hot melted sugar into the palm of my hand must have understood his destiny, but he was proud. I believe that he wanted to pass on his pride to me—and to my friends.

Once people's minds shift or their lives are recognized within capitalism (i.e., getting paid for their work), it is almost impossible to go back to a decolonized mindset. Original Indigenous lifestyles (in which most material forms are produced and consumed within the group or community through sharing or trading) or slavery are necessary factors to maintain decolonized minds. On the other hand, once Indigenous people start to practice trade with outside communities, intentionally or not, they begin to merge into capitalism. Once

trading with the outside starts, money enters the community, education enters the community, and Indigenous ideology must be modified according to the new power structure money introduces.

It is important, as a social theory user, not to mix up definitions of colonization and commodification as having similar meanings, as many researchers seem to do. I suggest that real colonization starts after slavery. People who exist within slavery maintain their ideologies and epistemologies because they are not allowed to practice capitalism. They are not educated. They are not cared for. They have no rights. Once Indigenous people are included in capitalist practices, when they develop “commodity fetishism” (Marx, 1906), they begin the process of colonization. Despite many books and articles to the contrary, I suggest Indigenous people’s decolonization has not yet started; in fact, real colonization started less than 100 years ago. We have just finished learning the rules of the capitalist game. We have developed Indigenous scholars and scholarship, and those scholars and leaders are now just starting to play. However, we are still playing a Western game. Indigenous people will never have freedom from colonization until they stop playing.

When my little grandmother told my mother not to eat sweets from the American soldiers because they were poisonous in the story in my introduction, my grandmother was dead right. Indeed, the poisons from American candies are now killing our language and culture. I am not going to question if my little grandmother was referring to the poison of sugar’s sweetness or the poison of a foreign system (i.e., American style capitalism), but, just before she passed away, she repeatedly said to me and all other family members “no one is going to remember me.” I took that at face value then, and told her truthfully that we would always remember her.

Looking back, I believe she must have been talking about the language and culture. I will not, and cannot, remember my grandmother the way she described herself in her language or her cultural terms. I (we) will not understand who she was if we let the language and culture die. To honour my little grandmother, and all of my grandmothers, and all of my island’s ancestors and to honour ourselves

as islanders, I need to teach/educate islanders the importance of our language and culture by teaching these concepts of world dynamics. We have to live within the capitalist world since we are already in it, but just because we are surrounded and consumed by capitalism, it does not mean we have to believe in only one ideology. We need to learn many different ideologies for future generations and ourselves. Islanders and other Indigenous people have lived under some form of hegemony/oppression, from the state or from Nature, for so long that we know how to best live under the inescapable forces of power over us (including capitalism). Although there appears to be little consensus in the literature about what Indigenous people or Indigenous knowledge means, there are many Indigenous researchers focused on the question “what is Indigenousness?” in terms of epistemology, ontology, belief system, life style, religion, and other factors. Ermine (1995) explains that Indigenous people were inward looking rather than outward looking. Smith (1999) asked fundamental questions about what decolonization is; other researchers like Battiste and Henderson (2000) argued that Indigenous people have a distinctive lifestyles and belief systems. Yet, none seem to define it in concrete terms.

In my opinion, it is simplicity. To live with soil, water, wind and sun is the greatest way to live; we can survive with what we are provided by them. At this time in human life, we seem to be facing a turning point in human civilization, culture, knowledge, and even our species. This turning point is not the end of earth or the end of lives on earth, but rather the end of the chapter in terms of the resources left for human activities (clean air, water, food sources and anything for humans to live). This does not apply to the other life forms on earth. This human-habitable condition of the earth has been slowly but surely endangered by metabolic rift on a global scale; abuse of habitable environments for humans is reaching its maximum capacity. The “flow system”⁵⁸ (Foster, 2000: adapted from Marx’s *Capital*) is likely to stop flowing toward American capitalism, simply because there are no more “spatial frontiers” (Moore, 2000) on earth to cultivate

⁵⁸ In essence this refers to how all the products of a colony “flow” into the colonizing country. It is a one-way flow.

as new commodities. American-style capitalists have been using limited resources as disposable commodities for too long.

I hope this can be seen by those who are playing the game, so that they can save themselves from the disaster that they are creating. The best way, it seems to me, is just to walk away from the hegemony of capitalism, to walk away from the “glories” of education, not to fight within the hegemony by begging at the United Nations or other international organizations, as many researchers seem to suggest we should do:

By creating a larger and more receptive audience for the political aspirations of tribal peoples, the new international politics of ethnic and human rights made it possible for aboriginal organizations to make new headway at the local and national level. (Coates, 2004, p. 237)

But, to walk away we need to recognize that the real hegemony is our own egos and our need to control our environment, the lessons of commodities. If we do not realize this, we will end up breaking the fundamental principle of Indigenous societies; we should never destroy what we cannot create.

A final caution

We all know what we have to do to detour future disasters and destruction due to the current physical and mental condition of human beings as one of many species. Our ancestors have said and taught our parents, and their parents before that, and their parents before that, that we know what we have to do to earn what we want. I believe we all know what we have to do to avoid language and culture loss and face the discontinuation of humans as a species. We need to return to individual worldviews that were similar in that they were all based on local conditions/environment/land. There should be no one size fits all ideology/world view/truth (e.g., scientific ideology) or truth/justice/righteousness in this world, but currently there is just one local knowledge, a local knowledge from a corner of Europe called science, that has corrupted the world (Nakagawa & Kouritzin, 2011). Being tied to the land, language, culture, and to a lesser extent identity loss/change/shift/decay/ is simultaneously the loss/change/shift/decay of our human kind as a species.

Once in one of my undergraduate courses, my professor told us that smoking inside a room is pollution, but that smoking outside is not pollution since the system can absorb it. Now we are at the point where the eco-system cannot absorb the pollution caused by human activities; therefore, someone must look after the system. The caretaker will be either Humans or Nature. As explained earlier, we as humans are being driven by dominant capitalist ideologies, whose knowledge base is equivalent to that of a toddler compared to Indigenous knowledges. We in the developed world are behaving like complete toddlers, not cleaning up the mess we have made in less than 100 years. We need to have parents who have authority over us that is based on the consensus of humans around the world; otherwise, Nature herself will take over, melting the polar ice, raising the oceans, and flooding all of the world's major cities and industries because, for convenience, they are all at sea level. If we humans are going to approach this huge mess created by selfishness and ego-centrism, we will have to change our views of life, bringing them into accord with Indigenous knowledge systems, those knowledge systems which were successful as far back as the history of humans and are contained in Indigenous LCIs like my peoples'; that is the end results of harmonization and willingness to belong to a cycle of life.

To conclude this section I have to say that we, as the human species, must listen to our ancestors. Moreover we must keep in mind that we are the ancestors for upcoming new generations. It matters that what we do and what we say somewhat matches. I do not think we want to follow Christopher Columbus or Albert Einstein's footsteps. I think we need to really listen to our ancestors to pass on ourselves, not mementos/artifacts/crypts/echoes of our selves, to the future.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

After a long hibernation, the habu is out of sleep

The proof is on the rock fence

The long snake skin.

By Yoshi Nakagawa

(Translated by Satoru Nakagawa, 2012)

I was taught during my science degrees that conclusions can only contain what can be proven without doubt. There is nothing. Any conclusion held to that as the standard from my research would not hold water. But, in the same way that I have interrogated notions of 1+1, I will throw away the scientific standard and work with my best guesses, my own feelings, and my speculation. I have been invited to do so by my supervisor and committee, who have set me free from my academic straightjacket.

After analyzing and discussing the data, it is possible to claim that no absolute standard of Shima-guchi exists; that is, there is no Gold Standard. It is reasonable to assume that there can be no Gold Standard in oral languages, since people use their own knowledge, information, and experiences to judge what they consider the standard to be. It appears that it is natural for people to use themselves as a reference point for judging others, as they have done in my survey and to a lesser extent in my interviews.

However, listening to what people are saying in the interview and survey data takes us to a different place altogether, which I have presented as the non-orthodox approach. Tokunoshima islanders do wish for language and culture revitalization, language loss reversal, cultural rejuvenation, it is undeniable—but they are also saying something more, that identity is not connected, and that revitalization requires a particular form of will. Moreover, as is evidenced in the testimonials in Chapter 6, language and culture knowledge and experience have been influenced by human contact and movement in the form of colonization, which cannot be declared “undone” by the islanders. Like the Indigenous person quoted by Smith (1999), islanders (without using this language or anything like it)

question the postcolonial in postcolonialism posing this question: “what, have they left?”

My own conclusion: what it means to me

I wonder what is important about Indigenous LCIs. Language, culture, and identity are crucial to the sustainability and survival of the human species and many other life forms. LCIs of people are important; however, these LCIs may not be of the most critical importance to human survival. I suggest this not because I do not believe in the importance of LCIs, but rather because, the responses of Tokunoshima people revealed that there is a more fundamental layer, one foundational to LCIs. That layer is found in our relationship to the land that controls our food supply for us to live today until tomorrow, a relationship that has been disrupted by metabolic rift (Foster, 2000).

Revitalization of language. Revitalization of language is the declared ultimate goal of many Indigenous peoples around the world, including Tokunoshima people. While I was growing up on Tokunoshima people told me how much the younger generations were losing Shima-guchi, and how they could not speak or understand enough to participate in the culture anymore. After leaving Tokunoshima when I was 18 years old until I turned 38 years old, I totally believed in the need for language revitalization. Language revitalization was the focus for my Ph.D studies, and the dream I wished to achieve after completing my doctorate. In order to realize revitalization, I intended to master Shima-guchi in all its variants and, alongside other fluent speakers, I would teach the language. Immediately apparent in my vision is that there is a division of those who can and those who cannot speak or use Shima-guchi, “authentic” and inauthentic speakers, with varying shades of gray in between (e.g., Wong, 1999). This division was not my intention; I am one who suffered from the invisible but clear distinction of “haves” from “have nots” in the past. I slowly realized that I had no wish to replicate the binary, and make some people feel like “lesser” islanders because they had not fluently learned to communicate in the language spoken by their grandparents. Communication itself was still taking place across generations, but people did not use Shima-guchi for any official or community functions, so

different generations developed different standards for judging fluency, referencing what they had known in their own lifetimes as the norm or standard. Consequently, grandparents and great grandparents bemoaned the state of youth, but children still loved their grandparents and vice versa. It is clear that something was—and still is—shifting.

Time is an important thing to consider in arguments about the survival of languages. Often when people talk about the urgency of language revitalization, they cite the rapidly aging population of fluent language speakers in Indigenous communities. Yet, current and previous studies (Nakagawa, 2008) have strongly suggested that there are no gold standards of languages that exist in either Indigenous (such as Tokunoshima's Shima-guchi) or dominant languages (such as Japanese). For example, even in what could be regarded as the most dominant language in the world, English, people do not understand written texts from only 500 years ago (e.g., Shakespeare). Shakespeare's writings are taught and read in the formal school system and in universities. Teaching Shakespearian drama involves not only forays into unfamiliar vocabulary and grammar, but also debates about the meaning of his words and stories in light of the times he lived in. We know we cannot pronounce exactly what Shakespearian actors were saying since there are no recordings, but we think we can relate to some of the themes of European life that still exist today—love, loss, failure, triumph, deceit, honesty, loyalty, and courage (different from the cultural traits of Japan identified by Tanaka (2009, p. 85): Duty, obligation, honor, self-abasement, shame and filial piety). However, since we have to learn to read Shakespeare in schools, then it might be safe to conclude that such a dominant language could not sustain itself in a standard form for only 500 years. That is, we have lost the language, but we retain the essential memory of the life, the identity, captured in another language.

Based on common practices in language revitalization and language pedagogy, what is required to revitalize our language in the school system is easily imagined. The first step is to formalize the language in terms of grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, and usage, meaning that islanders have to choose the location on Tokunoshima that will provide the “standard” language, probably on

the basis of numbers of speakers; all other variants would be deemed dialects. One difficulty with this is that it will pit islanders against islanders as each group (each individual shima or town) "...seeks to claim higher authority by promoting its version as superior to all competitors" (Wong, 1999, p. 96), meaning that a unique form of Indigenous hegemony could be established with standards of "right" and "wrong" ways to use Shima-guchi.

Orthodox theories lead us to conclude that strong neighbors and groups with larger populations will have much stronger influence over subordinate societies', groups', and communities' language(s) and culture(s) (Fishman, 2007). Since Tokunoshima town has the strongest economic power and largest population when compared against Amagi and Isen towns, then, if these ideas are correct, residence in one town or the other provides their forms of Shima-guchi with greater or lesser authority. Similarly, within each township, each shima would compete for authority and dynamics of struggle would emerge. My research so far strongly suggests that there is no rivalry or other conflict that has occurred between towns or between shimas, that people who are located in different towns seem to have achieved consensus in their responses to the questions about being subordinated to the policy of mainland Japan.

This can be easily expanded to all of the Amami islands. It is likely that, with a total population of only 27,000 people, Tokunoshima will need to look further afield for the dominant form of Shima-guchi—to the island of Amami-Oshima with a population of 66,000 people, 47,000 of them concentrated in Amami City. At the present time, people in the Amami islands do not fight over language and culture issues; rather, they have a tendency to respect each other. Despite the economic equity issues that are created in the Amami islands by the policies of mainland Japan (that is, most resources are consumed by the largest island called Amami-Oshima where the mainland government offices are located), there is little hostility.⁵⁹ But standardizing the language form on the basis of power would ensure that the living standard of the language will be offshore and

⁵⁹ This example did not come from my data, but is frequently talked about among Tokunoshima islanders, and came up when I returned my data to participants.

all languages on Tokunoshima considered dialects. Of course, this would bring us to the question of why Tokunoshima islanders considered revitalization to be necessary in the first place.

The second step would be to make textbooks, train teachers, then provide students with various certificates as well as conduct a “modern” lifestyle in Shima-guchi. The ultimate goal of such an education is to conduct every aspect of life in Shima-guchi without losing any of the benefits of modernity. To make textbooks, it is important to write down the oral language meaning that, for our living language, time has to stop since written texts will likely capture one moment in time of our thoughts; the current time is what must be captured since we cannot recapture the past nor envision the future, but what do we do with words currently used that may have been transliterated into Shima-guchi such as “yam?”⁶⁰ In other words, it is thus possible to stabilize the oral language without validating the Shiman-chu identity of new generations. By allowing the dominant ideology of the nation state into their communities, Indigenous peoples like my islanders will be unable to express their thoughts and ideas in text without the “back up” of their own colonizer(s).

Once the language is written down, creating textbooks requires the mechanisms of mass production and decision about pedagogy and teaching materials. Who will take on the financial duty for the initial investment? The answer for Tokunoshima must be clear and simple. Textbook production relies on industries such as the printing and publishing industries, and standardized stocks of photos to provide visual support. Islanders will be forced to buy textbooks in order to learn their own languages.

Adding complication to the production of textbooks is the issue of copyright of peoples’ stories. In order to teach language, we know that methods stressing the teaching of language and culture together are the most effective (e.g., Mohan, 1996). Clearly using the language of Tokunoshima to teach the (his)stories and content important to mainland Japan is an unworkable notion; therefore, the

⁶⁰ A word very close to yam is used in some shimas to refer to sweet potatoes. It is a traditional island word, but the question is did it result from contact, or did two words evolved that are similar in two different locations?

stories and songs of Tokunoshima need to be written down and formalized. Should story copyrights be ignored? If not, then should copyright be given to the storytellers who most often tell the stories within the community, or to some fictitious originator, or to the community itself? What about variations on the story? Is each variant recorded and copyrighted? And what of the stories that violate the norms of the dominant culture because they speak of taboo subjects such as perhaps cannibalism or a vibrant matriarchy? Are they censored or are they allowed to live?

Further to this question is who can be a teacher of Tokunoshima language? I might be a good example. In 2006, I obtained a certificate for Teaching English as second language in Canada from the University of Manitoba. Part of the requirement is that I be a “competent” English user, well-versed in methods of language teaching. English is an additional language for me, not my mother tongue. However, because of my certificate, I am more qualified to teach English to those who are learning English as second or additional language than are native speakers of English at large. I have spoken to many native English speakers about this point and they are all not impressed with fact that I have more qualification to teach their language than they do. In comparison to many high school—or even university—graduates in Canada, I probably have more vocabulary, grammar, and academic language skills in English, but that does not mean I understand the ideology, worldview, or way of life in Canada more than they do. I did not understand when Bobby Fray challenged chefs to a “throw down” on the food network, that it was not the opposite bodily function from “throw up.” After more than twenty years in Canada, I recently told a female friend⁶¹ that a comment she made to me “rings my bell” not “rings a bell.” Likewise, what is Shima-guchi when a total outsider to Tokunoshima learned the structure of Shima-guchi in Tokyo or New York, and arrived on the island with a certificate to teach Shima-guchi to me or new generations of Tokunoshima islanders who feel and cannot

⁶¹ This female friend is actually a co-worker, and I said this unknowingly, in the office. When I asked my wife about why my co-worker had looked startled, she laughed and said “You have now achieved a new milestone in your relationship.” Then, and only then, did I understand the significance of the difference between “a” and “my” in this expression, and I will never make this mistake again.

avoid being Shiman-chu in both genetic markers of appearance and mental insignias?

Another difficulty presents itself. For revitalization to be successful, researchers argue, the earlier interventions are launched, the better, while the key language holders are alive. So, if we intervene with a standardized form of Shimaguchi as early as possible in a child's life, then what is it that we're doing? As I mentioned earlier in this dissertation, when I was learning what I thought was my island's language as a child in Amagi, my parents both expressed concerned surprise that I was learning a form that neither of them spoke because I was learning the form spoken by the shima we were living in, not either of the shimas they had grown up in. Moreover, by doing so, we're asking the key language holders to speak a different dialect than the one they know, or we are privileging some language holders over other language holders. Once the language is standardized, it is no longer anyone's language; it is everyone's second language, or a foreign language. And, what would it mean for our children to be brought up by people speaking to them in a language that is not their native tongue?

When languages have a nation state then nation states can set their own standards and control quality through the use of multiple layers of policies. Unfortunately, if Indigenous languages were to have their standards set and/or control of their languages then questions will arise. The main question is whether or not Indigenous people can remain Indigenous people when they become the dominant culture in a modern nation state. Indigenous people have passed down their accumulated knowledge for millenia without relying on the nation state, communicated solely through language (meaning) and culture (action). Language learning took place within the family and community in the past when formal schooling was not emphasized in Indigenous societies (all societies having been Indigenous at some time or other in the past). Tease these things apart, invest certain islanders with titles and documents that declare them leaders or teachers of others, credential them with certificates of authenticity, and the whole reason to sustain language and culture becomes moot. My islanders noted this in their interviews.

I am not the only person who has come to this kind of realization. Richard Littlebear (2007), in the preface to *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*, wrote that:

For instance, some of us said, “Let’s get our languages into written form” and we did and still our Native American languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s make dictionaries for our languages” and we did and still the languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s get linguists trained in our own languages” and we did, and still the languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s train our own people who speak our languages to become linguists” and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s apply for a federal bilingual education grant” and we did and got a grant and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s let the schools teach the languages” and we did, and still the languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s develop culturally-relevant materials” and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s use language masters to teach our languages” and we did, and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s tape-record the elders speaking our languages” and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s video-tape our elders speaking and doing cultural activities” and we did and still our languages kept on dying.

Then we said, “Let’s put our native language speakers on CD-ROM” and we did and still the languages kept on dying.

Finally, someone will say, “Let’s flash-freeze the remaining speakers of our languages so when technology catches up these speakers can be thawed-out and revived, and we will have ready-made Native American languages speakers” and we will do that and these thawed-out speakers will awake to a world in the distant future where they are the only speakers of their languages because all of the other speakers of their languages will be gone and no one will understand them. (xi-xii)

We need to make decisions about what is really important—our Indigenous hearts and minds and souls—and we can work toward sustaining these into the future. If we do not, we will answer the question posed by Hinton and Ahlers (1999) in the most negative way possible: “Can the use of the heritage language succeed in reflecting the traditional worldview in anyway, or does it become a hollow shell, inside of which nothing can be found but the dominant culture” (p. 56). That is, to repeat what I have stated before, it is not the language that we need to revitalize, but the worldview, the ontology, and the ideology of island peoples.

Can we standardize Culture? In the same way that no gold standard exists in language until one is chosen, written down, codified, and mummified, no gold standard of culture exists either. Cultures are dependent variables dictated by the nature of local land; therefore, when the patterns of living on and using the land shifts, changes, or decays, so does the culture. Cultural forms are also following the same trend as language, with slightly different nuances. That is, normally the cultural forms can be experienced by at least one of the five senses. These cultural forms of a given local environment can be objects or non-objects and they can be designated as traditional ceremonies and/or items. Once such cultural artefacts are assigned specific values by members of a nation state, those practices and/or objects will have the value of currency in modern society. Once cultural forms are rifted from their traditional environment or lands, they develop meaning without context, becoming commodities that can be bartered or sold. They become entities unto themselves belonging to individuals and/or groups rather than to the communities that originally supported and used the practices/objects.

The basis of culture. It appears incontrovertible that human beings’ basic needs are food (including water) and sex; these then, are the basis of culture. Others may argue that there are more items in our basic needs list such as clothing, shelter, medicine, or education. Having no clothing, shelter, medicine or education may seem to some as the end of life, but there are others who can survive without them. On the other hand, being without food ensures that no one will survive, and without sex there will be no continuation of our kind for the future—which will lead ultimately to the death of people.

Taking this a step further, culture has evolved from obedience to the ways in which people and animals must live so that they can survive within the space provided to them at their geographical location on earth; simply put, culture is the policy of Nature. Living within the space provided to them did not mean that people were still, but rather that people, like animals, did not harness external energy sources such as internal combustion engines, steam engines, nuclear power, solar power, wind power, hydro power, to propel the self. Extraction of energy from sources other than our food supply has allowed humans to consume a much higher volume of energy compared to what we used in the past. Our ancestors relied on their feet, ocean currents, wind sailing, river flows, sea tides, and other Natural energy flows to transport themselves from location to location, taking significantly more time and risk to execute their intentions.

When changing location involves time and risk, people do not move into new territories⁶² unless they are pursuing a benefit to themselves (like fame or money) or without reason such as an apocalyptic event. If people are confined to one location or territory, then they will be forced to think about how to rely on the provided land and water resources both to feed themselves and to ensure something remains for the next years. Especially people like Tokunoshima islanders have limited access to land since the island is surrounded by ocean. There are a limited number of creeks and rivers and fertile lands, and other lands are already inhabited by other shimas who have slightly different conditions in terms of water supply, wind supply, elevation, and amount of sunshine, resulting in multiple cultures within the island ideological mainframe. Each group developed regulations and patterns to ensure that they respected Nature, limited consumption, conserved energy, and consumed everything—and, in a process of natural selection (Darwin, 1869) their bodies adapted.⁶³

Modern dominant capitalist ideologies, to the contrary, have replaced this fundamental regulatory system with a monetary system. By replacing the

⁶² I have chosen this word deliberately so that I do not exclude hunter gatherers.

⁶³ For example, Type I diabetes did not appear to be a problem in Japan where life depended on rice carbohydrate because those who could not produce insulin died before they reproduced. Moreover, Tokunoshima islanders did not suffer the ill effects of animal fat because they needed to consume animal fat in order to survive; they burned all of the energy.

ideologies of local land culture with a global monetary system, we (dominant culture people and the Indigenous peoples subsumed under their control) have lost focus on what is important to our lives and livelihood. In this way, the word culture has become convoluted, conflated with money and politics and power. It has lost its simple ties with the land. Therefore, it is possible for me to think that Tokunoshima culture can be standardized, as long as I believe in a system where I make money instead of food. I can go to different places on the island and access the same food, the same transportation, the same lifestyle; I need no longer experience a multilingual, multi-cultural, multi-ideological context on my island as I would have done in the past.

Cultural change. However, this is not the way my ancestors lived. In the museum in Amagi town, I have seen drawings of island people hunting *Inoshishi* (wild boar), indicating that they were hunters, and we engaged there in polishing the abalone shell that was a form of currency in the traditional manner. In my living memory, I recall that my grandmother had her own vegetable garden, chickens, pigs, and orange trees on her property. I remember my mother telling me that when she was growing up they cultivated silk worms and wove silk at their home. Looking after animals and a vegetable garden on top of mulberry trees and silk worms was their household culture; helping other community members harvest rice and sugar cane was their community culture. Tokunoshima communities were integrated to work together to sustain each other's lives, a system that they called "*Yui-Waku*."⁶⁴ In a traditional island lifestyle from less than a century ago, how can we even think about standardizing the culture? Until the time of conquest, the majority of islanders were rice farmers, but what about sugar cane producers, silk makers, butchers, carpenters, fishermen, and other people with specialized skills? After conquest, the majority of islanders were forced to become sugar cane farmers; therefore, much of the knowledge of rice

⁶⁴ Although I can see the layers of social theory operating in my islander's stories and in my own discussion and conclusion I also choose not to label us according to Western norms. In places I have done so, but it is only with great hesitation, and in order to demonstrate that I choose not to label out of refusal rather than ignorance. Moreover, as I have stated before, the focus of my dissertation is not Western theory. The focus is island language, culture, and identity, and what island people want.

farming has been lost. In addition to having individual specialized skills, Tokunoshima people all had pigs, chickens, vegetable gardens, and fruit trees. Which culture from which time period should be the standard?

And that question leads to another question: How can we record culture? If we do record the culture, then is it only culture once it is recorded? Each community had festivals slightly different from adjacent communities—but to an outsider, they probably looked the same. Even younger generations of insiders on Tokunoshima (including myself) see grainy films of old festivals and think that was what people did, that it was standard practice. But when we watch the films with members of the older generation, they will say that their own communities did things slightly differently. They will recall different sights, and different sounds, and they will speak of the smells, tastes, and feelings of their communities. Recording text, audio, and video through technological advancements cannot convey the real meanings of peoples' hearts, and runs the risk of “merely ‘constructing’ inauthentic beliefs and practices because in many cases the ‘real’ culture has been lost through colonialism and modernization” (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999, p. 23).

