琉球大学学術リポジトリ

ディアスポラ舞台芸術と越境的沖縄ことばの共同体

Diaspora Performing Arts and the Transnational
Okinawan Speech Community

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The notion of speech community has become increasingly complex and at times illusory in today's highly fluid and interconnected society. Blommaert and Rampton（2017）re-examine the basic social science concepts such as language, language groups and speakers, and communication in light of today's diversifying society and argue that anti-essentialist critique has concluded, more or less, that the notion of "speech community" should be abandoned （p. 494）.[1] To discuss the very issue, this paper analyzes some YouTube episodes produced by Hawaiʻi United Okinawan Association, which contain a series of online interviews with Okinawan migrants and their descendants in Hawaiʻi and beyond. By drawing on the analysis of people's everyday speech practices online, this paper problematizes the concept of speech community in view of highly mobile and interconnected societies of today.

Past ethnographic research has already identified some emerging online communities such as English learning speech community among learners in China and trainers in the United States（Hart, 2016）. It also identified an online speech community in which shared knowledge and representations of American cultural and societal beliefs and policies about race and social class led its community members to particular interpretations of blog news after Hurricane Katrina（Morgan, 2000, 2014）. Likewise, Kotani（2017）elaborates on the fluid nature of speech community boundaries and the negotiability of speech codes after examining instances of remedial discourses between Japanese sojourners and American hosts. In these studies, speech community is conceived as a socially constructed unit that is spontaneous and fluid,

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[1]　Blommaert and Rampton（2017）further elaborate by saying that "speech community" has been superseded by a more empirically anchored and differentiating vocabulary which include "communities of practice," "institutions" and "networks" as the often mobile and flexible sites and links in which representations of group emerge, move and circulate（p. 491）.

thereby giving rise to a speech field that is not bound to specific time and space. With these renewed concepts of speech community in mind, I would like to explore some sociolinguistic implications of a networked community of Okinawan diaspora and its interaction with homeland in the mediated public sphere. Can we find some shared linguistic and social norms in Okinawan diaspora so as to characterize it as a speech community? What, if any, would be the key linguistic and social norms that bind the diaspora and its homeland?

To explore these questions, six propositions of speech codes theory（Hart, 2017; Philipsen, 1997; Philipsen, Coutu, & Covarrubias, 2005; Philipsen & Hart, 2015）are used to test whether or not the diaspora that is maintained, in large part, by the interaction with its homeland through digital media constitute a speech community. At the same time, the six propositions are utilized to explore how some means and meanings of deeply cultured ways of speaking unfold in the online talk of people from this diaspora.

1. Okinawan Diaspora

The ancestral homeland of the aforementioned diaspora is Okinawa, a region once known as the Ryukyu Kingdom with its own unique languages and culture. The independent *Sho* Dynasty lasted for 450 years（1429-1879）until it was finally annexed by Japan in 1879. Because of its proximity to China, Taiwan, and Southeastern Asian countries, the Ryukyu Kingdom flourished, despite its small territory, by trade with other Asian countries. The ocean-bound lifestyle of the Ryukyu era and a relative distance from mainland Japan helped nurture unique customs, languages, and performing arts that are distinct from those of mainland Japan, and some such cultural practices continue to thrive to this day.

Having been nurtured in a unique cultural milieu, people nonetheless had to migrate overseas in the past to escape from enduring poverty. The first group of emigrants left Okinawa in 1899 and migrated to Hawaiʻi in 1900 to work on sugar cane plantations. Likewise, the first Okinawans emigrants to Brazil arrived at the Port of Santos in 1908. In both cases, the Okinawans migrated overseas out of poverty, due to insufficient arable land in then mostly agricultural communities（Miyauchi, 2016）. By the time of the Pacific War（1941-1945）, up to 12% of Okinawans lived in the Pacific and the Americas（Selleck, 2003）, and the remittance these emigrants sent home was a substantial portion of Okinawan revenue（ibid.）. It was followed by a second wave of migration during the US military occupation（1945-1972）and continued until 1993. At each new site of resettlement, Okinawans banded together in part to support each other and to safeguard themselves from prejudice and discrimination against them（Mori, 2003; Selleck, 2003）. Soon these support groups developed into cohesive social associations called *kenjinkai*（prefectural associations）, established, for example, in Hawaiʻi

in 1905 and in Brazil in 1926. Today an estimated 415,361 Okinawans and their descendants live overseas around the world（Matayoshi and Urasaki, 2016）. Among those associations, perhaps the most vibrant one is in Hawaiʻi. Yet Brazil tops the list with a constituency of about 162,892 people（ibid.）. Okinawan diaspora now consist of third, fourth, and sometimes fifth generations who are highly educated and play active roles in their host societies as was represented, for example, by the 2014 appointment of David Ige as governor of Hawaiʻi.

