

$$\frac{51}{60} + \frac{9}{15} \rightarrow \frac{60}{75}$$

content b.bio

- good methodological understanding
- a bit short on explanation of some points
- original observations on 'short'; possible connections bet. Koro and Sani.

Issues in the genetic classification of Northern Ryūkyuan languages

Hilário de Sousa

what about Let.
Sani: and rest of
Tabugōhō
(ref. Umano)

The only languages proven to be genetically related to Japanese are the languages of the Ryūkyū Islands 琉球列島. Comparing with the relative homogeneity of the Japanese language, the inherent intelligibility is generally very difficult between different Ryūkyūan languages and dialects.

There is a consensus amongst Ryūkyūan linguists that the numerous Ryūkyūan languages can be divided into two groups: Northern Ryūkyūan and Southern Ryūkyūan. The division coincide with the approximately 300km geographical separation between Amami 奄美 & Okinawa 沖縄 Islands in the north(east) and Miyako 宮古 & Yaeyama 八重山 Islands in the south(west).

Concerning Northern Ryūkyūan, there are two main schemes of classification. One is the 'two-branches' scheme (e.g. Nakamoto 1990): the Amami Islands (Amami Ōshima 奄美大島, Kakeroma 加計呂麻, Uke 請, Yoro 与路, Kikai 喜界, Tokunoshima 徳之島, Okinoerabu 沖永良部, Yoron 与論, and Torishima 鳥島) forming one branch and Okinawa (Okinawa main island 沖縄本島 and offshore islands like Iheya 伊平屋, Izena 伊是名, Iejima 伊江島, Aguni 粟国, Kume 久米, Kerama 慶良間, Kudaka 久高, Tsuken 津堅, etc.) forming the other branch. The other scheme is the 'three-branches' scheme (e.g. Uemura 1992): Amami Ōshima (including Kakeroma, Uke, Yoro) and Tokunoshima constituting one branch, Northern Okinawa, Kikai, Yoron and Okinoerabu constitute another branch, and

Southern Okinawa constitutes the remaining branch. (For an overview of the ‘two-branches’ and the ‘three-branches’ views, see Karimata (2000).)

This article will question the two current classification schemes of Northern Ryūkyūan, especially concerning the classification of the Amami languages. I will be showing that previous classification schemes are not predicting the right genetic relationship between different Ryūkyūan languages.

Problems with previous classification schemes

The Ryūkyūan linguistic area includes all the Ryūkyū Islands from Yonaguni in the southwest to Amami Ōshima/ Kikai in the northeast. This coincides with the largest extend of the Ryūkyūan Kingdom before the invasion of Satsuma (modern day Kagoshima, southern Kyūshū) in 1609. Satsuma annexed all of the Amami Islands (except Torishima¹), and since then the languages of Amami Islands (and also the rest of the Ryūkyūs to a lesser extent) came under considerable amount of influence from Satsuma Japanese.

The ‘two branches’ Amami-Okinawa classification scheme is partly based on political criteria; the criteria used for the classification are all based on diffused features within both sides of the relatively new political boundary between Okinawa-Ryūkyū and Amami-Satsuma. One example of lexical differences between Amami and Okinawa is the lexical item for ‘toilet’. Okinawa and Southern Ryūkyūs possess reflex of the proto-Ryūkyūan form of **puru*: Nago (Northern Okinawa) *puruu*; Shuri

¹ Satsuma did not annex the tiny Torishima, which is located to the west of Tokunoshima and north of Okinawa, because Ryūkyūs needed the sulphur from the volcanic Torishima to trade with China. The volcano erupted in 1903, and all the residents have since been relocated to the Torishima locality in Gushikawa, Kume Island. ‘Torishima’ in linguistic literatures refer to the modern Torishima locality.

