On the Phylogenetic Position of the Kikaijima Dialects

General Study for Research and Conservation of Endangered Dialects in Japan
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August 15, 2011, National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

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Wayne P. Lawrence

1   Introduction

Nakasone (1961: 20-1) and Hokama (1977: 295; 2000: 325) classify the dialects of the Amami islands as in the following diagram.
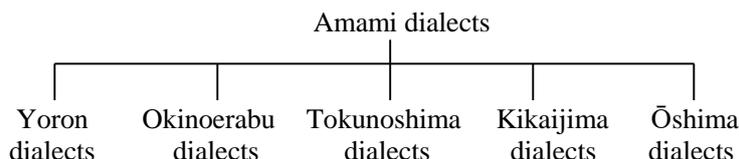
If this classification is correct, it would mean that the five sub-groups would have all formed from the Proto Amami language within the space of a relatively short time (a few generations). In contrast, Nakamoto (1981b: 26) claims that the Amami dialect group split firstly into a Northern Amami dialect and a Southern Amami dialect, and these later split up into a number of sub-groups. He claims that a number of the modern Kikaijima dialects belong to the Northern Amami dialect group, and that the remainder belong to the Southern Amami dialect group.
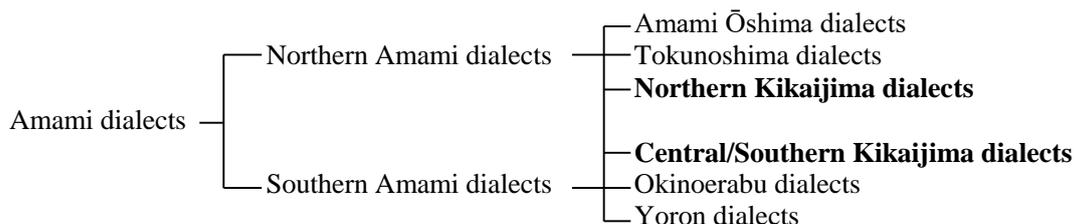
According to this classification, the relationship between the Northern Kikaijima dialects and the Tokunoshima dialects is closer than that between the Northern Kikaijima dialects and the Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects. Also, a form attested in both Northern and Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects, if not a loan, will reconstruct back to Proto Amami. In other words, the most recent common ancestral language linking the Northern Kikaijima dialects and the Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects is Proto Amami. This classification has recently been adopted by Kibe (2004: 9,10) and Kagoshima-chi'iki-bunka-sōzō-jigyō Amami-chiku Jikkō-i'inkai (2010: 7, 8).

Karimata (1999: 40, 45) adds the Northern Okinawan dialects to Nakamoto's (1981b: 26) Southern Amami dialect group to create a dialect group he calls the "Okinoerabu-Yoron-Northern Okinawan dialects", and he adds that "the dialects of the three communities of Onotsu, Shitooke and Sadeku should probably also be included with the other Kikaijima dialects in this sub-group" (p.45). These three dialects are the Northern Kikaijima dialects.

In this paper I argue against Nakamoto's (1981b: 26) classification, and demonstrate that the Northern Kikaijima dialects and the Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects form one dialect group.

2   Innovations in the Kikaijima dialects[1]

Lawrence (2006) writes:

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[1]   This paper uses a simplified phonetic transcription with the following correspondences: tu = [tu], ti = [ti], si = [ɕi], sj = [ɕ], ca = [tsa], cja = [tɕa], aa = [aː].

"Whether or not what are known as the Amami dialects in the traditional classification form one dialect group is beyond the scope of this paper, but the form of the word for 'jaw' is suggestive. The Okinawan forms reflect the pronunciation *kakuzu. The Yaeyama dialects appear to be cognate with this same form (Ishigaki *kakuzï*, Hateruma *hakocï*, Yonaguni *kagudi*) so if these are not loans from Okinawan, the Proto Ryukyuan form can be reconstructed as *kakuzu. However the forms attested in the dialects of Amami Ōshima, Tokunoshima, Okinoerabu and Yoron all appear to require the reconstruction of *kakazu (Naze *kaazï*, Ichi in Sumiyō-son *kahazï*, Katoku in Setouchi-chō *kʰahat*, Kametsu on Tokunoshima *kaazï*, Wadomari on Okinoerabu *kaazi*, Yoron *kaazi*). This can be taken as evidence that the dialects of the Amami region form one phylogenetic unit." (p.115 fn.4)

The Kikaijima dialects do not use forms cognate with *kakazu in the meaning of 'jaw', but the following cognate forms can be found.

