

## PROTO-AMAMI

### —Reconstruction of its Vowels, Synchronic Description, and the Formulation of the Sound Changes—

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### INTRODUCTION

The present article is a sequel to the previous one which appeared in the Annals of Gifu University for Education and Languages, Vol 23 (see "REFERENCES" of the present paper ; Urakami 1992), and thus attempts to present the reconstruction process of the vowels of PA (Proto - Amami) on the basis of the reconstructed PA consonant system.

The criteria, principles, data, and all the other premisses set up for the previous paper mentioned above will apply to the present one as well.

To summarize, however, the overall reconstruction process of the PA phonemes, the present paper will have, in the very end of it, a section where the readers can find lists for the reconstructed PA consonants and vowels, and an appendix for the reconstructed PA words together with the corresponding items of Old Japanese and Modern Amami dialects.

Moreover, for the sake of the readers' convenience, "KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS" will be reproduced immediately after this section.

Received Apr. 30, 1992

### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

#### Abbreviations :

Sib	Siba dialect
Sho	Shodon dialect
Nas	Nase dialect
Ong	Ongachi dialect
Yen	Yen dialect
Yoa	Yoan dialect

#### Symbols :

/ /	phonemic transcription
[ ]	phonetic transcription
' —'	irrecoverable segment
／	in the environment of
>	has become
<	has come from

San	Sani dialect	#	morpheme boundary
		~	alternates with
Kyu	Kyushu dialect	<L>	loan
Kag	Kagoshima dialect	<L?>	possible loan
MdAm	Modern Amami	C	any consonant
MdJ	Modern Japanese	V	any vowel
MC	Middle Chinese	id	identical gloss
OJ	Old Japanese	IRC	irrecoverable
Ok	Okinawa dialect	INV	invalid
PA	Proto-Amami	(SF)	stem final
PJR	Proto-Japanese Ryukuan	C?	C with glottal element
PR	Proto-Ryukyuan		
Proto-SS	Proto-Sib-Sho		
Proto-ONYY	Proto-Ong-Nas-Yen-Yoa		
SJ	Standard Japanese		
Ymt	Yamatohama dialect		

## 1.0 RECONSTRUCTION OF THE VOWELS

### 1.1.1 Word-initial \*i

In our data, we find three correspondence series for PA \*i-. As close examination is required for each case, I will provide full lexical information.

The words in (37) for 'dream' show a pattern as shown in Chart 01 below :

Chart 01. Modern reflexes for PA \*i- Pattern 1

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
37a	imī i	imī i	imī i	imī i	imī i	imī i	j <sup>?</sup> uu j <sup>?</sup>

Note that lexical item (37a) is an example for PA \*m>∅/V\_V in San (Cf. Urakami 1992, § 2.3.12). I presume that the seemingly irregular San reflex is caused by the loss of \*m. The glottalization of the initial consonant may be taken as evidence in support of our comparison of San /j<sup>?</sup>/ with /i/ in the other dialects. Remember that in the Amami dialects word-initial vowels are always preceded by a glottal stop, which, however, we

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excluded from our phonemic inventory because it is not contrastive (cf.Urakami 1992, § 2.1). Thus, we have additional support for our ascription of this case to PA \*i.

In the case of (124a) PA \*i- has been lost in all dialects other than Sib and Sho. A similar change is exemplified by (22), discussed in 1.1.2 as a word-medial case. Observe the similarity in the reconstructed proto-forms for (124) and (22), and their modern words in our master list (Appendix One). Claiming \*i for both these cases is justified by the fact that iʃo is a characteristic sturuture of PA (i.e. palatal consonants are always observed after \*i). Other examples are \*k?<sup>?</sup>injuu 'yesterday' (20), \*sirju 'white' (21), \*iʃo 'beach' (82). We shall therefore ascribe the word-initial reflexes of (124a) to PA \*i-.

Both cases (22 and 124a) have to be treated as exceptions to the genemal retention of \*i.

Chart 02 Modern reflexes for PA \*i- Pattern 2

No	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
(124a)	i <small>notʃ~njoötʃ</small> i	i <small>notʃ</small> i	n? <sup>?</sup> jut <small>ʃi</small> ∅	n? <sup>?</sup> juuts <small>ʃi</small> ∅	nut <small>ʃi</small> ∅	n? <sup>?</sup> jut <small>ʃi</small> ∅	n? <sup>?</sup> jut <small>ʃi</small> ∅

We recognize in our data another correspondence series consisting of /i/ and blanks. Because of its regularity we can ascribe it to PA \*i-.

Chart 03. Mod. reflexes for PA \*i- Pattern 3

No	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
82	i <small>ʃ</small> o i	i <small>ʃ</small> o i	i <small>ʃ</small> o i	iso~ i <small>ʃ</small> o i	i <small>ʃ</small> o i	i <small>ʃ</small> o i	—
36	ikee~ ike i	—	ihe	—	ike	ihi	ike <L?> i

### 1.1.2 Word-medial \*i

We find a correspondence series consisting of /i/ throughout in the word - medial position (Chart 04).

Chart 04. Modern reflexes for PA-\*i- Pattern 4

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
128, 153, 202, 203	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
16a	i	i	i	i	i	—	i
20	i	i	i	—	i	i	i
34	—	—	i	i	i	—	—
73	i	i	—	—	i	i	i <L>
176a	i	i	—	i <L>	i	i	i
180	—	i	i	i	i	i	i
199a	—	i	i	i	i	i	i
211	i	i	i	i	i	—	i
(194a)	ii	ii	i	i	i	—	i

Sib and Sho /ii/'s in (194a) are exceptions to Patterns 4, possibly caused by the fact that (194) is a monosyllabic word.

Nas has i when the immediately preceding consonant is /s/ (Pattern 5) (Note 1).

Chart 05. Modern reflexes for PA -\*i- Pattern 5

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nag	Yen	Yoa	San
21	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
149	—	i	i	i	i	i	i

We find that (179) shows /j/ in San, the other dialects showing /i/. This phenomenon has already been mentioned in 1.1.1 for word-initial \*i (37). The two cases (37 and 179), despite the difference in position, resemble one another in that \*m is lost in San, and the /j/ in San corresponds to the /i/ of the other dialects. Therefore we shall simply ascribe the correspondence in (179) to \*-i-.

Chart 06. Modern reflexes for PA -\*i- Patterns 6

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
179	k?imu i	k?imo i	kkimu i	k?imo i	—	k?imo i	k?joo j

The case of (22) parallels, as we have seen, (124a) examined in the sub-section on

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word-initial \*i. For our ascription of it to PA \*-i-, refer to 1.1.1.

This loss of PA \*i in San is found in the environment \*m\_nj which is common to both cases. However, the correspondence consisting of /i/ throughout is found in the same environment in and (73) (Chart 443). Thus, as mentioned above, (22)and(124a) must be treated as exceptions to \*i>i/\_Cj in our examination.

Chart 07. Modern reflexes for PA \*-i-Pattern 7

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
(22)	minjo~ minjoo i	minjo~ minjoo i	n? jo Ø	mmjo Ø	njo Ø	njo Ø	njuu Ø

### 1.1.3 Word-final \*i

#### 1.1.3.1 \*i<sub>A</sub> and \*i<sub>B</sub>

##### 1.1.3.1.1\*i<sub>A</sub>

We find a correspondence series in word - final position with /i/ throughout, in the environment \*C\_ with any C except \*ʃ or \*tʃ. Sib and Sho once again show a frequent long vowel /ii/.

Chart 08. Modern reflexes for PA \*i<sub>A</sub> Pattern 8

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
18	ii	—	i	i	i	i	i
19	ii	ii	i	i	i	—	i
(23)	ii~i	i	i	i	i	u	Ø
27, 31, 32	i	ii	i	i	i	i	i
65	—	—	i	i	i	—	i
111, 183	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
182	ii	—	i	i	i	i	i
184	i	i	—	—	—	—	i
(199b)	—	i	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
(220)	—	i	i	i	—	i	Ø

The occurrence of Ø in (199b) and (200) is related to the change of \*m to word-final \*n (cf. 2.3.12). San /-i/ in (23) has dropped off but has left word-final /m/ behind,

which is exceptional.

Yoa /u/ in (23) is an exception. So is the fact that in Yoanuu 'chisel' (23), the \*m is lost. The /u/ is obviously due to assimilation by the preceding /u/, as the \*m disappeared from between the earlier \*u and \*i.

In complementary distribution with Chart 08, we find Chart 09, where Nas has /i/ in the environment \*ʃ, \*tʃ (cf. 2.3.9 and 2.3.22 in Urakami 1992).

Chart 09. Modern reflexes for PA \*i<sub>A</sub> Pattern 9

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
(8)	ii	i	i	i	—	i	i
(15)	—	—	i	i	—	i	i
(235)	ii	ii	i	i	i	i	i

### 1.1.3.1.2 \*i<sub>B</sub>

We find a correspondence series in word-final position consisting of  $\emptyset$  in Sib and Sho, and /i/ in the other dialects. In parallel with Patterns 8 and 9, with which Patterns 10 and 11 contrast, we find first a pattern in the environment \*C<sub>—</sub> with any C except \*ʃ, \*tʃ, or ʒ (Pattern 10, Chart 10). This pattern occurs in the same environments as Pattern 8 above. Because of the clearcut overlapping of environments, and the high number of examples, we will set up \*i<sub>B</sub> for PA.

Both Sib and Sho have doublets in (30); i.e. Sib tīkii ~udēk (perhaps u [polite prefix], cf. MdJ o [id] plus tēk) 'moon', and Sho -dīki ~tīk- 'id'. We may have to consider the existence of a doublet for PA too; i.e., PA \*tīki ~\*tēki 'id'.

The forms for Sib, Sho and Ong in (193) require etymological analysis. The PA form for the identical words in Sib and Sho, k?jup, and Ong kkjubi, was probably k?i, which is the suspensive form of the verb 'to wear' (cf. PA K?ir 180), plus ubi (cf. ubi in Nas Chart 10. Modern reflexes for PA -\*i<sub>B</sub> Patters 10

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
9,17,193	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
236,245	∅	∅	i	i	i	i	i
28	—	∅	i <L?>	—	i	i	—
(30)	ii~∅	i~∅	i	i	i <L?>	i	i
97	∅	—	i	—	—	—	i
99,226	∅	∅	i	i	i	—	—

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106	Ø	Ø	—	i	—	i	i
187	Ø	Ø	i	—	i	i	i <L?>
191	Ø	Ø	—	i <L>	i	i	i
194b	Ø	Ø	i	i	i	—	i
196	—	Ø	i	i	i	i	i
237	Ø	—	i	i	i	—	i <L?>
(7),(29)	Ø~i	Ø	i	i	i	i	i
(118)	—	—	i	i	i	i	i
(176b)	Ø	i	—	i <L>	i	i	i
(186)	Ø	—	i	i	—	—	o~u

and Yoa in (193)). Thus the development of this compound word would have been as follows (for \*-b-> Sib and Sho -p, refer to 2.3.4.):

PA \*k'i + \*ubi > \*k'jubi > Ong kkjubi

Sib has Ø~i in (7,29). I presume the doublet with /i/ is borrowed, cf. toki 'time' (7), and kami 'god' (29), cf. duk~ toki 'id' and kam~ kami 'id' respectively.