(Southern Okinawa, capital of the ex-Ryūkyūan Kingdom) *φuru*, Hirara (Miyako, Southern Ryūkyūs) *fuz*, Sōnai (Yonaguni, Southern Ryūkyūs) *φurijaa*. But in all of the Amami Islands, the lexical item has been replaced by other forms due to lexical borrowing. The form **settfin* is a Kyūshū Japanese ‘import’: Shodon (Kakeroma) *sentsin*, Isen (Tokunoshima) *seetfin*, China (Okinoerabu) *fitfinu*, Chabana (Yoron) *fitfin*. Although there are a number of lexical items which are particular to the Amami Islands, but because they are inevitably borrowed lexical forms (from Japanese), they are not valid as proof of genetic relationship.

One phonological criterion exemplified by proponents of the ‘two-branches’ scheme concerns the modern reflex of the sound sequence of **awa*. In the Amami Islands, **awa* > **au* > *oo*, e.g. **kawa* ‘skin’ > *koo* or *hoo*. In Okinawa, **awa* > *aa*, e.g. **kawa* ‘skin’ > *kaa* or *haa*. However, this is not a valid proof for grouping the Northern Ryūkyūan languages into an Amami group and an Okinawa group, because the change in Amami happened after the 1609 Satsuma invasion; or in other words, it is a diffused feature (Karimata, 2000: 65). Moreover, there are exceptions to the rule (especially in Amami), e.g. Kametsu (Tokunoshima) **mawar-* > *maar-* ‘go around/ turn around’; Shidōke (Kikai), **mawar-* > *maaj-* ‘go around/ turn around’, and there are also cases where **awa* remains as *awa*, e.g. Koniya (southern Amami Ōshima) *mawajum* ‘go/ turn around’.

evidence for this?

which shows (if these are not borrowings) that the *awa* → *oo* change took place after the split up of the dialects from proto-Amami.

One grammatical criterion for the ‘two branches’ scheme is that Amami languages have two different endings for the basic-form of verbs, e.g. Shodon

(Kakeroma) *kakju-r* vs. *kakju-m* ‘write’², while Okinawan languages only have one, e.g. Shuri *katfu-n* ‘write’. There are a number of problems with this criterion: a) Okinoerabu, which is between Yoron and Tokunoshima, only have one verb ending for the basic-form, e.g. China (Okinoerabu): *hakju-mu* ‘write’; b) Tokunoshima dialects have three or four different basic-form verb endings: e.g. Kametsu *kakju-i*, *kakju-n*, *kak-i* ‘write’ (Hirayama (ed.), 1986:13); c) Okinawa did possess two different basic form verb endings, as documented in classical Okinawan literatures. Proto-Northern Ryūkyūan, the ancestor of all Okinawa and Amami languages, also have two different basic form verb endings. Therefore, it is not valid to use this criterion to group the Amami languages as a group because this is retention of old features; it does not show that the Amami languages have a closer intermediate ancestor which excludes the Okinawan languages. Neither is it valid for the proof of an Okinawa group for the same reason.

The ‘three branches’ scheme is mostly based on phonological criteria. The Amami-Tokunoshima group have two extra central vowels of /i/ and /ë/, while the rest has only five cardinal vowels of /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/³. The Okinoerabu-Yoron-Northern Okinawa group is characterised by $*p > p$ and $*k > h$, while The Amami-Tokunoshima group and the Southern Okinawa group is characterised by $*p > \phi > h$ and $*k > k$. Regular phonological changes are easily defused across dialect/ language boundaries, and are not suitable for the purpose of genetic classification.

² The semantic difference between the two forms varies between different Amami languages, e.g. Shodon: $\sim r$ = ‘evidentiality: objective’, $\sim m$ = ‘evidentiality: speaker not absolutely sure’; Yoron: $\sim i$ = ‘distance in time or space is not concerned’, $\sim m$ = ‘there is a distance in time or space’; Naze: $\sim ri$ = ‘specific time’, $\sim n$ ‘no specific time’. (Uemura & Suyama 1997)

³ Proto Ryūkyūan probably has five vowels: $*a$, $*e$, $*i$, $*o$, $*u$. Except $*a$, all the other proto-vowels have usually gone through some changes, e.g. in Okinawa, $*e (> *i) > i$ and $*ai > ee$; in Amami Ōshima, $*e > e > \ddot{e} > \ddot{i}$ and $*ai/*ae > ai > \ddot{e}\ddot{e}$.