It is a better question instead to ask how we can revitalize culture by teaching younger generations to engage in current and changing island cultural practices, thus transferring our ancestors' intentions into their lives. Without modern technology, our ancestors successfully recreated themselves into us. They experienced emotions like love, passion, joy, sorrow, fear, compassion, will, hope, and despair throughout their lives and they engaged physiological reactions like laughter, pleasure, tears, sweat, blood, pain, injury, sickness, birth and death. How can we teach these cultural life lessons from Tokunoshima in a school system that has an agenda of making more money, burning more energy, believing in one dominant foundation, and subordinating others to your will?

Recording culture is like taking photographs of people. The photographs are one image from one angle at one moment in time, but they are flat and colourless, lifeless and joyless. Snap shots of language and culture may exist in museums or cultural displays or even tourist attraction centers. I do not want my ancestors to

be trapped in a cage created by the dominant culture; I want them in my heart and my future generations' hearts.

Identity cannot be standardized. It has become clear that residents on Tokunoshima do not see the world the same way as people outside the island do. This was something I suspected from the earliest days of my research proposal, and was repeatedly told by islanders, and my elders, and others who are knowledge holders about language and culture. However, with regard to identity, this notion of a different being for Shiman-chu, all I can say is that the idea of what constitutes Shiman-chu is rapidly shifting so that the identity in terms of “identification” remains intact, while its meaning as in “identical to generations past” has changed, and is still changing.

As the results have clearly shown, language, culture and identity were interestingly separated, with language (Shima-guchi) and culture (Shima-culture) showing rapid shift and identity revealing a solid Shiman-chu identification. In fact, considering those who have grown up on the island and whose families have been there over two or three generations in comparison to those who grew up on the island through the time of puberty and adolescence, we realize that both are undeniably Shiman-chu, whether or not they can speak the traditional language or practice the traditional culture. Identity seems to be mainly correlated with where each person grew up, as well as how long that person's ancestors lived on the land. Identity can be defined as subordination to something *island* that each person cannot escape from. The emotional attachment and assignment to a location is tighter and deeper when individuals have grown up on the land than when individuals are transplanted to that land; however, living on the island appears to be the most important factor in Shiman-chu identity building.

Language and authenticity. It is aggravating to read outsider discourse about the ties that bind language to culture and identity. Researchers who have no idea what it means to live and learn in a community and no possible justification for speaking for us make ridiculous claims based on their ethnographic research like the following:

We argue that language is essential to identity, authenticity (including people's culturally grounded sense of authenticity), cultural survival, and people's learning and thinking processes because it encodes a cultural group's indigenous knowledge and, more important, its indigenous epistemology. (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 1999, p. 26)

Such arguments serve the dominant cultures of the world. They claim that without language, we Indigenous people are without identity, inauthentic, on the brink of extinction, and without knowledge. After learning our language, an outsider would be able to claim authenticity in our cultural group. This will allow the dominant cultures to perform the final act in our colonization; they will take our identity, the very last thing we have.

Auto-Decolonization. In the course of my Ph.D program and while conducting research on Tokunoshima, it became clear as days went by that the word "decolonization" has little to do with our colonizer at this time in our history. It is not "they" who are colonizers anymore it is "us;" in my dissertation it was "me." Going into the Ph.D. program, my intention was to revitalize language and culture. Buying into arguments such as that by Littlebear (2000) that "language is the basis of sovereignty" (p. 24), I wanted to record the language and culture using technologies such as web-based interactive audio, video storytelling to festival footage storages. Nevertheless, as I detailed above, I soon realized this revitalization and recording project was my colonized mind set speaking. I wanted to record and teach so that I could *be* something. I wanted to feel like I had achieved something that could be documented on paper, and that was important within the current nation state regime.

However, I soon realized that recording and teaching of language and culture would likely subordinate Tokunoshima people to a more desperate situation in which they feel they do not own their language and culture; language and culture would only exist in places islanders could not reach (e.g., museums, schools, certificates, cultural demonstrations). Language and culture must live in the communities and be useful for people's required daily activities. Once, one of the elderly islanders told me that the beauty of Tokunoshima is that even though

many conquerors have controlled us for 1,000 years or more, islanders were able to adjust to new rulers, adapt to their ways, and yet remain different.

From my educated stance, I could only think that the best revitalization scenario would include language and culture archiving via various technologies. It was not easy for me to begin to confront the fact that I was a colonizer to my own people, and that I had to wake up from a nightmare called a Western education. The nightmare, after all, was my emblem, my honor, and my pride. It is about time for me to say I have had enough sugar (as in the caution my little grandmother gave to my mother about American candy); it is time for reality.

Waking up, I realized that I had bought into “Western colonial misconceptions of Indigenous languages as indicators of an Indigenous group’s ‘authenticity’ – the stereotyping of Indigenous culture as unchanging and unaltered by the pressures of modern capitalist society” and where the only “valid” Indigenous people are those who speak a language distinct from those of Western languages (Viatori & Usbigua, 2007, p. 11).⁶⁵ But I now realize that claiming Shiman-chu identity without language and culture affirms that languages are recreated continuously, that languages are not clearly bounded and distinct from one another, that languages do not signify “peoplehood,” and that people can be multilingual and multicultural in many different forms. That is, Tokunoshima peoples’ activities and actions, whether they are conducted in one of the many dialects of Shima-guchi, or in standardized Japanese, or in a mixture of Shima-guchi and one of the many dialects of Japanese, *are* Shima-guchi and Shima-culture.⁶⁶ The new rulers are here and they are not moving out and at the same time the new rulers are making people like me think like them within their boxes called capitalism, democracy, and human rights cleverly disguised as education, social justice, and compassion. It is time for people like me to question all of the above in order for our/my own individual auto-decolonization to take place.

What do Shiman-chu want to revitalize?

⁶⁵ This article also cites examples given by James Clifford and others in which Indigenous groups were unable to establish that their language was different from that of the colonizer and therefore lost their land rights.

⁶⁶ In a sense, like the idea of *yui-waku*, this is similar to Beverly’s (2005) understanding of how collective action and belief can disrupt the subaltern identity.

Tokunoshima people want Shima-guchi and Shima-bunka (culture) to be revitalized. There are no arguments from anyone on this point. I do not disagree that the revitalization of language and culture on Tokunoshima is a worthwhile goal. There is much wisdom and accumulated knowledge telling the people of Tokunoshima how they can live without modern technologies and scientific ideas of a better life. If Shiman-chu are willing to work physically hard and love others in order to continue their lives into an eternal future, then “the better life” (often seen as clean water from a tap, good smells from perfumes and colognes, whiter teeth, wrinkle-free skin, black hair, and soft skin) will become meaningless. All attempts to hide the fact of aging and of working hard are self-centered actions intended to dominate Nature. Looking young cannot extend one’s natural reproductive life. Looking young does not produce food. But, trying to look and act young is what is expected in order to make money. Money does not make, nor even preserve, language and culture, and consequently any revitalization initiatives that are dependent on money for their success are doomed to failure.

Shima-no-kokoro. Tokunoshima people do not want to revitalize Shima-guchi and Shima-culture without passing down their hearts, their *shima-no-kokoro*. But, it is difficult to revitalize the island hearts of people through language and culture, since language and culture are expressions of the experience of lived lives, whereas, Tokunoshima people have lost the opportunities to use their languages and cultures in their own communities. Even my mother who speaks fluent Shima-guchi (Itokina variation) more naturally than she speaks standardized Japanese tells me that she does not use Shima-guchi in community gatherings or day-to-day communication as much as she used to when she was growing up. She has lived in many shimas on the island. She has relocated from the mountainous inland to various locations on the coast. She has married a man from Isen, who speaks a different variety of Shima-guchi than she does. She has changed social position, marrying into a family of relative wealth and power to her own. She trained and worked as an elementary school teacher in the days when she had to guard against the use of Shima-guchi on the playground. In many ways, she has lived a life of more remarkable change than I have in changing countries,

marrying across nations, raising bilingual and biracial children, and being educated within two different dominant societies.⁶⁷ And yet, my mother is not unique on the island. Multi-locational, multi-generational, multi-ideological views of the world simultaneously coexist in her as an individual, and this is reflected as well in all of the other individual islanders and their individual communities.

This research has re-confirmed the importance of Tokunoshima peoples' wish to revitalize Shima-guchi and Shima-bunka and they are desperate for the continuation of *Shima-no-kokoro*, the island heart, meaning the ideology, worldview, experiences, understandings, and wisdom required to live in dependency on Tokunoshima as a Land.

Depending on the land. Dependency may be the wrong word for me to use in this context, but by it I mean that the people of Tokunoshima have to rely on their food source from the land of Tokunoshima. To do so, Tokunoshima people may have to be independent from their nation state. Independence does not mean Tokunoshima people are going to separate from Japan as the current controller of their lives, but rather that islanders must become as mentally and physically independent from the dominant culture as they were when they were slaves.

Local production and local consumption may be the key for Tokunoshima people. The people of Tokunoshima are already starting this action but they are doing it because it is a new movement from the government of Japan. This movement may be comparable to the now-famous 100 miles diet. But, 100 miles is too great a distance to be covered without modern technologies. Therefore, in my opinion, islanders should be living with a ten-mile diet, a diet dependent on gathering what lies within the distance an individual can walk and return within one day's light. In this way, people will be more dependent on their land production to sustain their lives.

I am sure it is much easier to say than to do. By following dependency on the land it will soon become evident that individuals prefer to be independent in both their mental and physical beings. Individuals will need to take responsibility

⁶⁷ In fact, the details of our lives are the same in this way, even though some would argue that the scale is different.

to protect themselves from sickness, injury, invasion, and unfortunate events. There would be no X-treme games that push the limits of the human body because becoming independent from our colonizer likely means less ability to fix broken bones, ligaments, soft-tissue, muscles, lost mobility or torn off body parts. We will have to learn that with taking chances comes responsibility—just like we supposedly learned growing up. We will play a new game of seeing what we lose as what we gain. Nothing is perfect; we just have to make decisions about what is important and what is not. To make decisions about what is important to us or not requires us to see that are lives are heavily subsidized by resourcing people, while we trumpet the vision of capitalism, democracy, and human rights.

Human duty. Most people who live in the resourced world, are abusing both the environment and other people, with or without intention or consciousness. The more the dominant want, the more the dominant will have to expand and exploit both the resourcing people's lives and their environments. By doing so, resourced people and resourced nation-states, must provide justification and compassion to us, the resourcing people. The best solution proposed in the dominant world order is the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the United Nations (2007), guaranteeing our freedom while at the same time defining us as colonized and dispossessed. I myself sit uncomfortably on the knife's edge, at once resourced and resourcing, defining myself as "we" in both categories.

Indigenous peoples traditionally did not need to think about their rights, whether to life, or equality, or freedom, since they lived with a compassionless oppressor called Nature, and they had to depend on Nature to provide for their survival (i.e., food). Nature may be a cruel oppressor, but she is also Mother, providing nourishment. But, we are naughty children who have given ourselves permission to exploit Mother Nature, thus ensuring that we will suppress our own lives with our own hands. As the former head of the World Bank, Stern (2006) claims, human activities are now threatening the continuance of our own existence in the very near future. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

(IPCC) also confirmed in February 2007 that human activities have created environmental disorder. Clearly, we need to change our life trajectory.

The word “environment” seems to be understood by most people as the state of nature; that is, the environment is perceived to be a human-life supporting earth condition. However, Indigenous peoples would likely disagree with any description of the environment as a natural condition of earth that freely provides life support to humans, and will continue to provide unconditional support for eternity. Consequently, many states are providing propaganda and slogans such as “protect our environment”, “save our trees”, “think green” and many other such catchy phrases. These slogans and goals entirely evolve from and through humans. Much of the propaganda is directed at endangered animals and other creatures; while the message is to save them, all efforts seem to have human life as a priority behind the messages.

The environment of human habitat has been so far free and it seemed eternal for our abuse, yet, as IPCC (2007) and Stern’s review (2006) suggest, we are no longer allowed to think the same way as we have done for only the last one hundred years. What makes humans believe that we are the ones who own the world, or that we can use/abuse the entire system of the earth? In other words, the word “environment” implies that the world is nothing more than a human habitat, rather than suggesting that humans are created and sustained by our surroundings. To extend this argument, it is simple to understand that the environment created and sustained human beings; yet, this same environment does not care if humans survive or not, anymore than it cared whether or not the dinosaurs survived. Nature on earth does not care at all about human existence because, over time, the earth will very likely produce another system of life, different from humans and their survival requirements.

Adapting for survival. If Darwin (1869) was correct, then those, like traditional Tokunoshima islanders, who have not relied on medicine to prevent (temporarily) or promote (in those who would not otherwise have children) reproduction will adapt because they have a comparatively more frequent generational cycle. Increased belief in education is forcing human reproduction to

be delayed, since humans are now required to spend more time learning information-based knowledge just at the point in their lives when they are at their prime time to reproduce the next generations. Of course, by having to acquire information-based knowledge and by delaying their reproduction humans are, as a species, in fact sacrificing themselves according to Darwin's (1869) theories about of "survival of fittest." To be the fittest, all necessary shifts and changes and adaptations are done in a cycle of renewing genetic rearrangements. It should be obvious that when there is less reproduction of human beings because we are waiting for longer and longer times to achieve higher education, credentials, and careers before reproducing, then humans are reducing their abilities to adapt to the changing environment. Instead, we are depending on medicine to cure our illnesses and sustain timeless physical beauty and life. It should be clear that if humans each only delayed their reproductive years about 10 years, say from the ages of 14-35 to the ages of 25-45, then not only will there be fewer generations, but also human fertility rates have decreased, the risks of mortality have increased, and the chances of producing less healthy offspring increased. What we have to show for this blank 10 years of non-reproduction is just more information-based knowledge, which produces no food, but merely produces power and knowledge (Foucault, 1970).

So, on the one hand, we resourced humans are exploiting and changing our world, while on the other hand, we are reducing our ability to adapt to change. Over time, if Darwin (1869) was correct, Indigenous peoples who live with the land will survive, and those who engage in gene-altering, death-defying medical experiments will not. At that time, local Indigenous languages and cultures will re-emerge.

All the stories, narratives and arguments in the world are not likely to change or even shift human life or knowledge. Indigenous knowledges and approaches to life may not penetrate into any of us. Even though I believe passionately in the utopian ideal of living together with the land and spurning medicine, I cannot and will not obey or follow it, since I cannot (by law) and will not (by my own compassion) wait for my children to suffer from curable diseases

or social problems without intervention through medicine or my own financial and social status. Therefore, these approaches seem to have no place to stand on their own. What has been proven time after time is that human ego will always choose personal survival further and longer over other humans, rather than social equity and harmony with other humans.

Conservation for sustainability. All arguments and scientifically-based extrapolations suggest that we are no longer at the stage of being able to take advantage of Mother Nature's limited resources. No chemical components are going to be added to or subtracted from the earth by human activities, except by launching rockets into space where we can no longer access or retrieve them. More fossil fuels are used to exchange oxygen to carbon dioxide (CO₂) for energy just for profit and/or human pleasure. It is clear that the Ego-centric pursuit of pleasure needs to be replaced by a Cosmo-centric approach.

According to my mother's story, the people in her community took a bath every three to four days since their community did not have a convenient water supply and fuel had to be gathered by making full day trips into the mountains to carry windfall branches and other vegetation for a fire. If community members had had a bathroom in each household and took a bath everyday, then people would have been forced to cut down trees instead of taking windfall branches. How long can cutting down trees be sustained?

I have heard stories about when World War Two came to Tokunoshima and the island people did not have enough fuel to cook. Americans came and explained that Tokunoshima people could cut down their trees to provide a much more stable energy source. Island trees had not been cut prior to that moment since people on Tokunoshima considered trees to be sacred. The American soldiers' action of cutting trees broke the taboo of the community and seemed to change the minds of islanders relatively quickly. When I was growing up, I almost never heard the stories about how some trees are sacred. But during a recent trip back to Tokunoshima, my father told me that some trees were considered very sacred but that the property owners cut them down to have their houses built or to make room for road expansion. Traditionally, roads on the island followed the

natural landscape and avoided sacred areas, but the modern Japanese government views our traditional road system as preventing efficient and safe transport to town (presumably so that we can safely transport farm goods for export, furthering metabolic rift). Therefore, in the name of Tokunoshima peoples' better life and happiness, the Japanese government is paying for the widening and straightening of the roads.⁶⁸

By "bettering" Tokunoshima people's lives the government is colonizing our minds so that we succumb to the ideology of "I am important and must be served." People on Tokunoshima have the right to live, but they seem to have stopped caring for their Land. To care for the Land means simple things like not cutting down the trees for fuel so that we can take a bath everyday. Cutting the trees, even the sacred ones, to make our lives a little bit more convenient may be seen in the short term as a smart and powerful idea. But the end result is that one generation burned energy for their own benefit rather than sharing the long-term benefit with the people who are coming after us.

It is too optimistic to assume almost all people, including myself, will simply abandon life as we know it. So, what we do is try to control our wasteful energy consumption within the current world system. Stern's review (2006) suggested that we should incorporate a voucher system, allowing nations and companies to receive, barter, and trade carbon dioxide emission allocations. However, his review only addresses one issue—CO₂ emission—which only addresses global warming without addressing the source of the problem. If we adopt this type of enforcement then it would be better to implement user fees for heat emission, oxygen consumption, and fresh water consumption. These basic elements that sustain human and animal lives should no longer be taken for granted, but rather should become the basis of a user-pays economy. Each person's daily life consumption should be considered in terms of pre-historic lifestyles, and then doubled, just in case. Our future is in jeopardy and we are in a Catch 22; are we going to use what is left of our life support system simply to

⁶⁸ Even though I say here that the government is paying for it, in fact, islanders are paying for it through the crippling taxes that we pay.

have a happiness falsely conceived and constructed by a handful of capitalists, or are we willing to give up our own decision-making power to live within the greater power (to survive) which comes with Indigenous ways of life? That is, can we live life with what we have, without asking for more than we need to live today, prepared to shed a lot of tears, because Nature does not care if we think we have a right to life?

Human rights versus human duty

What I believe my research ultimately points to is the binary between human rights and human duty. Approaching LCI shift from the perspective of human rights tells us to preserve, teach, and practice our traditional languages and cultures through modern means. As my islanders acknowledge, this is a false dream. Approaching LCI shift from the perspective of human duty tells us to live according to what we need rather than what we want, and that LCI will take care of itself. Within the perspective of human duty, people have rights but their rights must be weighed against how much energy it will take to sustain them. We should have the right to live, but we should not have the right to steal energy from future generations to *better* our lives.

Tokunoshima people will need to consider their duty to continue, their duty to create and provide for a next generation. By doing so, they will recreate a life supported by our own local language and culture. It may not be exactly the same, but it will evolve again. Those who currently know the language and culture can feel the importance of Shima-guchi and Shima-culture in order for us to survive on the island into an eternal future. Those who do not speak the language or know culture can still see a resemblance of our former lives in the residue of what and who they are; they also do not want lose track of eternal life on Tokunoshima. Knowledge, wisdom and information are packed into each individual shima's language and culture, but Shiman-chu are not being fed by the Land of Tokunoshima so they are not eating their ancestors' spirits.

Accepting our human duty means really understanding the magnitude of this project. Perhaps Tokunoshima islanders *do* understand the magnitude, and that is the reason they do not actively speak Shima-guchi or practice shima-culture while

simultaneously being in consensus that Shima-guchi and Shima-culture should be revitalized. Under the umbrella of human duty, there is little room for human rights. I am not sure how many people are actually up to this concept of Human Duty. Can we really love someone more than we love ourselves? Care about someone? Share what we have with our future selves? Cry? Miss? Allow our loved ones to die?

We cannot be patient. Soon, Mother Nature will take her own back, forcing us to stop, or forcing humans into extinction—or else American scientists will finally find a way to destroy the entire planet, not just the surface of it. Either way, we can only wait. If American scientists finally find a way to destroy the planet, then people will turn their backs on science. We all know somehow that in a world without Beings, there will be no need to revitalize LCIs. In a world without Beings, there will be no LCIs.

I want to end with a note to my generation and to the generations after me on Tokunoshima and other isolated island communities. Make your own food. Eat your own food. Eat as much as you can when you can. Enjoy life day to day. Have sex often and enjoy it. Have many children. Do not steal. Do not lie. Do not rape or otherwise violate your companions. Cooperate. Live well together. Take responsibility. Make sure you leave enough food for the next generation and enough knowledge to harvest it. That is the best way to maintain language, culture, and identity. This is the most unsatisfying and frustrating conclusion that I can possibly imagine for my dissertation. There is nothing to be done. There is nothing for me to do to “save” my island LCI. There is no magic pill that will make the past and the future co-exist. There is no perfect pedagogy except living and learning together. I have to conclude that my ancestors were right. And, here we are, not listening to them, and therefore we are in trouble.

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Appendix A: Survey forms

General questionnaire: English translation

Hello, my name is Satoru Nakagawa. I am hoping to know how languages change between generations. I hope you have time to fill in this form. Your help is greatly appreciated. Thank you for your participation. Data and results from this study will be returned to each community for your use. By filling in this form you have given your consent to participate in this research project.

- Please check where it applies to you.

I am a Female Male do not want to answer.

I am a Native to the land 5th generation 4th generation
 3rd generation 2nd generation I move to here
 I do not know

I am aged between

0- 9 10-19 20-29 30-39 40-49
 50-59 60-69 70-79 80-89 90-99
 100-109 10⁺ do not want to answer.

I speak Tokunoshima Language _____.

fluently quite well not well not at all.

I speak standardized Japanese.

fluently quite well not well not at all.

I live in the town of Amagi Isen Tokunoshima

I am a Farmer Fisherman Teacher City Hall worker
Construction worker Industry worker (sugar related)
Industry worker (other) Student Other()

Please use following scale to answer following questions

Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	I do not know/Does not apply	I do not wish to answer
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

Questions 1: Standard and Fluency of Tokunoshima language									
1	My great grandchildren speak fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	My grandchildren speak fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	My children speak fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	My peers speak fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
5	My parent(s) speak/spoke fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
6	My grandparent(s) speak/spoke fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
7	My great grandparent(s) speak/spoke fluent/good Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

Questions 2: Standard and Fluency of Standardized Japanese									
1	My great grandchildren speak fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	My grandchildren speak fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	My children speak fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	My peers speak fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
5	My parent(s) speak/spoke fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
6	My grandparent(s) speak/spoke fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
7	My great grandparent(s) speak/spoke fluent/good Standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

Questions 3: Knowledge of culture (for example,									
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	ceremonies and customs)		
1	My great grandchildren know Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
2	My grandchildren know Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
3	My children know Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
4	My peers know Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
5	My parent(s) know/knew Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
6	My grandparent(s) know/knew Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
7	My great grandparent(s) know/knew Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9

	Questions 4: Practice of culture (for example, ceremonies and customs)		
1	My great grandchildren practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
2	My grandchildren practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
3	My children practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
4	My peers practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
5	My parent(s) practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
6	My grandparent(s) practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
7	My great grandparent(s) practice Tokunoshima culture.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9

	Questions 5: Identity of Tokunoshima		
1	My great grandchildren have Tokunoshima identity.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
2	My grandchildren have Tokunoshima identity.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
3	My children have Tokunoshima identity.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
4	My peers have Tokunoshima identity.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
5	My parent(s) have Tokunoshima identity.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
6	My grandparent(s) have Tokunoshima identity	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
7	My great grandparent(s) have Tokunoshima identity	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9

	Questions 6: About Yourself		
1	I am a Tokunoshima person.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
2	I am a region of Amami person.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
3	I am a Kagoshima person.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
4	I am a Ryukyu person.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
5	I am a Japanese person.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
6	I am an Asian	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
7	I am a world citizen.	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9

Questions 7: You and Tokunoshima			
1	I like Tokunoshima.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	I like living on Tokunoshima.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	I want my children and their children to live on Tokunoshima.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	I think living on Tokunoshima is important.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

Questions 8: You and Tokunoshima Language			
1	I like Tokunoshima language.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	I like speaking Tokunoshima language.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	I want my children and their children to speak Tokunoshima language.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	I think Tokunoshima language is important in life.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

Questions 9: You and Tokunoshima songs			
1	I like Tokunoshima songs.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	I like singing Tokunoshima songs.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	I want my children and their children to sing songs of Tokunoshima.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

Questions 10: You and Japanese Language			
1	I like Japanese language.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	I like speaking Japanese language.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	I want my children and their children to speak Japanese language.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	I think Japanese language is important in life.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

Questions 11: Industry of Tokunoshima			
1	I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	I would like Tokunoshima to have more technological advancement.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	I am proud of improvements of Tokunoshima from old time.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	I want Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945).	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	I think Amami development fund should continue for future to help develop our lives on Tokunoshima.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	I think Tokunoshima should have more industries.	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

Questions 12 Life on Tokunoshima			
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1	I want to continue to live on Tokunoshima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	I like traditional life on Tokunoshima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3.	I know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4.	I like traditional food on Tokunoshima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
5.	I know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
6.	I know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
7.	I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
8.	I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
9	I want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
10	I like Tokunoshima time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
11	I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
12	I like the Nature of Tokunoshima.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
13	I know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
14	I know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
15	I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
16	I know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language.	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix A.1

General Questionnaire in Japanese

はじめまして、私は、徳之島出身の中川悟です。私は現在、「いかに徳之島の各世代間において言語・文化・生活の変化が起こっているか」、について研究しています。今回の研究参加（一人一枚無記名）にお時間を頂けます様をお願い致します。この調査におけるデータそして結果は、徳之島の為に返還いたします。

（出来るだけ多くの世代そして多くの方々の御参加を希望しますので、聞き手が記入してもかまいません）

このアンケートの記入と返却を行うことは、自主的な研究参加への同意とみなされます。

セクションA. 下記の質問につき、該当する(そうだと思う)番号をマルで囲んでください。

性別 (1) 女 (2) 男 (3) 答えたくない

徳之島との関係

- (1) 知っている限り、昔からずっと住んでいる
- (2) 5世代前に両親もしくは片親が住み着いた
- (3) 4世代前に両親もしくは片親が住み着いた
- (4) 3世代前に両親もしくは片親が住み着いた
- (5) 2世代前に両親もしくは片親が住み着いた
- (6) 1世代前に両親もしくは片親が住み着いた
- (7) 私が住み着いた
- (8) よく知らない

年齢 (1) 0-9 (2) 10-19 (3) 20-29 (4) 30-39 (5) 40-49

- (6) 50-59 (7) 60-69 (8) 70-79 (9) 80-89 (10) 90-99
- (11) 100-109 (12) 110以上 (13) 答えたくない