Also, despite the slight semantic gap between the San and MdJ words, San (186) agu~ ago 'upper jaw' may be from MdJ ago 'lower jaw'.

In complementary distribution with Chart 10, we find the pattern where Nas has /i/ in the environment \*ʃ, \*tʃ,\*ʒ\_. We ascribe this pattern to i<sub>B</sub>.

Chart 11. Modern reflexes for PA \*i<sub>B</sub> Pattern 11

No	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
124b,146, 232,252	Ø	Ø	i	i	i	i	i
(4)	Ø	Ø~i	i	i	i	i	i
(60)	i	Ø	i	i	—	—	i
(87)	Ø	Ø	—	i	i	i <L>	i
(205)	Ø	Ø	i	i	i	i	—

In (4), (87), and (205), Nas has /i/ instead of /ɪ/ in the environment \*ʒ\_. These are exceptions to Pattern 9. For this apparently irregular /i/, refer to 2.3.9, where Nas irregular /ʒ/ is discussed.

Sib /i/ in(60)and Sho doublet with /i/ in (4) are exceptions to Pattern 11.

Note that with only three examples for Pattern 9 (Chart 09) we do not see any examples of Nas /i/ in the environment \*ʒ\_, but we suggest that should this environ-

ment occur, Nas would have /i/.

### 1.1.3.2 Cases other than \*i<sub>A</sub> and \*i<sub>B</sub>

This correspondence pattern is observed when the immediately preceding segment is from PA \*u, and as such it is in complementary distribution with Patterns 8, 9, 10, and 11. We thus also ascribe Pattern 10 to PA \*-i.

Chart 12. Modern reflexes for PA -\*i Pattern 12

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
14b	ttʃui i	tʃii i	tʃui i	ttʃui i	-	tʃii i	tʃii i
101	kui i	kui i	kui i	kui i	kui i	kui i	hui i
178	wui i	ui i	wui i	wui i	wui i	woi i	wui i

We find the following sound changes for PA \*i:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{PA } *i_{A,B} &> j / \_m \quad \text{in San} \\
 &> i / \$, tʃ, ʒ \_ \quad \text{in Nas} \\
 *ia &> \emptyset / C \# \quad \text{in Sib, Sho} \\
 &> i \quad \text{elsewhere}
 \end{aligned}$$

Note that \*i>j / \_m is preceded by the dropping of \*m, which consequently produced a vowel sequence.

I realize that the present solution is perhaps subject to other interpretation, particularly with regard to \*i>i, but I present the above as the most likely solution.

### 1.2 PA \*a

We find a correspondence series consisting of /a/ throughout, again showing an arbitrary occurrence of /aa/ in Sib and Sho (Chart 13). From the numerous examples, we reconstruct \*a for PA.

Chart 13. Modern reflexes for PA \*a

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
				*a-			
230a, 258	a	a	a	a	a	a	a

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72	a	—	a	a	a	a	a
182	a	—	a	a	a	a	a
186	a	—	a	a	a	a	a
220	a <L>	a <L>	a	a	a	a	—

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\*-a-

11a,29,40,41, 42,50,53, 75,84a, 201,226,245, 252,259, 261	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
28	—	a	a <L>	a	a	a	a
35	a	a	a	a	a	a <L>	a
67a,b	a	a	—	—	—	a	—
73	a	a	—	—	a	a	a <L>
74	a	—	a	a	a	a	a
76	a	a	a	—	a	a	a
85	a	a	a <L>	a	a	a	a
106	a	a	a	—	a	a	a
113a	a	—	a	a	—	—	—
127a,b	a	—	a	a	a	a	—
163	a	a	a	—	—	a	—
169	a	a	a	a	a	—	a
191	a	a	—	a <L>	a	a	a
196	—	a	a	a	a	a	a
(198)	—	—	a	a	a	aa	a
215	a	a	—	a	—	—	—
222	a	—	a	a	—	a	a <L?>
223	a	a	a	—	—	—	—
255a	a	a	—	—	—	a	—
(143)	a	aa	—	a	a	a	a

---

\*-a

11b,68,84b,157, 214,225,246, 249,251,	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
66	aa	aa	a	a	a	a	a
67c	a	aa	—	—	—	a	—
71	aa	aa	—	a <L>	a <L?>	a	a
95	a	a	a	—	a	—	—
113	aa	—	a	a	—	—	—
(161)	ë	a	a	a	a	a	a

162	aa	a	a	a	a	a	—
216	a	a	—	a	—	a	a
217	a	a	—	a	—	—	—
230	a	a~aa	—	a	—	a	a
247	a	a	a	a	a	—	a
250	a	a	a	a	a	a	—
254	a	—	—	a	a	—	a <L?>
255b	a	a	a	a	—	a	a
83(SF)	a	a	a	—	a	—	a

The occurrence of /ē/ in Shi (161) is an exception, possibly caused by the /ē/ in the suffix (cf. Shi (161) nēg (ē)). Sho /aa/ in (143) and Yoa /aa/ in (198) are exceptions.

PA \*a is retained as /a/ in all dialects.

### 1.3 PA \*u(\*u<sub>A</sub> and \*u<sub>B</sub>)

We find a correspondence series consisting of /u/ throughout with /uu/ occasionally occurring word-finally in Sib and Sho and more rarely in Ong, Nas and San (Pattern 1). From the numerous examples we reconstruct \*u for PA.

Chart 14. Modern reflexes for PA \*u Pattern 1

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
*u-							
114a, 116 183	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
28	—	u	u <L?>	u	u	u	u
115a	—	u	u	u	u	u	u
(228a)	u	-u	i	u	u	u	u
247	u	u	u	u	u	—	u
*-u-							
12a, 17a, 17b, 31, 68a, b, 88, 101, 108, 110a, 118a, b, 148a, 225a, b, 238a, 241, 248	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
(14a)	u	i	u	u	—	i	i
15b	—	u	u	u	—	—	u
18	u	—	u	u	u	u	u
(65)	—	—	u	u	—	i	u

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67	u	u	—	—	—	—	u	—
83	u	u	u	—	—	u	—	u
87a	u	u	—	—	u	u	u	u
89a	u	—	—	u	—	u	—	u
95a,b	u	u	u	—	—	u	—	—
100a	u	u	u	u	—	—	u	u
102a,b,c	u	—	—	u	u	u	u	u
113	u	u	u	u	u	—	—	—
114b	u	uu	u	u	u	u	u	uu
115b	—	uu	u	u	u	u	u	u
127	u	—	u	u	u	u	u	u
129b	—	u	u	u	u	—	u	u
134	—	u	—	u	—	—	u	u
152a	—	—	u	—	—	u	u	u
(146)	u	u	u	i	u	u	u	u
(204a)	u	u	I	u	u	u	u	u
200	—	u	u	u	—	—	u	u
216	u	u	—	u	—	—	u	u
242	—	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
250	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	—
254	u	—	—	—	u	u	—	u
(15a)	—	u	u	u	—	—	—	uu

\*-u

21(SF), 110b, 128(SF)	u	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
10	u~uu	uu	u	uu	u	u	u	u
12	u	uu	u	u	u	u	u	u
20	uu	uu	u	—	u	u	u	u
89b	u	—	u	—	u	—	—	u
107	u	u	u	u	—	—	—	u
114c	uu	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
132	—	—	u	u	—	—	—	u
140	u	u	u	u	u	—	—	—
152b	—	—	u	—	u	u	u	u
(204b)	u	u	u	u	u	u	ø	u
228b	u	uu	u	u	uu	u	u	u~uu
231	u	u	u	uu	u	u	u	u
239	u	u	u	u	u	—	—	—
240	uu	—	u	uu	u	—	—	u

243	—	uu	u	u	u	u	u
244	—	—	—	—	u	u	uu

Sho /-u/ in (228a) shows that here Sho has acquired a word-initial /h/. Ong /i/ in the same item is an exception due to a word-initial /w/.

For (14a) see Chart 12 in 1.1.3.2.

The /i/ in Yoa (65) is an exception, possibly due to assimilation from the /i/ found in the preceding syllable.

Ong /i/ in (204a) is an exception, probably caused by the immediately preceding /k/, where the other dialects show /kj/ (cf. 2.3.15 in Urakami 1992).

The Ø in Yoa (204b) is an exception.

The sporadic occurrence word-medially of /uu/ is unexplainable and must be considered an exception, unless we again fall back on the possibility previously mentioned of analogy with word-final occurrence.

In the PA environment \_Ca, Ong has /o/, or /o/ and /u/ in the case of doublets. Note that due to the constraints of its environment, Pattern 2 does not occur word-finally.

Chart 15. Modern reflexes for PA \*u-, \*-u- Pattern 2

No	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
84, 246, 251	u	u	o	u	u	u	u
245	u	u	o~u	u	u	u	u
(161)	u	u	o	o	u	u	u
162	u	u	u~o	u	u	u	—
(201)	u	u	o~u	u	u	o	u
(214)	u	u	o~u	u	o	u	u
(215)	u	u	—	u	—	—	—
(250)	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
(252)	u	o	o	u	u	u	u

It may be the influence of the Ong /o/ causing the sporadic appearance of /o/ in the neighbouring dialects of Nas and Sho. Note that we can not suspect the influence of MdJ in these cases. Observe the following correspondences: (161) Ong noga(u) 'to wipe', Nas noga(i) 'id' and MdJ nugu(u) 'id'; (252) Ong mokaji 'ancient time', Sho moka's'id', and MdJ mukaji 'id'.

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We can infer that Ong would have /o/ in (215) from its PA environment (\_ra), and so list this correspondences in Chart 463.

Yoa /o/ in (201) onagu 'female child' may be caused by MdJ; cf. Kyushu dialect onago 'id'. Observe that the PA initial segment \*w is absent only in this Yoa word.

For Yen /o/ in (214) oja 'parent', refer to the section immediately following the present one.

Ong /u/ in (250) is an exception.

Yen and Yoa (and, in isolated cases, Sib, Sho and San), sometimes show /o/, /oo/, and /U/ when the other dialects have /u/ (Pattern 3). Note again the familiar occurrence of long vowels word-finally in Sib and Sho. We ascribe this pattern to PA \*u for the following reasons.