Notice that the boundary of the Okinoerabu-Yoron-Northern Okinawa group coincide with the boundary of the old Hokuzan 北山 kingdom when Okinawa was unified under three Kingdoms during fourteenth century⁴. There is an evidence of lexical spreading within the boundary of Hokuzan (Okinoerabu-Yoron-Northern Okinawa). In most parts of the Ryūkyūs except Amami Ōshima, Okinoerabu and Yoron, sequences like **Cir* or **Cur* usually go through special changes (Thorpe: 1983, 100). In Okinawa, changes of that sort are frequent, e.g. **kur* > *kkw*; however, the sequence **sir* does not change. A lexical item which contains that sound sequence is **sirami* 'flea' (cf. Japanese ^{/sirami/}*firami*). In southern Okinawa, the *r* is preserved: Shuri, Ou *firan*. In Tokunoshima, Amami Ōshima and Kikai, the *r* is also preserved: Inokawa (Tokunoshima) *siran*, Naze *firan*, Wan (Kikai) *firami*. But in many locations of the Okinoerabu-Yoron-Northern Okinawa area, the medial consonant *r* in **sirami* is lost (e.g. Nakijin *saami*, Iejima *saani*, Yoron *san*, Okinoerabu *saani*). Since **sir* is not expected to go through any change in Okinawa, Yoron and Okinoerabu, and since the distribution of the innovative form follows the old political boundary, this must be an irregular sound change somewhere within Hokuzan, which has subsequently spread through the whole Hokuzan area. Care needs to be taken to avoid lexical item like this.

unless
evidence
is found demonstrating
this is a
genetic unit

Though not absolutely safe, the most reliable way of determining intermediate genetic relationship is the sharing of irregular sound changes within individual lexical items. Although all lexical items are subject to areal diffusion, a language is least likely to borrow cognates from other related languages, especially ones which has undergone irregular sound changes. Two dialects or languages which share such an

⁴ The Chūzan 中山 Kingdom unified Okinawa by defeating Hokuzan in 1416 and Nanzan 南山 in 1429.

irregular sound change is very likely to be directly related to each other through an intermediate ancestor. While Okinawa being a single group is doubtless, this article will question the feasibility of the so-called ‘Amami’ grouping.

Evidence

Concerning the sound sequences of **Cir* and **Cur* again, the Okinawan languages share the change of **bur* > **mb* > *nd* (> *nr*) (although the retentative form of *mb* can still be found in some parts of northern Okinawa). One lexical item which contains such sound sequence, and one which clearly distinguishes Okinawa from the rest of North Ryūkyūan is ‘oil’: **abura* > *anda(a)* > *anra(a)*. Many Amami islands share the retentative forms of *abura(a)*, or other innovative forms like *amba* (Tokunoshima and most of Kikai: **bur* > *mb*) or *abba* (far-north Kikai: **bur* > *bb*). Another lexical item which discriminate Okinawa from the rest of Northern Ryūkyūan is ‘pigeon’. The Japanese cognate of the lexical item is *hato*, and in all Amami dialects, the first vowel of the cognate is also *a*, e.g. Shodon (Kakeroma) *hatoō*; Tamina (China, Okinoerabu) *phaatuū*; Yoron *patu*. However, the cognate in Okinawa has the first vowel as *oo* (or *uu* in some cases), e.g. In Southern Okinawa: Shuri, Ou Island, Ikei Island (Southern Okinawa) *hootu*; and in Northern Okinawa: Kushi *phoot’aa*, Kijoka *phootu*. This is probably due to the irregular change of **pato* > **pautu* > **pootu*.