Onotsu	kʰaazu	'mouth' (pejorative)
Shitooke	kʰaazu	'mouth' (pejorative)
Shiomichi	kʰaaduccju	'talkative person'
Sakamine	kʰaazu	'saying too much'
Aden	kʰaadu	'mouth' (pejorative) (Iwakura 1977[1941]: 67)
Gusuku	kʰaazuu	'over-talkative person'
Wan	kʰaadu	'over-talkative' (pejorative)
Nakasato	kʰaazuu	'speaking badly of someone'
Kamikatetsu	kʰaadu	'talkative'

Not only do all of the Kikaijima dialects use a word of different provenance with the meaning of 'jaw', all of the localities surveyed on this occasion have words derived from *kakazu which have undergone a semantic change and acquired a derogatory nuance. It can be inferred that either the encroachment of another form into the semantic field of 'jaw' has caused this semantic shift, or that *kakazu underwent a semantic shift and in order to fill the hole left by this shift a different word came to refer to 'jaw'. However, the fact that this semantic shift towards a derogatory meaning has taken place right across Kikaijima suggests that this change took place once only, and that the proto language split up after the semantic shift had started.

From the following forms, it can be seen that the Proto Amami form for 'mandarin orange' may be reconstructed as *kunebo — Sani in Kasari-chō *k'unugu* (Ryūkyū-hōgen-kenkyū-kurabu 2003: 233; Karimata 2003: 43), Naze central city *k'unigu ~ k'unibu* (Terashi 1958: 11), Yamatohama *k'unïbu* (Osada & Suyama 1977: 808), Shodon in Setouchi-chō *kuniibu* (Serafim 1984: 100), Asama on Tokunoshima *k'unïɴ* (Okamura et al. 2006: 27), Serikaku in China-chō, Okinoerabu *kurubu* (NHK 1972: 163), Minagawa in Wadomari-chō, Okinoerabu *kuribu* (Uwano 2005b: 174), Mugiya-higashi on Yoron *kunibu* (Kiku & Takahashi 2005: 189). In contrast, the Kikaijima dialect forms all end in -*aa*.

Onotsu	k'uniΦaa
Shitooke	k'unïΦaa
Shiomichi	k'unipʰaa
Sakamine	k'unipʰaa
Aden	k'uriΦaa (Iwakura 1977[1941]: 89)
Gusuku	k'urihaa
Akaren	k'uriΦaa
Wan	k'urihaa
Nakasato	k'unibaa
Araki	k'uribaa
Kamikatetsu	k'unihaa

Of all the Ryukyuan dialects, it appears that it is only the Kikaijima dialects where the form for 'mandarin orange' ends in the vowel *a(a)*. And from the fact that the form in ALL Kikaijima dialects ends in -*aa*, the form *kunïpaa can be reconstructed as the Proto Kikaijima form. According to

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Nakamoto's (1981b) dialect classification, *kunepaa would be reconstructed alongside *kunebo in Proto Amami, and why the *aa*-ending form remains only in the Kikaijima dialects would remain a mystery.

In some Amami dialects, a form cognate with Standard Japanese *kai* is used for 'shell(fish)' — Kametsu on Tokunoshima *kaɪ* (Hirayama 1986: 160), China-chō on Okinoerabu *kai* 'bivalves (generic term)' (Hirayama 1986: 159), Wadomari in Wadomari-chō, Okinoerabu *hai* 'great green turbin shell' (Kinoe 1987: 154), Mugiya-higashi on Yoron *hai* 'type of giant clam' (Kiku & Takahashi 2005: 412).[2] On Kikaijima the form *kai* is not used, but the *a(a)*-suffixed form *kʰajaa* is reported from Onotsu, Shitooke, Isaneku, Sakamine, Aden, Gusuku, Kawamine, Kamikatetsu and other dialects (Uwano 1992: 81). This form is not reported for all dialects, but from the fact that it is reported from both Northern Kikaijima dialects and Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects we can conclude that *kʰajaa* probably reconstructs back to Proto Kikaijima. In the Aden dialect there is the word *kʰeejusi* 'rough seas around the third month of the lunar calendar (< shell-moving (wind))' (Iwakura 1977[1941]: 77), so we can see here that *kai has been fossilised inside a compound noun before the suffixation of *-aa*.