Because the observation of this 'irregular' /o/ is confined to instances where the MdJ correspondence is /o/, I assume it is caused by lexical borrowing from MdJ. For example: (193) Yen obi 'J. belt' and MdJ obi 'id'; (7) Yoa toki 'time' and MdJ toki 'id'; (148b) Yen k?uro 'black', Yoa kkuro 'id', and MdJ kuro 'id', etc. This occurrence of Chart 16. Modern reflexes for PA \*u Pattern 3

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
*u-							
193	u	u	u	u	o	u	o
*-u-							
4	U	u	u	u	o	u	u
7	u~o	u	u	u	u	o	u
19	u	u	u	u	o	—	u
23	u	u	u	u	o	u	u
71	u	u	u	—	u <L>	o <L?>	u
79a,b	u	u	u	u	o	u~o	u
91	u	u	u	u	u	U	u
111a	o	—	u	u	o <L?>	u	u
111b	o	—	u	ø~u	o <L?>	u	u
117a	u	u	u	u	o <L?>	—	u
123	u	u	u	u	U	u	u
126	u	o	u	u	u	u	u
133	U	—	u	—	—	u	—
135	u	U	u	u	—	u	u

136a,b	—	U	u	u	u	u	u
178	u	u	u	u	u	o	u
226	u	u	u	u	u	o	o
236	u	oo	u	u	u	U	u
237	u	—	u	u	o	—	u
<hr/>							
				*-u			
116	UU	u	u	u	u	u	u
117b	u	u	u	u	o <L?>	—	u
138	u	oo	u	u	u	u	u
169b	u	u	u	u	o	—	u
148b	u	u	u	u	o	o	u
238b	u	o	u	u	u	u	u

/o/ in Yen and Yoa may be quite specific to the individual informants. As noted in 1.2, the Yen informant had worked in Kobe Japan for six years, and the Yoa informant considered himself to be a highly educated man. Note the high incidence of <L?> marks in Yen and Yoa in this pattern.

Observe that in (148b) the Yen and Yoa words are k'uro 'black' and kkuro 'id' respectively. The vocalism for both these words is in the pattern of u-o. These are the only cases which violate the vocalism constraint of MdA (Note 2). Because of the resemblance of the shape and vocalism of these two words and MdJ kumo 'id', we are able to attribute the /o/ in Yen and Yoa to lexical borrowing.

It is possible that the /o/ in Sho (238b) may also be caused by lexical borrowing; cf. Sho k'umo 'spider', kubu 'id' in the other dialects, and MdJ kumo 'id'.

In the Nas environment of \_Ci, we find ten tokens of a correspondence series consisting of /i/ in Nas and /u/ in the other dialects (Pattern 4). Obviously this pattern can be considered the result of a regressive vowel assimilation.

In this same environment, however, we also find six tokens of a correspondence with /u/ throughout (shown in Pattern 5). We find no environmental differences for the occurrence of the two Nas reflexes. Observe here the types of consonants appearing in the C positions of the environment C\_Ci:

When Nas has /i/

When Nas has /u/

---

43	k m
60	b s

8	t s
---	-----

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92	k z		56	w h
112	t m		90	k r
125	m ts		141	k s
147	t gj		209	j b
232	h s		235	m ts
233	h n			
105a	t k			
146	t z			

We must consider the possibility of ascribing Patterns 4 and 5 to different PA segments, one of which is \*u as so far reconstructed. However, we do not know which pattern goes back to \*u. In this case, I propose, provisionally, at least to set up \*u<sub>A</sub> and \*U<sub>B</sub> for Patterns 4 and 5 respectively (Note 3).

Yen rarely has doublets in this environment, which means the appearance of /i/ is an exception. In Chart 17, for instance, we find (112) Yen tumī(re)~tīmī(ri) 'to stop' (cf. also (141) below and (145) in our master list). We will classify both Yen (112) and (141) as exceptions.

Chart 17. Modern reflexes for PA \*-u<sub>A</sub>- Pattern 4

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
60, 92a, 125, 147, 232, 233	u	u	u	i	u	u	u
43	u	u	—	i	u	—	u
(105a)	u	uu	u	i	o	—	u
92b	uu	uu	u	i	u	u	u
(112)	—	u	u	i	u~i	—	—

For /uu/ in Sho (105a) and in Sib and Sho (92b) and (146), see 4.3. Yor Yen /o/ in (105a), see 1.3.

Chart 18. Modern reflexes for PA \*-u<sub>B</sub>- Pattern 5

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
235	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
56	u	u	u	u	u	u	—
209	u	—	u	u	u	u	u
(8)	u	u	u	u	—	o	u
(90)	—	uu	u	u	u	u	u
(141)	u	u	u	u	u~i	—	u

For the /o/ in Yoa in (8), refer back to 1.3, where we argued that certain /o/'s are caused by lexical borrowing from Japanese.

For Yen /u/ ~ /i/ in (141), and /i/ in (168a), refer to our discussion on Yen (112) earlier in this subsection.

We find four tokens of a correspondence consisting of /uu/ in Sib and / or Sho and /u/ in the other dialects (Pattern 6) in word-medial position, when the environment in Sib and Sho is C\_C#, which is from PA \*C\_Ci.

Note that, in fact, we have three more lexical items (90, 105a, 146) substantiating the occurrence of word-medial /uu/ in Sib and / or Sho. These items are dealt with in Chart 17 (105a, 146) and Chart 18 (90) because they are ascribable to \*-u<sub>A</sub>- and \*-u<sub>B</sub>- respectively.

Therefore, in discussing the relevant complementarity we must also take into consideration the environments found for these three items.

In the relevant environment (\*C\_Ci) we also find the correspondence consisting of /u/ in Sib and Sho, and also /u/ throughout in the other dialects (found in Pattern 1 in this case), and isolated /o/ ascribable to lexical borrowing (Pattern 3).

However, we observe the following difference in the \*C of \*C\_Ci between the consonants found in the environment for Pattern 6 and the others. That is, we find k?, k, g, and t for Pattern 6, and m, d, and b for the other patterns. For instance:

	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
187	k?uuk	k?uuk	u	--	u	u	u <L?>
9	tuur	tur	u	u	u	o	u
				vs.			
226	mabur	mabur~ nabur	u	u	u	o	o
17b	wudur	wudur	u	u	u	u	u

Based upon the above observation, we ascribe Pattern 6 to \*u.

Chart 19. Modern reflexes for PA \*u- Pattern 6

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
9	uu	u	u	u	u	o	u
87b	u	uu	—	u	u	u <L>	u
99	u	uu	u	i	u	—	—
106	uu	u	u	u	—	u	u

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187	uu	uu	u	—	u	u	u <L?>
-----	----	----	---	---	---	---	--------

Yoa /o/ in (9) is perhaps due to lexical borrowing from MdJ tori 'bird'; cf. Yoa tori 'id' (1.3). Nas /i/ in (99) is an exception.

In this subsection I will discuss the tokens of the remaining recoverable correspondence series of PA \*u. We find five items showing a correspondence in word-final position with  $\emptyset$  in Sib and Sho, and /u/ in the other dialects (with irregular reflexes in Nas for (105b)).

We can posit that the historical process at work here is one in which PA \*u- has dropped off in Sib and Sho. One possible explanation is that the loss of \*-u is by analogy of the word-final \*i loss in Sib and Sho (cf. 1.1.3.1.2), which is substantiated by many lexical items. Note that there is no specific environment for the occurrence of this pattern. PA \*-u is otherwise retained as /u/ in all other lexical items (cf. Pattern 1, Chart 14). We therefore treat Pattern 7 as an exception to Pattern 1.

Chart 20. Modern reflexes for PA \*-u Pattern 7

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
85	$\emptyset$	u	u <L>	o	u	u	u
105b	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	u	i	o	—	u
143	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	—	u	u	u	u
(153)	$\emptyset$	u	u	u	u	u	u
201	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	u	u	u	u	u

For the occurrence of /o/ in (105b) Yen, refer to 1.3. Note that the Nas /i/ in (105b) is merely an exception, and unrelated to the argument presented also in 1.3. Sho /u/'s in (85) and (153) are exceptions.

We find the following sound changes for PA \*u (Note that the case of \*u and \*u is by no means easily explainable, and Nase certainly requires further examination to define the relevance of these patterns.)

*u	>	o, or o and u / _Ca	in Ong
	>	i / _Ci	in Nas (*u <sub>A</sub> )
	>	uu / C(k?,k,g,t)_Ci	in Sib and / or Sho
	>	u	elsewhere

### 1.4 PA \*o

We have over twenty tokens of a correspondence series of /o/ throughout with scattered exceptions /u/, /U/ and word-final /oo/ in all dialects except Yen and San. From these examples, we reconstruct \*o for PA.

Ong /u/ in (166b) is an exception (cf. below for (166a) in Pattern 2, in this section, as is Yen /a/ in (221a)).

Chart 21. Modern reflexes for PA \*o Pattern 1

No	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
*-o-							
(131a)	u	u~o	—	o	—	—	
(149a)	—	o~u	o	o	o	o	o
(221a)	o	o	o	o	o	a	o
*-o-							
155b,160b	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
149b	—	o	o	o	o	o	o
(220)	o <L>	o <L?>	u	o	o	o	—
*-o-							
155c, 221b,	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
77	—	o	—	o	o	o	—
80	o	o	o	o	o	—	—
82	o	o	o	o	o	o	—
131b	o	o	—	—	o	—	—
150b	U	—	o	o	o	u	o
165c	o	o~oo	o	o	o	o	o
(166b)	o~oo	o	u	o	o	—	o <L?>
171	o	—	o	o	o	o	o <L?>
172b	o	—	u	u~o	o	o <L?>	—
211	o	o	o	o	o	—	o
222	u~o <L>	—	o	o	—	o	o <L?>
224	oo	oo	o~oo	o	o	o	o

In the environment of #C\_Co, however, Sib has /u/ instead of /o/, and Ong shows frequent /u/ as well (Pattern 2). We ascribe this pattern to PA \*o.

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Chart 22. Modern reflexes for PA \*-o- Pattern 2

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
164a, 165a,	u	o	o	o	o	o	o
166a	u	o	u	o	o	—	o <L?>
167a	u	o	o	o	—	o	—
(172a)	u~oo	—	u~o	o	o <L?>	—	—
(78a)	U	u	o	o	o	o	o
155a	u	o	u	o	o	o	o

In (78a), /U/ appears in Sib instead of /u/. The /u/ in Sho (78a) is an exception.

We find a correspondence series consisting of /oo/ in Sib and /o/ in the other dialects (Pattern 3). This pattern is, however, confined to the environment nj,m,t,d\_#; e.g. (78) mUmoo 'thigh', (72) atoo 'trace', (75) jadoo 'door', etc. When the environment has consonants other than these four, Sib has /o/; e.g. 82 ijo 'beach', etc. Therefore we shall ascribe Pattern 3 to PA\*o.

Chart 23. Modern reflexes for PA \*o Pattern 3

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
78b, 164b	oo	o	o	o	o	o	o
(22)	o~oo	o~oo	o	o	o	o	uu
72	oo	—	o	o	o	o	o
(76)	oo	o	o	—	u	o	o
(75)	oo	o	o	o	o	o	U
(73)	UU	o	—	—	o	o	o <L>
(74)	o <L>	—	o	o	o	o	U
(167b)	u	o	o	o	—	o	—

Sib has /UU/ in (73) instead of /oo/.

The /u/ in Yen (76) is an irregular reflex.

Lexical item (74) is listed in this chart although the reflex in the Sib slot is a loan. We assume it would be /oo/ if it were not a loan.

We find no explanation for the /U/'s and the /uu/ found in San (75,74,22).