The proto-form of the lexical item ‘short’ is **itik-*. Locations in Okinoerabu have the retentive form: Serikaku *itfikjasan*; Tamina *itfikjasa*. However, Okinawa and Yoron share the innovation of **itik-* > **idik-* > **ink-*: Yoron *intfasan*, Hentona *intfahan*, Iejima *intfaasa*, Shuri *intfasan*. Amami Ōshima and Kikai share the

innovation of *itik- > *ikik- > *ikk-: Naze *ikkjasan*, Koniya *ikkjasam*, Shidōke (Kikai) *ikkjasan*. In Tokunoshima, the initial *i- is lost: Kametsu *tsikjaai*; Inokawa *tsikjaaha*. ✓

Yoron and Okinawa share an immediate ancestor; both of them share the innovation of *itik- > *idik- > *ink-. I would like to suggest that Yoron and Okinawa also share another innovation concerning the word 'celebration'. The Japanese word for 'celebration' is *iwai*, and the Proto-Ryūkyūan cognate can be reconstructed as

**jowai*: Amagi (Tokunoshima) *juwëë*, Kametsu (Tokunoshima) *juwë*, Yoro *jowë*,

Naze *joi* (< **jōë*). However, Yoron has the form *joi*, and in Okinawa, the first vowel is usually geminated: Shuri *juuwee*, ~~On~~ *juujee*, Iheya *juubee*, Nakijin *juuee*, Uka *juujee*. I suggest that this is because in Proto-Okinawa-Yoron, an *i* is inserted after the first syllable: **jowai* > **joiwai*. In the case of Yoron, the segments at the end are deleted: *joi* (Yoron does have other examples where an **o* is not raised to *u*, e.g.

Ritcho *jowasa* < **jowa*- 'weak'.) Later in Proto-Okinawan, the *i* became *ju* (*i* and *ju* are often interchangeable in Japanese and Ryūkyūan, eg. Tōkyō Japanese *iwanaï* / *juwanaï* 'do not say', Japanese *jume* 'dream' vs Shuri Ryūkyūan *imi* 'dream'),

resulting in **jujuwai*. The two identical syllables merge to become **juuwai*, making the first syllable a long syllable (other examples of identical syllable merging include Shuri *phiiratfun* 'to hurt like burning', related to (old) Japanese *hihiragu*.)

unlikely.
length probably
due to
accentuation at
some stage.

regular loss of word medial h/f in
Ryūkyūan.

Okinawa has a number of lexical examples with irregular sound changes which characterise Okinawa as a group, some of which are shown above. In the case of Yoron, one example confirms its status as a separate group within Okinawa-Yoron: the word **karazi* > *φuradzi* 'head/ hair' has an unexpected vowel change in the first syllable throughout Yoron.

~~This~~ A change in only one dialect doesn't count for much. It could have happened very recently.

Other than **itik-* > **ikik-* > **ikk-*, another lexical item which groups Amami Ōshima and Kikai together is **sake* ‘liquor’. In all locations within these islands (including Kakeroma, Yoro and Uke off southern Amami Ōshima), the medial consonant has gone through lenition, and in many locations the medial consonant is deleted all together, e.g. Naze *fee*, Koniya *sihe*, Yoro *sëë*, Kikai (all locations) *see*.

The medial consonant is also deleted in Yoron, but the change in Yoron is probably independent of Amami Ōshima-Kikai: the two vowels of **sake* always assimilate with each other in Amami Ōshima-Kikai, but not in the case of Yoron, e.g. Chabana *sai*. (In Okinawa, *saki* refers to Awamori. In Amami, while *saki* refers to Japanese wine, *see* refers to the local black sugar wine. For the pair of words for ‘liquor’ in Amami, *see* is a native word, and *saki* is a Japanese borrowing (Nakamoto, 1981:310).)

In Tokunoshima, ‘comb’ has gone through the irregular change of **sabaki* > **saaki*, e.g. Inokawa *saaki*, Isen *saaki*, Amagi *saakii*. Other places where the medial consonant is affected include Iheya *sawatfi* (**sabaki* > *sawatfi*); Izena *sootfi* (**sabaki* > **sawatfi* > **sautfi* > *sootfi*); Yoro *sawaki* (**sabaki* > **samaki* > **sawãki* > *sawaki*); Sani *saaki* (**sabaki* > **samaki* > **sawãki* > **sawaki* > *saaki*)⁵. The change in Iheya is probably related to that of Izena, and the change in Yoro is probably related to Sani, but the change in Tokushima is probably independent of other areas.