These *kenjinkai* associations played a key role in maintaining ties with the members' ancestral homeland through joint cultural events, business alliances, student exchange programs, and various other channels. Among many such occasions, nowhere else has this been more evident than the sites of Worldwide *Uchinanchu*（Okinawan）Festival（hereafter, WUF） held every five years since 1990. Both overseas and local Okinawans and their descendants across the world gather in Okinawa to commemorate their ancestral heritage and to solidify the worldwide network of Okinawan descendants. The sixth WUF in 2016, for example, started with an opening parade with participants from 28 countries on the *Kokusai* Street, the most bustling street in Okinawa. It was followed by workshops, cultural events, and sports played with local participants. Attendees also watched performing arts such as Ryukyuan dance, *sanshin* concerts, and *karate* demonstrations. Some overseas participants visited local schools and municipal halls and gave informal talks about their countries. At all such venues, overseas participants are eager to explore their ancestral roots through cultural exchanges with local people（See Petrucci & Miyahira, 2009 for a fuller discussion of WUF）. The first WUF in 1990 drew 2,397 from overseas to Okinawa, and the number of participants has continued to grow with each WUF, reaching a record number of more than 7,300 during the latest event in 2016（Okinawa Prefecture, 2016）. The growing trend of worldwide participation and ensuing online exchanges have helped build a global network of Okinawan cohorts around the world.

2. Speech Community, Speech Codes Theory and Data for Analysis

Gumperz（1971）defines a speech community as "any human aggregates characterized by regular and frequent *interaction* by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in *language use*"（p. 114, emphases added）. This classic definition makes it clear that the emphasis on language use and human interaction was in place from the inception of theorizing speech community; speech community was conceived in a field of action. After reviewing the historical development of speech community concepts, Kasutani（2007）goes further and recapitulates that a defining feature of speech community is a set of shared social norms about language use such as a norm that determines which style of speaking is considered prestigious, formal, and informal. Such focus on linguistic interaction

and the social norms that are at work behind linguistic interaction is a foundational principle of speech codes theory（hereafter, SCT）. Therefore, one way of exploring the aforementioned questions is to pit some features of the networked community against the propositions advanced by the SCT. In most cases, existing studies have named speech communities by certain demographic features, be it race, ethnicity, geography, income and socio-economic status, gender, age, and sexuality, and thus specific composition of a speech community have been necessarily defined a priori（Milburn, 2004）. However, unless one can identify distinctive speech codes and hear the codes like local members do, the specific makeup of the said speech community remains vague, if not illusory. A transient community, for example, can be spontaneously formed, and its boundary stays fluid as participants negotiate means and meaning of their communicative conduct（Fitch, 1994, 1999; Mortensen, 2017）. That is why the current study tries to identify some distinctive speech codes and then attempts to outline the scope, composition, and some salient features of speech community in Okinawan diaspora. By identifying specific speech codes that serve as shared cultural resources among its members, this study tries to ascertain an emerging, digitally mediated speech community.

A speech code is defined as "a system of socially-constructed symbols and meanings, premises, and rules pertaining to communicative conduct"（Philipsen, 1992, 1997; Philipsen & Hart, 2015）, and it consists of six specific propositions. The propositions are designed to illuminate how culture is inextricably woven into our everyday talk. The theory helps us discover each culture's distinctive terms（i.e., symbols）and their metacommunicative vocabulary as well as totemizing ritual sequences of talk, which pay homage to the culture's sacred objects. In addition, the propositions are designed to help us predict how an artful use of speech codes give voice to the sacred objects and explain the local meanings of deeply cultured ways of speaking. To take an example, Proposition 3 states: A speech code implicates culturally distinctive psychology, sociology, and rhetoric（Philipsen, 1992; Philipsen, Coutu & Covarrubias, 2005; Philipsen & Hart, 2015）.[2] Hart（2017）unpacks this highly condensed proposition this way:

> A speech code reflects more than a group's ways of communicating; it also reveals important information about what it means to be a competent and effective individual and member of society. Here, psychology refers to ideas about personhood, including notions about what a "proper" person is, and how such persons should conduct themselves.

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[2]   Because space is limited, my analysis focuses primarily on this proposition. However, needless to say, the ensuing discussions are informed by SCT as a whole.