Sib /u/ in (167a) is an exception to Pattern 3.

We will postulate the following sound changes for PA \*o:

$*_o$	>	u / #C_Co	[ ]	in Sib (4.4.3.2)
	>	oo / nj,m,t,d #	[ ]	
	>	o		elsewhere (4.4.3.1)

### 1.5 PA \*i

We find a correspondence series for non-monosyllabic cases consisting of /i/ throughout with once again a few instances of /ii/ word-finally in Sib and Sho (Pattern 1). From these examples, we reconstruct \*i.

San /u/ in (65) is an exception, possibly caused by either vowel assimilation from /u/ in the following syllable, or analogy with San /u/ described in the section regarding to Pattern 2

Nas /e/ in (258) is an exception perhaps due to lexical borrowing from MdJ ase 'sweat', or Kyushu dialect ase 'id', or from both; cf. Nas ase ~ ase 'id'.

Yen /ii/ in (32) is also an exception.

Chart 24. Modern reflexes for PA \*i Pattern 1

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
*i-							
*-ii-							
13a, 30, 48a, 60	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
6a	i	—	i	—	i	i	i
(65)	—	—	i	i	—	i	u
77	—	i	—	i	i	i	—
130a	i	—	i	i	—	i	i
145	—	i	i	i	i	—	i
(32)	i	i	i	i	ii	i	i
(157)	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
*-i'							
13b	ø	i	i	i	i	i	i
233	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
(258)	ii	ii	i	e	i	i	i

In the PA environment of \*m # however, we find /u/ in San instead of /i/ together with loss of preceding \*m. (Pattern 2). Therefore we can ascribe Pattern 2 also to PA

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\*i. Once again we find the characteristic lengthening of the final vowel in Sho.

Sho Ø in (41) which makes a doublet with /i/, -gam 'pot'~ kamī, is an exception.

Yen /e/ in (53) may be due to lexical borrowing from MdJ; cf. Yen mame 'beans' and MdJ mame 'id'.

San /ē/ in (130) is an exception; although \*m has been lost the word has taken the irregular shape of San (130) sī ēun. San /i/ in (48b) is also an exception, caused by the exception of the retention of \*m.

San /uu/ in (37) is perhaps a result of the assimilation of the two vowels on either side of \*m, after \*m had dropped off (cf. 2.3.12.)

Chart. 25. Modern reflexes for PA \*i Pattern 2

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
37	ī	īī	ī	ī	ī	ī	uu
42	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	u
43	ī	ī	—	ī	ī	—	u
(41)	ī	Ø~ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	u
48b	ī	īī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī
(53)	ī	ī	ī	ī	e	ī	u
112	—	ī	ī	ī	ī	—	—
130	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ē

In the word-final position we find a correspondence series consisting of Ø or blank in Sib and Sho, and /i/ in the other dialects.

Like Patterns 1 and 2, this pattern occurs in non-monosyllables, and is word-final. Note that here again, as with \*i and \*u, we find word-final vowels everywhere but Ø in Sib and Sho. However, as this pattern for /i/ is observed after consonants (\*r, \*t, and \*z) where neither Pattern 1 nor 2 appear, we shall ascribe Pattern 3 also to PA \*i.

Chart 26. Modern reflexes for PA \*i Pattern 3

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San
203	Ø	Ø	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī
90, 136	—	Ø	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī

With monosyllables, we find a pattern with i throughout, with Sib and Sho once

again showing this time frequent long vowels. We ascribe Pattern 4 to PA *ī*.

Chart 27. Modern reflexes for PA \*ī Pattern 4

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nag	Yen	Yoa	San
25	iī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī
62	ī	iī	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī
57	iī	iī	ī	ī	—	ī	—
(58)	ī	iī	ī	ī	e	—	—
(63)	—	—	ī	ī	ī	ī	ī

Yen /e/ in (58) is irregular. I presume that it is caused by lexical borrowing from the Kagoshima dialect.

Sib and Sho have blanks in (63). However, we can predict that the reflexes would be /iī/ in either or both since (63) is monosyllabic; cf. mī 'bud' in all the other dialects.

We have obtained the following sound changes for PA.

*ī	>	u / m_#	in San
	>	ø / r,t,z_#	In Sib, Sho
	>	ī	elsewhere

As we shall see in the following section, there is reasonable evidence for \*ī being lowered in certain environments, especially -\*h- and \*VV

## 1.6 PA \*ē - an allophone of \*ī

### 1.6.1 The unpredictable patterning of reflexes

We find eight similar tokens in which /ē/ patterns with /e/, and /or/i/, with the familiar long vowel word-finally in Shi and Sho. However, we cannot predict where these different reflexes will appear, except in a few inconclusive situations (e.g. in the PA environment of \_h\_, San has /e/ where Ong and Nas have /ē/).

San /o/ in (189) may be a progressive assimilation caused by the preceding /o/.

Yoa /u/ in (56) may also be assimilation caused by the other /u/ (cf. Yoa uhu 'pail' and PA \*wuhē 'id').

The occurrence of ø word-medially in (205b) is an exception.

The occurrences of ø word-finally in Chart 28 are related to the shortening of \*ēē.

### 1.6.2 The allophonic nature of ē

Observe the relevant PA environments given for each correspondence in Chart 28.

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Chart 28. Modern reflexes for PA \*e

No.	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	Envir.
*e-								
*-ē-								
45a	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	*hẽ
64	ẽ	—	ẽ	ĩ	ẽ	—	—	*m_
44a	ĩ	e	ẽ	ẽ	ĩ	ĩ	e	*hẽ
46a	ẽ	ĩ	ẽ	ẽ	—	—	e	*hẽ
184	ẽ	ĩ	—	—	—	—	e	*s_
205a	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	—	*_ẽ
205b	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	∅	ẽ	—	*ẽ_
207a	ĩ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ĩ	*_ẽ
210a	—	ẽ	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	—	ĩ	*_ẽ
*-ē								
40	ẽẽ	ẽẽ	ĩ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	*g_#
44b	ẽ	—	ẽ	ẽ	e	e	e	*eh_#
45b	ẽẽ	ẽẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	*eh_#
46b	ẽẽ	ẽẽ	ẽ	ẽ	—	—	e	*eh_#
50	ẽẽ	ii	ĩ	ĩ	ẽ	ĩ	ĩ	*b_#
70	ẽẽ	ĩ	ĩ	e	e	e	e	*n_#
(189)	ẽ	ẽ	e	ẽ	ẽ	ẽ	o	*IRC_#
(56)	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	ĩ	ẽ	u	—	*h_#
207b	ẽ	ẽ	∅	∅	ẽ	∅	∅	*ẽ_#
209	ẽ	—	ĩ	ĩ	ẽ	ĩ	ĩ	*b_#
210b	—	∅	ĩ	∅	ẽ	—	0/	*ẽ_#

These environments for PA \*e can be summarized as follows:

- \*h    7 tokens
- \*e\_ or — \*ẽ                                6 tokens
- \*g\_, \*b\_, \*m\_, \*s\_, \*n\_                    1 token each
- \*IRC\_    1 token

The environments for PA \*i are:

- |      |           |      |          |
|------|-----------|------|----------|
| *m_  | 11 tokens | *t?_ | 3 tokens |
| *ts_ | 4 tokens  | *n_  | 2 tokens |

\*k\_\_ 4 tokens \*s\_\_ 2 tokens  
 \*p\_\_, \*k?\_\_, \*r\_\_ 1 token each

Consider that all six \*m\_\_ tokens relative to \*i are word-final cases, whereas the only case relative to \*e is found to be in the morpheme-final position of the first element of the compound word mē(nga) (Note 4).

The \*s in (184), and (70) \*n are exceptions.

Although there is some inconsistent overlapping of environments, it is clear that \*e tends to appear in conjunction with \*h and \*VV, and \*i elsewhere.

Based upon the environmental differences observed between \*i and \*e, we tentatively propose to treat \*e as an allophoned of \*i.

## 2.0 SYNCHRONIC DESCRIPTION OF PA

We recognize 19 consonants plus 5 more tentative consonants (given in parenthesis) for PA (Figures 01 and 02 below). We find five vowels for PA (Figures 03 and 04 below). The existence of u<sub>A</sub> and u<sub>B</sub> within u is recognized in the Nas environment /\_\_Ci/. We find a sixth vowel ē, perhaps an allophone of i. Allophone ē occurs mainly in environments \*eh\_\_, \_\_\*he, \*VV, and also \*g, \*n, \*m, \*s, \*b\_\_. We find that \*i has two forms, which we call \*i<sub>A</sub> and \*i<sub>B</sub>. Since, for the purposes of this work, i<sub>A</sub> and \*i<sub>B</sub> behave in the same way, we will treat them for now as one vowel, \*i. The distinction of \*i<sub>B</sub> is recognized only in word-final position.

PA has CVCV construction, with occasional VV combinations. We find that o and \*u do not co-occur in the same word. The vowel \*o occurs only in the shape of \*CoCo, or word-finally, or monosyllabically.

We find \*n as the only final consonant. We find that \*k has allophone \*h in word-initial position. Also \*t has allophone \*ts in the environment \_\_\*i. PA \*k? occurs word-initially, allophone \*kk occurring word-medially.

Figure 01. PA consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar
Voiceless stop	*p	*t			*k	(*kkw)
Voiced stop	*b	*d			*g	
Glottalized stop		(*t?)			*k?	
Affricate		*ts		*tʃ		
Fricative		*s	*ʃ	*j		*w
Glottalized fricative				(*j?)		*h

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Voiced fricative		*z	*ʒ
Tap		*ɾ	(*ɾj)
Nasal	*m	*n	(*nj)

Figure 02. Occurrence of PA consonants

	*p	*t	*k (*kkw)	*b	*d	*g	(*t?)	*k?	*ts	*tʃ	*s
Word-initial	o	o	o				o	o	o	o	o
Word-medial		o	o	o	o	o		o	o	o	o
Word-final											
	*ʃ	*j (*j?)	*w	*h	*z	*ʒ	*ɾ (*ɾj)	*m	*n (*nj)		
Word-initial	o	o	o	o	o			o	o	o	
Word-medial			o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	
Word-final									o		

Figure 03. PA vowels

High	i		ɪ			u
Mid			(e)		o	
Low		a				

Figure 04. Occurrence of PA vowels

	*i <sub>A</sub>	*i <sub>B</sub>	*a	*u (u <sub>A</sub> , u <sub>B</sub> )	*o	*ɪ
Word-initial	o		o	o	o	
Word-medial	o		o	o	o	o
Word-final	o	o	o	o	o	o

## 3.0 SOUND CHANGES

In this section we summarize the sound changes obtained through our reconstruction. We have included all sound changes established in Urakami 1992 and the present work (including those more tentative changes) combining findings wherever possible.

In the next two subsections we have separated our findings into those sound changes shared by two or more dialects, and those specific to an individual dialect.