⁵ Yoro, south of Kakeroma, and Sani, in the northern tip of Amami Ōshima, share the same sound change of *m* > *w̃*, e.g. Yoro *kawĩ*, Sane *hawĩ* < **kame* ‘turtle’. But linguists have been reluctant to claim that the two dialects are directly related to each other because sometimes only one of them goes through the change, e.g. Yoro *amĩ*, Sani *awĩ* < **ame* ‘rain’; Yoro *juũdur*, Sani *junduri* < **jomodori* ‘sparrow’. I consider that the two dialects are directly related, as shown in the ‘comb’ example above; no other Amami Ōshima dialects have the change of *b* > *m* for that particular lexical item. Sometimes either Yoro or Sani has a retentative form because that particular lexical item is a new replacement from neighbouring dialects which never had the *m* > *w̃* rule.

Another lexical item which proves Tokunoshima as one group is ‘to tie’:
 Kametsu *k'unŋgjui*, Inokawa *k'unŋgjuri* < **kubir*-. The reflex of the sound sequence
 **bir* is suppose to be *mbj* in Tokunoshima, not *ŋgj* (Thorpe: 1983: 100).

In Okinoerabu, where sound changes of the **Cir*/ **Cur* type do not occur, the
 reflex of **kubir*- ‘to tie’ has become *kuijun* in the two main towns of Wadomari and
 China, with *b* deleted. There are some other unexpected sound changes as well,
 including **duru* > *diru* ‘mud’ and **guzuguru* > *gadzigujun* ‘tickle’.

Unfortunately, no lexical items with irregular sound changes have been found
 to relate the Okinoerabu and Tokunoshima languages with the other Northern
 Ryūkyūan languages. However, traditionally Okinoerabu has stronger ties with
 Yoron and Okinawa, and Tokunoshima has stronger ties with Amami Ōshima.
 Okinoerabu probably lost its distinction for the basic-form verb endings due to
 Okinawan influence. For the word ‘pour (drink)’, Okinoerabu is similar with Yoron
 for that the second consonant is *j* instead of **r*: Wadomari *hajaŋun*, China *ɸajaŋun*,
 Mugiya (Yoron) *pajaŋin/ pajakjun*, Kametsu (Tokunoshima) *paraŋui*, Nakijin
 (Okinawa) *paraaŋun*. Somehow both Okinoerabu and Yoron have an extra *b*- syllable
 for ‘to clean/ tidy up’: Okinoerabu *saburejun*, Yoron *sabareejun/ sareejun*, Kametsu
sarerui, Shuri *sareejun* (this word is related to Japanese *saraeru*). The lexical item
 for ‘celebration’ in Okinoerabu is *jee*, presumably it is the Okinawan form of *juujee*
 without the first syllable. ~ ~~ju~~juwai > *juwe > *jwee > jee ?

Tokunoshima is similar with Amami Ōshima for that both have the word which originally means ‘cold (object)’ to signify ‘cold (weather)’ as well: Shuri *phiisan* ‘cold (weather)’, *phiɖʒurusən* ‘cold (object)’; China (Okinoerabu) *çiisan* ‘cold (weather)’, *çigjurusən* ‘cold (object)’; Kametsu (Tokunoerabu) *sigjoroi* ‘cold (weather/ object)’, Yuwan (Amami Ōshima) *çigjusa* ‘cold (weather/ object)’, Naze *çigurusa* ‘cold (weather/ object)’, Shidōke (Kikai) *piisai* ‘cold (weather)’, *pigurusai* ‘cold (object)’.

‘Proto-Amami’ does not exist

While each of the island groups of Okinawa, Miyako and Yaeyama have lexical items which are unique to them, and some of which contain irregular sound changes that can prove the existence of proto-Okinawa, proto-Miyako and proto-Yaeyama, the languages of the Amami Islands do not form a single group (See Lawrence, 2000 for classification of Yaeyama Dialects, and Lawrence, forthcoming, for comments on the classification of Miyako Dialects).