徳之島の言葉

- (1) 流暢または上手に話せる (2) 結構流暢または上手に話せる
- (3) あまり流暢または上手に話せない (4) 話せない

日本語・共通語

- (1) 流暢または上手に話せる (2) 結構流暢または上手に話せる
- (3) あまり流暢または上手に話せない (4) 話せない

お住まい

- (1) 天城町 (地区_____)
- (2) 伊仙町 (地区_____)
- (3) 徳之島町 (地区_____)

お仕事

- (1) 農業 (サトウキビ) (2) 農業 (その他) (3) 漁業
- (4) 建設業 (5) 商業 (6) 工業 (7) 公務員
- (8) 公務員 (教員)

- (9)学生 _____)
 (10)兼業収入順に番号を記入してください (_____)
 (11)その他 (_____)

セクションB 引き続き下記の質問にお答え下さい。

(注) 全ての質問は、あなたご自身から見ていただく意見です。時によっては、あてはまらない質問もあります。たとえば、もしあなたが20代の回答者とした場合、子供（いる場合は別）、孫、ひ孫については当てはまりません。しかし、他界した方々に関しては、あてはまります。

(例) 下の目盛りを参考にして、その下の質問の該当する(そうだと思う)番号をマルで囲んでください。

強く 思う	そう 思う	少し 思う	少し 思わ ない	そう 思 わない	強く 思 わない	質問に 当 てはま ら ない	答 え た く ない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問 1: 徳之島の言葉に関して。													
1	私の曾孫は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	私の孫は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	私の子供は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	私の同世代は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
5	私の親は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
6	私の祖父母は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
7	私の曾祖父母は、流暢または上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思う。					1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

強く 思う	そう 思う	少し 思う	少し 思 わ ない	そう 思 わ ない	強く 思 わ ない	質問に 当 てはま ら ない	答 え た く ない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問 2: 日本語に関して。							
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1	私の曾孫は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の孫は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の子供は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の同世代は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	私の親は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私の祖父母は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私の曾祖父母は、流暢または上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

	設問 3: 文化・伝統の知識(例えば、儀式および習慣)に関して。		
1	私の曾孫は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の孫は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の子供は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の同世代は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	私の親は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私の祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私の曾祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

	設問 4: 文化・伝統の慣行(例えば、儀式および習慣)に関して。		
1	私の曾孫は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の孫は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の子供は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の同世代は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

5	私の親は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私の祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私の曾祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 5: 自己知識に関して。			
1	私の曾孫は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の孫は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の子供は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の同世代は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	私の親は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私の祖父母は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私の曾祖父母は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

これから先の質問は、他の世代のことではなく、あなたの思いを答えてください。

設問 6: あなた自身について。			
1	私は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、奄美群島人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は、鹿児島人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、琉球人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	私は、日本人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私は、アジア人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私は、地球人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 7: あなたと徳之島について。			
1	私は、徳之島が好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、徳之島に住んでいることが好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島に住んでほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、徳之島に住むことは大切なことだと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 8: あなたと徳之島の言語について。			
1	私は、徳之島の言葉が好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

2	私は、徳之島の言葉を話すことが好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	私は、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島の言葉を話してほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	私は、徳之島の言葉は生活の中で大切だと思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問9：あなたと徳之島の歌（島歌）。									
1	私は、島歌が好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	私は、島歌を歌うことが好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	私は、私の子供、またその子供に島歌を歌ってほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	私は、島歌は生活の中で大切だと思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問10：あなたと日本語（共通語）。									
1	私は、日本語（共通語）が好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	私は、日本語（共通語）を話すことが好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	私は、私の子供、またその子供に日本語（共通語）を話してほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	私は、日本語（共通語）は生活の中で大切だと思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

裏面へ続く

強く思う	そう思う	少し思う	少し思わない	そう思わない	強く思わない	質問に当てはまらない	答えたくない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問11：徳之島の産業。									
1	私は、これからもサトウキビが徳之島の一番の産業であってほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	私は、徳之島にもっと多くの技術発展があってほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	私は、私の子供、そのまた子供に理学や工学の知識を徳之島で得てほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	私は、徳之島の現在までの発展を誇りに思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
5	私は、徳之島が「昔（戦前）の徳之島に戻ればなあ」、と思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
6	私は、奄美群島振興開発特別処置法がこのまま存続して徳之島の生活が発展するとよいと思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
7	私は、徳之島にはより多くの産業があるほうがよいと思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問 12：徳之島の生活。			
1	私は、このまま続けて徳之島で生活したい。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
2	私は、徳之島の伝統的な生活が好きだ。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
3	私は、徳之島の伝統料理（食べ物・材料）を知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
4	私は、徳之島の伝統料理（食べ物・材料）が好きです。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
5	私は、徳之島の伝統料理の作り方を知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
6	私は、徳之島の伝統料理の材料が、どこで見つけられるかを知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
7	私は、徳之島の人々は徳之島の伝統料理を食べ続けたほうがよいと思う。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
8	私は、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島の伝統料理を食べしてほしい。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
9	私は、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島の伝統的な生活をしてほしい。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
10	私は、徳之島の島時間が好きです。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
11	私は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）の個性・性格が好きです。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
12	私は、徳之島の自然が好きです。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
13	私は、徳之島に生えているたくさんの草木の名前を日本語（共通語）で知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
14	私は、徳之島に生えているたくさんの草木の名前を徳之島の言葉で知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
15	私は、徳之島に生きているたくさんの魚や貝の名前を日本語（共通語）で知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9
16	私は、徳之島に生きているたくさんの魚や貝の名前を徳之島の言葉で知っている。	1	2 3 4 5 6 8 9

今回の研究に、参加して頂きありがとうございました。

Appendix A.2
School students' questionnaire

はじめまして、私は、徳之島出身の中川悟です。私は今、「徳之島の言葉、文化、生活が年齢層で変化しているか」、について研究しています。この研究への参加（一人一枚名前を書かないで）を手伝ってください。このアンケートとその結果は、徳之島の皆様にお返しいたします。

（出来るだけ多くの方々の御参加を希望しますので、聞き手が記入してもかまいません）

このアンケートを書くことは、この研究への参加をみとめることです。

セクションA. 下の質問につき、そうだと思う番号をマルで囲んでください。

性別 (1) 女 (2) 男 (3) 答えたくない

徳之島との関係

- (1) 知っている限り、ずっと昔から住んでいる
- (2) 私の曾祖父母（五世代前）の祖父母が住み着いた
- (3) わたしの曾祖父母（四世代前）の親が住み着いた
- (4) わたしの曾祖父母（三世代前）が住み着いた
- (5) わたしの祖父母（二世代前）が住み着いた
- (6) わたしの親（一世代前）が住み着いた
- (7) 私が私の親と一緒に住み着いた
- (8) よく知らない

徳之島の言葉 (1) 上手に話せる (2) 結構上手に話せる
 (3) あまり上手に話せない (4) 話せない

日本語・共通語 (1) 上手に話せる (2) 結構上手に話せる
 (3) あまり上手に話せない (4) 話せない

お住まい (1) 天城町（地区_____）
 (2) 伊仙町（地区_____）
 (3) 徳之島町（地区_____）

セクションB 引き続き下の質問にお答え下さい。

（注）全ての質問は、あなたから見た意見です。時によっては、あてはまらない質問もあります。たとえば、もしあなたがひいおじいちゃんやひいおばあちゃんを知らないときは（質問に当てはまらない）を選んでください。しかし、知っているが、亡くなった方々に関しては、あてはまります。

（例）下の目盛りを参考にして、その下の質問のそうだと思う番号をマルで囲んでください。

強くそ	そう	少しそ	少しそ	そう思	強くそ	質問に当	答えた
-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	-----

う思う	思う	う思う	う思わ ない	わない	う思わ ない	てはまら ない	くない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

	設問 1: 徳之島の言葉に関して。		
1	私の友達は、上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の親は、上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の祖父母は、上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の曾祖父母は、上手な徳之島の言葉を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

1

強くそ う思う	そう 思う	少しそ う思う	少しそ う思わ ない	そう思 わない	強くそ う思わ ない	質問に当 てはまら ない	答えたく ない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

	設問 2: 日本語に関して。		
1	私の友達は、上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の親は、上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の祖父母は、上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の曾祖父母は、上手な日本語・共通語を話すと思 う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

	設問 3: 文化・伝統の知識(例えば、儀式および習慣) に関して。		
1	私の友達は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知ってい ると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の親は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知ってい ると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知って いると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の曾祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を知っ ていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

	設問 4: 文化・伝統の慣行(例えば、儀式および習慣) に関して。		
--	--------------------------------------	--	--

1	私の友達は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の親は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の曾祖父母は、徳之島の文化・伝統を使っていると思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 5: 自己知識に関して。			
1	私の友達は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私の親は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私の祖父母は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私の曾祖父母は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

これから先の質問は、あなたの思いを答えてください。

設問 6: あなた自身について。			
1	私は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、奄美群島人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は、鹿児島人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、琉球人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	私は、日本人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私は、アジア人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私は、地球人だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

2

強く 思う	そう 思う	少し 思う	少し 思わ ない	そう 思 わない	強く 思 わ ない	質問に 当 ては ま ら ない	答 え た く ない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問 7: あなたと徳之島について。			
1	私は、徳之島が好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、徳之島に住んでいることが好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は将来、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島に住んでほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、徳之島に住むことは大切なことだと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 8：あなたと徳之島の言語について。			
1	私は、徳之島の言葉が好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、徳之島の言葉を話すことが好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は将来、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島の言葉を話してほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、徳之島の言葉は生活の中で大切だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 9：あなたと徳之島の歌（島歌）。			
1	私は、島歌が好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、島歌を歌うことが好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は将来、私の子供、またその子供に島歌を歌ってほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、島歌は生活の中で大切だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 10：あなたと日本語（共通語）。			
1	私は、日本語（共通語）が好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、日本語（共通語）を話すことが好きです。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は将来、私の子供、またその子供に日本語（共通語）を話してほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、日本語（共通語）は生活の中で大切だと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

設問 11：徳之島の産業。			
1	私は、これからもサトウキビが徳之島の一番の産業であってほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
2	私は、徳之島にもっと多くの技術発展があってほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
3	私は将来、私の子供、そのまた子供に理科の知識を徳之島で得てほしい。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
4	私は、徳之島の今までの発展を誇りに思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
5	私は、徳之島が「昔（戦前）の徳之島に戻ればなあ」、と思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
6	私は、奄美群島振興開発特別処置法（農地改革や護岸工事等）がこのまま続いて徳之島の生活が発展するとよいと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9
7	私は、徳之島にはもっと多くの産業があるほうがよいと思う。	1 2 3 4 5 6	8 9

裏面へ続く

強くそ	そう	少しそ	少しそ	そう思	強くそ	質問に当	答えた
-----	----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------	-----

う思う	思う	う思う	う思わ ない	わない	う思わ ない	てはまら ない	くない
1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

設問 12：徳之島の生活。									
1	私は、このまま続けて徳之島で生活したい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
2	私は、徳之島の伝統的な生活が好きだ。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
3	私は、徳之島の伝統料理（食べ物・材料）を知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
4	私は、徳之島の伝統料理（食べ物・材料）が好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
5	私は、徳之島の伝統料理の作り方を知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
6	私は、徳之島の伝統料理の材料が、どこで見つけられるかを知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
7	私は、徳之島の人徳之島の伝統料理を食べ続けたほうがよいと思う。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
8	私は将来、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島の伝統料理を食べしてほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
9	私は将来、私の子供、またその子供に徳之島の伝統的な生活をしてほしい。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
10	私は、徳之島の島時間が好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
11	私は、徳之島人（しまんちゅう）の個性・性格が好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
12	私は、徳之島の自然が好きです。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
13	私は、徳之島に生えているたくさんの草木の名前を日本語（共通語）で知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
14	私は、徳之島に生えているたくさんの草木の名前を徳之島の言葉で知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
15	私は、徳之島に生きているたくさんの魚や貝の名前を日本語（共通語）で知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9
16	私は、徳之島に生きているたくさんの魚や貝の名前を徳之島の言葉で知っている。	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9

この研究に、参加して頂きありがとうございました。

Appendix B: Demographics from Data (survey)

Table 10 表10

		Sex性別					
		全データ Overall data		生徒外データ Non-Students data		生徒データ School Students data	
選択肢 Choices		Percentage 割合(%)	Frequency 回答者数	Percentage 割合(%)	Frequency 回答者数	Percentage 割合(%)	Frequency 回答者数
		Valid	Woman 女	45.6	1600	42.8	644
	Man 男	50.2	1761	53.2	801	47.9	960
	Total	95.8	3361	96.6	1454	99.6	1996
Missing	I do not want to answer 答えたくない	2.5	89	0.6	9	4.0	80
	System	1.7	59	3.4	51	0.4	8
	Total	100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 1 図1

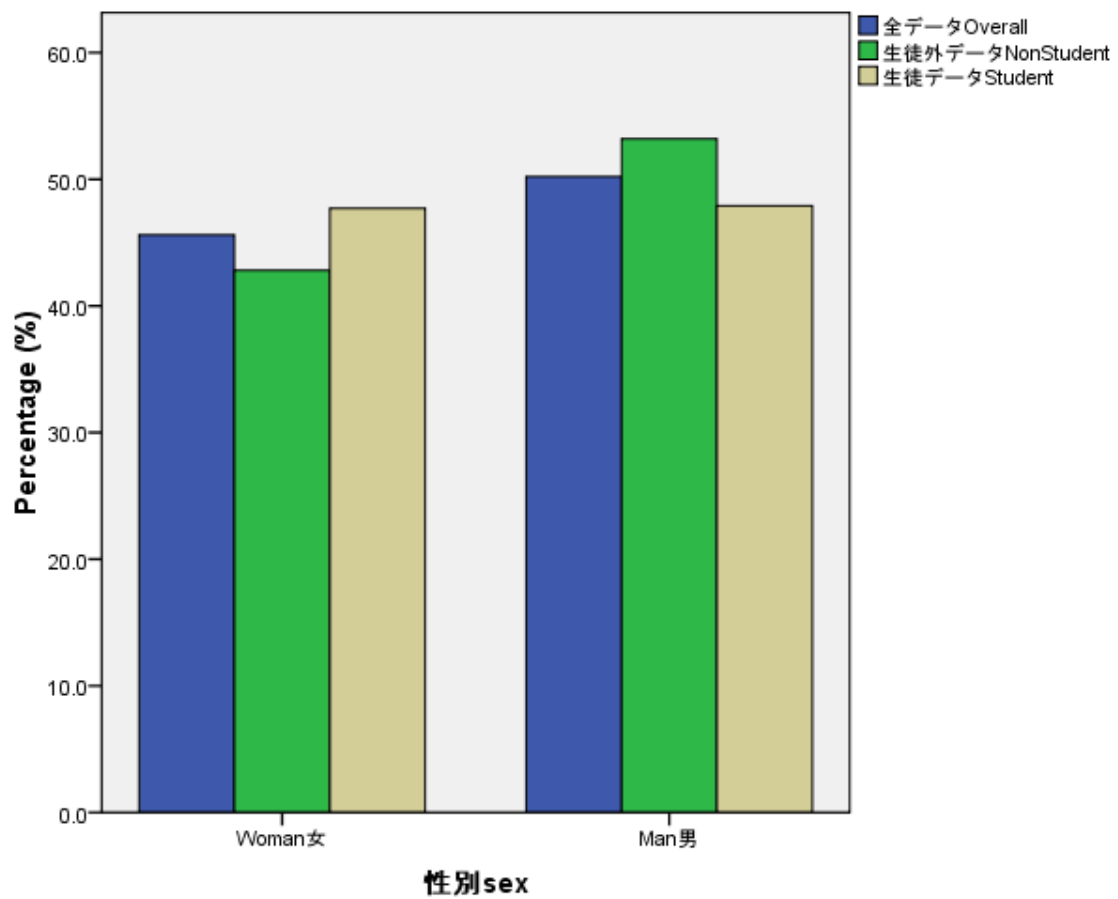


Table 11 表11

		Generation世代					
選択肢 Choices		全データ		生徒外データ		生徒データ	
		Overall data		Non-Students data		School Students data	
		Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency
Valid	Native to the land 昔から住んでいる	59.4	2084	69.2	1042	52.0	1042
	6 Generations 5世代	1.5	51	2.1	32	0.9	19
	5 Generations 4世代	1.6	57	1.9	28	1.4	29
	4 Generations 3世代	2.2	78	2.3	34	2.2	44
	3 Generations 2世代	2.8	99	1.5	23	3.8	76
	2 Generations 1世代	1.3	44	1.3	20	1.2	24
	1Generation 私が住み始めた	7.7	271	12.3	185	4.3	86
	I do not know 知らない	19.3	678	4.1	62	30.7	616
	Total	95.8	3362	94.8	1426	96.6	1936
Missing	System	4.2	147	5.2	79	3.4	68
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 2 図2

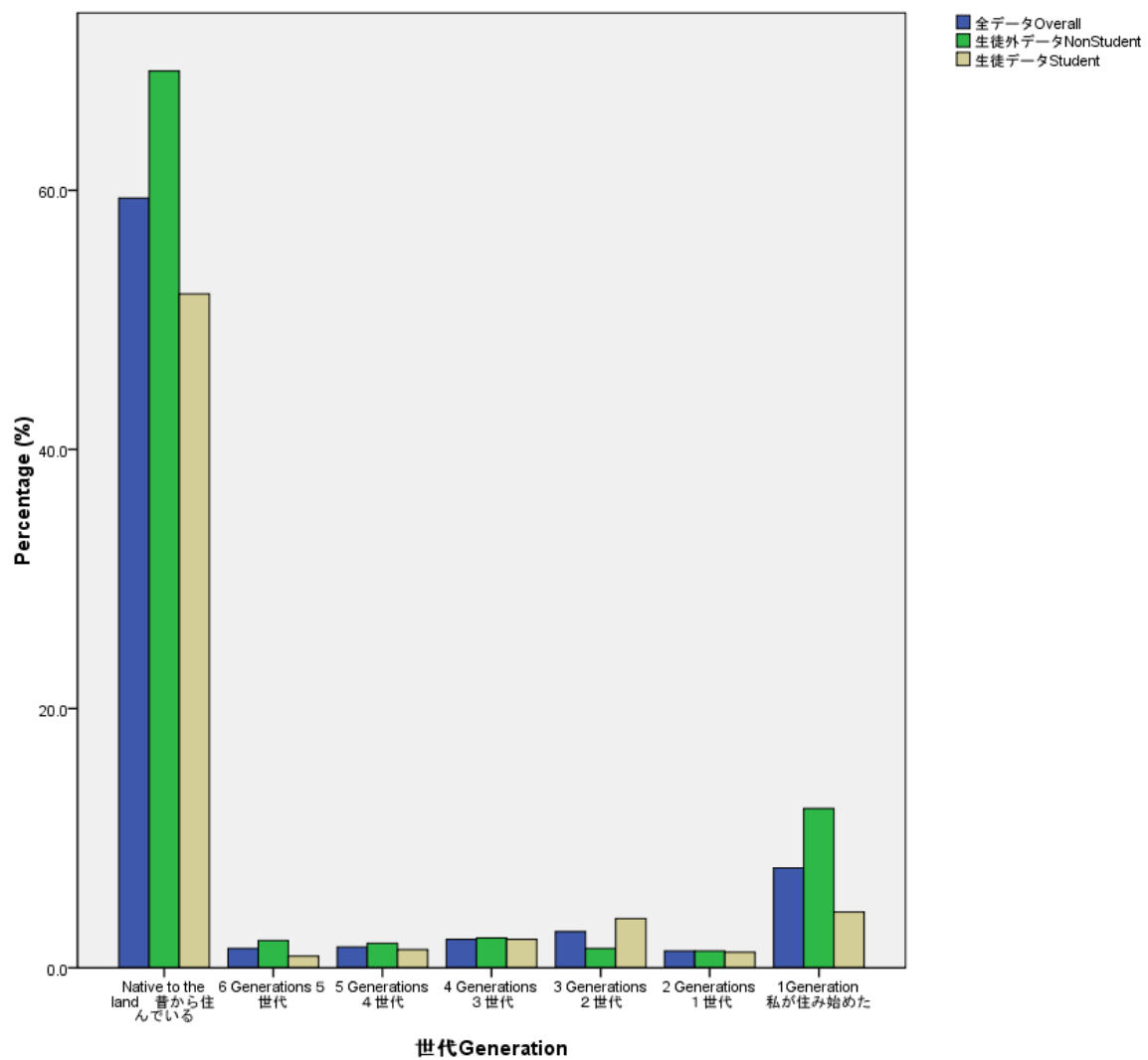


Table 12 表12

		Age年齢					
選択肢 Choices		全データ Overall data		生徒外データ Non-Students data		生徒データ School Students data	
		Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency
		Valid	0-9	0.2	6	0.4	6
	10-19	57.8	2029	1.8	25	100.0	2004
	20-29	3.8	132	8.8	132	0.0	0
	30-39	6.9	242	16.1	242	0.0	0
	40-49	9.0	317	21.1	317	0.0	0
	50-59	10.1	355	23.6	355	0.0	0
	60-69	5.6	197	13.1	197	0.0	0
	70-79	4.2	149	9.9	149	0.0	0
	80-89	1.4	50	3.3	50	0.0	0
	90-99	0.2	6	0.4	6	0.0	0
	I do not know 知らない	0.1	2	0.1	2	0.0	0
	Total	99.3	3485	98.5	1483	100.0	2004
Missing	System	0.7	24	1.5	22	0.0	0
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 3 図 3

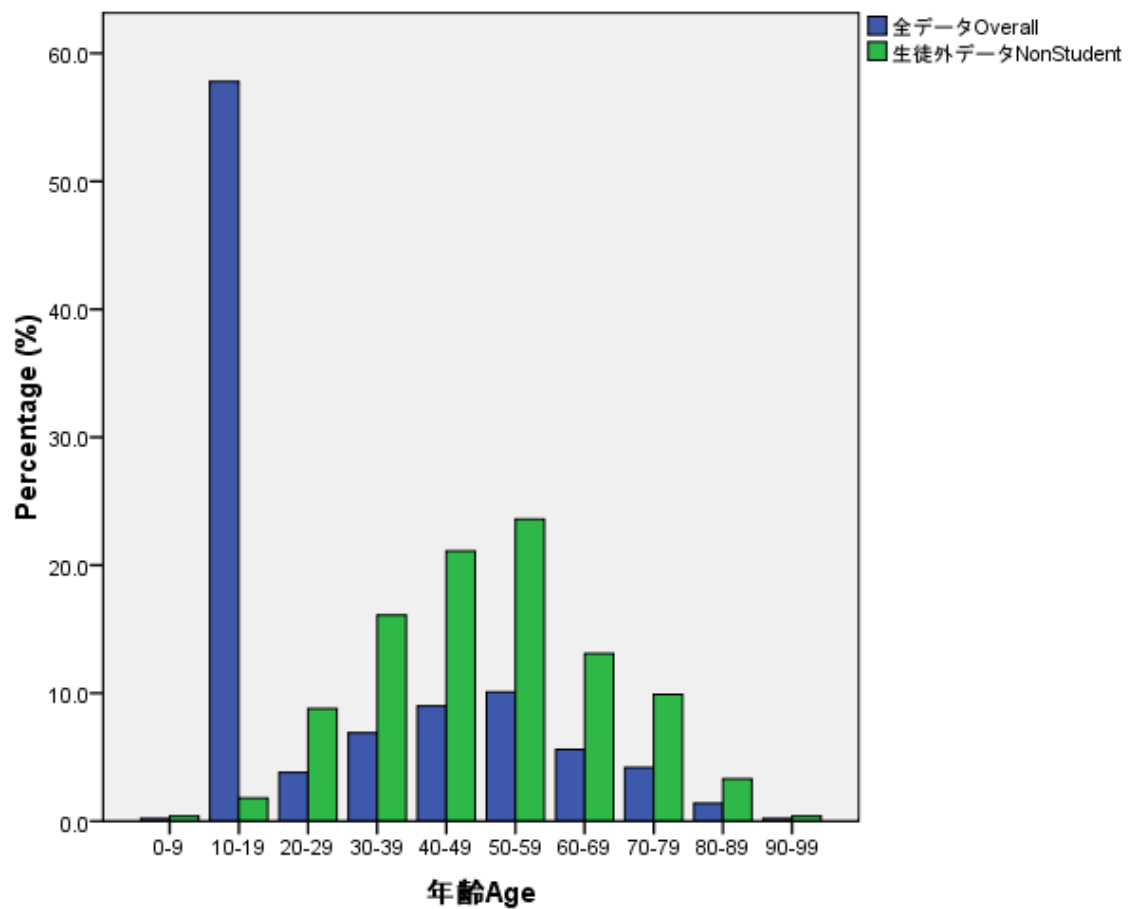


Table 13 表13

		TKNLang島口					
選択肢 Choices		全データ		生徒外データ		生徒データ	
		Overall data		Non-Students data		School Students data	
		Percentage	回答者数	Percentage	回答者数	Percentage	回答者数
		割合(%)	Frequency	割合(%)	Frequency	割合(%)	Frequency
Valid	Fluent 上手	14.4	506	28.4	428	3.9	78
	Quite well 結構上手	16.6	582	23.1	348	11.7	234
	Not well あ まり上手で ない	36.7	1289	22.5	339	47.4	950
	Do not speak 話せない	30.3	1063	23.3	351	35.5	712
	Total	98.0	3440	97.4	1466	98.5	1974
Missing	System	2.0	69	2.6	39	1.5	30
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 4 図 4