### 3.1 Shared sound changes

1. \*i > Ø / C\_#
  2. \*ɪ > Ø / r,t,z\_#
  3. \*b,\*z,\*ʒ > p,t,tʃ / \_i#  
\*g > k / \_i,u#
  4. \*w > Ø \_a
  5. \*u > uu / C (k?,k,g,t)\_Ci
  6. \*ts > t or t?
  7. \*z > d / \_u  
> t / \_i
  8. \*p > h
- in Shi, Sho
- in Sib, Sho, Ong, Nas, Yen, Yoa

### 3.2 Changes specific to individual dialects

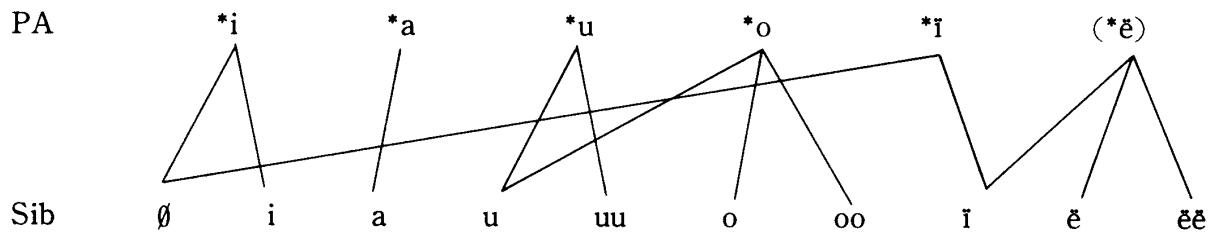
9. \*o > u / #C\_Co
  10. \*o > oo / nj, m, t, d\_#
  11. \*p > F / \_u
  12. \*u > o, or o and u / \_Ca
  13. \*ʃ, ʒ, \*tʃ > s, z, ts / \_i#
  14. \*i > ɪ / ʃ, tʃ, ʒ\_
  15. \*u (\*u) > ɪ / Ci
  16. \*k > h / #\_aCi  
/ #\_ɪ  
/ #\_u
  17. \*i > j / \_m
  18. \*ɪ > u / m\_#
  19. \*m > Ø / V\_V
- in Sib
- in Ong
- in Nas
- in San

## 4.0 DEVELOPMENT OF PA VOWELS TO INDIVIDUAL MdAm DIALECTS

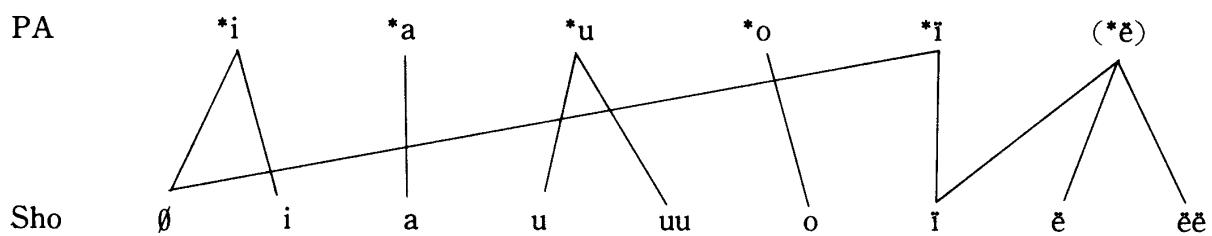
Based upon the results from our reconstruction of PA, and the formulation of sound changes, I would like to present here in diagram form the development of our PA vowels to the individual Modern Amami dialects (concentrating exclusively on vowels as our main concern.)

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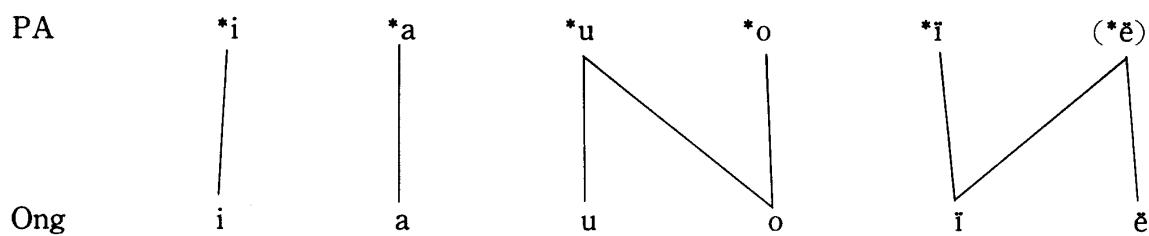
PA and Sib



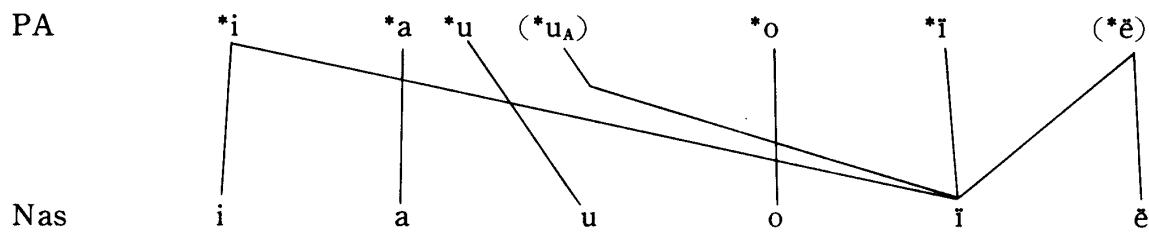
PA and Sho



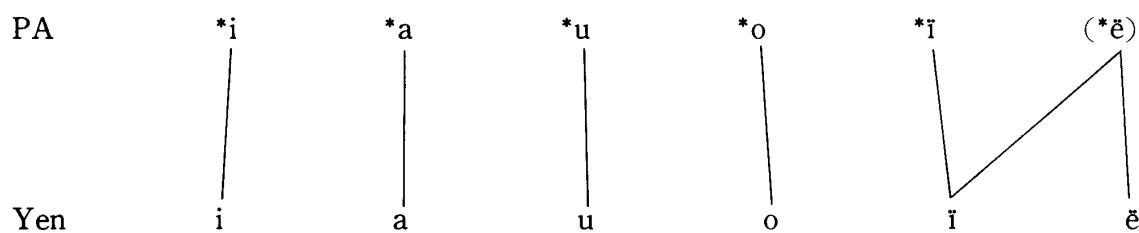
PA and Ong



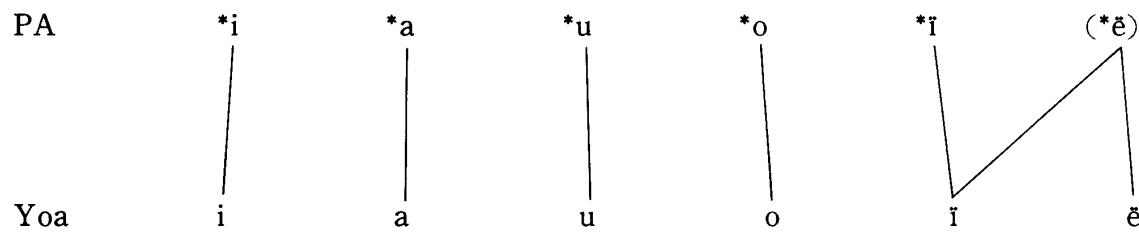
PA and Nas



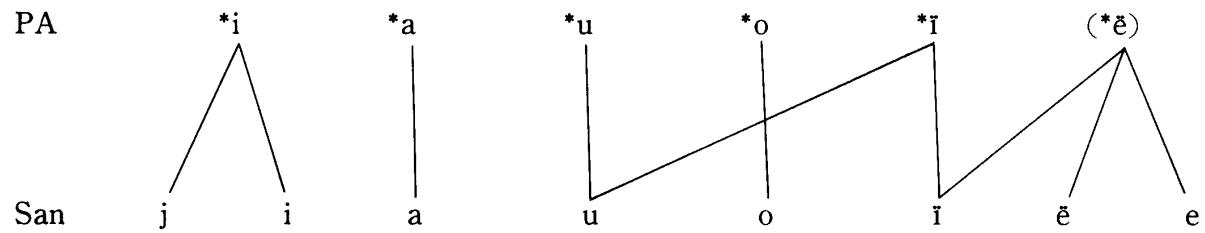
PA and Yen



PA and Yoia



PA and San



NOTES

1. For PA \**ʃi*, \**tʃi* > Nas *sɪ*, *tsɪ* respectively, see also 1.1.3.1.1, Chart 09 ; 1.1.3.1.2, Chart 11 in the present article ; 2.3.9, Chart 23 ; and 2.3.11, Chart 26 in Urakami 1992.
2. Cf. 3.3.2 in Urakami 1989, /u/ and /o/ cannot co-occur in the same word.
3. The naming of 'A' and 'B' is arbitrary.
4. The (nga) is not taken into account for the purposes of our reconstruction.

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## APPENDIX ONE : MASTER LIST

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
1	'capital'	mijaku	—	—	—	—	—	mijako <L>	INV	mijako <sub>1</sub>	1
2	'next door'	tunar	—	—	tonari	<L>	—	(so)tonari	INV	to <sub>1</sub> nari	2
3	'Shinto prayer'	—	—	—	nurito	—	—	norito <L>	INV	no <sub>2</sub> rito <sub>1</sub>	3
4	'waste'	kUj	kujī~ kujī	kujī	kōji	kūji	hūji	*kūji	ko <sub>2</sub> si	4	
5	'steaming basket'	—	kujiki	kajiki~	kajike	kajiki~	kajiki	kūjī	ko <sub>2</sub> siki	5	
6	'impurity'	nikkri(rjun)	—	nikkri~	—	nigare	nigiri	nī ~ r ~	nigo <sub>2</sub> ri	6	
7	'time'	—duk~ toki	—duk	tuki	tuki	tuki	toki	tuki	*tuki	to <sub>2</sub> ki <sub>1</sub>	7
8	'time, years'	tūjī	tūjī	tūsī	—	tojī	tuji	*tūjī	to <sub>2</sub> si	8	
9	'bird'	tuur	tur	turi	turi	turi	turi	*turi	to <sub>2</sub> ri	9	
10	'person'	tjū~ tjūu	tjūu	tjūu	tjū~ tjūu	tjūu	*tjū	*tjū	pi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	10	
11	'spirit of the dead'	tjūu.dama	tjūu.dama	tjūudama~ tjūudama	tjūudama~ tjūudama	tjūudama	tjūuntamasi	*tjū~ dama	pi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub> dama	11	
12	'husband'	wutu	wutuu	wutu	wutu	wutu	wutu	*wutu	wopi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	12	
13	'one'	t'ī(t)	t'īΠ(t)	t'īΠ(tsi)	t'īΠ(tsi)	t'īΠ(t:f)	t'īΠ(t:f)	*t'īΠ	*t'īΠ	pi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	13
14	'one day'	tjūi	tjūi	tjūi	tjūi	—	tjūi	*tjūi	pi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub> pi <sub>1</sub>	14	
15	'one year'	—	tjutu(u)	tjutu(j)	tjutusī	—	tjutusī	*tjutusī	pi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub> to <sub>1</sub> se	15	
16	'three years'	mitūu	mitūu	mitūu	mitūi	—	mitūi	*mitūi	mi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub> se	16	
17	'dance, jumping'	wudur	udur	wuduri	wuduri	wuduri	wuduri	*wuduri	wodo <sub>2</sub> ri	17	
18	'paste'	nurii	—	nuri	nuri	nuri	nuri	*nuri	no <sub>2</sub> ri	18	
19	'laver'	nurii	nuri	nuri	nori	—	nuri	*nuri	no <sub>2</sub> ri	19	
20	'yesterday'	k <sup>?</sup> injuu	kinjuu	k <sup>?</sup> inju	kkinju	k'īnu	kinuu	*k <sup>?</sup> inj~	ki,no <sub>2</sub> pu	20	
21	'white'	śiru—	śiru—	śiru—	śiru	śiru	śiru	*śiru	siro <sub>1</sub>	21	
22	'straw raincoat'	minjo~ minjoo	nījo	mnjo	njo	njuu	njuu	*minjo	mi <sub>1</sub> no <sub>2</sub>	22	