Similarly, sociology refers to the parameters by which people define their group and/or other groups, and it also encompasses beliefs about how people should interact with or relate to others within the group, and/or those outside of it. Finally, rhetoric refers to the ways in which group members use（or feel they should use）communication strategically to achieve the desired ends.（p. 4）

If we can find some situated vocabularies and symbols that reference the nature of such personhood, social relations, and strategic communicative practices in people's everyday talk, we can identify a distinctive speech code, which will in turn reveal to us some aspects of a distinctive cultural group, namely a speech community. The diaspora-homeland connection encourages us a new application of this proposition and offers a renewed notion of speech community.

To investigate speech codes in Okinawan diaspora, data were collected from a YouTube channel called HUOA *Yuntaku Live!,* a movie channel produced by Hawaiʻi United Okinawa Association（HUOA）. This ongoing video project has, as of September 2022, accumulated 67, approximately 90-minute episodes, on which worldwide viewers have posted their comments. So far, 3,460 viewers have registered for this channel and most episodes have acquired more than 1,000 views. In the episodes the hosts talk about the dance, music, ancestral lineage, student exchange and other topics related to Okinawa with featured guests. The guests are not limited to Hawaiʻi residents; they include members of Okinawan diaspora in Argentina, Peru, and other countries, not to mention people in the homeland. The word "y*untaku*" in the series title is a popular Okinawan term best translated as "chitchat," and as such the entire live show proceeds like a casual conversation connecting people not only in Hawaiʻi but also in Okinawa and other places in the world. Some scholars have argued that unique Okinawan performing arts like music, dance, and *taiko* have greatly contributed to the diaspora-homeland ties ever since Okinawans migrated overseas（Katsuren, 2000; Kinjo, 2010）. Indeed, Kinjo （2010）maintains that performing arts are the "cords and belts"（*chuutai*）that have bonded the homeland and many Okinawan diasporas around the world. With this in mind, I have chosen the video episodes that featured performing artists for data because they are likely to contain culturally rich talks.

Video clips in which local symbols, vocabulary, and ritual conversation sequence were implicated in the scenes were transcribed. Then they were sorted according to the three dimensions of Proposition 3 for the purpose of comparison and contrast. It must be noted that the *Yuntaku Live!* shows are staged but not scripted, and they closely simulate everyday communication of the Okinawan diaspora in Hawaiʻi and in other locations. The

six propositions and the three dimensions of Proposition 3 are so closely interrelated that the theory defies singling out of any proposition or dimension to account for the speech codes. Nonetheless, analytically, it is of our interest to focus on each proposition or dimension because doing so will illuminate some distinctive characteristics of speech community.

3. Personhood in Okinawan Diasporas

The first dimension of Proposition 3 is culturally distinctive psychology; i.e., a culturally sanctioned view of what a proper person is and how they should conduct themselves. *Yuntaku Live!* shows contain many instances of talk that convey such localized view of diaspora personhood. One of the guests who teaches *sanshin* recollects his childhood when he used to think that the culture is in his DNA—it would come to him automatically. After realizing that that is completely untrue, he started force-feeding himself and learned to play the *sanshin* in his quest for a connection with the homeland. He considers that playing sanshin provides him with a gateway to finding more about his culture. He explains his viewpoint of music:

[Extract 1]
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If you are an artist, art is your form of expression. If you're an
expressive person, you use your music as your expression. Music and
performing arts are a way to express this identity that I have and this
connection. So, at first it was a means to build that connection, that
connection to my roots, to my heritage. For me now one of the interesting
things about performing arts is that it's this conduit for you to connect
to this tradition, culture, and history.
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The development of his awareness from initial indifference to continuing search for connection to his heritage allowed him to understand his fellow members from the Okinawan diaspora in Hawaiʻi. Many people are experiencing a lack of connection with their cultural heritage and a lack of cultural background. When he teaches *sanshin*, he tries to help people sort out the right questions to ask about their identity and find the answers to those questions. For him and for many of his students Okinawan music is one of the answers to their quest for their cultural heritage and their identity. They can fill the lack of connection through learning and playing traditional Okinawan music. That being the case, for the *sanshin* teacher, Okinawan music is not simply a form of arts; it is most poignantly an expression of his own cultural identity.

However, almost thirty years later, he states self-deprecatingly that he is still totally

confused about his identity. Another musician guest echoed this sentiment in his episode. After receiving formal music education at a prestigious university, he says he has one foot put in Western music and the other in Okinawan music. The constant balancing act of the two traditions exposes him to diverse music but eventually pulls him back and grounds him in his Okinawan heritage, as was succinctly surmised by one of the show hosts. A similar balancing act is reported by Yanagisako (1985) in her ethnographic study of first- and second-generation Japanese Americans in Seattle, in which she closely describes the dialectic tension between the "Japanese past" and the "American present" and subsequent transformation to a hybrid identity. The balancing act and the subsequent transformation from a dialectic tension between the diaspora and the homeland is an essential part of Okinawan diaspora personhood. In the episode of an Argentine doctor-musician, such hybrid identity is described plainly in a statement: "We're kind of in-between." Or, using an Okinawan term, he says, "We're *champuruu*," which refers to a mixture of a variety of things or a dish made from an assortment of several ingredients. It must be emphasized here that this balancing act and transformation are ongoing process because even the experienced *sanshin* master acknowledges that he is still midway through his search for such personhood.