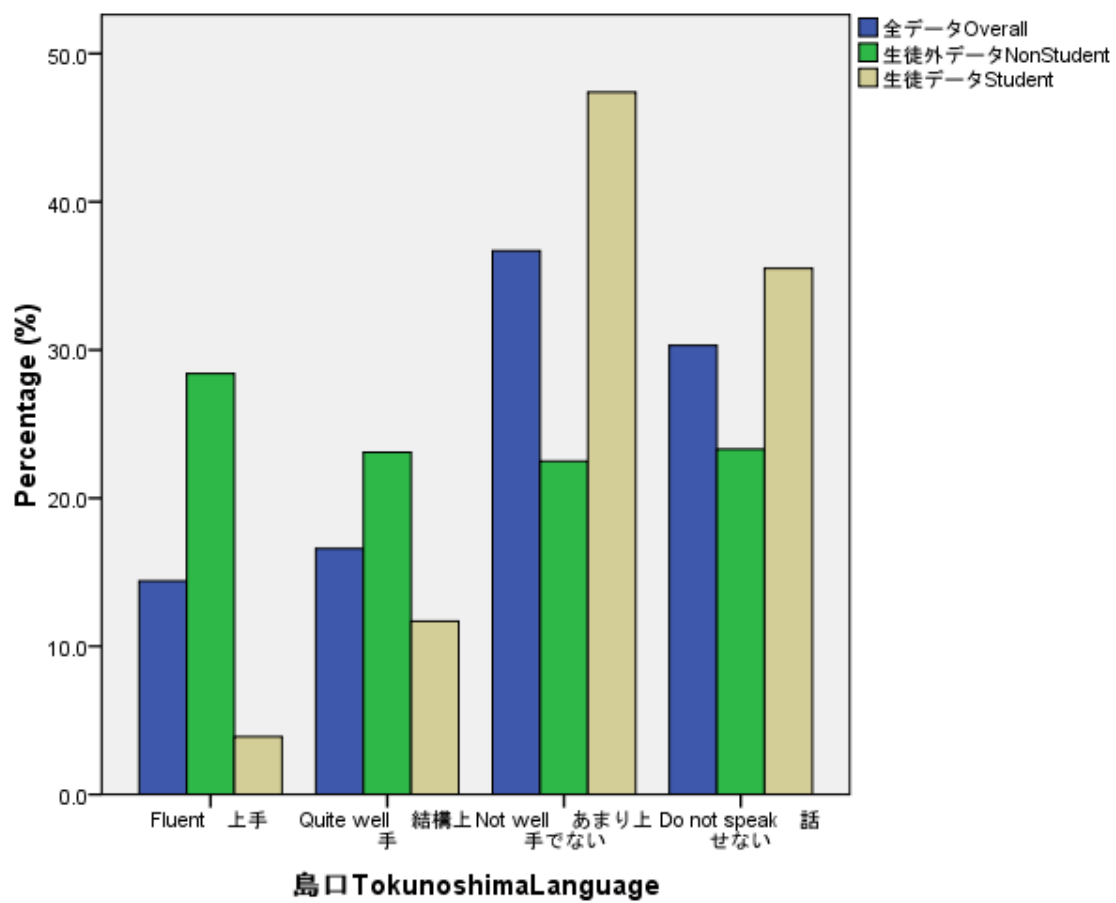


Table 14 表 14

		Japanese 日本語					
選択肢 Choices		全データ		生徒外データ		生徒データ	
		Overall data		Non-Students data		School Students data	
		Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency
Valid	Fluent 上手	40.6	1426	39.7	598	41.3	828
	Quite well 結構上手	40.2	1412	41.7	627	39.2	785
	Not well あ まり上手で ない	14.2	498	14.0	210	14.4	288
	Do not speak 話せない	2.0	69	0.7	11	2.9	58
	Total	97.0	3405	96.1	1446	97.8	1959
Missing	System	3.0	104	3.9	59	2.2	45
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 5 図 5

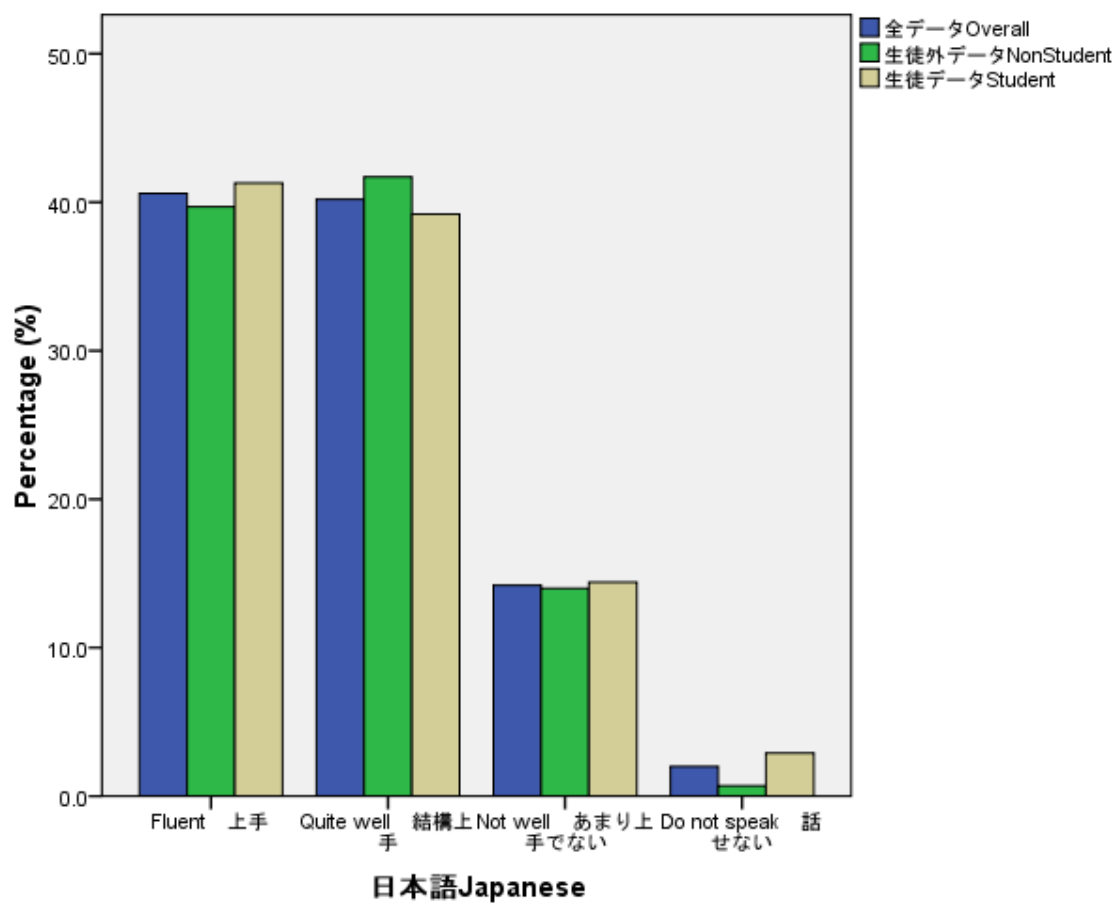


Table 15 表15

		Townお住まい					
選択肢 Choices		全データ		生徒外データ		生徒データ	
		Overall data		Non-Students data		School Students data	
		Percentage	回答者数	Percentage	回答者数	Percentage	回答者数
		割合(%)	Frequency	割合(%)	Frequency	割合(%)	Frequency
Valid	Amagi 天城	22.1	775	18.0	271	25.1	504
	Isen 伊仙	26.3	922	28.4	428	24.7	494
	Tokunoshima 徳之島	50.1	1757	51.6	777	48.9	980
	Total	98.4	3454	98.1	1476	98.7	1978
Missing	System	1.6	55	1.9	29	1.3	26
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 6 図 6

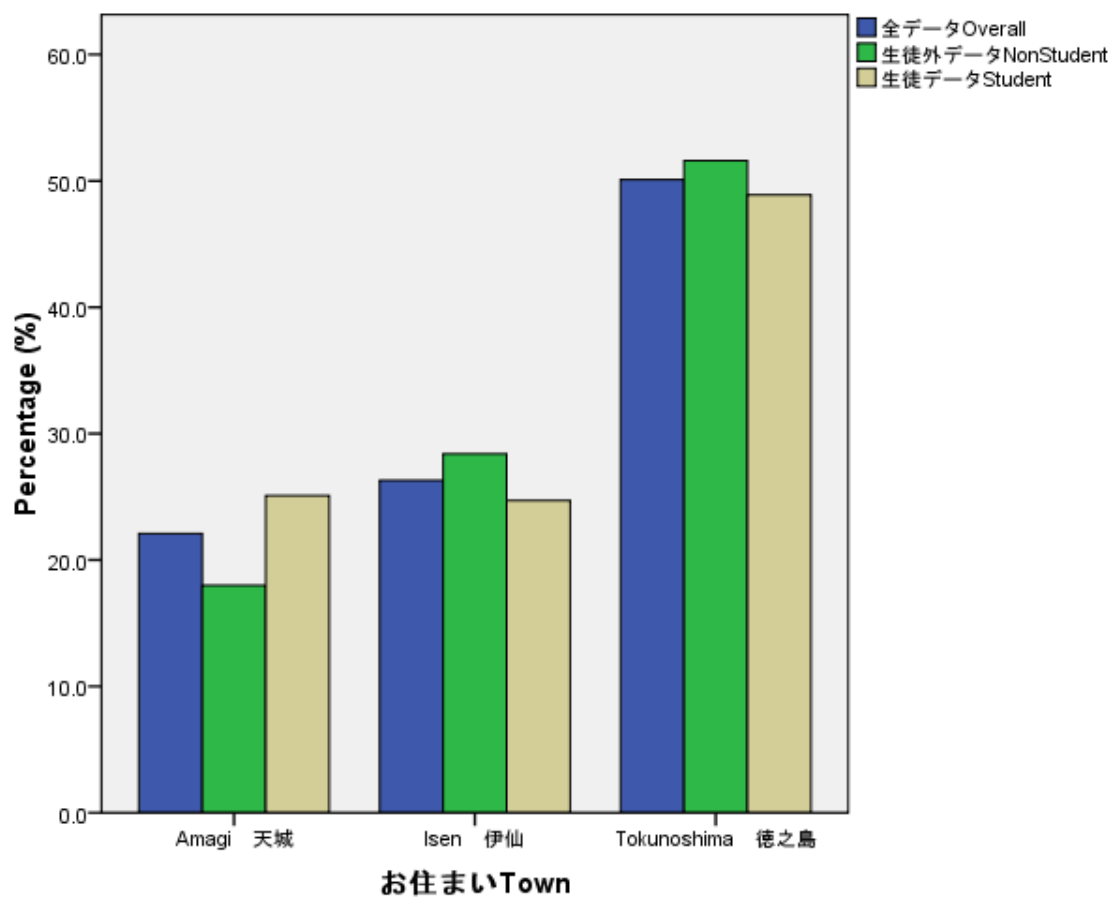


Table 16 表 16

選択肢 Choices		Work 仕事					
		全データ Overall data		生徒外データ Non-Students data		生徒データ School Students data	
		Percentage 割合(%)	回答者 数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者 数 Frequency	Percent age 割 合(%)	回答者 数 Freque ncy
Valid	Sugar cane farming 農業 (サトウキビ)	3.6	128	8.5	128	0.0	0
	Other farming 農業 (その他)	3.2	111	7.4	111	0.0	0
	Fishery 漁業	0.1	2	.1	2	0.0	0
	Construction 建設業	0.9	31	2.1	31	0.0	0
	Business 商業	3.1	110	7.3	110	0.0	0
	Industry 工業	0.6	21	1.4	21	0.0	0
	Public worker 公務 員	8.2	287	19.1	287	0.0	0
	Public teacher 教員	5.2	181	12.0	181	0.0	0
	Student 学生	57.8	2029	1.7	25	100.0	2004
	More than one occupation 兼業	1.8	64	4.3	64	0.0	0
	Others その他	13.7	481	32.0	481	0.0	0
	Total	98.2	3445	95.7	1441	100.0	2004
Missing	System	1.8	64	4.3	64	0.0	0
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 7 図 7

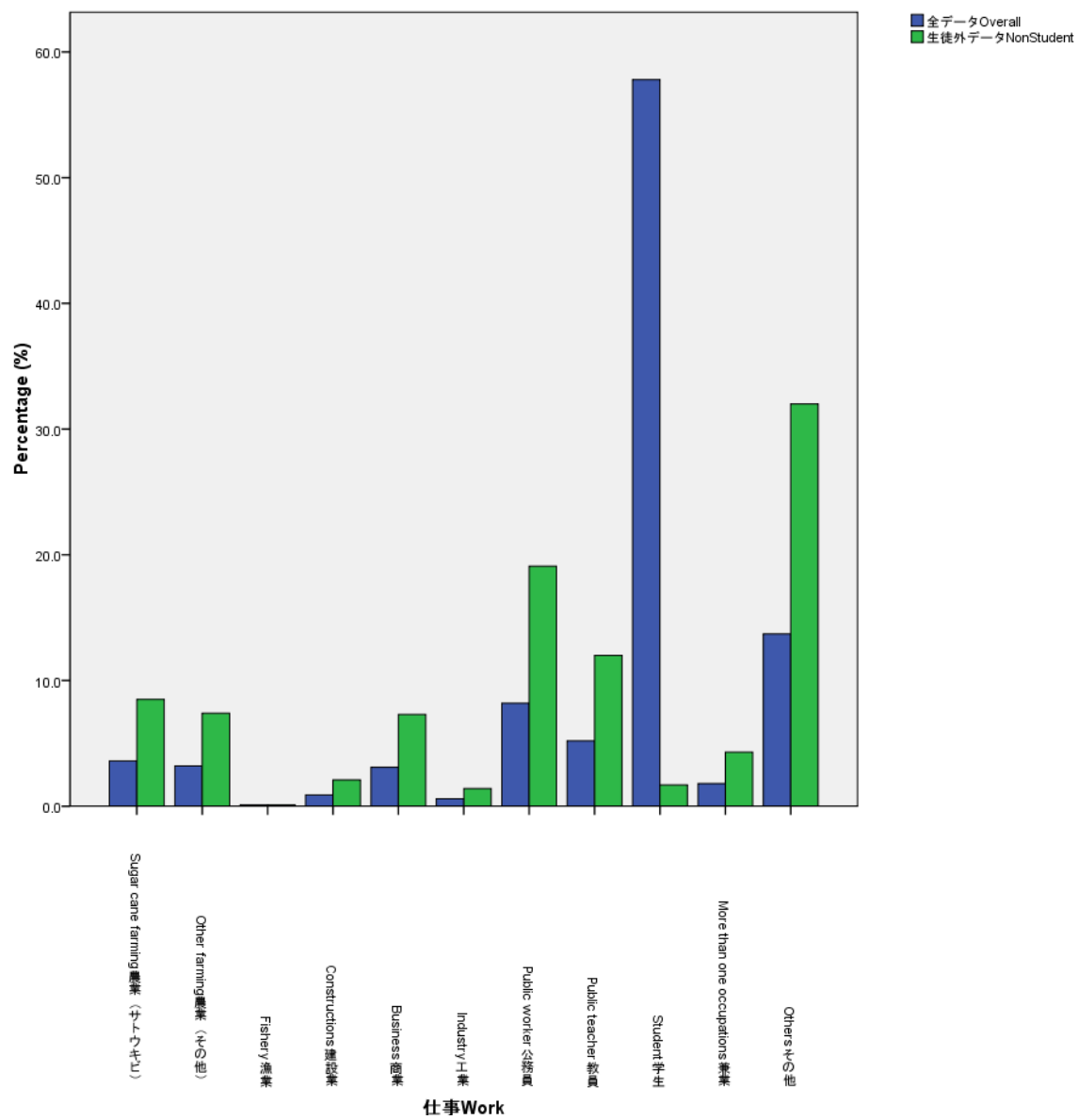
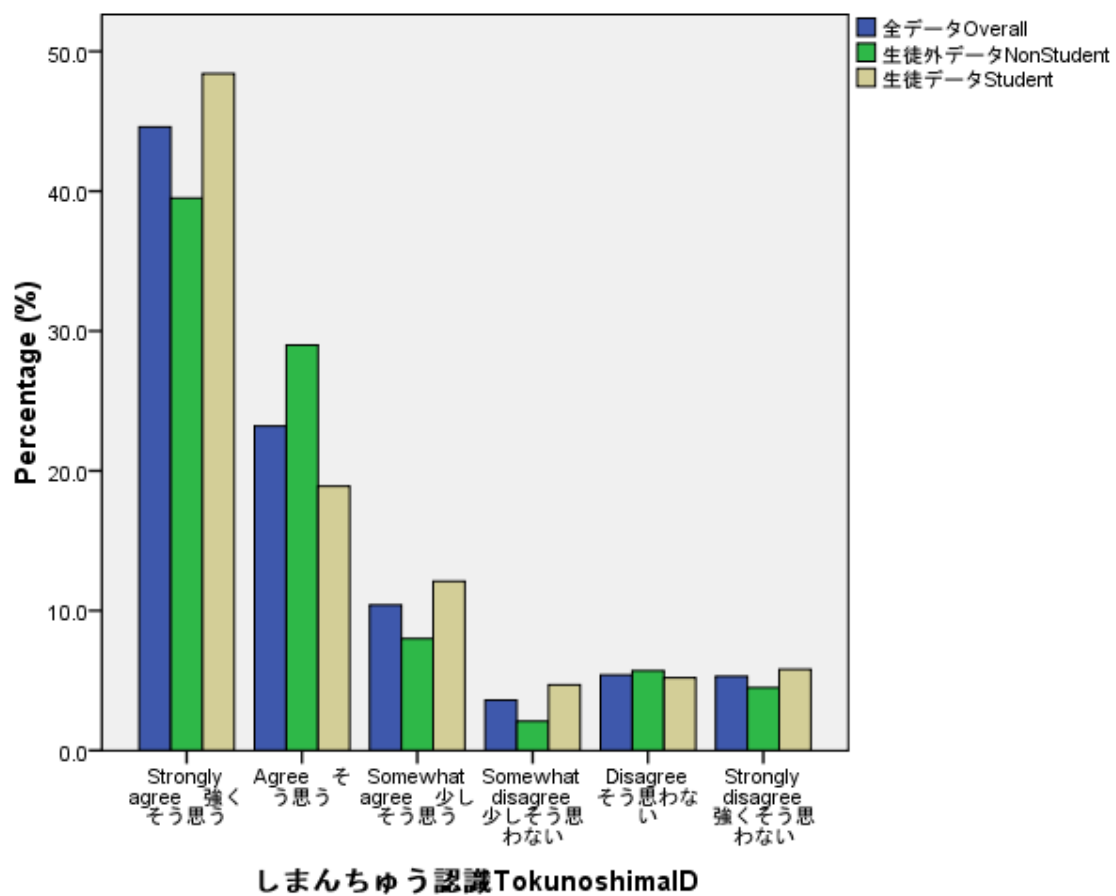


Table 17

		TKNIDしまんちゅう認識					
選択肢 Choices		全データ		生徒外データ		生徒データ	
		Overall data		Non-Students data		School Students data	
		Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency	Percentage 割合(%)	回答者数 Frequency
Valid	Strongly agree 強く思う	44.6	1565	39.5	595	48.4	970
	Agree そう思 う	23.2	815	29.0	437	18.9	378
	Somewhat agree 少し思う	10.4	364	8.0	121	12.1	243
	Somewhat disagree 少し そう思わない	3.6	127	2.1	32	4.7	95
	Disagree そう 思わない	5.4	191	5.7	86	5.2	105
	Strongly disagree 強く そう思わない	5.3	185	4.5	68	5.8	117
	Total	92.5	3247	89.0	1339	95.2	1908
	Missing	I do not know/Does not apply 質問に 当てはまらな い	2.2	77	2.8	42	1.7
I do not wish to answer 答えた くない		1.7	60	0.5	7	2.6	53
System		3.6	125	7.8	117	0.4	8
Total		7.5	262	11.0	166	4.8	96
Total		100.0	3509	100.0	1505	100.0	2004

Figure 8 図 8



APPENDIX C: Histograms

Figure 9

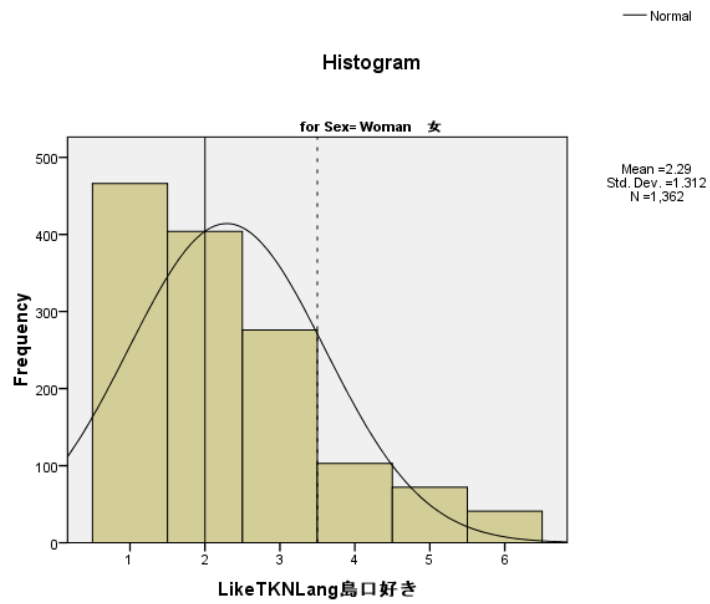
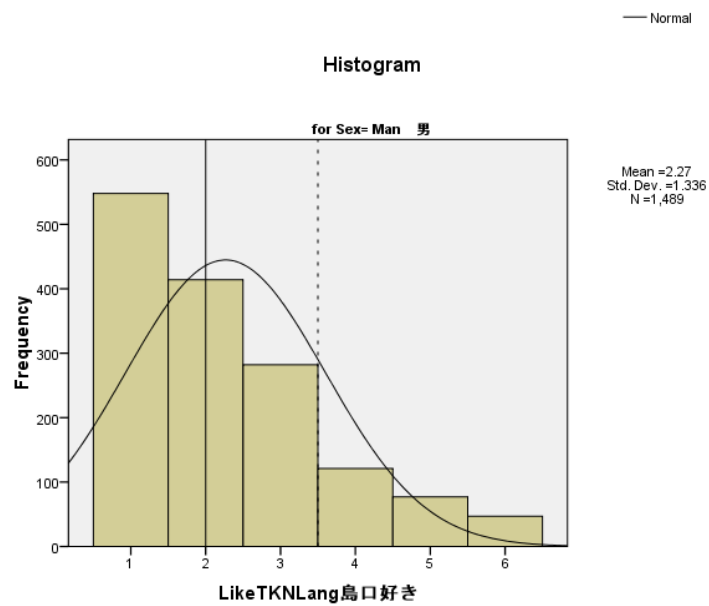


Figure 10



Appendix D:

Figure 11

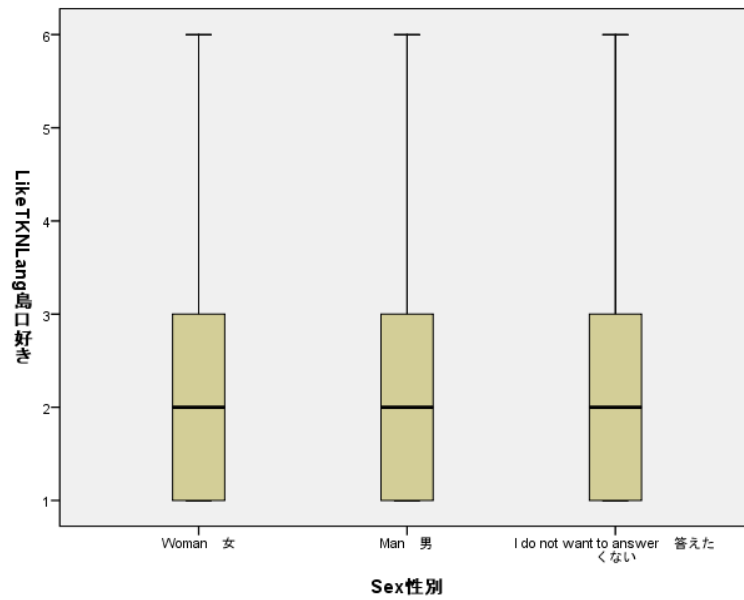
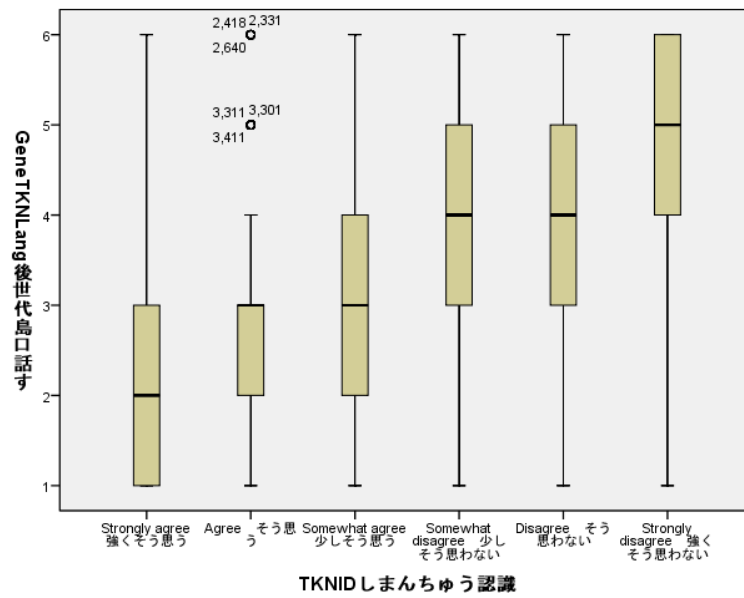


Figure 12



Appendix E:

Figure 13

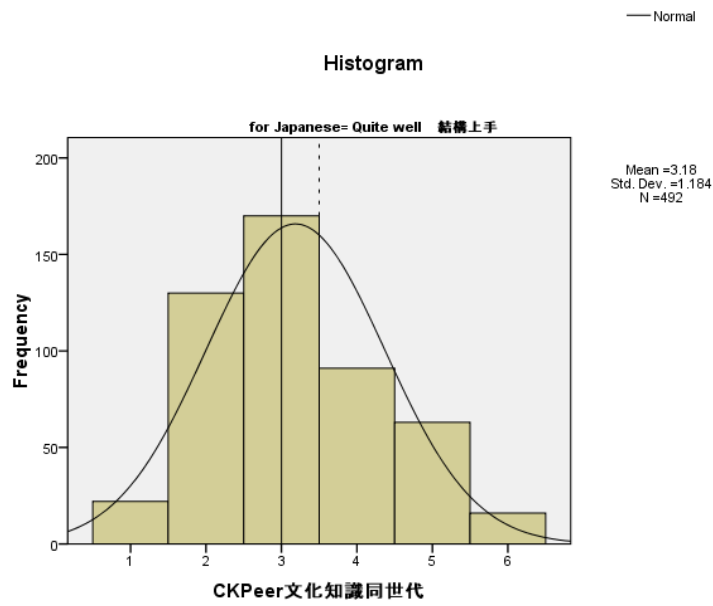
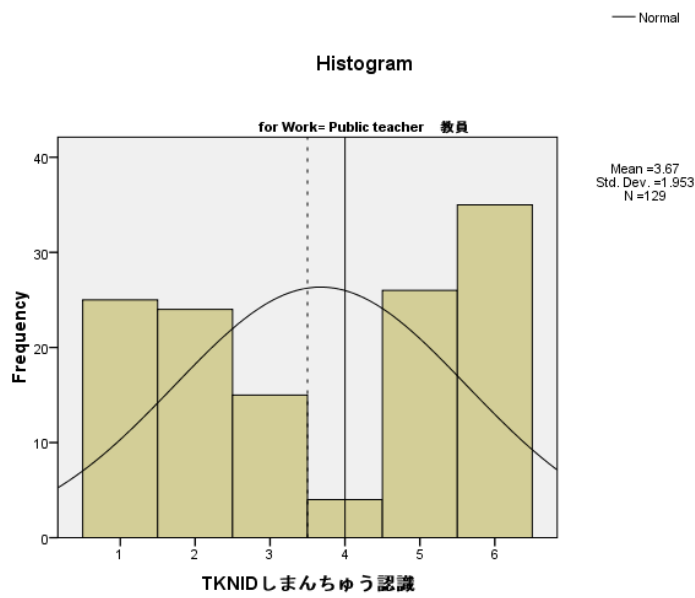


Figure 14



Appendix F: Results of Data Analysis Survey Parts 1-12

Mean values of variables

Each variable of mean value were described using 3.50 as dividing line between agreement (< 3.50) and disagreement (>3.50).