## PROTO-AMAMI

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
23	'chisel'	numi~numii	numi	numi	nomi	nuu	num	*numi	no <sub>2</sub> mi <sub>2</sub>	23	
24	'waking'	uhi	uhi(jun)	hw <small>f</small> (ru)	hu( <small>n</small> )	hi( <small>n</small> )	IRC	ok <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	24		
25	'tree'	k <small>f</small>	k <small>f</small>	k <small>f</small>	k <small>f</small>	h <small>f</small>	*kf	ki <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	25		
26	'fire'	—	—	—	—	—	INV	p <small>f</small> <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	26		
27	'fruit'	mi	mii	mi	mi	mi	*mi	mi <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	27		
28	'grudge'	—	uram	—urami <L?>	uram(f)	urami	*urami	urami <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	28		
29	'god'	kam—~kami	kam	kami	kami	kami	*kami	kami <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	29		
30	'moon'	t <small>kf</small> i~udék	t <small>kf</small> i~—dki—	ts <small>kf</small> i	ts <small>kf</small> i <L?>	ts <small>kf</small> i	*ts <small>kf</small> i	tuki <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	30		
31	'reed'	wug <small>i</small>	wug <small>i</small>	wuqi	wuqi	wugi	*wugi	wuo <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	31		
32	'J cedar'	s <small>gi</small> i	s <small>gi</small> i	s <small>gi</small> i	s <small>gi</small> i	s <small>gi</small> i	*s <small>gi</small> i	sug <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	32		
33	'clover'	hagi	—	—	—	hagi	<L?>	INV	pagi <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	33	
34	'winnower'	—	—	hiri	hir(u)	—	*pir—	p <small>i</small> <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	34		
35	'darkness'	—jam	—jam	—jam	—jan~jami	jaa—	*jam	jami <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	35		
36	'pond'	ike~ike	—	ihe	—	ike	ike <L?>	*i—	ike <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	36	
37	'dream'	imif	imi	imi	imi	juu	*imi	ime <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	37		
38	'surface'	uf	u <small>f</small>	u <small>f</small>	u	w <small>f</small>	IRC	upe <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	38		
39	'plum tree'	—	—	ume <L>	—	ume <L>	INV	ume <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	39		
40	'shadow'	kage <small>e</small>	kag <small>e</small>	kag <small>e</small>	kag <small>e</small>	hage	*kag <small>e</small>	kage <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	40		
41	'pot'	kami	kam <small>f</small>	kami	kami	hau	*kami	kame <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	41		
42	'tortoise'	kami	kami	kam <small>f</small>	kam <small>f</small>	hau	*kami	kame <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	42		
43	'rice'	kumi	kumi	—	kumi	—	*kumi	ko <sub>2</sub> me <sub>2</sub>	43		
44	'J liquor'	s <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	se(gwa)	s <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	s <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	see	*s <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	sake <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	44		
45	'bamboo'	d <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	d <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	d <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	d <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	dehe	*d <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	take <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	45		
46	'mountain'	t <small>h</small> e <small>v</small> —d <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	t <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	t <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	—	—	*t <small>h</small> e <small>v</small>	take <sub>i</sub> <sub>2</sub>	46		

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
47	'sake'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	tame <sub>2</sub>	47
48	'claw'	t <sup>?</sup> mī	t <sup>?</sup> mī	tsfīmī	tsfīmī	tsfīmī	tsfīmī	tsfīmī	*tsfīmī	tume <sub>2</sub>	48
49	'seedling'	nei	nēš	nai	n <sup>?</sup> je	nae	nae	nai	IRC	nape <sub>2</sub>	49
50	'cookingpot'	nabēš	nabī	nabi	nabē	nabi	nabi	nabi	*nabē	nabe <sub>2</sub>	50
51	'paint brush'	—	—	—	—	hake <L>	—	hake <L?>	INV	pake <sub>2</sub>	51
52	'fly'	hie <sup>~</sup> hwei	Fēe	Fē	hī	hē	hai	pai	INV	pape <sub>2</sub>	52
53	'beans'	mamī	mamī	mamī	mamī	mamī	mamī	mau	*mamī	mame <sub>2</sub>	53
54	'serious'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	name <sub>2</sub>	54
55	'seaweed'	—	wakame <L>	wakame <L>	—	—	wakame	wahame <L>	INV	wakame <sub>2</sub>	55
56	'pail'	wuhī	wuhī	wuhī	wuhī	wuhē	wuhū	—	*wuhē	woke <sub>2</sub>	56
57	'hair'	kī	kī	kī	kī	—	kī	—	*kī	ke <sub>2</sub>	57
58	'container'	—kī	—kī	—kī	—kī	—ke	—	—	*ki	ke <sub>2</sub>	58
59	'sign'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	ke <sub>2</sub>	59
60	'smoke'	kībuī	kībuī	kībuī	kībuī	kībuī	kībuī	*kībuī	ke <sub>2</sub> buri	60	
61	'food receptacle'	—hi— —hi—	hi	hi	—hi—	—	—	—	*P —	pe <sub>2</sub>	61
62	'eye'	mī	mī	mī	mī	mī	mī	mī	*mī	mē <sub>2</sub>	62
63	'bud'	—	—	—	—	—mī	—mī	—mī*	*mī	mē <sub>2</sub>	63
64	'beloved'	mē	—	mē—	mē—	—	—	—	*mē—	me <sub>2</sub> gusi	64
65	'circumference'	—	—	miguri	—	migurī(jīn)	muguri	*miguri	me <sub>2</sub> guri	65	
66	'child'	kkwaa	kkwaa	kkwaa	kkwaa	kkwaa	kkwaa	kkwaa	*kkwaa	ko <sub>1</sub>	66
67	'short sword'	kugatana	kugatana	—	—	—	kugatana	—	*kugatana	ko <sub>1</sub> gatana	67
68	'calf'	kubura	kubura	kubura	kubura	kubura	kubura	hubura	*kubura	komura	68
69	'cat'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	neko <sub>1</sub>	69
70	'public person'	tunēš—	tunī—	tone—	tone—	tone—	tone	tone	*t _ nē	to,ne	70
71	'tiger'	turaa	—	tura	tura <L>	tura	tura	tura	*tura	to,ra	71

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No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.	
72	'trace'	atoō	—	ato	ato	—	ato	ato	*ato	ato <sub>(ato<sub>2</sub>)</sub>	72	
73	'bay'	miniatUU	minjato	—	—	minato	minjato	minato <L>	*minjato	mi <sub>1</sub> nato <sub>1</sub>	73	
74	'inn'	jado—<L>	—	jado	jado	jado	jado	jadU	*jado	jado <sub>1</sub>	74	
75	'door'	jadoo	jado	jado	jado	jado	jado	jadU	*jado	jado <sub>1</sub>	75	
76	'gateway'	kadoo	kado	kado	—	kadu	kado	kado	*kado	kado <sub>1</sub>	76	
77	'antler'	—	t <sup>2</sup> no	—	tsño	tsño	—	—	*tsño	tuno <sub>1</sub>	77	
78	'thigh'	mUmoo	mumo	momo	momo—	momo—	moo—	—	*momo	mo <sub>1</sub> mo <sub>1</sub>	78	
79	'bag;sack pouch'	hukkuru	hugur	Fukuro <L>	Fukuro	hokkoro	hukuro~ hokoro	pukkuru	*pukkuru—	pukuro <sub>1</sub>	79	
80	'hemp'	—so	—so	—so	—so	—so	—	—	*so	so <sub>1</sub>	80	
81	'sky'	—	—	sora <L>	—	—	—	—	INV	so <sub>1</sub> ra	81	
82	'beach'	ijo	ijo	ijo	iso~ ijo	ijo	ijo	ijo	—	*ijo	iso <sub>1</sub>	82
83	'weak'	juā—	juā—	ju(3)wa—	—	juwa—	—	juwa—	*juwa—	jo <sub>1</sub> wa	83	
84	'midnight'	junaha	junaha	junaha	junaha	junaha	junaha	junaha	*juraha	jo <sub>1</sub> naka	84	
85	'cocoon'	man	maju	maju <L>	majo	maju	maju	maju	*maju	majo <sub>1</sub>	85	
86	'this—'	ku— kur	ku— kurī	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	ko <sub>2</sub>	86
87	'this year'	kutujf	kutujf	—	kutufj	kurufj	kutufj <L>	hutufj	*kutufj	ko <sub>2</sub> to <sub>2</sub> si	87	
88	'this—'	kun	kun	kun—	kun—	kun—	un	un	*kun	ko <sub>2</sub> no <sub>2</sub>	88	
89	'this world'	kunju	—	kun:ju	—	kun:ju	—	unju	*kun:ju	ko <sub>2</sub> no <sub>2</sub> jo <sub>2</sub>	89	
90	'this'	—	kuur	kurif	—	—	urf	urf	*kuri	ko <sub>2</sub> re	90	
91	'to row'	Kug(juru)	kug(zii)	hug(jun)	kug(jun)	kug(jun)	KUG(1)	hug(jun)	*kug—	ko <sub>2</sub> gu	91	
92	'last year'	kuduū	kuduū	kuzu	kuzu	kuzu	huzu	huzu	*kuzu	ko <sub>2</sub> zo <sub>2</sub>	92	
93	'speech'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	ko <sub>2</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	93
94	'thing'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ko <sub>2</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	94
95	'language'	kutuba	kutuba	kutuba	—	kutuba	—	—	*kutuba	ko <sub>2</sub> to <sub>2</sub> ba	95	
96	'bull'	kitII	kutufj	kutif	kitI—	kote(kkwa)~ kote(usikkwa)	kutē	kotousi	*k — t —	ko <sub>2</sub> to <sub>2</sub> piusi	96	
97	'licking'	konom—	—	kunumi	kono(d)	—	—	kono <sub>1</sub>	*k n mi	ko <sub>2</sub> no <sub>2</sub> mi <sub>1</sub>	97	