Other comments made by the guests including the *sanshin* teacher above capture another essential dimension of Okinawan diaspora personhood: i.e., historical continuity. Participants in these shows often comment on their connection to their roots, heritage, and tradition. One instantiation of this connection is their sense of connectedness to their predecessors. For example, reflecting on his background in performing arts, the aforementioned *sanshin* teacher provides a clear description of the historical continuity:

[Extract 2]
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When I sing or play a song, a lot of times it's … I'm usually not singing
by myself; it's usually the person that either taught me the song or the
person whose version that I like the most. Usually, they're singing in my
head with me and so I'm just basically riding along with them and so every
time I sing this song, it's actually Nakasone-sensei singing in my head
and I'm singing along.
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When he plays a traditional song, he relives a moment of life with his own *sanshin* master, thereby paying tribute to his predecessor and the associated tradition that has been handed down over the generations. This reliving of a moment with his master is a way of experiencing the actual sense of being connected with his roots, heritage, and culture. In this way, the

practice of playing this traditional instrument constitutes a significant part of his personhood because through the practice he found an answer to a long-lasting question of his own cultural identity. The Okinawan diaspora personhood is not inherited by blood; it is acquired solely by engaging with tradition, performing arts being a central one.[3] All in all, historical continuity forms a critical part of Okinawan diaspora personhood, and one way to experience it is practicing Okinawan performing arts.

4. Social relations in Okinawa diaspora

Performing arts not only build one's connection to tradition but also help create a community. Like all other performing arts, Okinawan traditional preforming arts are mutual engagement between performers and audience. Every performance embodies performers' messages, which are appreciated by each individual in the audience in his or her own way. As was discussed earlier, if a *sanshin* performer encodes his/her expression of historical continuity in his/her performance, some apt audience will be able to appreciate the message and simultaneously experience the historical continuity by engaging in the performance. Once this sharing of historical continuity is made possible, there will likely be a sense of ties between the performer and audience, which after repeated performances among many interested people may give rise to a sense of community.

With respect to this formation of community, the *sanshin* teacher drew on his previous experiences and said:

[Extract 3]
It's not just the performers on stage that put out the performance and people just passively listen to it. The audience have to be involved. The Okinawan stage is not just this platform to play and perform; it's a platform to share. So you need that reaction, you need that energy and the input from the audience. That's where the tradition comes from, the whole concept of performance. ((ellipsis)) If we talk about identity, if we can help people finding a way to connect to that identity, then our songs and music make sense.

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[3] Miyahira (in press) discusses a similar instance of historical continuity in another episode of *Yuntaku* Live!, in which a featured guest stresses the importance of pronouncing one's surnames in traditional Okinawan language rather than in more recent, standardized variety of Japanese (e.g., *Tamagusuku* rather than *Tamashiro*, *Ufugusuku* rather than *Oshiro*, etc.). Sticking with the traditional names, the guest stresses, gives them confidence and cultural foundation.

The narrative makes it evident that the performing arts serve as a means to acknowledge and reinforce the shared cultural identity. Audience must actively engage in this ritual event for the performance to be meaningful. Performance occurs in the space between performers and audience, and what takes place in this event of mutual engagement is a recognition of the participants' shared tradition. That said, however, audience members who come from different cultural backgrounds will engage in the performance as a pure artistic expression and be content with it. Meanwhile, those who are Okinawan by origin but have little exposure to traditional performing arts may simply turn away from them or may appreciate them but do not experience the recognition of shared tradition in the same way. In other words, there is a diversity of positionality within Okinawan diaspora. In this regard, SCT provides an explanatory framework for a myriad of things that happen between performers and audience members during such an event. Proposition 4 states that the significance of speaking is contingent upon the speech codes used by interlocutors to constitute the meanings of communicative acts. Although the event in question is not a verbal communicative act, it is a form of communication mediated by immaterial art form, and for that matter the significance of the messages is contingent upon the speech codes being shared by community members. Furthermore, *sanshin* performance is an artful use of shared Okinawan diaspora speech codes that are sufficient for explaining the intelligibility, prudence, and morality of communicative conduct（Proposition 6）. For those who choose to view *Yuntaku Live!,* the *sanshin* teacher's motive to share his rendition of tradition is made intelligible due in large part to shared speech codes.