In various locations throughout the Amami region a form which can be reconstructed as *cuburu is used to mean 'head' — En in Tatsugō-chō *c'ïburu* (Ryūdai-hōgen-kenkyū-kurabu 1977: 40), Sedome in Tatsugō-chō *cïburu* (Karimata & Uemura 2003: 13), Naze central city *cïburu* (Terashi 1958: 19), Yuwan in Uken-son *cïburu* (Nakamoto 1976: 11), Yadon in Uken-son *t'ïbur* (Sakimura 2006: 130), Omo on Tokunoshima *ciburu* 'pumpkin; calabash; head' (Tokutomi 1975: 80), Minagawa in Wadomari-chō, Okinoerabu *ciburu* '(human) head' (Uwano 2006: 12), Mugiya-higashi on Yoron *ciburu* 'head, intelligence' (Kiku & Takahashi 2005: 316). In the Kikaijima dialects, 'head' is *hamaci*, but the Onotsu *t'uburu* 'head' (Sakimura 2006: 121), Shiomichi *cjuburu* 'head (archaic)' and Aden *t'uburu* 'head (derogatory)' (Hattori 1959[1932]: 330) forms can be viewed as remnants of an older word.[3]

In several Amami dialects, in order to avoid a semantic clash with another form meaning 'head', *cuburu has undergone a semantic shift in several locations to take on the meaning of 'skull' — Yamatohama *cïburu* 'skull' (Osada & Suyama 1977: 125), Asama on Tokunoshima *cïbuuru* 'pumpkin; skull' (Uwano 1977: 14). On Kikaijima the words indicating 'skull' are cognate with *cuburu, but they are characteristically marked with a word-final *-aa* not seen in this word in other dialects.

Shitooke	cuburaa	'skull'
Sakamine	cuburaa	'skull'
Aden	t'uburaa	'skull'
Wan	t'uburaa	'skull'
Nakasato	t'uburaa	'skull'

The suffixation of *-aa* involved in the change *cuburu > cuburaa* and the semantic change of 'head' > 'skull' probably occurred at the same time. The fact that there is no intrinsic necessity for these two changes to occur together (-*aa* does not have the meaning of 'bone', and in dialects such as the Yamatohama dialect the form *cïburu* has come to mean 'skull' without the suffix *-aa*), and the fact that these two changes have taken place in both the northern and the central/southern dialects of Kikaijima, point to the two changes having taken place at the stage of the Proto Kikaijima language.

The verb 'fold up' in most locations in the Amami region takes the form *takub-* — Sani in Kasari-chō *takubjuɴ*, Naze central city *takumjuɴ ~ takubjuɴ* (Terashi 1958: 41), Yamatohama *tʰakuburi* (Osada & Suyama 1977: 259), Yuwan in Uken-son *takubjui* (Nakamoto 1976: 59), Minagawa in Wadomari-chō, Okinoerabu *takubiɴ* (Uwano 2006: 4), Mugiya-higashi on Yoron *takubjuɴ* (Kiku &

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[2]   Sibata (1984: 178-9) contends that Yamatohama dialect -*go* is also cognate with this *kai*. One possibility is that it is from *kawi with loss of the final vowel.

[3]   Nakamoto's (1981b: 42) view is that at the period when the word for 'head' in the Amami Ōshima and Kikaijima dialects was *kamaci*, the *cuburu form was starting to spread out from Okinawa island. However, it appears that *cuburu is the old form for 'head' in Kikaijima.

Takahashi 2005: 283).[4] This *takub-* form also exists on Kikaijima, but in several Kikaijima dialects -*kub-* has changed to -*bb-* or -*ɴb-*.[5]

Onotsu	tabbi	
Shitooke	tabbjuɴ	(Nakamoto 1978: 53)
Aden	taccjui	(Iwakura 1977[1941]: 142)
Gusuku	taɴbiɴ	
Nakasato	takubi	
Kamikatetsu	taɴbjui	(Iwakura 1977[1941]: 142)

The Kikaijima forms *tabb-* and *taɴb-* can both be considered to reconstruct back to *tabb-, and from the fact that these forms are found in the northernmost community of Onotsu, the southernmost community of Kamikatetsu, and also the community of Gusuku in the central inland area of the island, we can surmise that this was the Proto Kikaijima form.[6]

The above lexical items are all innovations which are found only on Kikaijima. The following example is also an innovation, but it is also attested outside of Kikaijima.