Partition based results on three sets of data

Three sets of data, which are the overall data set, the non-students data set (general public), and the school students' data set, were analysed separately. Visual inspection provided subjective conclusions. Results of these analyses were described in order of overall data, non-students data, and school students' data. Then the results of each section of questions were described. The data were further divided and described by sections according to the questionnaire set up. These results descriptions followed individual pattern of intended questions, such as: generational questions; location-based questions; feelings wishes, and thoughts; economic matters that are related to industry as well as historical context; and many aspects of life on Tokunoshima. These sections from 1 to 5 represent generational questions about their languages, culture, and identity therefore these five sections will be considered and described as five large questions. Therefore, these sections will contain description as one section, followed by detailed comparisons between perceived differences and non-differences of generations.

Section 6 had a similar approach to section one to five in terms of each questions being related to each other. However, this section's relationships were not generational; rather, it was identification of self according to defined locations. This section's results have followed similar description as section one to five. That is, first will be results description as one section, followed by detailed comparisons between perceived differences and non-differences of identification due to provided locations.

The sections from 7 to 10 have asked being on Tokunoshima island, languages (Tokunoshima and Japanese), and Traditional Tokunoshima songs with regard to what they feel, what they want, and what they think. In these sections, results of questions were described according to each variable since they are not really related to each other as direct questions. That is, each question has asked about different aspects (i.e., feelings, wishes, and thoughts) of participants.

The sections 11 considered economic matters that are related to industry as well as the historical context of Tokunoshima. Since these questions illustrate different aspects of the economy, industry and the historical context, variables were described individually as well as grouping variables in light of subjective conclusions about non-significant differences based on visual investigation.

Section 12 asked questions regarding many aspects of life on Tokunoshima such as: food; islanders' characteristics; islands' perception of time; as well as traditional life style. This section's results descriptions have followed similar results descriptions of section 11. In this section, instead of describing each variable, I attempt to describe subjective results in groups in line with feelings, knowledge, wishes, and thoughts.

Section 1 "My ___ speak fluent/good Tokunoshima language"

Overall data

Please refer to Table 1 (above) for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean value of this question showed that, with regard to great grandchildren, Grandchildren, children, peer groups, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) the responses were 4.32, 4.83, 4.61, 3.30, 2.06, 1.58, and 1.70, respectively. These numbers expressed overall disagreement for good Tokunoshima language ability for great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children. The mean result of the peer group response showed relative agreement; however, when peer group data were observed through subjective visual investigation, data suggested relative disagreement with the question. The rest of the variables (i.e., parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) showed mean values displaying clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed that there were four differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), and (4) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe partition analyses' significant visual differences for sex, Japanese, town, and occupations.

(1) In-generational differences were seen in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences showed positive correlation between the level of agreement/disagreement and the generation, where the older generation(s) answered that their parent(s), and great grandparent(s) had fluent Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi), and as the generations became newer to the island, respondents expressed that their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) had progressively a lesser amount of Shima-guchi. Grandparent(s)' positive correlation showed differences between generation levels within agreement.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age groups opposite to the generational differences. That is, great grandchildren and grandchildren were seen not to speak Shimaguchi fluently by more than half of those who answered the question. When participants were asked about their children and their peer group, they showed a tendency to express disagreement about their ability to speak Shima-guchi. Children's negative correlation showed differences between generation levels within disagreement. However, the negative correlation of peer group displayed that increased age groups' (i.e., agreement/disagreement existed at between 30-39 / 40-49) peer groups had increased fluency in parallel with increased age. A similar tendency toward differences was observed within agreement when questions about their parent(s) were asked.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as partition of the separate generation question showed differences by peer group. Peer group difference was positively correlated; that is, those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their peer group had also agreed with the question. A tendency toward differences was observed in children, parent(s), and great grandparent(s) groups. Their tendency toward difference showed a relationship between self-reported fluency (i.e., level of fluent, fluently, quite well,

not well, and not at all) in Shima-guchi and their perceived view of their children's Shima-guchi fluency (i.e., somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). In contrast to the children's result, parent(s) and great grandparent(s) results displayed a positive correlation within agreement (i.e., strongly agree, agree, and somewhat agree).

(4) The amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity apparently contributed to participants' views of parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their parent(s) and great grandparent(s) as being more fluent speakers, in positive correlation with their own Tokunoshima identity (Shiman-chu). These correlations being between: fluency of observed of parent(s) and great grandparent(s)' Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language); and their own perception of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person) showed visually significant differences between the level of Shiman-chu identity. The question about grandparent(s) showed visually significant correlation within the area of agreement.

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 18 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of this question showed that with regard to great grandchildren, Grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) the responses were 4.32, 4.83, 4.61, 2.94, 1.95, 1.70, and 1.68, respectively. These numbers express disagreement that great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children, Grandchildren, and children are good Shimaguchi speakers. The rest of the variables (i.e., peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) showed mean values in clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those five partitions are generations, age, Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), occupations, and Tokunoshima ID. The mean value of the following questions showed that great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children were 4.32, 4.83, and 4.61, respectively. These numbers expressed disagreement with the questions by participants. The mean result for peers, parents, grandchildren, and great grandchildren's mean values showed clear agreement with the question and those variable values following in the same order as in the list above: 2.94, 1.95, 1.70, and 1.68.

Partition analyses showed that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) occupations, and (5) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe, following partition analyses, significant visual differences for sex, Japanese ability, or town.

(1) In-generational differences were seen in peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences showed a positive correlation between the level of agreement/disagreement and the generation, where older generations answered that their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) had fluent Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi). As the generations became newer to the island, results expressed that respondents' peer

group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) had progressively less amounts of Shima-guchi.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age group opposite to the generational differences. That is, great grandchildren and grandchildren were seen not to speak fluently by more than half of those who answered the question. On the one hand, when participants were asked about their children, they expressed disagreement about their ability to speak Shima-guchi. The children's negative correlation showed differences between generation levels within disagreement. On the other hand, when participants were asked about their peer group, they expressed agreement toward their ability to speak Shima-guchi. However, the negative correlation of peer group displayed that increased age groups' (i.e., agreement/disagreement exist at between 30-39 / 40-49) peer groups have increased fluency in parallel with increased age.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as a partition for separate perceived generational questions about Shima-guchi fluency levels showed differences in peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) groups. Peer group difference was positively correlated across agreement/disagreement; that is, those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their peer group had agreed/disagree with the question in accordance with their reported Shima-guchi level. Positive relationships in variable levels and within agreement of partition levels, as well as differences between partition levels were observed in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) groups. A tendency toward differences were observed in perceptions of children's Shima-guchi fluency and had a tendency toward relationship with self-reported fluency (i.e., level of fluent, fluently, quite well, not well, and not at all) of Shima-guchi and perceptions of their children's Shima-guchi fluency (i.e., somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree).

(4) When occupations were used as partitions and investigated for differences, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) showed significant differences. Peer groups showed differences in students from other occupations who did not express that they speak less fluent Shima-guchi. However, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) showed differences for the occupation of public school teachers. Public teachers see their older generation as less fluent Shima-guchi speakers.

(5) The amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity contributed to participants' views of peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) as being more fluent speakers in positive correlation to their own identity as being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu). These correlations being between: fluency of observed of peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)' Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language); and their own perception of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person) have shown visually significant differences between level of Shiman-chu identity. These partitioned differences of peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and grandparent(s) showed visually significant correlation within the area of agreement.

Table 18

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 1 (Section 1) 世代間における島口の認識

Generational views of Tokunoshima language (Shima-Guchi)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	4.32 ± 1.62, 634	--	--	--	--	--	--	*	--
孫 GC	4.83 ± 1.27, 699	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
子 C	4.61 ± 1.30, 1087	--	--	n**	p*	--	--	*	*
同世代 Peer	2.94 ± 1.48, 1287	*	P** 1 st / 2 nd	N** 30/ 40	P** qw/n w	p*	--	** ss	P** sa/sd
親 P	1.95 ± 1.33, 1190	--	P** 1 st / 2 nd	--	p**	p*	--	** pt	P** sd/d
祖父母 GP	1.70 ± 1.29, 1097	--	P** 1 st / 2 nd	--	p**	--	--	** pt	P** swd/d
曾祖父母 GGP	1.68 ± 1.32, 944	--	P** 1 st / 2 nd	--	p**	--	--	** pt	P** swd/d

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字): 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

/ : 質問項目の「そう思う」と「そう思わない」の違いを示す場所因子で示す (express partition level location of difference between “agreement” and “disagreement” of variable level)

d, sd : 「そう思わない」、「強くそう思わない」を現す Expresses “Disagree”, “Strongly disagree”

School Students data

Please refer to Table 19 below for summary of results.

General statistics

Questions about great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children were not included on the school-student-targeted questionnaire form, since those students do not have children or later generations. The mean value of this question showed peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) responses of 3.54, 2.13, 1.50, and 1.72, respectively. These numbers show a perceived disagreement that their peer group possessed Shima-guchi ability by participants.

The rest of the variables (i.e., parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) showed mean values in clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses showed that there were four differences out of six partitions. There are only six partitions in this data due to age group and occupation being homogeneous in this data set. Those four partitions are sex, generations, Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), and Tokunoshima ID. The peer groups' mean value (3.54) showed general disagreement by the participants. The rest of the results -- for parents, grandchildren, and great grandchildren's mean values -- showed clear agreement with the question and those variable values follow in the same order as the list above: 2.13, 1.50 and 1.72.

Partition analyses showed that there were four differences out of six partitions. Those four partitions are (1) sex, (2) generations, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), and (4) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe, following partition analyses, significant visual differences for Japanese ability or town.

(1) Sex as a partition showed differences between sex group perceptions of peer groups. The difference showed that males perceived their peer group to be more fluent than their females did. This sex difference was not observed in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) groups.

(2) Generational differences were seen in parent(s), and grandparent(s). Peer group difference also showed a positive correlation between the level of agreement/disagreement and the generation where older generation answered that their peer group had fluent Tokunoshima language (Shima-guchi), and as the generations became newer to the island they reported that their peer groups had progressively lesser Shima-guchi. Perception of grandparent(s) group's difference also showed a positive correlation within the area of agreement. A tendency toward differences was observed in the perception of great grandparent(s)' Shima-guchi fluency and the tendency toward relationships between self-reported fluency in Shima-guchi and fluency of perceived their children's Shima-guchi fluency were observed.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as a partition for separate perceived generational questions about Shima-guchi fluency levels showed differences in peer group, and parent(s) groups. The peer group difference was positively correlated across agreement/disagreement, that is, those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their peer group agreed/disagreed with the question according to their reports of fluency in Shima-guchi. Positive relationships in variable levels and within agreement of partition levels as well as differences between partition levels were observed in parent(s) group. A tendency toward differences was observed in the perception of grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s)' Shima-guchi fluency.

(4) The amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity contributed to their views of parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their parent(s) being more fluent speakers in positive correlation with levels of agreement/disagreement to reported Tokunoshima identity. The correlations were observed between fluency of observed of parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)' Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language)

and their own perception of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person), showing visually significant differences in accordance with Shiman-chu identity. These partitioned differences of grandparent(s) and grandparent(s) showed visually significant correlation within area of agreement.

Table 19

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 1 (Section 1) 世代間における島口の認識 Generational views of Tokunoshima language (Shima-Guchi)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima-Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC							
孫 GC							
子 C							
同世代 Peer	3.54 ± 1.50, 1913	**	--	P** nw/ds	--	*	*
親 P	2.13 ± 1.43, 1914	--	p**	p**	*	*	P** d/sd
祖父母 GP	1.50 ± 1.11, 1861	--	p**	*	*	--	p**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.72 ± 1.35, 1086	--	p*	*	*	--	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Section 2 “My ___ speak fluent/good standardized Japanese.”

Overall data

Please refer to Table 20 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of this question showed that great grandchildren, Grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) answered this question at 2.68, 2.64, 2.57, 2.37, 2.37, 2.91, and 3.26, respectively. These numbers expressed agreement with the statement by participants. The mean result of all group’s (i.e., great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peer group, parents, and grandchildren) mean values showed clear agreement with the question, however, subjective visual investigation suggested some relative disagreement to the perception with regard to great grandparent(s).

Overall data set (please refer to table 12 for summary of results)

Partition analyses showed that there were three differences out of eight partitions. Those three partitions are (1) age and (2) Japanese. I was unable to observe significant visual differences for the following partition analyses: sex, generations, Shima-guchi, town, occupation, and Tokunoshima identity.

(1) Age as a partition showed differences between children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants have the perception that their great grandchildren, grandchildren, and peer groups are good Japanese speakers. That is, great grandchildren, grandchildren, and peer groups were seen to speak Japanese fluently by more than half of those who answered the question. When participants were asked about their children, they expressed agreement that they had fluent ability in speaking Japanese. The children’s negative correlation showed differences between age group levels across agreement and disagreement. This negative correlation in perception of their children’s abilities showed increased age groups had increased perception of their children’s Japanese fluency. Opposite results of this correlation were observed within agreement when question about their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were asked. These results suggest a perception of increased age correlating to decreased ability in speaking Japanese.

(2) Self reported Japanese fluency levels as a partition to separate perception of generational Japanese fluency question showed differences for great grandchildren, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These five groups’ differences were positively correlated; that is, those who self-reported fluent speaker levels of Japanese agreed in their perception of Japanese fluency when they referred to their great grandchildren, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). A tendency toward differences was observed in grandchildren and children. The tendency toward difference for grandchildren and children expressed a relationship between self-reported fluency (i.e., level of fluent, fluently, quite well, not well, and not at all) of Shima-guchi and their perceived children’s Shima-guchi fluency (i.e., somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). In contrast with the children’s result, parent(s) and great grandparent(s) results expressed positive correlation within agreement (i.e., strongly agree, agree, and somewhat agree).

Table 20

全データ Overall Data

設問 2 (Section 2) 世代間における日本語の認識 Generational views of Japanese language

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japan ese	住 ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	2.68 ± 1.50, 604	--	--	--	--	p**	--	--	**
孫 GC	2.64 ± 1.45, 705	--	--	--	--	p*	*	--	**
子 C	2.57 ± 1.29, 1121	--	--	N**	*	p*	--	--	*
同世代 Peer	2.37 ± 1.21, 3281	--	--	--	--	p**	--	--	--
親 P	2.37 ± 1.27, 3233	--	--	P**	--	p**	--	*	--
祖父母 GP	2.91 ± 1.49, 3051	--	n*	P**	--	P**	--	*	n*
曾祖父母 GGP	3.26 ± 1.66, 2049	--	N*	P**	N*	P**	--	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Italic (斜体) : 観察的分析で「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Observational analyses expressing disagreement)

Non-Students data (please refer to Table 21 below for summary of results)**General statistics**

The mean value of this question showed great grandchildren, Grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were 2.68, 2.64, 2.57, 2.54, 2.84, 3.47, and 3.82 responses respectively. These numbers show general agreement with the statement by great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children, and parent(s) by participants. The other two variables (i.e., grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s)) showed mean values in clear disagreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) Japanese, and (5) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences: sex, town, and occupation.

(1) In generational differences were seen in the grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s). These differences also showed a negative correlation between the level of agreement/disagreement and generation, where newer generations answered that their grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s) were more fluent in Japanese as the generations become newer to the island.

(2) In age as partition, differences between age group and generations with regard to perceived children's Japanese fluencies were seen. The older age groups see their children being more fluent in Japanese than the younger age group. On the one hand, when participants were asked about their children, they expressed agreement toward their abilities to speak Japanese. Children's negative correlations showed differences between generation levels within disagreement. On the other hand, when participants were asked about their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s), they expressed agreement toward their inabilities to speak Japanese according to the increment of their age group.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as a partition to separate perceived generational question of Japanese fluency levels showed differences in great grandparent(s). Great grandparent(s) difference was negatively correlated across agreement/disagreement, that is, those who reported being fluent speakers of Japanese thought their great grandparent(s) had agreed/disagreed to the question in correlation to the self-reported fluency of their Japanese level.

(4) Self-reported Japanese fluency levels were used as partitions and investigated for differences of fluency of perceived generational Japanese fluency. The difference in perception of great grandchildren, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) showed significant differences. Out of these significant difference perceived by parent(s) and grandparent(s) groups, positive correlation across agreement and disagreement existed. The perceived generation question about great grandchildren expressed positive correlation within agreement; in contrast, grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) expressed positive correlation within disagreement. Grandchildren and children did show some significances of difference in level of fluency in Japanese. These tendencies toward differences in fluency of Japanese also showed a small but positive relationship between variable level and partition level.

(5) The amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity by participants contributed to their views of great grandchildren, grandchildren, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their great grandchildren and grandchildren as showing significant differences according to their own identity of being Tokunoshima persons (Shiman-chu). These differences were not positively or negatively correlated to identity/Being with regard to fluency of observed of great grandchildren and grandchildren's Japanese or their own perceptions of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person) level. These partitioned differences for parent(s) showed visually significant correlation within area of agreement. These analyses showed that grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s) displayed significant differences according to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu). These differences were negatively correlated to identity/Being with regard to fluency of observed of grandparent(s)

and great grandparent(s)' Japanese and their own perception of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person) level.

Table 21

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 2 (Section 2)世代間における日本語の認識 Generational views of Japanese language

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差, 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Gener ations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	2.68 ± 1.50, 604	--	--	--	--	p**	--	--	**
孫 GC	2.64 ± 1.45, 705	--	--	--	--	p*	*	--	**
子 C	2.57 ± 1.29, 1121	--	--	N**	*	p*	--	--	*
同世代 Peer	2.54 ± 1.16, 1335	--	--	--	--	p**	--	--	--
親 P	2.84 ± 1.32, 1289	--	--	P**	--	P**	--	--	n**
祖父母 GP	3.47 ± 1.50, 1155	--	N**	P**	--	P**	*	*	N**
曾祖父母 GGP	3.82 ± 1.63, 964	--	N**	P**	N**	p**	--	*	N**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Italic(斜体): 観察的分析で「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Observational analyses expressing disagreement)

School Students data (please refer to Table 22 below for summary of results)

General statistics

Questions about great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children were not included in school students' targeted questionnaire form, since those students do not have children or later generations. The overall mean values of this question showed peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) values of 2.25, 2.06, 2.57, and 2.77, respectively. These numbers showed agreement with perceived Japanese fluency for this group's peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s).

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed two differences out of six partitions. Those two partitions are (1) Japanese and (2) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe partition analyses' significant visual differences for sex, generations, Shima-guchi, or town.

(1) Self-reported Japanese fluency levels were used as partitions and investigated for differences in perceived generational Japanese fluency. The results of perception of peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) showed significant difference. The perceived generation question about all groups showed positive correlation within agreement. These perceived group differences in fluency in Japanese also showed a positive relationship between variable level and partition level.

(2) The amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity by participants contributed to their view of their great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their great grandparent(s) as being more fluent speakers in positive correlation with levels within agreement of their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu). This significant difference correlation between fluency of observed of great grandparent(s)' Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) and their own perception of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person) showed a visually significant difference between levels of Shiman-chu identity. This partitioned difference for grandparent(s) showed visually significant correlations within the area of agreement.

Table 22

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 2 (Section 2) 世代間における日本語の認識 Generational views of Japanese language

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima-Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	しまんちゅう う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC							
孫 GC							
子 C							
同世代 Peer	2.25 ± 1.23, 1946	--	--	--	p**	--	--
親 P	2.06 ± 1.14, 1944	--	--	--	p**	--	--
祖父母 GP	2.57 ± 1.38, 1896	--	--	--	p**	--	*
曾祖父母 GGP	2.77 ± 1.53, 1085	*	--	--	p**	*	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

- N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
- n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Section 3 “My ___ know Tokunoshima culture.” (Appendix A)

Overall data

Please refer to Table 23 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for great grandchildren, Grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) 4.22, 4.52, 4.01, 3.02, 2.33, 1.92, and 1.98, respectively. In other words, these numbers show disagreement with this statement for great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children by participants. All other mean values (i.e., for children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) were in clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed that there were four differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), and (4) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe significant visual differences in partition analyses for sex, Japanese, town, or occupation.

(1) In generational differences were seen in peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences showed a positive correlation between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered that their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) had cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima. As the generations become newer to the island results showed parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) had progressively more cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age groups opposite to the previous section of generational differences. That is, participants saw their children and peer groups as having lesser Tokunoshima cultural knowledge. Children and peer groups' negative correlation showed differences between generations across the level of agreement/disagreement.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as a partition to separate perceived generational question of Tokunoshima cultural knowledge levels showed difference in children and parent(s) groups. These group differences were positively correlated within level of agreement, that is, those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their children and parent(s) had agreed to the question corresponding to their fluency in Shima-guchi.

(4) Amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels was used as a partition in view of children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima as being positively correlated to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu).

Table 23

全データ Overall Data

設問 3 (Section 3) 世代間における徳之島文化の知識について Generational views of knowledge of Tokunoshima culture

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japanese	住ま い Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	4.22 ± 1.50, 569	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
孫 GC	4.52 ± 1.27, 647	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
子 C	4.01 ± 1.26, 1086	--	P*	N**	p**	*	--	--	p**
同世代 Peer	3.02 ± 1.28, 3224	--	--	N**	p*	p*	--	--	*
親 P	2.33 ± 1.22, 3139	--	p**	n*	p**	p*	--	*	P**
祖父母 GP	1.92 ± 1.22, 2976	--	p**	--	--	p*	--	*	p**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.98 ± 1.36, 2031	--	P**	--	*	p*	--	*	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Non-Students data (please refer to Table 24 below for summary of results)

General statistics

The mean value of this question showed that great grandchildren, Grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were 4.22, 4.52, 4.01, 3.07, 2.30, 2.03, and 1.97, respectively. These numbers have showed disagreement to the knowledge of Tokunoshima culture question about their great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children when viewed from participants. The remaining variables (i.e., peer, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) showed mean values that are in clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) occupation, and (5) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable

to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) In generational difference were seen in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences also showed positive correlation between levels agreement/disagreement and generation where older generations answered that their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) had Tokunoshima cultural knowledge; however, as the generations became newer to the island data showed parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having progressively more cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima.

(2) Age as a partition results showed differences between age groups opposite to the previous section on generational differences. That is, participants saw their children and peer group as having lesser Tokunoshima cultural knowledge. Children and peer groups' negative correlation showed differences between generations across the level of agreement/disagreement.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as a partition to separate perceived generational question of Tokunoshima cultural knowledge levels showed differences in children, peers, and parent(s) groups. Children's group difference was positively correlated within the level of disagreement. Peer group difference was positively correlated between levels of agreement/disagreement. Parent(s)' group difference was positively correlated within levels of agreement. That is, even though those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their children had less cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima despite responding to the fluency of their Shima-guchi level being correlated to cultural knowledge. Those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their peers had more or less cultural knowledge according to the fluency of their Shima-guchi level. In spite of children and peers results, those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their parent(s) had good cultural knowledge which co-responded to fluency of their Shima-guchi level.

(4) When occupations were used as a partition to separate the data set, differences were identified between types of work of survey participants. The result is clearly suggesting that public teachers answered differently from other occupations when they see their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These public school teachers have seen their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) as having a lesser amount of cultural knowledge than other occupations report.

(5) When the amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as a partition, participants viewed their children, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) as different. Participants viewed their children, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima as being positively correlated to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu). This difference was found within disagreement when participants saw their children; however, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were seen to have differences between agreement and disagreement corresponding to Shiman-chu ID. That is those who have more Shiman-chu ID saw their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and

great grandparent(s) as having more cultural knowledge holder and those who reported lesser Shiman-chu showed less cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima. Specifically, mainly those who answered strongly disagreed to having Tokunoshima ID also answered disagreement to their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having Tokunoshima cultural knowledge.

Table 24

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 3 (Section 3) 世代間における徳之島文化の知識について Generational views of knowledge of Tokunoshima culture

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Gener ations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	4.22 ± 1.50, 569	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	*
孫 GC	4.52 ± 1.27, 647	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	*
子 C	4.01 ± 1.26, 1086	--	P*	N**	p**	*	--	--	p**
同世代 Peer	3.07 ± 1.24, 1307	--	p*	N**	P**	--	--	--	P**
親 P	2.30 ± 1.23, 1230	--	P**	--	p**	--	--	**	P**
祖父母 GP	2.03 ± 1.29, 1108	--	P**	--	*	--	--	**	P**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.97 ± 1.33, 927	--	P**	--	p*	*	--	**	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 25 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The questions of great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children were not included in school students targeted questionnaire form since those students do not have children or later generations. The mean value of this question showed that peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were 2.98, 2.34, 1.85, and 1.98, respectively. Perception of their peer group, parent(s),

grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) showed mean values have shown clear agreement to the question.