The sharing of tradition through performing arts facilitates building of social relations as well. After the comment above, the *sanshin* teacher explains the lyrics of one of the songs he played. It contains a Ryukyuan poem once read by King *Shotai*（1843-1901）who reigned during the last period of Ryukyu kingdom: *Ikusayu n shimachi / mirukuyu n yagati / Nageekuna yo shinka / nuchi du takara*（War is over now, and soon peace will come. Do not despair fellow Ryukyuans; life must be treasured.）The *sanshin* teacher favors this song because it pays tribute to the lesson inherited from Okinawan ancestry. In times of war and imbalance, we always look for peace and balance. The way we get through the times of imbalance, he continues, is through our relationships to each other; we affirm our ties to each other, our friendships and love for each other. Furthermore, within the lyric he picks a single word that epitomizes the social relations. The word *kanaganaatu* describes the way one should treat others: i.e., kindly, friendlily, and affectionately. The predecessors of Okinawan diaspora teach current members how to build relationships among its members and encourage them to expand the circle of relationship beyond linguistic and ethnic boundaries. This morality, to

borrow a SCT term, is what he wants to share with his audience, and it directly references the kind of social relations desired in Okinawa diasporas.

Another *sanshin* player in a different episode also drew on a similar morality about social relations. He picks a well-known song called *choodee gwaa bushi*(a song of siblinghood), which praises the moral practice of treating others with affection like one's sibling. Miyahira (in press)reports a scene in which a Ryukyuan dance teacher tells small children the same adage in the lyric, translating it in the simplest terms possible for her young students: "We are one big family." As shown in these examples, through mutual engagement, Okinawan performing arts, traditional songs in particular, enable participants to share cultural symbols, beliefs and values. If historical continuity and distinctive social relations are invoked through songs and if they are deeply felt by both parties in a performing art event, then the participants can experience a connection to their homeland. In such occasions, "the songs and music make sense."

We must note at this juncture that the term "homeland" in diaspora discourse is one of the cultural symbols(Carbaugh, 1993)with specific meanings and significance as is conceived in SCT.[4] The homeland is not present Okinawa nor is it Okinawa in the past; it is a collection of diaspora members' fragments of memories. In an episode titled "Imaginary Homelands" a dance instructor explains that the title derives from one of Salman Rushdie's essays in which the author recollects his homeland in India. The dance instructor was inspired by Rushdie's imaginary homeland:

[Extract 4]
[H]is essays were talking about how writers from India in Britain are writing about their homeland through different eyes, different remembrances to fragments of their remembrances and how to hang on to these fragments so dearly because that's all we have, right? When we leave our homelands, we're desperate to hang on to anything when actually it may be just fragments of what it was. So it's more about us forgetting than it is for us remembering.

The speaker has long taught modern dance at university and later in her career studied

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4   In his analysis of Soviet-US discussion, Carbaugh(1993)reports that the participants give voice to cultural symbols of "soul" and "self" respectively, and their communicative conducts reflect some rules and norms of social interaction in a respective community.

traditional Okinawan dance. She has struggled between her modern dance background and her imaginary homeland, trying to reconcile these two backgrounds while remaining respectful to both. As she straddles these two very different traditions, she seems to tell herself that she can choreograph Okinawan dance while giving a modern dance outlook to it when she says, "I think it's OK to do this." This sense of assurance derives from the very nature of homeland, which is fundamentally imaginary. If homeland is created by fragments of memories, there are infinite versions of homelands which are part authentic and part imaginary. Her rendition of Okinawan dance is an instantiation of such creation from fragments of memories. In this diaspora-homeland context, she is assured by a thought that everyone engages in this creative process, and she is entitled to hers. She hangs on to her memory fragments and imagine her version of homeland by creating a new art form of Okinawan dance. In a sense the entire efforts to create a new Okinawan dance is a result of her losing memories of homeland; diaspora performing artists create in order to make up for such loss. The whole practice of such creation is literally "the memory's fight against forgetting" to borrow Rushdie's words.

What is critically important here is that performing arts elevate what is normally an individual creative endeavor to a community-level practice. As the *sanshin* teacher says above, a performing stage is a platform to share individual memories and subsequent construction of homelands. As people engage in this sharing, a community of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992) does emerge because they engage in the activities under a common goal of sharing their memories of homeland. If this is the case, new ways of doing things, talking, beliefs and values, and social relations will develop in the course of engaging in the common endeavor. To cite just some examples of the outcome of such collective practice, another *sanshin* teacher describes "Jumblish," a jumbled parlance of English, Japanese, and Okinawan mixed together, to be a unique feature of Okinawan diaspora. Elsewhere, a participant explained about a new Twitter hashtag, #Uchinaa 1000, which was motivated by a desire to connect 1,000 Okinawans and Okinawans-at-heart worldwide. The same participant also announced that the week of October 30 to November 6 as World *Uchinanchu* Week, also dubbed as PORK (Peace of Ryukyu Kingdom). All in all, performing arts serve as "cords and belts" (Kinjo, 2010) of diaspora and homeland because they provide a site for the mutual engagement and sharing, which in the long run results in distinctive diaspora social relations.