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
98	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	—	98
99	'congealing'	—gur	—guar	—guri	—guri	—	—	—	*—guri	ko <sub>2</sub> ri	99
100	'kill'	kuff(uu)~ kurus(un)	kuss(un)	kutt(un)	—	kutt(un)	—	kuruf(un)	*kutʃ	ko <sub>2</sub> ro <sub>2</sub> su	100
101	'voice'	kuii	kui	kui	kui	kui	hui*	juruku(jun)	*kui	ko <sub>2</sub> we	101
102	'to become pleased'	jurukub—	—	juruku(d̪)	jurukum(i)	jurukab(jun)	jurukum(i)	juruku(jun)	*juruku—	jo <sub>2</sub> ro <sub>2</sub> ko <sub>2</sub> ku	102
103	'horizontal'	juku	juku	juku	juku	joko	joko	joko	*j k—	jo <sub>2</sub> ko <sub>2</sub>	103
104	'to wake'	—	uhuf(un)	hīf hī(ji)	hu(suna)	hūf(un)	uwʃ(un)	uwʃ(un)	*h ſ—	oko <sub>2</sub> su	104
105	'bed'	tuk	tuuk	tuku	tiki	toko	—	tuku	*tuku	to <sub>2</sub> ko <sub>2</sub>	105
106	'vestige'	nagur~ naguur	nagur	nagur(f)	saguri	—	naguri	naguri	*naguri	nago <sub>2</sub> ri	106
107	'and'	tu	tu	tu	tu	—	—	tu	*tu	to <sub>2</sub>	107
108	'to fly'	tu(dur)	tub(jun)	tub(uri)	tub(jun)	tub(jun)	tub(jun)	tub(jun)	*tub—	to <sub>2</sub> bu	108
109	'tree top'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	to <sub>2</sub> busa	109
110	'far'	tuu—	tuu—	tuu—	tuu—	tuu—	tuu—	tuu—	*tuu	to <sub>2</sub> po	110
111	'pass by'	toori—	—	tuuri	turi~ tuuri	toori <L>	tuuri	tuuri	*tuuri	to <sub>2</sub> pori	111
112	'to stop'	—	tumi(jun)	tumi(ri)	t̪im(fri)~ t̪um(fri)	—	—	—	*tumi	to <sub>2</sub> mu	112
113	'fellow'	tungariaa	tun(kana)	tungara	—	—	—	—	*tungara	to <sub>2</sub> mo <sub>2</sub> gare	113
114	'younger brother'	ututuu	ututuu	ututu	ututu	ututu	ututu	ututu	*ututu	oto <sub>2</sub> pi <sub>1</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	114
115	'to drop'	—	utuu(t̪j)	utu(t̪j)	utu(sr)	utu(an)	utuʃ(un)	utuʃ(un)	*utuʃ—	oto <sub>2</sub> su	115
116	'sound'	utUU	utu	utu	utu	utu	utu	utu	*utu	oto <sub>2</sub>	116
117	'trunk'	mutu	mutu	mutu	mutu	moto <L>	—	mutu	*mutu	mo <sub>2</sub> to <sub>2</sub>	117
118	'stagnatdor'	judu(dur)	judumi	judumi	judumi	judu(d̪)	judumi	judui	*judumi	jo <sub>2</sub> do <sub>2</sub> mi <sub>1</sub>	118
119	'plover'	tjisorja	—tjisorja	tsizt̪ra	tider(i)	—tijurja	tijurja	IN V	tidō <sub>2</sub> mi	119	
120	'J cypress'	hinok	hinuki	hinoki <L>	hinuki	hinoki <L>	hinuki	hinoki <L>	IN V	pi <sub>1</sub> no <sub>2</sub> ki <sub>2</sub>	120
121	'to ride'	nor	nur(i)	nor(ot̪)	nor(jun)	nor(jun)	nor(jun)	nor(jun)	*n _r—	no <sub>2</sub> ru	121

## PROTO-AMAMI

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
122	'climbing'	nubuur(jur)	nubu(utt)	nuburi	noor(jun)	noor(in)	noor(jun)	noor(bori)	*n_b_r-	122	
123	'to drink'	num(juur)	nu(df)	num(un)	nUm(jun)	num(jun)	nu(jun)	nozmu	*num-	123	
124	'life'	injotʃ <sup>~</sup> injoɔtʃ <sup>~</sup>	inotʃ	n <sup>2</sup> jutʃi	n <sup>2</sup> jutʃi	n <sup>2</sup> jutʃi	n <sup>2</sup> jutʃi	*inj_tʃi	ino <sub>2</sub> ti	124	
125	'to carry'	mu(tfuur)	mu(tsf)	mu(turi)	mtʃ(un)	mtʃ(un)	mtʃ(un)	*mtʃ-	mo <sub>2</sub> tu	125	
126	'thing'	mun	mon	mun	mun	mun	mun	mo <sub>2</sub> no <sub>2</sub>	mo <sub>2</sub> no <sub>2</sub>	126	
127	'talking together'	—mungatari	—	mungatare	mungatari	mungatari	mungatari	*mungatar	mo <sub>2</sub> no <sub>2</sub> gatari	127	
128	'wide'	hirju—	hirju—	hiru—	hiru—	hiru—	hiru—	*pirju	pi <sub>1</sub> ro <sub>2</sub>	128	
129	'to lower'	—	uru(ti)	uru(sun)	uru(st)	—	uruʃ(un)	*uru—	oro <sub>2</sub> su	129	
130	'to dye'	smfl(rju)	—	smfl(run)	smfl(rjun)	—	smf <sup>2</sup> un	*smi	so <sub>2</sub> mu	130	
131	'slow'	usso—	uso—	—	—	oso—	—	*os <sub>2</sub>	oso <sub>2</sub>	131	
132	'lifetime,	—	—	ju	ju	—	ju	*ju	jo <sub>2</sub>	132	
133	'to bring together'	jUs(r—)	—	jus(I)	—	—	jus(in)	—	*jus—	jo <sub>2</sub> su	133
134	'to approach'	—	ju(tf)	—	jur(jun)	—	jur(jun)	*jur—	jo <sub>2</sub> su	134	
135	'to count'	Jum(juur)	jU(df)	jum(un)	—	—	jum(jun)	*jum—	jo <sub>2</sub> mu	135	
136	'four'	—	jUUt	juutſi	juutſi	juttſi	juutſi	*jurtſi	jo <sub>1</sub> tu	136	
137	'thick'	—	—	—	—	ku	—	—	INV	ko <sub>1</sub>	137
138	'powder, flour'	ku—	koo	ku	—	—	ku	*ku	ko <sub>1</sub>	138	
139	'small—'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	ko <sub>1</sub>	139
140	'bamboo basket'	—ku	—gu	ku	—ku	—ku	—ku	*—kkku	ko <sub>1</sub>	140	
141	'to cross over'	hu(irjuu) <sup>~</sup> ku(itē)	ku(jati)	ku(ti)	ku(sf)	ki(sf) <sup>~</sup> ku(sf)	—	*ku—	ko <sub>1</sub> su	141	
142	'son—in— law'	muho <sup>~</sup> muho	muho	muho	mono	—	moho	*m_h—	muko~mo,ko, 142		
143	'box'	hak	Faak	—	hakku	hak'u	paku	*pakkū	pako <sub>1</sub>	143	
144	'gate'	—	—	tu	tu	—	to <L>	INV	to <sub>1</sub>	144	

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.	
145	'to endeav- our'	—	tsitom(I)	tsitum(I)	tsitim(I)	situm(I)~ situm(I)	—	tsito(on)	*tsit_m—	tuto,mu	145	
146	'housewife'	tuitʃ	tuitʃ	tuzi	tizi	tuzi	tuzi	tuzi	*tuzi	to,zi	146	
147	'to grind'	tug(jur)	tug(ii)	tug(i)	tig(ji)	tug(jun)	tug(jun)	tug(jun)	*tug—	to,gu	147	
148	'black'	kuru—	kuru—	kuru—	kuru—	k'uro	kkuru	*k'uru	kuro,	148		
149	'interesting'	—	umoirē— omoirē—	omoirū—	omosirī—	omoſiru—	omoſiru—	*omojir—	omosiro,	149		
150	'skirting'	susU	—	sifso	sifo	sifso	susu	siso	*s_so	suso,	150	
151	'night'	ju—	—	ju	—	—	—	—	—	INV	jo,	151
152	'night'	—	—	juru	—	juru	juru	juru	*juru	jo,ru	152	
153	'day'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
154	'recently'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
155	'mind'	kuhoro	kohoro	kohoro	kohoro	kohoro	kohoro	kohoro	*kokoro	ko,koro	155	
156	'answer'	—	—	kotae	kutae(ru)	kotae(ru) < L?>kotaे(ru) < L?>	kotae(ru) < L?>kotaе(ru) < L?>	kotae(ru) < L?>kotaе(ru) < L?>	INV	ko,tape <sub>2</sub>	156	
157	'leaf'	kinhwa	kinFa	kinha	kinha	kinha	kinha	kinha	*kinpa	ko,no,pa	157	
158	'to shut in'	kumor	—	gumur(i)	—	—	—	—	*g_m_r—	ko,mo,ru	158	
159	'harp'	—	—	—	—	koto <L>	—	—	INV	ko,to,to <sub>2</sub>	159	
160	'to remain'	noho(os)	noho(tʃaa)	noho(si)	nokor(un)	nokor(i)	noor(jun)	*nokor—	no,ko,ro <sub>2</sub>	160		
161	'to wipe'	nugé(ɛ)	nuga(tʃ)	noga(u)	noga(i)	nuga(i)	nuga(jun)	*nuga—	no,go,pu	161		
162	'blame'	tugaa	—tuga~ toga	tuga	tuga	tuga—	tuga—	—	*tuga	to,ga	162	
163	'wharf'	—domar	tUma(tʃ)	toma(tʃ)	—	—	tumari	—	*t_mar—	to,mari	163	
164	'stern'	tumoo	tomo	tomo	tomo	tomo	tomo	*tomo	to,mo	164		
165	'place'	—turo~ tuhoro	toro	doro	tokoro	tokoro	toro	*tokoro	to,ko,ro <sub>2</sub>	165		
166	'in a m 's place'	—tuno~ tunoo—	—dono	tunu—	tono—	tono—	—	tolo <L?>	*tono	to,no <sub>2</sub>	166	
167	'friend'	tumu	tomo	—tomo	—tomo	—	tomo	—	*tomo	to,mo <sub>2</sub>	167	