Partition analysis

Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. Those two partitions are (1) generations, and (2) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) Generational differences were seen in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These group differences had also shown positive correlation within area of agreement and generation where older generation answered their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) group having knowledge of Tokunoshima culture as the generations become newer to the island expressed their peer group having progressively less amount of knowledge of Tokunoshima culture.

(2) Amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity by participants had contributed to see their view of parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their parent(s) being having more cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima were positively correlated between levels of within area of agreement to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu).

Table 25

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 3 (Section 3) 世代間における徳之島文化の知識について Generational views of knowledge of Tokunoshima culture

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima-Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC							
孫 GC							
子 C							
同世代 Peer	2.98 ± 1.31, 1917	--	--	p*	p*	--	--
親 P	2.34 ± 1.22, 1909	--	p**	p*	p*	--	p**
祖父母 GP	1.85 ± 1.17, 1868	--	p**	p*	p*	--	p**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.98 ± 1.38, 1104	--	p**	p*	p*	--	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Section 4 “My ___ practice Tokunoshima culture.”

Overall data

Please refer to Table 26 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) 4.44, 4.57, 4.21, 3.31, 2.72, 2.25, and 2.20, respectively. These mean numbers showed disagreement and agreement. This disagreement and agreement difference was seen at the perception of next generations and older generations as well as peer groups. In other words, these numbers show disagreement with this statement for great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children by participants. All other mean values (i.e., for peer groups, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) were in clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there were four differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) Japanese, (5) occupation, and (6) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex and town.

(1) In generational difference were seen in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences have also shown positive correlation between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) practice Tokunoshima culture as the generations become newer to the island showed that parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having progressively less cultural practice of Tokunoshima.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age group opposite to the previous section of generational differences. That is, participants saw their children and peer group having lesser Tokunoshima cultural practice. Children and peer groups' negative correlation showed differences between generations across the level of agreement/disagreement. When they saw their parent(s), they agreed that their parent(s) having more cultural practice yet this age difference had same negative correlation between participants age and their parent(s)' cultural practice.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as partition to separate perceived generational question of Tokunoshima cultural practice levels showed difference in children, peer, parent(s), and great grandparent(s) groups. These group differences were positively correlated within level of agreement except for peer group, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their children parent(s), and great grandparent(s) had agreed to the question corresponding to fluency of their Shima-guchi level. In contrast, when participants saw their own peer group difference existed between

agreement and disagreement levels. This difference of peer group was also correlated between Shima-guchi and cultural practice.

(4) Using Japanese as a partition showed variable level differences between partitions' levels. Parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were observed as having differences. When participants saw their parent(s) there was a difference between agreement and disagreement. This difference was positively and significantly correlated between variable levels and partition levels. When fluent Japanese speakers as participant(s) saw their grandparent(s) their opinion of grandparent(s) as more cultural practice holders but lesser Japanese fluent speakers have answered their grandparents have cultural practice of Tokunoshima but lesser amount than those who have more fluency of Japanese. When these participant(s) saw their great grandparent(s), they see the difference according to level of Japanese fluency but this difference did not correlate to amount of cultural practice.

(5) When occupation was used to separate data set public school teachers are the only one to view their children does not practice of Tokunoshima culture.

(6) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition participants had view of children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima which were positively correlated to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu).

Table 26

全データ Overall Data

設問 4 (Section 4) 世代間における徳之島文化の慣行について Generational views of practice of Tokunoshima culture

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japan ese	住 ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	4.44 ± 1.45, 546	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
孫 GC	4.57 ± 1.28, 635	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
子 C	4.21 ± 1.28, 1078	*	p*	N**	p**	--	--	**	p**
同世代 Peer	3.31 ± 1.37, 3150	--	*	N**	P**	p*	--	*	P*
親 P	2.72 ± 1.38, 3050	--	P**	n**	p**	P**	--	*	P**
祖父母 GP	2.25 ± 1.34, 2886	--	P**	n*	p*	p**	--	*	P**
曾祖父母 GGP	2.20 ± 1.42, 1961	--	P**	n*	p**	**	--	*	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

- P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)
 p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
 N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
 n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 27 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) 4.44, 4.57, 4.21, 3.21, 2.46, 2.11, and 2.01, respectively. These mean numbers showed both disagreement and agreement. These disagreement and agreement differences were seen at the perception of next generations and older generations, as well as peer groups. In other words, these numbers show disagreement with this statement for great grandchildren, Grandchildren, and children by participants. All other mean values (i.e., for peer groups, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s)) were in clear agreement with the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) occupation, and (5) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe significant visual differences following partition analyses on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) In generational difference were visible for peer, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences also showed positive correlation between levels agreement/disagreement. The correlations between generation and Tokunoshima cultural practice showed that older generation (native to the land and relatively closer to native to land) answered parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having cultural practices of Tokunoshima; however, as the generations become newer to the island have showed parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having progressively more cultural knowledge of Tokunoshima.

(2) Age as a partition, results showed differences between age groups opposite to the previous section of generational differences. That is, participants saw their children and peer group having lesser Tokunoshima cultural practice. Children and peer groups' negative correlation showed differences between generations across the level of agreement/disagreement.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as partition to separate perceived generational question of Tokunoshima cultural practice levels showed difference in children, peers, and parent(s) groups. Children's group difference was positively correlated within level of disagreement. Peer's group difference was positively correlated between levels of agreement/disagreement. Parent(s)'

group difference was positively correlated within level of agreement. That is, even though those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their children had less cultural practice of Tokunoshima despite of the fact that their responses about their Shima-guchi levels were correlated to cultural practice. Those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their peers had more or less cultural practice according to their fluency of their Shima-guchi level. In spite of children and peers results, those who reported being fluent speakers of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their parent(s) had good cultural practice which co-responded to fluency of their Shima-guchi level.

(4) When occupations were used as partition to separate data set, difference was identified between types of work of survey participants. Result is clearly suggesting that public teachers answered differently from other occupations when they see their children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These public school teachers have seen their children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) as lesser amount of cultural practice holders than other occupations.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition participants had view their children, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were seen as different. Participants viewed their children, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) cultural practice of Tokunoshima which were positively correlated to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu). This difference was find within disagreement when participants saw their children however, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were seen to have differences between agreement and disagreement corresponding to Shiman-chu ID. That is Those who have more Shiman-chu ID have seen their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) as more cultural knowledge holder and lesser Shiman-chu ID showed less cultural practice of Tokunoshima. Specifically those who answered strongly disagreed having Tokunoshima ID also answered disagreement to their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having Tokunoshima cultural practice.

Table 27

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 4 (Section 4) 世代間における徳之島文化の慣行について Generational views of practice of Tokunoshima culture

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Gener ations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	4.44 ± 1.45, 546	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
孫 GC	4.57 ± 1.28, 635	*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
子 C	4.21 ± 1.28, 1078	*	p*	N**	p**	--	--	**	p**

同世代 Peer	3.21 ± 1.26, 1307	--	P**	N**	P**	--	--	--	P**
親 P	2.46 ± 1.29, 1218	--	P**	n*	p**	--	--	**	P**
祖父母 GP	2.11 ± 1.30, 1100	--	P**	--	p*	--	--	**	P**
曾祖父母 GGP	2.01 ± 1.34, 916	--	P**	--	p*	--	--	**	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 28 below for summary of results

General statistics

The questions of great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children were not included in school students targeted questionnaire form since those students do not have children or later generations. The mean value of this question showed that peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were 3.38, 2.89, 2.34, and 2.38, respectively. Perception of their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) showed mean values have shown clear agreement to the question.

Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of six partitions. Those two partitions are (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi (fluency of Tokunoshima language) and (3) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Generational differences were seen in parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). When participants saw practice of Tokunoshima culture of their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) they stated differences between generations. However, positive correlation between areas of agreement/disagreement was only seen in perception of parent(s). These correlations of generation where older generation answered their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) group having practice of Tokunoshima culture as the generations become newer to the island.

(2) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as partition to separate perceived generational question of Tokunoshima cultural practice levels showed difference in parent(s) and great grandparent(s) groups. Both parent(s) and great grandparent(s) group stated differences and these differences were positively correlated within level of agreement.

(3) Amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity by participants had contributed to see their view of peer, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their peer and grandparent(s) being having more cultural practice of Tokunoshima were positively correlated. These positive correlations were seen between levels agreement to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu).

Table 28

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 4 (Section 4)世代間における徳之島文化の慣行について Generational views of practice of Tokunoshima culture

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima-Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC							
孫 GC							
子 C							
同世代 Peer	3.38 ± 1.43, 1843	--	p*	p*	p*	--	p**
親 P	2.89 ± 1.42, 1832	--	P**	p**	p*	--	P**
祖父母 GP	2.34 ± 1.36, 1786	--	**	p*	p*	--	p**
曾祖父母 GGP	2.38 ± 1.46, 1045	--	**	p**	p*	--	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Section 5 “My _____ have Tokunoshima identity.”

Overall data

Please refer to Table 29 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) 3.25, 3.37, 2.72, 1.97, 1.86, 1.63, and 1.68, respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi

(Tokunoshima language), (4) occupation, and (5) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, fluency of Japanese, and town.

(1) In generational difference were seen in great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These differences have also shown positive correlation except for children. These correlation between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) practice Tokunoshima culture as the generations become newer to the island showed that parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having progressively less perceived Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID). Among the partition differences and correlation between variable levels and partition levels parent(s) and grandparent(s) were seen to have Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID) within area of agreement to the question. However, when participants were asked about their children there were differences between generations however not clear correlation with partition.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age group opposite to the previous section of generational differences. That is, participants saw their great grandchildren, and grandchildren having lesser amount of perception of Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID). Negative correlation between partition and variable levels of great grandchildren and grandchildren noted these differences existed and differences were found between agreement and disagreement.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as partition to separate perceived generational question of perceived Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID) levels showed difference in great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children groups. These group differences were positively correlated across level of agreement and disagreement, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their great grandchildren, great grandchildren, and children had agreed to the question corresponding to fluency of their Shima-guchi level.

(4) When occupation was used to separate data set then public school teachers were the only one viewed great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having lesser amount of Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID).

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition participants had view of great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) all showed significant visual differences. These partition differences on variable levels existed when participants viewed their great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) also claimed that their levels were positively correlated to each other. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement to the questions.

Table 29

全データ Overall Data

設問 5 (Section 5) 世代間における徳之島人 (しまんちゅう) の認識について Generational views of identity of Tokunoshima person (Shiman-Chu)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	3.25 ± 1.70, 576	--	P**	N**	P**	--	--	**	P**
孫 GC	3.37 ± 1.62, 676	--	P**	N**	P**	--	--	**	P**
子 C	2.72 ± 1.40, 1095	--	**	n*	P**	--	--	**	P**
同世代 Peer	1.97 ± 1.14, 3212	--	--	n*	--	--	--	*	**
親 P	1.86 ± 1.28, 3124	--	p**	--	*	*	--	**	P**
祖父母 GP	1.63 ± 1.19, 2990	--	p**	--	--	*	--	**	P**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.68 ± 1.26, 2151	--	P**	--	*	--	--	**	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Italic (斜体) : 観察的分析で「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Observational analyses expressing disagreement)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 30 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) 3.25, 3.37, 2.72, 2.15, 1.80, 1.66, and 1.63, respectively. These mean numbers showed area of agreement.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) occupation, and (5) Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, fluency of Japanese, and town.

(1) In generational difference were seen in great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). These

differences have also shown positive correlation except for children. These correlation between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) practice Tokunoshima culture as the generations become newer to the island showed that parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having progressively less perceived Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID). Among the partition differences and correlation between variable levels and partition levels parent(s) and grandparent(s) were seen to have Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID) within area of agreement to the question. However, when participants were asked about their children there were differences between generations however not clear correlation with partition.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age group opposite to the previous section of generational differences. That is, participants saw their great grandchildren, and grandchildren having lesser amount of perception of Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID). Negative correlation between partition and variable levels of great grandchildren and grandchildren noted these differences existed and differences were found between agreement and disagreement.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels as partition to separate perceived generational question of perceived Shiman-chu (perceived Tokunoshima ID) levels showed difference in great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peer, and parent(s). These group differences were positively correlated across level of agreement and disagreement for great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children. However, peer and parent(s) groups suggested differences within area of agreement to the question. That is, those who reported fluent speaker of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought their great grandchildren, great grandchildren, children, peer, and parent(s) had agreed to the question corresponding to fluency of their Shima-guchi level.

(4) When occupation was used to separate data set then public school teachers were the only ones viewed great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) having lesser amount of Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). Peer group was the only question that was not seen as different from perspective of occupation (i.e., public school teachers).

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition participants had view of great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, peers, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) all showed significant visual differences. These partition differences on variable levels existed when participants viewed their great grandchildren, grandchildren, children, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) also claimed that their levels were positively correlated to each other. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement to the questions. However, peer group was the only group that had visual significant difference within levels of agreement to the question.

Table 30

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 5 (Section 5) 世代間における徳之島人 (しまんちゅう) の認識について
 Generational views of identity of Tokunoshima person (Shiman-Chu)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC	3.25 ± 1.70, 576	--	P**	N**	P**	--	--	**	P**
孫 GC	3.37 ± 1.62, 676	--	P**	N**	P**	--	--	**	P**
子 C	2.72 ± 1.40, 1095	--	**	n*	P**	--	--	**	P**
同世代 Peer	2.15 ± 1.10, 1285	--	*	--	p**	--	--	--	p**
親 P	1.80 ± 1.22, 1224	--	P**	*	p**	--	--	**	P**
祖父母 GP	1.66 ± 1.22, 1128	--	P**	--	*	--	--	**	P**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.63 ± 1.23, 967	--	P**	--	*	--	--	**	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 31 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The questions of great grandchildren, grandchildren, and children were not included in school students targeted questionnaire form since those students do not have children or later generations. The mean value of this question showed that peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were 1.86, 1.90, 1.62, and 1.72, respectively. Perception of their peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) mean values have shown clear agreement to the question.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. This partition is (1) perceived Tokunoshima ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) Amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity by participants had contributed to see their view of peer, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s). Participants viewed their parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) being having more perception of Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID) were positively correlated except for peers. Parent(s) positive correlations existed between levels agreement to their own identity of being Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu), however, grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s) showed differences within agreement to the question.

Table 31

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 5 (Section 5)世代間における徳之島人 (しまんちゅう) の認識について Generational views of identity of Tokunoshima person (Shiman-Chu)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima-Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住 ま い Town	しまんちゅう う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
ひ孫 GGC							
孫 GC							
子 C							
同世代 Peer	1.86 ± 1.15, 1927	--	--	p*	p*	--	**
親 P	1.90 ± 1.33, 1900	--	p*	p*	p*	--	P**
祖父母 GP	1.62 ± 1.67, 1862	--	*	--	--	--	p**
曾祖父母 GGP	1.72 ± 1.29, 1184	--	p*	--	--	--	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Section 6 “I am a/an _____ person.”

Overall data

Please refer to Table 32 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, Ryukyu ID, Japanese ID, Asian ID, and Earth ID as 2.11, 2.79, 3.18, 4.17, 1.48, 2.86, and 1.83, respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions except for Ryukyu ID.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses showed six differences out of eight partitions. Those six partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) fluency of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) fluency of Japanese, (5) occupation, and (6) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe partition analyses' significant visual differences for sex or town.

(1) Generational differences were seen in Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Ryukyu ID. These differences also showed positive correlation. These correlations between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Ryukyu ID but as the generations become newer to the island results showed that individual whose participated survey felt lesser amount of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Ryukyu ID. It is important to note that this partition and variable correlation extended to areas of agreement and disagreement with the question. That is, those who answered they did not have Tokunoshima ID (self-reported Shiman-chu level) were mostly newer generation to the island of Tokunoshima.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age group opposite to the previous section of generational differences except for Earth ID. That is, participants saw themselves as Tokunoshima person, Amami person, and Kagoshima person having newer generation to the Island of Tokunoshima. Negative correlation between partition and variable levels of Shiman-chu and Kagoshima person noted differences existed and these differences were found within agreement to question. However, Amami ID (person) showed differences between agreement and disagreement. In terms of positive correlation when participants were asked their perception of being Earth person (ID) then their answer between partition (age) and variable (Earth person) showed differences within agreement to the question and claimed positive correlation between them. That is, older age groups participants stated they felt they had more Earth ID than younger age groups.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels was used as partition to separate self-reported identity questions showed difference in Amami ID and Ryukyu ID. Self-reported Amami ID showed differences and it was positively correlated between Shima-guchi fluency level and self-reported ID across level of agreement and disagreement, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought themselves as obtaining Amami person identity. However, those who speak lesser amount of Shima-guchi answered saw themselves as having lesser Amami ID. Similar differences and correlation existed when Kagoshima person identity was asked but this differences within correlation was found within agreement to the question contrast to Amami ID.

(4) Self reported Japanese fluency levels was used as partition to separate self-reported identity questions showed difference in Amami ID and Asian ID. Both self-reported Amami ID and Asian ID showed differences and it was positively correlated between Shima-guchi fluency level and self-reported ID across level of agreement and disagreement, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Japanese thought themselves as obtaining Amami person and Asian person identity. And those who speak lesser amount of Shima-guchi answered saw themselves as having lesser Amami ID.

(5) When occupation was used to separate data set then public school teachers were the only one viewed themselves with lesser Shiman-chu ID (perception of Tokunoshima person) and Amami ID.

(6) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had viewed themselves had strong association with Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Ryukyu ID. These partition differences on variable levels existed when participants were asked self-perception of Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Ryukyu ID and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement for Amami ID; within agreement for Kagoshima ID; and disagreement for Ryukyu ID of the questions.

Table 32

全データ Overall Data

設問 6 (Section 6) 自己認識について Views of self-identity

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住 まい Town	職業 Occu pation	しまんちゅう認 識 Tokunoshima Identity
しまんちゅう認 識 Tokunoshima ID	2.11 ± 1.48, 3247	--	P* *	n**	p*	p*	--	**	
奄美人認識 Amami ID	2.79 ± 1.70, 3111	--	P* *	N**	P**	P**	--	**	P**
鹿児島人認識 Kagoshima ID	3.18 ± 1.77, 3072	--	*	n**	*	p*	--	*	p**
琉球人認識 Ryukyu ID	4.17 ± 1.68, 2963	--	P* *	--	p**	--	--	--	p**
日本人認識 Japanese ID	1.48 ± 0.93, 3212	--	--	--	--	p*	--	--	--
アジア人認識 Asian ID	2.86 ± 1.84, 3034	--	*	--	--	P**	--	--	*
地球人認識 Earth ID	1.83 ± 1.38, 3132	--	--	p**	--	--	--	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 33 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, Ryukyu ID, Japanese ID, Asian ID, and Earth ID as 2.09, 2.53, 3.04, 4.19, 1.59, 2.56, and 2.06, respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions except for Ryukyu ID.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there were six differences out of eight partitions. Those six partitions are (1) generations, (2) age, (3) fluency of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex and town.

(1) In generational difference were seen in Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Amami ID. These differences also showed positive correlation except for Kagoshima ID. These correlation existed between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID) and Amami ID but as the generations become newer to the island, results showed that individual felt lesser amount of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), and Amami ID. It is important to note that this partition and variable correlation extended to the area of agreement to disagreement of the question. That is, those who answered they did not have Tokunoshima ID (self-reported Shiman-chu level) were mostly newer generation to the island of Tokunoshima.

(2) Age as a partition showed differences between age group opposite to the previous section of generational differences. That is, participants saw themselves as Tokunoshima person (Shiman-chu ID) and Amami person (ID) having newer generation to the Island of Tokunoshima. Negative correlation between partition (age) and variable levels of Shiman-chu and Amami person noted differences existed and these differences were found within agreement to the questions.

(3) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels were used as partitions to separate self-reported identity questions showed difference in Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) and Amami ID. On one hand, self-reported Shiman-chu ID showed differences according to their abilities to speak Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) and this difference within area of agreement with the question; moreover, this difference was also positively correlated. On the other hand, Self-reported Amami ID showed differences and it was positively correlated between Shima-guchi fluency level and self-reported ID across level of agreement and disagreement, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought themselves as obtaining Amami person identity.

(4) When occupation was used to separate data set then public school teachers were the only one viewed themselves with lesser Shiman-chu ID (perception of Tokunoshima person) and Amami ID.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had viewed themselves had strong association with Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Ryukyu ID. These partition differences on variable levels existed when participants were asked self-perception of Amami ID and Ryukyu ID and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement for Amami ID; and disagreement for Ryukyu ID of the questions.

Table 33

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 6 (Section 6) 自己認識について Views of self-identity

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住 まい Town	職業 Occupat ion	しまんちゅう認 識 Tokunoshima Identity
しまんちゅう認 識 Tokunoshima ID	2.09 ± 1.42, 1339	--	P* *	n* *	p**	--	--	**	
奄美人認識 Amami ID	2.53 ± 1.56, 1302	--	P* *	n* *	P**	--	--	**	P**
鹿児島人認識 Kagoshima ID	3.04 ± 1.67, 1282	--	**	n* *	--	--	--	--	**
琉球人認識 Ryukyu ID	4.19 ± 1.57, 1229	--	--	* *	--	--	--	--	p**
日本人認識 Japanese ID	1.59 ± 0.86, 1328	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
アジア人認識 Asian ID	2.56 ± 1.54, 1285	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	*
地球人認識 Earth ID	2.06 ± 1.36, 1283	--	--	* *	--	--	--	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 34 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to this question were, for Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, Ryukyu ID, Japanese ID, Asian

ID, and Earth ID as 2.13, 2.97, 3.28, 4.15, 1.40, 3.07, and 1.66, respectively. All mean numbers showed agreement to the questions except for Ryukyu ID.

Partition analyses

Partition analyses have shown that there were four differences out of six partitions. Those four partitions are (1) generations, (2) fluency of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language), (3) fluency in Japanese, (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe partition analyses' significant visual differences for sex or town.

(1) In generational difference were seen in Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Ryukyu ID. These differences also showed positive correlation. These correlations between level of area of agreement and generation where older generation answered Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Ryukyu ID but as the generations become newer to the island results showed that individual who participated survey felt lesser amount of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID), Amami ID, and Ryukyu ID. It is important to note that this partition and variable correlation extended to area of agreement to disagreement of the question except for Ryukyu ID--which remained within area of disagreement. That is, those who answered survey did not have Tokunoshima ID (self-reported Shiman-chu level) were mostly newer generation to the island of Tokunoshima.

(2) Self reported Shima-guchi fluency levels was used as partition to separate self-reported identity questions showed difference in Ryukyu ID. Self-reported Ryukyu ID showed differences and it was positively correlated between Shima-guchi fluency level and self-reported ID across level of agreement and disagreement, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) thought themselves as obtaining Ryukyu person identity. However, those who speak lesser amount of Shima-guchi answered saw themselves as having lesser Ryukyu ID.

(3) Self reported Japanese fluency levels was used as partition to separate self-reported identity questions showed difference in Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Asian ID. Self-reported Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Asian ID showed differences and it was positively correlated between Shima-guchi fluency level and self-reported ID across level of agreement and disagreement, that is, those who reported fluent speaker of Japanese thought themselves as obtaining Amami person, Kagoshima person, and Asian person identity. And those who speak lesser amount of Shima-guchi answered saw themselves as having lesser Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Asian ID.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had viewed themselves as strong association with Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Ryukyu ID. These partition differences on variable levels existed when participants were asked self-perception of Amami ID, Kagoshima ID, and Ryukyu ID and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement for

Amami ID and Kagoshima ID; and within area of disagreement for Ryukyu ID of the questions.

Table 34

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 6 (Section 6)

自己認識について Views of self-identity

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generat ions	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
しまんちゅ認 識 Tokunoshima ID	2.13 ± 1.52, 1908	--	P**	p*	*	--	
奄美人認識 Amami ID	2.97 ± 1.78, 1809	--	P**	*	P**	*	P**
鹿児島人認識 Kagoshima ID	3.28 ± 1.82, 1790	--	*	--	P**	--	P**
琉球人認識 Ryukyu ID	4.15 ± 1.75, 1734	--	p**	P**	--	--	p**
日本人認識 Japanese ID	1.40 ± 0.97, 1884	--	--	--	p*	--	--
アジア人認識 Asian ID	3.07 ± 2.01, 1749	*	--	--	P**	--	p*
地球人認識 Earth ID	1.66 ± 1.36, 1849	--	--	--	p*	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Survey Section 7

Question 1

I like Tokunoshima.

Question 2

I like living on Tokunoshima.

Question 3

I want my children and their children to live on Tokunoshima.

Question 4

I think living on Tokunoshima is important.

Overall data

Please refer to Table 35 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 1.72, 1.97, 2.70, and 2.36 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement of question.

Question 2: I like living on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like living on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to live on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were five difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) generation, (2) age, (3)

Shima-guchi, (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 3 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 3) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they would like their next generations to continue to live on Tokunoshima. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new answered same question with disagreement.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' age gets younger then they have lesser wish for their children to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category despite younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish for their children to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased amount of wishes for their children to live on Tokunoshima.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like living on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think living on Tokunoshima is important.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. The partitions are (1) age and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' age gets younger then they have lesser wish for their children to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category despite younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like living on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Table 35

全データ Overall Data

設問 7 (Section 7) 徳之島について About Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japan ese	住まい Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅう う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
徳之島が好き I like Tokunoshima	1.72 ± 1.04, 3334	--	p*	--	--	--	--	--	p**
徳之島に住みたい I want to live on Tokunoshima	1.97 ± 1.20, 3320	--	--	n*	p*	p*	--	--	p**
後世代にも徳之島に住んでほしい I want next generations to live on Tokunoshima	2.70 ± 1.54, 3184	*	p**	n* *	p**	p*	--	**	p**
徳之島に住むことは重要 Important to live on Tokunoshima	2.36 ± 1.40, 3257	--	p*	n* *	p*	--	--	*	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 36 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 1.70, 1.88, 2.61, and 2.33 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement of question.

Question 2: I like living on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was two difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) Shima-guchi (fluency of Tokunoshima language) and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wish to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having wish to living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants wish to live on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition

and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to live on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were five difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) generation, (2) Shima-guchi, (3) occupation, and (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, age, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 3 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 3) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they would like their next generations to continue to live on Tokunoshima. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new answered same question with disagreement.