One might argue that a possible candidate for the proof of an Amami branch is the lexical item for ‘ant’. In Japanese, ‘ant’ is *ari*, and the majority of locations in Okinawa have forms which can trace back to **ari*, e.g. Shuri *ai* (Okinawa **ri > i, *re > ri*). However, throughout the Amami Islands, the lexical item for ‘ant’ has a nasal medial consonant instead, e.g. Naze *an*, Yoron *aŋku*, Wan (Kikai) *ani*, Kametsu (Tokunoshima) *ami*. I consider this as an innovation of the Naze (northern Amami Ōshima) area which has spread across the Amami islands⁶. The Naze dialect has

⁶ Although the irregular change of **r > n* occurs in other locations as well, e.g. Izena **karadʒi > hanadʒi*, no where is it as prevalent as Northern Amami (Tokunoshima, Amami Ōshima and Kikai), the Naze-Tatsugo-Kasari portion of Amami Ōshima in particular: Amagi and Setake, Tokunoshima

other lexical items where intervocalic $r > n$. For example, the negative copula is *aran* in Shuri, *arannu* in Yoron, *aran* in Kametsu, but *anan* in Naze. The ‘subjective’ causal suffix in Naze is *-kana*, as in *hurjun-kana* ‘because (it) waves’, where as the same verbal suffix is *-kara* in Japanese (e.g. *furu-kara* 振るから). Also notice that the n form has even spread to far-north Okinawa, e.g. *ani* or *anikoo*⁷.

Conclusion

There are two main schemes for the classification of Northern Ryūkyūan: the ‘two-branches scheme’ (Amami branch and Okinawa branch); and the ‘three-branches scheme’ (Amami Ōshima-Tokunoshima branch, Yoron-Okinoerabu-Northern Okinawa branch, and the Southern Okinawan branch.) I have shown that the criteria the authors used for their classification do not reveal the true genetic relationship. ✓
Most of the criteria used are linguistic features which can be easily diffused to other languages/ dialects.

I have also argue that while Yaeyama, Miyako and Okinawa are definitely a group on their own, the Amami languages are not descendents from one common intermediate proto-language.

summary of likely relationships?
note on limitations of materials available?

Appendix: Data

‘Toilet’ **puru*

**sirami* > *sinan* ‘lice’; Keraji (Kikai) **erab-* > *inabin* ‘choose’; Ashikebu (Naze City) **erab-* > *inabjun* ‘choose’; Ichisato, Urakami (Naze City) **karasune* > *kanasune* ‘leg, shin’; Nishinakakachi (Naze City), Wano (Kasari), Sani (Kasari) **uranda* > *unanda* ‘westerner’; Sani (Kasari) **umorootfi* > *oōnotfi* ‘go?’.

⁷ Other Okinawan locations which have the nasal medial consonant for ‘ant’ include Iejima (*ani*) and Aguni (*anikoo*).

Oku	<i>puru</i>
Iheya	<i>φuuru</i>
Nago	<i>puruu</i>
Kin	<i>φuru</i>
Shuri	<i>φuru</i>
Aguni	<i>φuuru</i>
Kudaka	<i>puru</i>

Hirara	<i>fuz</i>
Tarama	<i>ful</i>
Kumi (Iriomote)	<i>φurija</i>
Sōnai	<i>φurijaa</i>

‘Flea’ **sirami*

Shuri	<i>firan</i>
Ou (Tamagusuku)	<i>firan</i>
Gima (Kume)	<i>firami</i>

Kametsu	<i>siran</i>
San (Tokunoshima)	<i>siran</i>
Yoro	<i>firan</i>
Koniya	<i>firjam</i>
Yuwan	<i>fijam</i>
Naze	<i>firan</i>
Wan (Kikai)	<i>firami</i>
Aden (Kikai)	<i>finami</i>

‘Oil’ **abura*

Oku	<i>anda</i>
Hentona	<i>anra</i>
Iheya/ Izena	<i>andaa</i>
Yonamine (Nakijin)	<i>anda</i>
Nago	<i>andaa</i>
Kin	<i>andaa</i>
Tsuken	<i>anra</i>
Kudaka	<i>anra</i>
Naha/ Shuri	<i>anda</i>
Itoman	<i>arra</i>
Uegusuku (Kume)	<i>anra</i>
Zamami (Kerama)	<i>anraa</i>