5. Communication practices in Okinawan diaspora

The third dimension of Okinawan diaspora speech codes is rhetoric—culturally distinctive communicative strategies to coordinate a talk with one another for the desired ends. The dance instructor in Extract 4 has much to comment on this dimension. As she was juggling two

different traditions, a new insight dawned on her:

[Extract 5]
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I was trying to hold on to tradition, trying to keep it very pure and
sacred. You know, modern dance has given me tools to create, but the
Okinawan dance gave me reasons to create. It gave me stories.
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Looking back, the narrator reckons that in both times of war and peace, people in Okinawa and those who migrated overseas created songs and dances to cope with the social conditions of the times. They did so to celebrate nature and human relationships as well. Just like our ancestors did, she continues, "we should be using whatever experience we have to tell our stories." Every song and dance contain some salient stories that, having been passed on from generation to generation, have become iconic cultural narrative. Yet, in a diaspora, some new and different versions of stories are created in order to deal with a new social climate. For example, a story of naval and aerial bombardment of Okinawan islands during the last war has been told as a "*tetsu no boofuu*" (literally, a storm of steel) in Okinawa. However, a new dance choreographed by the dance instructor is titled "steel rain." The changes in the titles, albeit subtle, suggest different social conditions as well as a passage of time. Although the diaspora story is a different version of a historical event, the dance tells a story, and it gets shared by those who participate in the performing art event. The making of the original stories and sharing them with community members are the reasons for her to create the dance.

Such stories surface in daily talk at times. One good example can be found in a conversation between a boy and his grandfather in an animation dedicated to a song composed by an Argentine musician-doctor, who is a third-generation Okinawan migrant. The song was first created in Spanish under the title of Entre Claveles (literally, In Carnation Flowers) in 2015 and two years later it was re-recorded in Japanese under a different title, *Jikuu no Hana* (literally, Flowers beyond Space-Time) (Higa, 2017). It tells a story of his childhood memory with his grandfather who had migrated to Argentina with his wife in 1934 (ibid.). The YouTube music video of this song begins with a short animation video in which a boy asks his grandfather about his life as an immigrant. The grandfather tells the boy how dreadfully impoverished Okinawa was, and in order to earn livelihood for his family and his family in Okinawa he came to Argentina. After many years of hard work and community support, he was finally able to establish himself as a farmer growing carnation flowers. The following extract is a part of that conversation as it appeared in the subtitles of one of the *Yuntaku* Live! episodes.

[Extract 6]
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Grandpa:   We didn't have money, plus we didn't know Spanish. The only
           thing we could do was work in the flower fields from early day
           until the sunset. Many Okinawans who emigrated to Argentina
           devoted themselves to cultivating flowers. The Uchinanchus
           (Okinawans)were very hard workers.
Boy:       I see. So the reason of our fortune is all because of your
           effort. So grandpa, were you able to fulfill your dreams?
Grandpa:   Of course! We were able to build a beautiful family, which
           makes me very happy! Grandson, even if you were born in
           Argentina, Okinawa will always be in your blood.
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An Okinawan animation artist contributed the animation pictures, and the conversation was recorded by local Okinawans. When another descendant of Okinawan migrants who now lives in Okinawa translated the original Spanish lyrics into Japanese, the musician shared his vision of his grandparents overlooking him and other family members from a widespread field of carnation flowers on a cloud, feeling happy about what they have accomplished. The Japanese song title, *Jikuu no Hana,* comes from that vision he had. It tells a story of historical continuity by having the boy acknowledge grandpa's toil and in effect thanks his forebears, while foregrounding a family-oriented social relations that are treasured in Okinawan diaspora. The musician's story which was created from fragments of his memory is given a clear rhetorical form through collaboration with an animation artist and voice actors.