(2) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish for their children to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased amount of wishes for their children to live on Tokunoshima.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like living on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think living on Tokunoshima is important.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were five difference out of eight partitions. This partition is (1) generation, (2) Shima-guchi, (3) occupation, and (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was

unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, age, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 4 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 4) and partition (generation). That is, those who were living on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they think living on Tokunoshima is important. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new answered same question with disagreement.

(2) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with living on Tokunoshima is important. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish for living on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with important to live on Tokunoshima. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased amount of wishes to live on Tokunoshima.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought living on Tokunoshima was important and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Table 36

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 7 (Section 7) 徳之島について About Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住 まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
徳之島が好き I like Tokunoshima	1.70 ± 0.90, 1384	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	p**
徳之島に住みたい I want to live on Tokunoshima	1.88 ± 1.04, 1379	--	--	--	p**	--	--	--	p**
後世代にも徳之島に住んでほしい I want next	2.61 ± 1.47, 1303	--	p**	n*	p**	--	*	**	p**

generations to live on Tokunoshima								
徳之島に住むことは重要 Important to live on Tokunoshima	2.33 ± 1.36, 1345	--	P**	n*	p**	--	--	** P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

School Students data

Please refer to table 29 for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these questions were 1.73, 2.04, 2.76, and 2.39 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. This partition is (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement of question.

Question 2: I like living on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was two difference out of six partitions. This partition is (1) Shima-guchi (fluency of Tokunoshima language) and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wish to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having wish to living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants wish to live on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to live on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were three difference out of six partitions. This partition is (1) generation, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 3 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 3) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they would like their next generations to continue to live on Tokunoshima. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new answered same question with much less amount of agreement.

(2) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wishing their children and their children to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish for their children to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed across agreement/disagreement to the question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like living on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like living on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree,

disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think living on Tokunoshima is important.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were two difference out of six partitions. This partition is (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable of speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered the question that living on Tokunoshima is important. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish for living on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought living on Tokunoshima was important and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Table 37

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 7 (Section 7) 徳之島について About Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値±標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 Sex	世代 Gener ations	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
徳之島が好き I like Tokunoshima	1.73 ± 1.13, 1950	--	p*	p*	--	--	p**
徳之島に住みたい I want to live on Tokunoshima	2.04 ± 1.30, 1941	*	p*	p**	p*	--	p**
後世代にも徳之島に住ん でほしい I want next generations to live on Tokunoshima	2.76 ± 1.59, 1881	*	p**	p**	--	*	p**
徳之島に住むことは重要 Important to live on Tokunoshima	2.39 ± 1.42, 1912	--	p*	p**	--	--	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

- p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
- N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
- n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Survey Section 8

Question 1

I like Tokunoshima language.

Question 2

I like speaking Tokunoshima language.

Question 3

I want my children and their children to speak Tokunoshima language.

Question 4

I think Tokunoshima language is important in life.

Overall data

Please refer to Table 38 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.31, 2.76, 2.82, and 2.55 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was four difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Age, (3) Shima-guchi, and (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question with disagreement.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 2: I like speaking Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was four difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Age, (3) Shima-guchi, and (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to speak Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was four difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Age, (3) Shima-guchi, and (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree).

disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think Tokunoshima language is important in life.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was four difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Age, (3) Shima-guchi, and (4) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Table 38

全データ Overall Data

設問 8 (Section 8) 徳之島の言葉 (島口) について About Tokunoshima language (Shima-Guchi)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島口好き I like Shima-Guchi	2.31 ± 1.35, 3293	--	p* *	n* *	p**	--	--	--	P**
島口話すの好き I like speaking Shima-Guchi	2.76 ± 1.48, 3184	*	P* *	n* *	P**	*	*	*	P**
後世代に島口話してほしい I want next generations to speak Shima-Guchi	2.82 ± 1.53, 3153	--	P* *	n* *	P**	--	*	*	P**
島口は大切 Shima-Guchi is important	2.55 ± 1.46, 3260	--	P* *	n* *	p**	--	*	--	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 39 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.14, 2.41, 2.57, and 2.21 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was three difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question with lesser agreement.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 2: I like speaking Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was five difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2)

Age, (3) Shima-guchi, (4) occupation and (5) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with like to speak Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to speak Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was three difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable

to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement of question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think Tokunoshima language is important in life.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was two difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were

positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement of question.

Table 39

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 8 (Section 8)徳之島の言葉 (島口) について About Tokunoshima language (Shima-Guchi)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島口好き I like Shima-Guchi	2.14 ± 1.14, 1372	--	p* *	--	p**	--	--	--	P**
島口話すの好き I like speaking Shima-Guchi	2.41 ± 1.32, 1330	--	p* *	n* *	p**	--	--	**	P**
後世代に島口話 してほしい I want next generations to speak Shima- Guchi	2.57 ± 1.37, 1286	*	P* *	n* *	p**	--	--	*	P**
島口は大切 Shima-Guchi is important	2.21 ± 1.18, 1365	--	--	n* *	p**	--	--	--	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 40 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these questions were 2.43, 3.02, 2.99, and 2.79 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was

three difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question with disagreement.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 2: I like speaking Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was three difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi

fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to speak Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant differences (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was three difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think Tokunoshima language is important in life.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were three difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) generations, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 1) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered same question. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Table 40

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 8 (Section 8) 徳之島の言葉 (島口) について About

Tokunoshima language (Shima-Guchi)

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島口好き I like Shima-Guchi	2.43 ± 1.47, 1921	--	P**	p**	--	--	P**
島口話すの好き I like speaking Shima-Guchi	3.02 ± 1.54, 1854	--	P**	P**	*	--	P**
後世代に島口話してほしい I want next generations to speak Shima-Guchi	2.99 ± 1.61, 1867	--	P**	P**	*	--	P**

島口は大切 Shima-Guchi is important	2.79 ± 1.58, 1895	--	P**	p**	*	*	P**
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**	: グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)
*	: グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)
--	: グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)
P	: 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)
p	: 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
N	: 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
n	: 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Survey Section 9

Question 1

I like Tokunoshima songs.

Question 2

I like singing Tokunoshima songs.

Question 3

I want my children and their children to sing songs of Tokunoshima.

Question 4

I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.

Overall data

Please refer to Table 41 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.36, 3.13, 2.94, and 2.71 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima songs.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Age, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were

capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answers stayed within agreement to the question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Shima-uta or not, and their answer levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 2: I like singing Tokunoshima songs.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was a one difference out of eight partitions. This partition was (1) Shima-guchi. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like singing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, when participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to sing songs of Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant differences (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants would like for their children and their children to sing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of wishes for next generations to sing Shima-uta

(Tokunoshima songs) compared to Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants would like for their children and their children to sing Shima-uta and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered Shima-uta is important in life (Tokunoshima songs). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount to think Shima-uta is important in life compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants think Shima-uta is important in life and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree).

Table 41

全データ Overall Data

設問 9 (Section 9) 徳之島の唄 (島唄) について About Tokunoshima Songs

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島唄好き I like Shima-Uta	2.36 ± 1.32, 3312	--	*	n* *	p**	--	--	--	p**
島唄うこと好き I like singing Shima-Uta	3.13 ± 1.45, 3209	--	--	n*	P**	--	--	--	p*
後世代に島唄唄ってほしい I want next	2.94 ± 1.46, 3167	--	--	--	p**	--	--	*	p**

generations to sing Shima-Uta								
島唄は大切 Shima-Uta is important	2.71 ± 1.43, 3262	--	*	n*	p**	--	--	* **

- ** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)
 * : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)
 -- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)
 P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)
 p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
 N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
 n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 42 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.17, 2.97, 2.64, and 2.32 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima songs.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were no differences out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 2: I like singing Tokunoshima songs.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were two difference out of eight partitions. This partition was (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like singing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, when participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with

strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like singing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to sing songs of Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was a difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants would like for their children and their children to sing Shima-uta and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were no differences out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Table 42

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 9 (Section 9) 徳之島の唄 (島唄) について About Tokunoshima Songs

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島唄好き I like Shima-Uta	2.17 ± 1.13, 1381	--	--	n*	p*	--	--	--	*
島唄うこと好き I like speaking Shima-Uta	2.97 ± 1.33, 1329	--	--	n*	p**	--	--	--	P**
後世代に島唄唄 ってほしい I want next generations to sing Shima-Uta	2.64 ± 1.28, 1298	--	*	--	p*	--	--	--	P**
島唄は大切	2.32 ± 1.20,	--	--	n*	--	--	--	--	--

Shima-Uta is important	1364	
**	:	グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)
*	:	グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)
--	:	グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)
P	:	正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)
p	:	正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
N	:	負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
n	:	負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 43 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.50, 3.24, 3.15, and 2.99 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I like Tokunoshima songs.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answers stayed within agreement to the question.

Question 2: I like singing Tokunoshima songs.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were two difference out of six partitions. This partition was (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants like singing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, when participants'

Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like singing Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 3: I want my children and their children to sing songs of Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants would like for their children and their children to sing Shima-uta and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants think Shima-uta is important in life and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Table 43

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 9 (Section 9) 徳之島の唄 (島唄) について About Tokunoshima Songs

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Gener ations	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島唄好き I like Shima-Uta	2.50 ± 1.43, 1931	--	*	p**	--	--	p*
島唄うこと好き I like speaking Shima-Uta	3.24 ± 1.52, 1880	--	--	P**	--	--	P**
後世代に島唄唄ってほし い I want next generations to sing Shima-Uta	3.15 ± 1.53, 1869	--	--	--	--	--	P**
島唄は大切 Shima-Uta is important	2.99 ± 1.52, 1898	--	--	p*	--	--	P**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Survey Section 10

Question 1

I like Japanese language.

Question 2

I like speaking Japanese language.

Question 3

I want my children and their children to speak Japanese language.

Question 4

I think Japanese language is important in life.

Overall data

Please refer to Table 44 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these questions were 2.10, 2.24, 2.03, and 1.82 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Questions (1, 2, 3, and 4)

The results of all partition analyses showed no significant differences (i.e., visual observation) when question 1, 2, 3, and 4 were analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were no differences out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe any partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Table 44

全データ Overall Data

設問 10 (Section 10) 日本語について About Japanese

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Gen erati ons	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japan ese	住 ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅう う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
日本語好き I like Japanese	2.10 ± 1.07, 3278	--	--	n*	--	p*	--	--	--
日本語話すの好き I like speaking Japanese	2.24 ± 1.15, 3262	--	--	n*	--	p*	--	--	--
後世代に日本語 話してほしい I want next generations to speak Japanese	2.03 ± 1.08, 3200	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
日本語は大切 Japanese is important	1.82 ± 0.99, 3290	--	--	--	--	p*	--	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Non-Students data

Please refer to Table 45 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these questions were 1.97, 2.11, 1.99, and 1.85 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Questions (1, 2, 3, and 4)

The results of all partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1, 2, 3, and 4 were analyzed with Shiman-chu

ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person) Partition analyses have shown that there were no differences out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe any partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Table 45

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 1 0 (Section 10) 日本語について About Japanese

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Gen erati ons	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japan ese	住 ま い Town	職業 Occup ation	しまんちゅう う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
日本語好き I like Japanese	1.97 ± 0.88, 1365	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
日本語話すの好き I like speaking Japanese	2.11 ± 0.97, 1357	--	--	n*	--	--	--	--	--
後世代に日本語 話してほしい I want next generations to speak Japanese	1.99 ± 0.93, 1317	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
日本語は大切 Japanese is important	1.85 ± 0.85, 1374	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 46 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.19, 2.34, 2.06, and 1.80 for question 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Questions (1, 2, 3, and 4)

The results of all partition analyses showed one significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1, 2, 3, and 4 were analyzed with Shiman-chu ID (self-perception of Tokunoshima person). Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1)

Japanese. I was unable to observe following partitions analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

(1) Self-reported Japanese fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Japanese they answered question 1, 2, 3, and 4. However, when participants' self-reported Japanese fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of questions 1, 2, 3, and 4 compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Japanese groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Table 46

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 10 (Section 10) 日本語について About Japanese

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 Sex	世代 Generations	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
日本語好き I like Japanese	2.19 ± 1.18, 1913	--	--	--	p**	--	--
日本語話すの好き I like speaking Japanese	2.34 ± 1.25, 1905	--	--	--	p**	--	--
後世代に日本語話してほしい I want next generations to speak Japanese	2.06 ± 1.17, 1883	--	--	--	p**	--	--
日本語は大切 Japanese is important	1.80 ± 1.07, 1916	--	--	--	p**	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Survey Section 11

Question 1

I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.

Question 2

I would like Tokunoshima to have more technological advancement.

Question 3

I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.

Question 4

I am proud of improvements of Tokunoshima from old time.

Question 5

I want Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945).

Question 6

I think Amami development fund should continue for future to help develop our lives on Tokunoshima.

Question 7

I think Tokunoshima should have more industries.

Overall data

Please refer to Table 47 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.06, 1.95, 2.65, 2.35, 4.22, 2.50, and 2.37 for question 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. These partition is (1) Age. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation,, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

Question 2: I would like Tokunoshima to have more technological advancement.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 3: I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 3 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Age and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness to Shima-uta (Tokunoshima songs) compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants would like for their children and their children to sing Shima-uta and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I am proud of improvements of Tokunoshima from old time.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 4 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 5: I want Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945).

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 5 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 6: I think Amami development fund should continue for future to help develop our lives on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 7: I think Tokunoshima should have more industries.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 7 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Table 47

全データ Overall Data

設問 1 1 (Section 11)徳之島の産業について About industries of Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう 認識 Tokunoshima Identity
サトウキビ Sugarcane	2.06 ± 1.30, 3382	--	--	n* *	p*	--	--	*	--
技術発展 Technology	1.95 ± 1.20, 3384	--	--	n*	--	--	--	--	--
理学・工学 Science	2.65 ± 1.40, 3207	*	p*	n* *	p*	*	*	*	p**
発展が誇り Development	2.35 ± 1.24, 3283	--	--	n*	--	--	--	--	p*
戦前に戻りたい WWII	4.22 ± 1.58 , 3069	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
奄美振興開発 特別措置法 Amashin	2.50 ± 1.48, 3182	--	--	--	p*	--	*	*	p*
産業 Industry	2.37 ± 1.33, 3332	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	*

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Non Students data

Please refer to Table 48 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 2.31, 1.74, 2.59, 2.41, 4.24, 2.04, and 2.08 for question 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1)

Age, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they wish Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of likeness for sugar cane to be main industry for Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants wish Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry. However, when participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness for sugar cane to be main industry for Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants wish Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 2: I would like Tokunoshima to have more technological advancement.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 3: I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 3 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were

capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants wish their children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima. However, when participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of likeness of participants' children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants their children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I am proud of improvements of Tokunoshima from old time.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 4 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 5: I want Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945).

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 5 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 6: I think Amami development fund should continue for future to help develop our lives on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 7: I think Tokunoshima should have more industries.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 7 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation,

age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, occupation, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Table 48

生徒外(一般)データ Non-Students (General) Data

設問 1 1 (Section 11) 徳之島の産業について About industries of Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう認 識 Tokunoshima Identity
サトウキビ Sugarcane	2.31 ± 1.40, 1449	--	--	n* *	p**	--	--	*	p**
技術発展 Technology	1.74 ± 0.99, 1456	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	*
理学・工学 Science	2.59 ± 1.37, 1336	--	p*	n*	p**	*	*	*	p**
発展が誇り Development	2.41 ± 1.18, 1408	--	--	n*	*	--	--	--	*
戦前に戻りたい WWII	4.24 ± 1.54 , 1318	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
奄美振興開発特 別措置法 Amashin	2.04 ± 1.23, 1419	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	*
産業 Industry	2.08 ± 1.17, 1441	--	--	--	*	--	--	--	--

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

School Students data

Please refer to Table 49 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these questions were 1.88, 2.10, 2.70, 2.30, 4.21, 2.87, and 2.59 for question 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of six partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 2: I would like Tokunoshima to have more technological advancement.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of six partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 3: I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 3 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants their children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement of question.

Question 4: I am proud of improvements of Tokunoshima from old time.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 4 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants were proud of improvements of Tokunoshima from old time and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement.

Question 5: I want Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945).

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 5 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Japanese. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with participants want Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945). However, when participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of wish for Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945) compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

(2) Self-reported Japanese fluency differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Japanese they answered question with participants want lesser amount of wish for Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945). However, when participants' Japanese fluency decreases then they have showed increased amount of wish for Tokunoshima to look like old time (1945) compared to whose Japanese fluency were in less fluent category. These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 6: I think Amami development fund should continue for future to help develop our lives on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Question 7: I think Tokunoshima should have more industries.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 7 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID).

Table 49

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 1 1 (Section 11) 徳之島の産業について About industries of Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性 別 Sex	世代 Gener ations	島口 Shima Guchi	日本 語 Japan ese	住ま い Town	しまんちゅ う認識 Tokunoshima Identity
サトウキビ Sugarcane	1.88 ± 1.18, 1933	--	--	--	--	--	--
技術発展 Technology	2.10 ± 1.33, 1928	*	--	*	*	--	--

理学・工学 Science	2.70 ± 1.42, 1871	*	*	p*	--	*	p**
発展が誇り Development	2.30 ± 1.29, 1875	--	--	p*	--	--	p**
戦前に戻りたい WWII	4.21 ± 1.66, 1751	*	--	p**	n**	--	--
奄美振興開発特別措置法 Amashin	2.87 ± 1.56, 1763	--	--	p*	n*	--	--
産業 Industry	2.59 ± 1.41, 1891	*	--	p*	*	--	*

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Survey Section 12

Question 1

I want to continue to live on Tokunoshima.

Question 2

I like traditional life on Tokunoshima.

Question 3

I know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima.

Question 4

I like traditional food on Tokunoshima.

Question 5

I know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food.

Question 6

I know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients.

Question 7

I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.

Question 8

I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.

Question 9

I want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima.

Question 10

I like Tokunoshima time.

Question 11

I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.

Question 12

I like the Nature of Tokunoshima.

Question 13

I know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese.

Question 14

I know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language.

Question 15

I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese.

Question 16

I know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language.

Overall data

Please refer to Table 50 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these questions were 2.68, 2.52, 2.63, 2.33, 3.79, 3.73, 2.34, 2.28, 2.92, 2.88, 2.53, 1.70, 3.98, 4.19, 3.89, and 4.13 for question 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement to the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I want to continue to live on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi, (2) occupation, and (3) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased amount of wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought they want to continue to live on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition

levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 2: I like traditional life on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with if they like traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed lesser amount of liking traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they like traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser amount of liking traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like traditional life on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 3: I know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 3 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Japanese and (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Japanese fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Japanese they answered they know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima. However, when participants' self-reported Japanese fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge what traditional food is on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Japanese groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement.

Question 4: I like traditional food on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question liking traditional food on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have less liking traditional food on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought they like traditional food on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 5: I know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 5 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generation, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi, (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 5) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of knowledge how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knew how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for disagreement.

Question 6: I know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were four differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) Shima-guchi, (3) occupation, and (4) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of knowledge where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they knew where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(3) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 7: I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 8: I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 8 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. This partition was (1)

Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to want participants' children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants want participants' children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 9: I want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 9 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wanting participants' children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have less want participants' children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 10: I like Tokunoshima time.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) occupation, and (3) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Age differences were observed.

(2) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants like Tokunoshima time with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima time and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 11: I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 11 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. This partition was (1) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like the human character of Tokunoshima people with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like the human character of Tokunoshima people and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 12: I like the Nature of Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 12 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of six partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). It is important to note that participants' averaged overall answer and partition analyses showed total significant of agreement to the question.

Question 13: I know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 13 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of knowledge many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they knew many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for disagreement.

Question 14: I know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 14 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generation, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi, (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 1 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 14) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less knowledge of many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima

language compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowing many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for disagreement.

Question 15: I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 15 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese with strong association. This partition

difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for disagreement.

Question 16: I know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 16 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) sex, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi, (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on generation, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 16 was separated by sex.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). Positive relations existed within levels of disagreement.

Table 50

全データ Overall Data

設問 1 2 (Section 12) 徳之島の生活について About life on Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう認識 Tokunoshima Identity
島生活を継続していきたい Continue Tokunoshima life	2.68 ± 1.45, 3347	*	p*	n*	P**	--	*	**	p**
伝統生活が好きである Like traditional way of life	2.52 ± 1.30, 3317	--	p*	n**	p**	--	*	--	p**
伝統料理を知っている Know traditional food	2.63 ± 1.27, 3340	--	p*	n*	p*	P* *	*	--	p**
伝統料理が好き Like traditional food	2.33 ± 1.21, 3327	--	p*	n*	p**	--	--	--	p**
伝統料理の作り方知っている Know recipe of trad. food	3.79 ± 1.47, 3224	--	p* *	N**	P**	*	--	**	p**
伝統料理の材料 Know where to find traditional food material	3.73 ± 1.52, 3234	--	p*	N**	P**	*	--	**	P**
伝統料理を食べ続ける Continue to eat traditional food	2.34 ± 1.26, 3336	--	--	--	p*	--	--	--	p**
後世代伝統料理を食べ続けて 欲しい Next generations continue to eat traditional food	2.28 ± 1.24, 3249	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	p**
後世代伝統生活続けて欲しい Next generations continue traditional way of life	2.92 ± 1.42, 3197	--	--	--	p**	--	--	--	P**
徳之島の島時間が好き Like island time	2.88 ± 1.62, 3304	--	p*	**	--	--	--	**	P**
しまんちゅうの性格好き Like islanders' characters	2.53 ± 1.35, 3331	--	--	--	--	--	--	*	P**
徳之島の自然が好き Like Nature of Tokunoshima	1.70 ± 0.98, 3326	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
植物名を日本語で知っている Know name of Tokunoshima plants in Japanese	3.98 ± 1.37, 3259	--	--	N**	P**	--	--	--	p**
植物名を島口で知っている	4.19 ±	*	p*	N**	P**	--	*	**	p**

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住 まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんち ゆう認識 Tokunoshi ma Identity
Know name of plants in Shima-Guchi	1.38, 3266								*
魚介類名を日本語で知っている Know name of shells and fishes in Japanese	3.89 ± 1.40, 3294	--	--	--	p**	--	--	--	p**
魚介類名を島口で知っている Know name of shells and fishes in Shima-Guchi	4.13 ± 1.40, 3293	*	p*	n**	p**	--	--	**	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences exist between groups can be seen)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない (No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている (Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる (Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている (Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる (Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している (Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Non-Student data

Please refer to Table 51 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to *theses question* were 2.15, 2.35, 2.48, 2.18, 3.42, 3.35, 2.18, 2.14, 2.83, 3.47, 2.76, 1.71, 3.89, 4.03, 4.02, and 4.10 for question 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I want to continue to live on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) Shima-guchi, (3) occupation, and (4) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with if they want to continue to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less wish to want to continue to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(3) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased amount of wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima.

(4) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought they want to continue to live on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 2: I like traditional life on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with if they like traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed lesser amount of liking traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they like traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser amount of liking traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like traditional life on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e.,

both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 3: I know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 3 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age, (2) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, town, and occupation.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with if they know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less knowledge of what traditional food is on Tokunoshima compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer stayed within agreement to the question.

(2) Self-reported Japanese fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Japanese they answered they know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima. However, when participants' self-reported Japanese fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge what traditional food is on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Japanese groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to like Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels for agreement.

Question 4: I like traditional food on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 4 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought they like traditional food on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat

agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 5: I know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 5 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were seven differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) sex, (2) generation, (3) age, (4) Shima-guchi, (5) Japanese, (6) occupation, and (7) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe partition analyses' significant visual differences on town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed relative disagreement to the question.

(1) There was a significant difference between male and female on knowledge of how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. This difference was found area of relative disagreement.

(2) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 5 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 5) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of relative disagreement.

(3) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they like Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language). However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of knowledge how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(4) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knew how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(5) Self-reported Japanese fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Japanese they answered question with knew how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, participants' Japanese fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose Japanese fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Japanese groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(6) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When

participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(7) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels for agreement and disagreement.

Question 6: I know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generation, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi, (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed relative agreement to the question.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 6 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 6) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of relative agreement.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of knowledge where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they knew where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When

participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 7: I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 7 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). It is important to note that participants' averaged overall answer and partition analyses showed total significant of agreement to the question.

Question 8: I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 8 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of eight was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). It is important to note that participants' averaged overall answer and partition analyses showed total significant of agreement to the question.

Question 9: I want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 9 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generation and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 9 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 9) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 10: I like Tokunoshima time.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) age and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed relative agreement to the question.

(1) Age differences were observed.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants like Tokunoshima time with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima time and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 11: I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 11 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of six partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). It is important to note that participants' averaged overall answer and partition analyses showed significant of agreement to the question.

Question 12: I like the Nature of Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 12 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of six partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). It is important to note that participants' averaged overall answer and partition analyses showed total significant of agreement to the question.

Question 13: I know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 13 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions

were (1) age, (2) Shima-guchi, and (3) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less amount of knowledge many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(2) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they knew many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 14: I know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 14 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) generation, (2) age, (3) Shima-guchi, (4) occupation, and (5) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 14 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 14) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

(2) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less knowledge of many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(3) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowing many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(4) Occupational differences were observed. This occupational difference was observed between public school teachers and other occupations. When participants were not public school teachers then they have answered question with they know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, when participants were public school teachers then they have significantly (visually) decreased likeness to speak Shima-guchi.

(5) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 15: I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 15 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese compared to whose Shima-guchi

fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 16: I know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 16 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were five differences out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) sex, (2) generation, (3) age, (4) Shima-guchi, (5) occupation, and (6) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on generation, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 16 was separated by sex.

(2) Significant differences (visual analyses) were found when question 16 was separated into generations. These generational differences were positively correlated between variable (question 16) and partition (generation). That is, those who were on the island from long before to relatively before have answered this question with they know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. In contrast those who came to Tokunoshima relatively new to the island answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

(3) Age differences were observed with negative correlation. This negative correlation showed when participants are in older age group they answered question with they know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' age gets younger then they showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language compared to whose age are in older category even though younger age groups' answer existed across agreement and disagreement to the question.