Chabana (Yoron)	<i>fittfin</i>
China (Okinoerabu)	<i>fitfinu</i>
Isen (Tokunoshima)	<i>seetfin</i>
Shodon (Kakeroma)	<i>sentsin</i>

Naze	<i>juudzjin</i>
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Nakijin	<i>saami</i> (also <i>firami</i>)
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Oku	<i>saami</i>
Iejima	<i>saani</i>
Kudaka	<i>fami</i>
Yoron	<i>san</i>
Wodomari	<i>saani</i>

Chabana (Yoron)	<i>abura</i>
Sena (Okinoerabu)	<i>aburaa</i>
Serikaku (Okinoerabu)	<i>abura</i>

San (Tokunoshima)	<i>amba</i>
Isen (Tokunoshima)	<i>amba</i>
Wan (Kikai)	<i>amba</i>
Ōasato (Kikai)	<i>amba</i>
Onotsu (Kikai)	<i>abba</i>
Shiomichi (Kikai)	<i>abba</i>

Yoro	<i>abra</i>
Shodon (Kakeroma)	<i>apraa</i>
Koniya	<i>abra</i>
Kushi (Uken, A. Ōshima)	<i>abura</i>
Naze	<i>abura</i>
Sani (Kasari, A. Ōshima)	<i>abura</i>

‘Pigeon’ **pato*

Hentona *φatu*

Oku *hootu*

Kijoka (Ōgimi) *φootu*

Nakaoshi (Nakijin) *pootu*

Izena *huutu*

Ikei *hootu*

Shuri *hootu*

Kudaka *poota*

Yoron *patu*

Wadomari *φaatuu*

China *karabaatuu*

Shodon (Kakeroma) *hatoo*

Naze *hato*

Shidōke (Kikai) *patu*

‘Short’ **itik-*

Yoron *int fasan*

Hentona *int fahan*

Iejima *int faasa*

Nakijin *int f'asen*

Sesoko (Motobu) *inkja fen*

Shuri *int fasan*

Ou (Tamagusuku) *int fahan*

Naze *ikkjasan*

Koniya *ikkjasan*

Shidōke *ikkjasan*

Kametsu *tsikjaai*

Inokawa *tsijaaha*

Serikaku *it fikjasan*

Tamina *it fikjasa*

‘Celebration’ **jowai*

Amagi *juwëë*

Kametsu *juwë*

Yoro *jowë*

Naze *joï*

Uka *juujee*

Iheya *juubee*

Nakijin *juuee*

Shuri *juurwee*

Ou *juujee*

Yoron *joi*

Okinoerabu *jee*

‘Hair (head)’ **kasira* ‘head’ > **karazi* ‘head/ hair’

Yoron (All locations)	<i>ɸuradzɪ</i>	Torishima	<i>kaidzɪ</i>
		Serikaku	<i>haradzɪ</i>
Hentona	<i>haradzɪ</i>	Isen (Tokunoshima)	<i>karadzɪ</i>
Nago	<i>haraadzɪ</i>	Yoro	<i>kawats</i>
Yomitan	<i>karadzɪ</i>	Koniya	<i>kamatʃ</i>
Shuri	<i>karadzɪ</i>	Naze	<i>kamatsɪ</i>
Kyan	<i>kaaradzɪ</i>	Wan (Kikai)	<i>hassanji</i>
		Onotsu (Kikai)	<i>hassanji</i>
		(Kikai < <i>*kasira gi</i> ‘head hair’)	

‘Wine’ **sake*

Isen (Tokunoshima)	<i>saki</i>	Yoron	<i>sai</i>
San (Tokunoshima)	<i>saki</i>		
Okinoerabu	<i>saki(i)</i>	Sani (A. Ōshima)	<i>sëë</i>
Kudaka	<i>raki</i>	Naze	<i>fee</i>
Rest of Okinawa	<i>saki(i)</i>	Yamatohama	<i>sëxë</i>
		Koniya	<i>sixë</i>
		Shodon	<i>sixë</i>
		Yoro	<i>sëxë</i>
		Uke	<i>sëë</i>
		Kikai	<i>see</i>

$x = [k^h]?$
in Kanitokan
angwag.