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No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
168	'thief'	nusido	nusudo	nusido	nusuto	ninido	nusuto	nusido~nusudo	INV	nusubi,to <sub>2</sub>	168
169	'sleeve'	tamuuutu	tamotu	tamutu	tamato	—	—	tamutu	*tam_tu	tamoto <sub>2</sub>	169
170	'to lodge at'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	jado <sub>2</sub> ru	170
171	'field'	—no	—	—no	—no	—no—	—no—	—	*no	no <sub>2</sub>	171
172	'declare'	nur(o)~nor(o)	—	nur(u)~nor(o)	nor(o)	nor(o) <L?>	—	—	*nor—	no <sub>2</sub> ru	172
173	'stony land'	sñeē	sñe	shñi	sone	sune~sone	sone	—	INV	so <sub>2</sub> ne	173
174	'good'	i(i)~ji(i)	—	—	—	—	—	i(i)~ji(i)	INV	jo <sub>2</sub> ka	174
175	'gathering'	jurē~judē	juree	jore	jore	—	—	jurai	*j_i_r_—	jo <sub>2</sub> riapi	175
176	'fog'	k?ir	kiri	—	kiri <L>	kkiri	kiri—	—	*k?iri	k <sub>2</sub> ri	176
177	'shore'	kijij <L>	kijij	—	—	kiji <L?>	—	kiji	INV	k <sub>2</sub> si	177
178	'nephew'	wui	wui	wui	wui	wui	wui	—	*wui	wopi <sub>2</sub>	178
179	'internal organs'	k?imo	kkimu	kkimo	—	kkimo	kkjoo	*k?im_—	—	k <sub>2</sub> imo	179
180	'wear'	—	kir	kkir(i)	kir(jun)	kkir(jun)	kiri	k <sub>2</sub> irjun	*k?ir—	k <sub>2</sub> iru	180
181	'chrysanthemum'	kiku <L>	—	—	kiku	kiku	kiku <L?>	kiku <L?>	INV	kiku	181
182	'autumn'	akii	—	aki	aki	akki	aki	*akki	—	aki <sub>2</sub>	182
183	'inside'	uki	uki	ukki	ukki	uki	uki	*ukki	—	oki <sub>2</sub>	183
184	'barrier'	sékki	síki	(sakku)	—	—	seki	*sékki	—	seki <sub>2</sub>	184
185	'snow'	juk	juk~juhu	—	—	—	juki <L>	juki <L>	INV	juki <sub>2</sub>	185
186	'upper jaw'	ak	—	agi	agi	—	—	ago~agu	*agi	agi <sub>2</sub>	186
187	'mail'	k?uuk	kugi	—	k <sup>2</sup> ugi	kugi	kugi <L?>	*k?ugi	—	kugi <sub>2</sub>	187
188	'braid'	himo—	himo <L?>	himo	—	—	himo <L?>	—	INV	pi <sub>2</sub> mo	188
189	'to enshrine, a god'	juwë	juë	jowe	joë	joë	joo	*j_i_e	—	ipapi <sub>2</sub>	189
190	'shellfish'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	kapi <sub>2</sub>	190

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
191	'journey'	tap	tabi	tabi <L>	tabi	tabi	tabi	tabi	*tabi	tabi <sub>i</sub>	191
192	'shining red'	—	njuē	njoo	njoē	njoo	njoē	njoo	*nj—	nipopi <sub>i</sub>	192
193	'J belt'	(k <sup>2</sup> j) up	(kkj) ubi	ubi	obi	ubi	obi	obi	*ubi	obi <sub>i</sub>	193
194	'J sake'	mii̥k	miki	mikki	(o)miki	—	—	—	*mikki	mi,ki <sub>i</sub>	194
195	'cape'	—	—	—	—	—	—	misaki	INV	mi,saki <sub>i</sub>	195
196	'paper'	kap	kabi	kabi	kabi	kabi	kabi	*kabi	kabi	kami	196
197	'hair'	—	—	—	—	kami <L>	—	—	INV	kami <sub>i</sub>	197
198	'tear'	—	nada	nada	nada	nada	nada	nada	*nada	nami,da	198
199	'ear'	mimi	min	min	min	min	min	min	*mimi	mi,mi <sub>i</sub>	199
200	'bow'	jumi	jumi	—	—	jumi	jumi	jumi	*jumi	jumi <sub>i</sub>	200
201	'woman'	wunak	wunak	wunagu~ onagu	wunagu(kkwa)	wunagu	wunagu	wunagu	*wunagu	womi,na	201
202	'to cut'	k <sup>2</sup> ir(jur)	kir(i)	kir(u)	kir(jun)	kir(jur)	kir(jur)	kir(jur)	*k <sup>2</sup> ir—	ki,ru	202
203	'bruise'	k'it	kizi	kizi	kizi	kizi	kizi	kizi	*k'izi	ki,zu	203
204	'today'	kjuu	kjuu	kjuu	kjuu	kjuu	kjuu	kjuu	*kjuu	ke,pu	204
205	'turning over'	kēf	kēf	kēf	kēf	kēf	kēf	kēf	*kēf	kape,si	205
206	'capsized'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	kape,ri	206
207	'front'	mē	mē	mē	mē	mē	mē	mē	*mē	mape <sub>i</sub>	207
208	'royal servant'	—bē	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	be <sub>i</sub>	208
209	'evening'	jubē	—	jubī	jubē	jubī	jubē	jubē	*jubē	jupube <sub>i</sub>	209
210	'female'	—	mī—	mī—	mī—	mī—	mī—	mī—	*mē	me <sub>i</sub>	210
211	'seeing, governing	mifor(e)	mifor(i—)	mifor(i)	mifor(e)	mifor(i)	mifor(e)	mifor(e)	*mifō	me,si	211
212	'suppress— sion'	ujē	usa(jun)	osai	usa(jun)	osai	usa(jun)	osai	*—s—	osape <sub>2</sub>	212
213	'generally'	uhu—	—	—	—	—	—	—	INV	opo kata	213

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No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yo <sub>a</sub>	San	PA	OJ	No.
214	'parent'	uja	uja	uja~ oja	uja	oja	uja	uja	*uja	oja	214
215	'crying out'	urab(jur)	urab(jun)	—	urabi	—	—	—	*urab_	orabi <sub>i</sub>	215
216	'outside'	huka	huka—	—	huka	—	huka	puha	*puka	poka	216
217	'temporary, grave'	mooja	mooja	—	mooja—	—	—	—	*m_ja	moja	217
218	'governing'	—	—	—	usame	osame(ru) <L> —	wusa(un)	INV	wosame <sub>z</sub>	218	
219	'end'	uwari	oar	owari <L?>	owari <L>	uwa(tan)	owari <L?>	INV	wo <sub>2</sub> pari	219	
220	'falling from heaven'	amore <L>	amore <L?>	amuro	amoro	amore—	amore	—	*amor_	amori	220
221	'blue, green'	oo—	oo—	oo—	oo—	—	ao	oo—	*oo	awo	221
222	'face'	kau~ kao <L>	—	kao	kao	—	kao	kao <L?>	*kao	kapo	222
223	'admiration'	kam	—kam	kamo	—	—	—	—	*kam_	kamo	223
224	'boat pole'	soo	soo	so~ soo	so	so	sso	sso	*so	sawo	224
225	'ten days'	tuuka	tuuka	tuuka	tuuka	tuuka	tuuka	*tuuka	to <sub>2</sub> woka	225	
226	'defense'	mabur	mabur~ nabur	maburi	maburi	maburi	maburi(jus)	*maburi	mamori	226	
227	'growing older'	—	—	—	u(utan)	—	—	u(tejaa)	INV	oi	227
228	'old man'	utt̪ju	utt̪ju	utt̪ju	utt̪ju	utt̪ju	utt̪ju(kwa)	utt̪ju~ utt̪juu	*utt̪ju	oipi,to <sub>z</sub>	228
229	'fish hook'	—	—	uzi	uzi	—	—	—	INV	opodi	229
230	'mother'	amma	amma~ ammaa	amma	amma	amma	amma	amma	*amma	omo	230
231	'sail'	hu	Fu	huu	hu	hu	hu	hu	*pu	po	231
232	'star'	huʃ	Fuʃi	hʃi	hʃi	hʃi	hʃi	hʃi	*polʃ	posi	232
233	'bone'	huni	Funi	himī	himī	humi	husī	pusī	*panī	pone	233
234	'duckweed'	mU	mu	mu	mu	mo	mo	mo	*m_	mo	234
235	'rice cake'	mutʃii	mutʃi	mutʃi	mutʃi	mutʃi	mutʃi	mutʃi	*mutʃi	moti	235
236	'unhulled rice'	mum	mumi	mumi	mumi	mumi	mumi	mUm	*mumi	momi <sub>i</sub>	236

No.	Gloss	Sib	Sho	Ong	Nas	Yen	Yoa	San	PA	OJ	No.
237	'wood'	mur	—	muri	muri	—	—	muri <L?>	*muri	mori	237
238	'spider'	kubu	k'umo	kubu	kubu	kubu—	kubu	kubu	*k'ubo	kumo	238
239	'tail'	wu—	wu—	wu	wu—	wu—	—	—	*wu	wo	239
240	'male'	wuu	—	wu	wuu	wu	—	wu	*wu	wo	240
241	'axe'	wun	wun	wun	wun	wun	wun—	wun	*wun	wono <sub>2</sub>	241
242	'to exist'	—	wum	wuri	wun <sup>~</sup>	wuri	wun	wun	*wn_(_)	wori	242
243	'fish'	—	j'uu	j'u	j'u	j'u	ju	j'u	*j'u	uwo	243
244	'ten'	—	—	—	tu	tu	tuu	tu	*tu	to <sub>2</sub> wo	244
245	'here'	usak	usak	usagi <sup>~</sup> osagi <sup>~</sup>	usagi	usagi	usagi	usagi	*usagi	usagi <sub>1</sub>	245
246	'singing'	uta	uta	ota	uta	uta	uta	*uta	*uta	utapi <sub>i</sub>	246
247	'inside mind'	ura	ura	ura	ura	ura	ura	ura	*ura	ura	247
248	'eating'	—	kuree	kura(te)	kura—	kurai	kura(u)	kurau	*kur—	kurapi <sub>i</sub>	248
249	'grass'	kusa	kusa	kusa	kisa	kusa	kisa	kisa	*k sa	kusa	249
250	'dark'	kura—	kura—	kura—	kura—	kura—	kura—	—	*kura	kura	250
251	'rice bran'	nuka	nuka	noka	nuka	nuka	nuka	nuka	*nuka	nuka	251
252	'ancient times'	mukaf	mokaf	mokaf	mukaf	mukaf	mukaf	mukaf	*mukaf	mukasi	252
253	'village'	mura <L?>	mura <L?>	mora	mura	mura	mura	mura <L>	INV	mura	253
254	'floor'	juka	—	—	juka	juka	—	juka <L?>	*juka	juka	254
255	'pillow'	mak'ira	mahirā	makura	makura	—	makura	makura	*mak?_ra	mukura	255
256	'spring'	haruu <L?>	—	—	haru <L?>	haru <L?>	haru <L>	haru	INV	paru	256
257	'measure'	—	—	—	—	masi	—	masi <L?>	INV	masu	257
258	'sweat'	asiII	asi	asa~aje	asi	asi	asi	asi	*asi	asi	258
259	'wind'	kade	kaze	kaze	kazi	kazi	hazi	*kaz_	kaze	259	
260	'temple'	tera	teraa	—	tera	—	tera	teraa	INV	tera	260
261	'wing'	hani	hani	—han—	hane	hane	pane	*pan_	pane	pane	261