(4) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generations	年齢 Age	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	職業 Occupation	しまんちゅう Tokunoshima Identity
eat traditional food	1374								
後世代伝統生活続けて欲しい Next generations continue traditional way of life	2.83 ± 1.30, 1341	--	P*	n*	p*	--	--	--	P**
徳之島の島時間が好き Like island time	3.47 ± 1.55, 1429	--	*	**	--	--	*	*	P**
しまんちゅうの性格好き Like islanders' characters	2.76 ± 1.23, 1436	--	p*	n*	--	--	*	--	*
徳之島の自然が好き Like Nature of Tokunoshima	1.71 ± 0.83, 1439	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
植物名を日本語で知っている Know name of Tokunoshima plants in Japanese	3.89 ± 1.24, 1411	--	--	N**	P**	--	--	*	P**
植物名を島口で知っている Know name of plants in Shima-Guchi	4.03 ± 1.30, 1423	--	p*	N**	P**	--	--	**	P**
魚介類名日本語で知っている Know name of shells and fishes in Japanese	4.02 ± 1.20, 1421	--	p*	--	P**	--	--	--	P**
魚介類名を島口で知っている Know name of shells and fishes in Shima-Guchi	4.10 ± 1.26, 1423	**	P*	N**	P**	--	--	**	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる(Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる(Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

-- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)

P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)

p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)

n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)

Bold(太字) : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Italic(斜体): 観察的分析で「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Observational analyses expressing disagreement)

School Student data

Please refer to Table 52 below for summary of results.

General statistics

The mean values of responses to these question were 3.08, 2.65, 2.75, 2.44, 4.08, 4.03, 2.45, 2.38, 2.99, 2.43, 2.35, 1.70, 4.04, 4.31, 3.80, and 4.16 for question 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 respectively. All these mean numbers showed agreement with the questions.

Partition analyses

From this section until the end of description of results will follow each question by question since questions in the sections are not interrelated to each other.

Question 1: I want to continue to live on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 1 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable of speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with wanting to continue to live on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser wish to live on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought they want to continue to live on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 2: I like traditional life on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 2 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi, and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable of speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they like traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, as participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser amount of liking traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to those whose Shima-guchi fluency was in the fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like traditional life on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 3: I know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 3 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were three differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi, (2) Japanese, and (3) Shiman-chu (perception of Tokunoshima ID). I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Shima-guchi, town, and occupation.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser amount of knowledge what traditional food is on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) Self-reported Japanese fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Japanese they answered they know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima. However, when participants' self-reported Japanese fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge what traditional food is on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Japanese groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know what traditional food is on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 4: I like traditional food on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 4 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, and town.

(1) Shima-guchi differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they like traditional food on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have lesser amount of likeness of traditional food on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category despite less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think it is important to live on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants thought they like traditional food on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

Question 5: I know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 5 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe partition analyses' significant visual differences on town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed relative disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knew how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know how to cook traditional Tokunoshima food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 6: I know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 6 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they knew where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge

where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know where to find traditional Tokunoshima food ingredients and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 7: I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 7 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 8: I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 8 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, and town.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of wish for participants' children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 9: I want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 9 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, age, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and occupation.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of wish for participants' children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed within levels of agreement.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they want my children and their children to have a traditional life on Tokunoshima with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants want my children and their children to have traditional life on Tokunoshima and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 10: I like Tokunoshima time.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 10 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants like Tokunoshima time with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like Tokunoshima time and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 11: I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 11 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town and occupation.

(1) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants like the human character of Tokunoshima people with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants like the human character of Tokunoshima people and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 12: I like the Nature of Tokunoshima.

The results of partition analyses showed no significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 12 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was no difference out of six partitions. I was unable to observe following all partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Shima-guchi, Japanese, town, and Shiman-chu ID (Tokunoshima ID). It is important to note that participants' averaged overall answer and partition analyses showed total significant agreement.

Question 13: I know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 13 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, Japanese, town, and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with they knew many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less amount of knowledge know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(3) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of trees and plants in standardized Japanese and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 14: I know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 14 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowing many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of trees and plants in Tokunoshima language and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Question 15: I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 15 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there was one difference out of eight partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on sex, generation, age, Japanese, town, and occupation. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed across levels of agreement and disagreement.

Question 16: I know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language.

The results of partition analyses showed significant difference (i.e., visual observation) when question 16 was analyzed. Partition analyses have shown that there were two differences out of six partitions. These partitions were (1) Shima-guchi and (2) Shiman-chu ID. I was unable to observe following partition analyses' significant visual differences on generation, Japanese, and town. It is important to note that averaged overall answer showed disagreement to the question.

(1) Self-reported Shima-guchi fluency differences were observed with positive correlation. This positive correlation showed when participants were capable for speaking fluent Shima-guchi they answered question with knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language. However, participants' Shima-guchi fluency decreases then they have showed less knowledge of many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language compared to whose Shima-guchi fluency were in fluent category even though less fluent Shima-guchi groups' answered. These positive correlations existed between levels of agreement and disagreement of question.

(2) When amount of self-reported Tokunoshima identity levels were used as partition then participants had claimed they having to know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language with strong association. This partition difference on variable levels existed when participants were asked if participants know many names of fishes and shells in Tokunoshima language and their levels were positively correlated to partition levels (i.e., both partition and variable levels are strongly agree, agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree). These positive correlations existed within levels of disagreement.

Table 52

生徒のみデータ School Students Data

設問 1 2 (Section 12) 徳之島の生活について About life on Tokunoshima

質問 Questions	平均値 ± 標準偏差、 回答者数 Mean ± SD, Number of participants	性別 Sex	世代 Generation	島口 Shima Guchi	日本語 Japanese	住まい Town	しまんち ゆう認識 Tokunoshi ma Identity
島生活を継続していきたい Continue Tokunoshima life	3.08 ± 1.59, 1914	--	--	p**	--	--	P**
伝統生活が好きである Like traditional way of life	2.65 ± 1.39, 1887	*	p*	p**	*	*	P**
伝統料理を知っている Know traditional food	2.75 ± 1.39, 1906	--	p*	p**	P**	--	P**
伝統料理が好き Like traditional food	2.44 ± 1.35, 1884	--	--	p**	--	--	p**
伝統料理の作り方を知っている Know recipe of traditional food	4.08 ± 1.49, 1832	--	--	P**	*	--	p**
伝統料理の材料 Know where to find traditional food material	4.03 ± 1.54, 1837	--	--	P**	*	--	p**
伝統料理を食べ続ける Continue to eat traditional food	2.45 ± 1.39, 1888	--	--	p**	--	--	p*
後世代に伝統料理を食べ続けて欲しい Next generations continue to eat traditional food	2.38 ± 1.37, 1875	--	--	p**	*	--	p**
後世代伝統生活続けて欲しい Next generations continue traditional way of life	2.99 ± 1.50, 1856	--	--	p**	*	--	P**
徳之島の島時間が好き Like island time	2.43 ± 1.53, 1875	--	--	p*	--	--	P**
しまんちゅうの性格好き Like islanders' characters	2.35 ± 1.41, 1895	--	--	p*	--	--	P**
徳之島の自然が好き Like Nature of Tokunoshima	1.70 ± 1.08, 1887	--	--	--	--	--	p*
植物の名前を日本語で知っている Know name of Tokunoshima plants in Japanese	4.04 ± 1.46, 1848	--	--	P**	*	--	p**
植物の名前を島口で知っている Know name of plants in Shima- Guchi	4.31 ± 1.43, 1843	*	p*	P**	*	*	p**
魚介類名を日本語で知っている Know name of shells and fishes in Japanese	3.80 ± 1.53, 1873	*	--	P**	--	--	*
魚介類の名前を島口で知っている Know name of shells and fishes in Shima-Guchi	4.16 ± 1.49, 1870	--	p*	P**	*	*	p**

** : グループ間に違いがみられる (Differences between groups can be seen)

* : グループ間に違いの傾向がみられる (Tendency toward differences can be seen between groups)

- : グループ間に違いがみられない(No differences between groups can be seen)
- P : 正の相関が「そう思う」から「そう思わない」に渡っている(Positively Correlated from Agree to Disagree)
- p : 正の相関が「そう思う」か「そう思わない」の範疇に留まる(Positively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
- N : 負の相関が「そう思わない」から「そう思う」に渡っている(Negatively Correlated from Disagree to Agree)
- n : 負の相関が「そう思わない」か「そう思う」の範疇に留まる(Negatively Correlated within Agree or Disagree)
- Bold(太字)** : 平均値(3.5以上)が「そう思わない」の領域を示唆している(Mean values (3.5+) expressing disagreement)

Highlights of non-significant results

Overall data set

Many variables did not show any significant results in partitioned analyses and very little differences with some correlation between variable levels and partition levels within either agreement or disagreement area throughout the questionnaire form. Section 1 (Shima-guchi), 3 (knowledge of Tokunoshima culture), and 4 (practice of Tokunoshima culture) have shown same non-significant result in Great grandchildren and grandchildren which are only answered by general public (non-students). This non-significance in great grandchildren and grandchildren have shown when participants were asked to evaluate their own off springs they have strongly disagreed that their future generations did not speak, know, or practice their language nor culture.

In section 5, (identity of Shiman-chu) showed when participants were asked view their peer groups they see themselves see as agreement to obtaining Tokunoshima identity except for occupation where public school teachers who expressed themselves as new comers to the island showed significant differences to other occupations.

In section 6, obtaining identity of Japanese, Asian, and Earth showed almost no significant difference. It is important to note here that Asian identity showed significant difference in agreement and disagreement that those who spoke lesser Japanese expressed lesser identity of being Asian.

In section 7, question 1 “I like Tokunoshima.” and question 2 “I like living on Tokunoshima.” showed almost no differences in partition analyses. Both questions Tokunoshima ID showed significant difference within agreement with correlation between question levels and partition levels. Question 2 showed difference in possession of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima identity) as partition as well. Question 2’s partition difference was also within agreement and also showed correlation between question levels and partition levels.

In section 9, results have shown relatively no significant differences in partitions. Question 1 “I like Tokunoshima songs.”, 3 “I want my children and their children to sing songs of Tokunoshima.”, and 4 “I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.” did show relative difference within agreement area of Shima-guchi (Tokunoshima language) fluency level as well as level of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID).

In section 10 showed none of these sections’ questions were significantly different even when eight different partitions were used to analyse. There were almost no disagreements in this section. Almost all participants agreed they like

Japanese, like speaking Japanese, want next generations to speak Japanese, and think Japanese is important to them.

In section 11, this section also shown that there were no answers expressed significant differences between agreement and disagreement. Question about “I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.” showed age difference which is increased age group increase want sugar cane to be the main industry of Tokunoshima than younger age group. Any age group difference existed within agreement to the question. Same phenomena of reply have happened in question about “I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima.” that increased age groups showed more wish toward science and technology for their off springs. In addition, participants have also showed same differences with levels of Tokunoshima identity. Possession of stronger Tokunoshima ID persons showed more interest in their science and technology on Tokunoshima. Once again these Tokunoshima ID difference were seen only within agreement to the question.

In section 12, there were absolutely no differences in any partitions or description about people liking Nature of Tokunoshima. Question 7 and 8 of “I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.” and “I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.” showed almost no significant differences except for level of Tokunoshima identity had influence on perception on these questions within agreement. Question 15 “I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese” was answered by no significant difference by partitions except for the difference in Shima-guchi and Shiman-chu ID within agreement. These partition levels were correlated to variable levels. Finally, question 11 “I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.” also did not show partition differences except for Tokunoshima identity. Human characteristics of Tokunoshima person are increasingly like by those who express themselves as Shiman-chu but Shiman-chu characteristics are increasingly disliked by those who identify themselves as lesser Shiman-chu.

Non-Students data set

Same as previous section on overall data set, there were many variables did not show any significant results in partitioned analyses and very little differences with some correlation between variable levels and partition levels within either agreement or disagreement area throughout questionnaire form. Section 1 (Shima-guchi), 3 (knowledge of Tokunoshima culture), and 4 (practice of Tokunoshima culture) have shown same non-significant result in Great grandchildren and grandchildren which are only answered by general public (non-students) thus descriptions are as same as overall data set section.

In section 5, (identity of Shiman-chu) showed when participants were asked view their peer groups they see themselves see as agreement to obtaining Tokunoshima identity except for occupation where public school teachers who expressed themselves as new comers to the island showed significant differences to other occupations.

In section 6, obtaining identity of Japanese, Asian, and Earth showed no significant difference within agreement to the questions. Except for consideration of Ryukyu identity showed significant difference only in disagreement among

other partitions that those who obtain lesser Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID) expressed lesser identity of identity of being Ryukyu person.

In section 7, question 1 “I like Tokunoshima.” and question 2 “I like living on Tokunoshima.” showed almost no differences in partition analyses. Both questions Tokunoshima ID showed significant difference within agreement with correlation between question levels and partition levels. Question 2 showed difference in fluency of Shima-guchi and possession of Shiman-chu as partition as well. Question 2’s partition difference was also within agreement and also showed correlation between question levels and partition levels.

In section 9, have shown different expressions from overall data set which include school students’ opinion. In overall data set there were no non significant differences in questions, however, in general (non-students) data showed no significant differences in question 1 “I like Tokunoshima songs.” and 4 “I think Tokunoshima songs are important in life.”

In section 10 showed none of these sections’ questions were significantly different even when eight different partitions were used to analyse. There were almost no disagreements in this section. Almost all participants agreed they like Japanese, like speaking Japanese, want next generations to speak Japanese, and think Japanese is important to them.

In section 11, this section also shown that there were almost no answers expressed significant differences between agreement and disagreement except for question 3. Question about “I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry.” showed age difference which is increased age group and fluency of Shima-guchi increase resulted in wanting for sugar cane to be the main industry of Tokunoshima than younger age group and lesser fluent Shima-guchi speakers. Any age groups and Shima-guchi fluency levels difference have existed within agreement to the question.

In section 12, there were absolutely no differences in any partitions or description about people liking Nature of Tokunoshima that is question 12. As well as question 7, 8, and 11 of “I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food.”, “I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food.”, and “I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.”

School student data set

In section 1, when students perceive their grandparent(s) and great grandparent(s) there were almost no difference through partitioned analyses within agreement to their ability of speaking Shima-guchi. Great grandparent(s) were seen differences only when students view were separated by Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima ID) those who obtain more Shiman-chu were able to see their own great grandparent(s) as fluent Shima-guchi speaker. This tendency is shared by students’ view of grandparent(s). In addition to grandparent(s) partition analyses generation of when they come to Tokunoshima were correlated to view of grandparent(s)’ Shima-guchi fluency within agreement.

In section 2, students’ view peer group, parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s), students did not see much difference through partitions. However, these questions’ levels were correlated to self-reported fluency of Japanese within agreement.

In section 3, no significant differences were observed as same as section 2. However, questions about knowledge of Tokunoshima culture of their perception of parent(s), grandparent(s), and great grandparent(s) were correlated to generation (when participants started to live on the island of Tokunoshima) and self identification of Shiman-chu (Tokunoshima person) within agreement.

In section 4, students' view peer group and grandparent(s), students did not see their peer group and grandparent(s) much difference through partitions.

In section 5, (identity of Shiman-chu) showed when participants were asked view their peer groups they see themselves see as agreement to obtaining Tokunoshima identity except for occupation where public school teachers who expressed themselves as new comers to the island showed significant differences to other occupations.

In section 6, obtaining identity of Japanese, Asian, and Earth showed almost no significant difference. It is important to note here that Asian identity showed significant difference in agreement and disagreement that those who spoke lesser Japanese expressed lesser identity of being Asian.

In section 7, question 1 "I like Tokunoshima." and question 2 "I like living on Tokunoshima." showed almost no differences in partition analyses. Both questions Tokunoshima ID showed significant difference within agreement with correlation between question levels and partition levels. Question 2 showed difference in Shima-guchi as partition as well. Question 2's partition difference was also within agreement and also showed correlation between question levels and partition levels.

In section 10 showed none of these sections' questions were significantly different even when eight different partitions were used to analyse. There were almost no disagreements in this section. Almost all participants agreed they like Japanese, like speaking Japanese, want next generations to speak Japanese, and think Japanese is important to them.

In section 11, this section also shown that there were no answers expressed significant differences between agreement and disagreement. Question about "I want Tokunoshima to continue to have sugar cane as the main industry." showed age difference which is increased age group increase want sugar cane to be the main industry of Tokunoshima than younger age group. Any age group difference existed within agreement to the question. Same phenomena of reply have happened in question about "I want my children and their children to know more about science and technology on Tokunoshima." that increased age groups showed more wish toward science and technology for their off springs. In addition, participants have also showed same differences with levels of Tokunoshima identity. Possession of stronger Tokunoshima ID persons showed more interest in their science and technology on Tokunoshima. Once again these Tokunoshima ID difference were seen only within agreement to the question.

In section 12, there were absolutely no differences in any partitions or description about people liking Nature of Tokunoshima. Question 7 and 8 of "I think Tokunoshima people should continue to eat their traditional food." and "I want my children and their children to eat traditional Tokunoshima food." showed almost no significant differences except for level of Tokunoshima identity had

influence on perception on these questions within agreement. Question 15 “I know many names of fishes and shells in standard Japanese” was answered by no significant difference by partitions except for the difference in Shima-guchi and Shiman-chu ID within agreement. These partition levels were correlated to variable levels. Finally, question 11 “I like the human character of Tokunoshima people.” also did not show partition differences except for Tokunoshima identity. Human characteristics of Tokunoshima person are increasingly like by those who express themselves as Shiman-chu but Shiman-chu characteristics are increasingly disliked by those who identify themselves as lesser Shiman-chu.

Appendix G: Consent Form for Interviews

プロジェクト・タイトル:日本の徳之島における、徳之島の言葉、文化、そして徳之島人としての自己認識の調査、徳之島の言葉と文化の継続を視点として。

研究者:中川悟 アルバータ州立大学博士課程

スポンサー :アイザック・ウォルトン・キラム 奨学金 (アルバータ州立大学) Izaak Walton Killam Scholarship (honorary scholarship), ソーシャルサイエンス アンド ヒューマニティ リサーチ カウンセル オブ カナダ (博士課程奨学金) Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (doctoral scholarship).

今回の調査研究にご参加いただき、本当にありがとうございます。この書類は、参加者に理解して頂きたい参加内容を含む研究の根本概念の説明になります。ここに表記された内容以上の詳細、あるいはここで含まれない情報があれば、気兼ねなく、御質問等お願いいたします。

私の名前は中川悟です。私は、昭和43年(1968年)に徳之島で生まれ昭和60年(1986年)に徳之島高校卒業後離島しました。現在は、カナダ、アルバータ州立大学、教育学部、教育政策学科の博士号課程に就学中です。専攻は、先住民の教育学で必修単位習得中ですが、学位習得を終える最終必要条件として研究を行っています。私の博士号研究は、この島の言語と文化の維持・継承に関して行なっています、現時点では、徳之島の言葉、文化、そして自己認識についての各人のお考えをアンケート(3,509名)にてお伺いしました。この研究により「徳之島の言葉、文化、また徳之島人としての自己認識がいかん世代によって変遷しているか」を、調査しています。勿論、今回の研究内容は、商業目的には使用いたしません。

今回のインタビューの所要時間は約一時間前後と予想しています。インタビューを行う際にあたっての場所と時間は参加社の希望にあわせて調整させていただきます。インタビューはデジタル音声録音機(ICレコーダー)を利用して録音し、その後データをパーソナルコンピューターへ移しCD(コンパクトディスク)へ書き込み保管いたします。パーソナルコンピューター情に作成したインタビューデータやCDについては調査終了後五年間二重の施錠がある場所にて保存管理した後に破棄いたします。私以外の人によるインタビューのデータ閲覧は不可といたします。インタビューのデータを筆記せず重要性が高いと考えられる部分のみを英語に翻訳し論文上のみで利用します。上記の方法をとることで、参加者の匿名を完全に保護できるとでしょう。

参加者の個人情報には常時保護されます。常に参加者の個人情報また個人を特定できるような情報はいかなる書類にも掲載しませんが、この研究の終わりにはインタビューの結果や考察のまとめを徳之島にて報告する予定です。このインタビュー調査そして前回のアンケート調査の結果は、私の博士課程の最終論文としてアルバータ州立大学へ電子データとして提出そして保管させていただきます。このインタビュー調査でお預かりました情報のすべてはアルバータ大学の倫理基準に遵守して管理いたします。

留意点として、この研究への任意的な参加を何時においても下記の私の連絡先に連絡いただくことによって無条件にて参加への同意を撤回することが可能です、そして、研究参加者から連絡をいただいた時点でインタビュー時に録音した音声データをすべて破棄いたします。希望であればインタビューを行う前に口頭で同意をしていただくことも可能です。口頭での同意の場合においてもこの同意書を保管して頂き、後日同意の撤回の希望がある場合にご利用いただけます。

この研究計画はアルバータ大学教育学部、生涯教養学部、そしてオーガスタ倫理委員会(EEA REB)の倫理指針の下に承認されました。研究参加に当り、参加者は、その研究に関する権利や倫理行為の質問のために、同倫理委員会委員長と連絡をとる事が可能

です。EEA と REB の連絡番号は(780)492-3751 です。いかなる関心あるいはプロジェクトについての疑問があれば、ご連絡いただきたいです。連絡方法は、私の実家、徳之島町 亀津 7 7 0 1、電話 (0997-83-1716)、あるいは電子メールによる連絡 nakagawa@ualberta.ca でも結構です。

私のカナダの自宅住所は、次のとおりです: 120 Ethelbert Street, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. 郵便番号 R 3 G 1 V 6、電話番号(204)287-8029 です。この電話番号のみ日本語を話す人が出ます。さらに、私のアドバイザーのマケレ、スチュアート・ハラウィラ博士 (Dr. Makere Stewart-Harawira) makere@ualberta.ca と連絡をとって頂いても結構です。

同意書

私 _____ は、この中川悟が行っている研究（徳之島の言葉、文化、アイデンティティーの変遷・変化についてのアセスメント、その継承・継続を念頭に置いて）に参加することに同意します。

I, _____, agree to participate, and give my permission for Satoru Nakagawa to carry out the research project entitled “Assessing language, culture, and identity shift in Tokunoshima, Japan with a view to sustainability.”

- 私はこの同意書の複写（コピー）をもらいました。I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this letter.
- 私はこのインタビューへ一回参加し、徳之島の言葉、文化、アイデンティティーについての質問に対し私個人の見解を答える事に同意します。I agree participate in one interview, and to answer questions about Tokunoshima language, culture and identity from my own perspective.
- 私は何時においてもこの研究からいかなる違約条項なく辞退できることを理解しています。I understand that I may withdraw permission to conduct this study at any time without penalty.
- 私はいかなる場合においても私の匿名（仮名を使った場合でも）が保護されることを理解しています。I understand that that all measures, including the use of a pseudonym, will be used to protect my privacy and right to anonymity.

西暦2009年

平成21年 _____

署名Signature

日付Date

Project title: Assessing language, culture, and identity shift in Tokunoshima, Japan with a view to sustainability

Researcher: Satoru Nakagawa, Ph.D. Candidate, University of Alberta

Sponsor: Izaak Walton Killam Scholarship (honorary scholarship), Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (doctoral scholarship).

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in my research study. I am grateful that you have decided to provide your time and effort for this project. This consent letter, which will be left with you for your records and reference, should give you a basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask me.

My name is Satoru Nakagawa. I was born on this island (Tokunoshima) in 1968. I left this island after graduating from Tokunoshima high school in 1986. Currently, I am in the PhD. program at the University of Alberta in Canada, completing my course work in the Educational Policy Studies/Indigenous People's Education. In order to complete my program as a part of the requirements for PhD fulfillment, I am planning to conduct research about this island's language and culture sustainability. At this time, I am doing a follow up to the survey research I completed last year. I will be conducting interviews which will examine your use of Tokunoshima language and Japanese, and your views about the loss of Tokunoshima culture and identity. I will be asking your opinions about how the language, culture and identity of Tokunoshima islanders shifts and changes over generations. The research will not be used for any commercial purposes.

You will be asked to participate in an interview with me, which should take approximately one hour to complete. I will arrange a time and place that is convenient for you to conduct the interview. The interview will be recorded on digital audio tape, downloaded onto my computer and then saved on compact disks (CDs). The copies on my computer will then be erased and the CDs will be kept behind double locked doors except when I am traveling from. The CD interview audio files will be kept for a period of five years and then destroyed. No one except for me will have access to the interview data. The interview data will not be transcribed, but rather only those parts of the interview that I intend to use in my dissertation will be translated into English by me. These practices will absolutely guarantee your anonymity in the research.

Your confidentiality will be maintained at all times. At no time any identifying information be included in any documents generated from this study; however, I will make the results public in summary form in Tokunoshima at the end of the research project. I will also write my Ph.D. dissertation with this data, which will be stored electronically at the University of Alberta library system, and I plan to publish a number of articles and conference presentations with an academic focus. All uses of the information you provide to me will conform to the ethical standards of the University of Alberta.

Please be advised that you may withdraw your consent at any time simply by contacting me at any of the numbers below, and I will immediately destroy your audio data. You may also give consent orally prior to the interview. In that case, you may choose to keep a copy of this letter for your records so that you may withdraw consent.

The plan for this study has been reviewed for its adherence to ethical guidelines and approved by the Faculties of Education, Extension, Augustana, and Faculty St. Jean Research Ethics Board (EEA REB) at the University of Alberta. For questions regarding participant rights and ethical conduct of research, contact the Chair of the EEASJ REB at (780) 492-3751.

If you have any concerns or questions about the project, you may contact me directly at 0997-83-1716, Kametsu, 7701 in Tokunoshima, or via email: sonflower@shaw.ca. My home address in Canada is: 120 Ethelbert St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, and my phone number there is (204) 287-8029. There are people always Japanese speaking people at that telephone number. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Makere Stewart-Harawira at makere@ualberta.ca.

Consent form

I, _____, agree to participate, and give my permission for Satoru Nakagawa to carry out the research project entitled “Assessing language, culture, and identity shift in Tokunoshima, Japan with a view to sustainability.”

- I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this letter.
- I agree participate in one interview, and to answer questions about Tokunoshima language, culture and identity from my own perspective.
- I understand that I may withdraw permission to conduct this study at any time without penalty.
- I understand that that all measures, including the use of a pseudonym, will be used to protect my privacy and right to anonymity.

Signature

Date