‘Comb’ **sabaki*

Inokawa	<i>saaki</i>	Naze/ Yō/ Akina	<i>sabaki</i>
Isen	<i>saaki</i>	Koniya/ Uke	<i>sabak</i>
Amagi	<i>saakii</i>	Shidōke	<i>sabaki</i>
		Wan	<i>sabatfi</i>
Iheya	<i>sawatfi</i>	Yoron	<i>sabaki</i>
Izena	<i>sootfi</i>	Okinawa:	<i>sabatfi</i>
			<i>ſabatfi</i>
Yoro	<i>sawaki</i>		<i>sabaki(i)</i> etc.
Sani	<i>saaki</i>		

‘Tie up’	* <i>kubir-</i>		
Kametsu	<i>k’ungjui</i>	Naze	<i>k’ubirjun</i>
Inokawa	<i>k’ungjuri</i>	Koniya	<i>k’ubrjum</i>
		Shidōke	<i>k’ubbjun</i>
Okinoerabu	<i>kuijun</i>	Mugiya (Yoron)	<i>kubjun</i>
		Hentona (Okinawa)	<i>k’umbin</i>
		Iejima	<i>kundzun</i>
		Shuri	<i>kundzun</i>
		Torishima	<i>kubijun</i>
‘Mud’	* <i>doro</i>		
Okinoerabu	<i>diru</i>		
Naze	<i>doro</i>		
Rest of N. Ryūkyūs	<i>duru(u)</i>		
‘Tickle’	*[<i>k/g</i>] <i>uzugur-</i>		
Okinoerabu	<i>gadzigujun</i>		
Naze	<i>gudzugurjun</i>		
Kametsu	<i>gudzigurui</i>		
Shidōke	<i>k’udzumjun</i>		
Chabana (Yoron)	<i>kusugujun</i>		
Ou	<i>gudzuguin</i>		
‘Pour (drink)’	* <i>paras-</i>		
Wadomari	<i>haja fun</i>	Kametsu	<i>hara fui</i>
China	<i>φaja fun</i>	Iejima	<i>para fun</i>
Mugiya	<i>paja sin/ pajakjun</i>	Nakijin	<i>paraasun</i>
‘Clean/ tidy up’	* <i>sarae-</i>		
Okinoerabu	<i>saburejun</i>		
Mugiya (Yoron)	<i>sabareejun/ sareejun</i>		
Kametsu	<i>sarerui</i>		
Shuri	<i>sareejun</i>		
‘Cold (weather)’	* <i>pii-</i>		

Naze
Yuwan
Koniya
Kametsu
Inokawa

çigurusa
çigjusa
çigurusam
sigjoroi
sigjorohari

Shidōke
China
Sesoko
Shuri

piisai
çiisan
çii fen
phiisan

‘Cold (object)’ **piguru-*

Naze
Yuwan
Koniya
Kametsu
Inokawa

çigurusa
çigjusa
çigurusam
sigjoroi
sigjorohari

Shidōke
China
Sesoko
Shuri

pigurusai
çigjurusan
piiguru fen
phi dzurusan

*Ant’ **ari*

(Kunigami:)
Uka/ Oku/ Aha
Sate/ Hentona

Iheya
Izena
Ōkaneku (Ōgimi)
Taira
Yogi (Okinawa City)
Shuri
Kyan (Itoman)

Iejima
Aguni

ani
anikoo

aikoo
ai
aikoo
aikoo
ajakaa
ajaa/ aikoo
ajakoo

ani
anikoo

Yoron
Tetechina
Serikaku
Tamina (China)
Kametsu
Amagi
Uke
Sesō (Kakeroma)
Yuwan
Tatsugō
Wan
Shidōke

aŋku
ani
anii
aani
ami
andzo
an
anii
ani
ami
ani
aanii

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