This narrative may be only a fictional representation of Okinawan diaspora rhetoric, but again fragments of memories are all we have. In this regard, telling stories is an essential means of diaspora rhetoric. *Yuntaku* Live! shows offer a great forum for such storytelling. Several pairs of people serve as show hosts, and most of them favor using the phrase, "talk stories," in such an expression as "Come join us and talk stories." Being encouraged in this way, guests are willing to tell their own stories like the prelude to the song above. When they "talk stories," often it is about their memories of homeland, and by sharing their stories, they try to draw a fuller picture of their homeland. A *Yuntaku* Live! show offers a great opportunity for participants to engage in this communal activity by listening to a guest "talk stories." As one of the guests aptly pointed out, "*Yuntaku* Live! kept the community together" through these mutual engagements. In a like manner, Miyahira（in press）draws on Proposition 5[5] of

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5   Proposition 5 postulates: The terms, rules, and premises of a speech code are inextricably woven into

SCT and concludes that *yuntaku* among people in Okinawan diaspora is a culturally distinctive communication ritual that pays homage to the ancestral homeland. *Yuntaku* is not a mere chitchat; it is a collective engagement in "talking stories" so as to piece together an imaginary homeland from participants' fragments of memories.

What has become clear from this focused discussion of performing arts is that diaspora members tell stories through both linguistic and extralinguistic means on the one hand and, on the other, help expand the circle of the community of practice globally using information and communication technology (ICT) platforms. As the collaboration on a musical production, *Jikuu no Hana,* illustrates, diaspora community practice now involves homeland Okinawa as well as much wider global participation. This global reach is made possible by a key feature of performing arts. One of the guests, who is a renowned ukulele player puts it this way: Music is not so much a universal language as a language of universe. *Yuntaku* Live! shows demonstrate a case in point in that individuals literally congregate for performing art events from across the world talking in the figurative language of universe. Similarly, as if he was to expand this circle of participants, a Peruvian musician contends that Okinawans must be open to other Nikkei communities and for that matter to a wider global society. The universal appeal of performing arts along with the help of global ICT platform gives rise to a community of Okinawan cohorts that is small in scale but global in its reach.

6. A Mediated Transnational Speech Community

Thus far, we have seen some instances of distinctive personhood, social relations, and communication practices that are commonly observed in Okinawan diaspora. SCT stresses the importance of describing those cultural resources that interlocutors draw upon to make sense of communication practices. On the one hand, interlocutors utilize a variety of means in coding distinctive local meanings in their communication practices. On the other hand, by being able to mobilize some pertinent cultural resources to make such coded practices intelligible, they experience certain allegiance to a speech community. In the case of Okinawan diaspora, the speech community is not located at any specific place; rather, it is a networked space of cultural activities, to which participants join from far and wide. Those participants use some cultural symbols such as "homeland" and "*champuruu"* along with some very common and yet culturally salient meanings (e.g., *Nuchi du takara*) and their metacommunicative comments ("*kanaganaatu*") so as to give voice to their sense of personhood and social relations. They

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speaking itself. To discover such intricate relationship, SCT urges analysts to look at, for instance, some special forms of communicative conduct such as rituals, myths, and social dramas.

also practice a communication ritual, "*yuntaku*" or "talking stories," in a way that reaffirms those cultural symbols and culturally ratified ways of engaging in communicative interaction. Therefore, wherever these cultural symbols and metacommunicative vocabulary are involved in communicative interaction, and as long as the significance of speaking is contingent upon the speech codes used by interlocutors as is stated in Proposition 4 of SCT, there is to be found a speech community of Okinawans that is transnational.

This transnational speech community is constructed both linguistically and extralinguistically. Linguistically, it makes use of many cultural symbols or labels that derive from Okinawan indigenous language. Okinawan diaspora have been linguistically assimilated by their host countries, and it is not a type of linguistic diaspora as in the case of Molise Croatian speakers in Italy, for whom language is the central characteristic connecting people across time and space (Šimičić and Rajko, 2021). Although the members of Okinawan diaspora don't speak solely in Okinawan or Japanese, they use certain key Okinawan linguistic symbols and labels as well as some distinctive metacommunicative vocabulary in their *yuntaku* talks. This study identified some such cultural symbols and elaborated on their situated meanings so as to uncover some aspects of Okinawan diaspora speech codes. The analysis reveals that Okinawan heritage language plays a significant part in the linguistic construction of speech community.

The transnational speech community is constructed through extralinguistic means as well. Most importantly, it is mediated by Okinawan performing arts in general. Although performing arts themselves may not involve communicative practices, when they are performed, audiences engage themselves in the stories that are being told along with the immaterial and extralinguistic form of performing arts. *Yuntaku* Live! shows prove to be a great contributor to this process of extralinguistic diasporization because the performance is often accompanied by performers' own stories and audience's commentary on the stories from across the globe. Audiences can join such events because they are digitally mediated, which is another extralinguistic means of constructing a transnational speech community. ICT affords us a transformative shift in the ways we build human networks, and along with it comes a new type of speech community.

The new type of speech community is best defined by shared speech codes. Like Blommaert and Rampton (2017) who predicted a demise of traditional speech community, Jacquemet (2019) urges that researchers should go beyond the study of speech communities and shift to the study of "linguistics of contact" by retooling their methods of analysis. His proposal is, in part, a reflection of a growing number of communicative practices by groups of people who are not bound by geographic regions and who interact with others both in face-

to-face and in digitally mediated environments. What my analysis shows is that, in the case of Okinawan diaspora, there exist shared speech codes across the diasporas. Although individuals may speak in their second and/or third language and interact with each other using innovative communication strategies such as borrowing, code-switching（e.g., Jumblish）, and/or crossing, they also invoke shared speech codes when they participate in cultural dialogues and by doing so they reaffirm shared beliefs and values. This emerging speech community is not anything monolithic; it is constantly remaking itself with an influx and an outflux of people of both Okinawan descent and Okinawans-at-heart. That being the case, however, the artful use of shared speech codes and the ability to predict their intelligibility, prudence, and morality （Proposition 6）thus far outlined above serve as "identitificative resources"（Philipsen, 1992） for each member to come to have a sense of speech community.

7. In Closing

An overriding premise of the preceding discussion is that "homeland" plays a key role in community building. It is interesting to note in closing that the homeland that is shared through everyday discourse and storytelling is an imaginary one for both diaspora and those in Okinawa. That is to say, the homeland can no longer be found in present Okinawa. Lately, most Okinawan residents spend their daily life using Japanese rather than the indigenous Okinawan language. Okinawans have been alienated over the years from their own language under a political regime that painstakingly propagated monolingual ideology throughout Japan （Heinrich, 2012）. One may go so far as to say that they construct their version of homeland from the collective memory of the ancestral past. It is analogous to Okinawan diaspora members constructing their "imaginary homeland" from fragments of their memories. For both parties "homeland" is a social construction. Therefore, the diaspora's search for authenticity may not be completed in current Okinawa; it will only be reached in the ancestral past. One accidental outcome of such social construction of homeland is an opportunity for both diaspora and Okinawans to collaborate on this enterprise and develop some grand narratives about personhood, social relations, and communicative practices, which will eventually lead to a shared feeling of membership in a transnational Okinawan speech community.

It is also clear from the discussion thus far that indigenous Okinawan vocabulary is essential for creating such grand narratives. The indigenous Okinawan vocabulary orient both diaspora and Okinawans to the shared ancestral past and allow both parties to negotiate the meanings and normative uses of the vocabulary. Recent ICT-enabled venues like *Yuntaku* Live! shows have accelerated the collaboration to the extent that these parties now share speech codes; that is, "a system of socially-constructed symbols and meanings, premises, and rules

pertaining to communicative conduct." Such shared speech codes indicate that a new model of transnational speech community is developing. What started with small cultural enclaves of Okinawan migrants has developed, through participating in performing arts events online and engaging in digitally mediated forms of communication, into a global network of people who are practicing what is traditionally considered Okinawan. In light of today's superdiversity that is characterized by fluid community boundaries, the mediated transnational speech community of Okinawans offers a new case of community formation as it responds to the surge of superdiverse society. It does so by capitalizing on the resilience of indigenous Okinawan language.

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ディアスポラ舞台芸術と越境的沖縄ことばの共同体

宮平勝行

　超多様性が日常化する現代社会において、社会言語学の基本的概念である「ことばの共同体(スピーチ・コミュニティ)」をどのように捉えるべきなのか。本稿ではハワイの沖縄ディアスポラ共同体が発信する YouTube ビデオシリーズ *Yuntaku* Live!のインタビュー談話に注目して考察を行った。スピーチ・コード理論に基づいて、舞台芸術家を対象としたインタビューの談話を分析した結果、沖縄ディアスポラ共同体の個人像、社会的人間関係、そしてコミュニケーション行動の特色について次の点が明らかになった。舞台芸術家はその演舞を通して自らの内にある混成性(ハイブリディティ)と沖縄との歴史的連続性を重視し、演目に込められた、記憶の断片から想像した祖国の物語を聴衆と共有することで沖縄ディアスポラの社会的人間関係を構築している。舞台芸術に込められたこうした物語は、日常会話において「ユンタク」という固有のコミュニケーション儀式を通して広く共有され、国境を越えて人と人を結ぶ役割を担っている。舞台芸術の演舞とオンラインの仮想空間を媒介としてもたらされる人と人のこうしたネットワークは、超多様性を享受する現代における新出の「ことばの共同体」であり、この共同体創造の基盤をなすのが沖縄語語彙、メタ言語としての沖縄語、そしてそれらを契機として創造される物語である。