The word for 'clogs' takes the following forms in the Amami dialects — Ashikebu in Naze city *ʔasizja* (Uwano 1996b: 58), Yamatohama *ʔasizja* (Osada & Suyama 1977: 250), Yuwan in Uken-son *ʔasigja* (Nakamoto 1976: 32), Shodon in Setouchi-cho *ʔasjzjaha* (Karimata 1996: 37), Asama on Tokunoshima *ʔaɴzja* (Hirayama 1986: 269), Minagawa in Wadomari-chō, Okinoerabu *ʔasizja(a)* (Uwano 2005a: 11), Mugiya-higashi on Yoron *asizja* (Kiku & Takahashi 2005: 24). These forms all trace back to *asizja (< *asidja < *asida 'clogs'). In contrast, the Kikaijima forms exhibit no trace of -*zj-*.

Onotsu	ʔassaa
Shitooke	ʔassaa
Shiomichi	ʔassjaa
Sakamine	ʔassaa
Aden	ʔassaa
Akaren	ʔassa(a)
Wan	ʔassa
Nakasato	ʔassa
Araki	ʔassa
Kamikatetsu	ʔassa

The form *ʔass(j)a(a)* found in the Kikaijima dialects can be considered to derive from *asira. This *asira probably derives not from *asizja, but instead from the older form *asida via the sound change *d > r*.

The form *ʔassja* is also attested in the Taira dialect spoken in the eastern part of Kasari-chō, and in the north of the same Kasari-chō (Sani and Kasari communities) the form *ʔasira* is reported (Uwano 1996a: 249). If the Kikaijima form *ʔass(j)a(a)* is related to the *ʔasira* / *ʔassja* of Kasari-chō, it is possible that the form has its roots in eastern Kasari-chō (the coast facing Kikaijima) and that Proto

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[4]   'Fold up' in Tokunoshima is unrelated *tagur-* — Kametsu *taguruɪ* (Hirayama 1986: 436), Asama *tagujuɴ* (Uwano 1977: 22), Inokawa *taguri* (Nakamoto 1979: 62). Torishima dialect's *takuri* (Nakamoto 1981a: 47) is probably related.

[5]   A similar distribution of -*bb-* / -*ɴb-* is observed in the case of *ʔabba* / *ʔaɴba* 'oil' (see Uwano 1992: 137).

[6]   The Nakasato and Aden dialect forms remain problematic. The Aden form *taccjui* probably derives from *takk- < *takub-. Perhaps both *takub- and *tabb- co-existed in the Proto Kikaijima language.

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Kikaijima and Proto Kasari were sister dialects.[7] However, because clogs are a cultural artefact, the possibility that the form ʔassja or ʔasira entered the island together with the object cannot be excluded.

3 Conclusion

When working out a cladistics classification of languages/dialects, the only tool at our disposal is exclusive shared innovations. For this reason, if an innovation is so common as to be attested in languages or dialects which are not directly related, that innovation loses its value as a determinant of classification. Thus, sound changes such as p > Φ > h, k > h, and the merger of the B and C tonal classes, which are found in different sub-groups of the Ryukyuan dialects, cannot contribute to answering the question of whether the Kikaijima dialects constitute a single dialect group or not.

On the other hand, the innovations shared by the Northern and Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects discussed in this paper are highly likely to have occurred only once. In other Ryukyuan dialects -aa does not suffix onto forms meaning 'mandarin orange', 'shell', or 'head', and takub- does not appear to become tabb- / taɴb-. Given this, it would be too much of a coincidence to believe that these changes occurred independently in both the Northern and the Central/Southern Kikaijima dialects. So if Nakamoto's (1981b) classification is correct, it would mean that these changes occurred in one or other of the dialect groups and then spread to cover the whole island. However, there are thirty communities and thirty dialects on Kikaijima, so it could be expected that a pre-change form would be attested somewhere on the island. As far as I have been able to ascertain, however, examples of *kaazu 'jaw', *kunibu 'mandarin orange', *asira 'clogs' and *cuburu 'skull' which have not undergone the innovations reported in this paper have not been reported from any locality on the island. If these changes happened at the stage of the Proto Kikaijima language, the lack of the pre-change forms on the island would be explained.

In this paper I have argued that the Kikaijima dialects all form one dialect group, but I have not been able to pinpoint a relationship between this dialect group and any other Amami dialect. If clogs were not a cultural loan, it would be possible to claim that Proto Kikaijima may be a sister language to Proto Kasari, but more detailed investigation is called for. To this end, the compilation of more complete lexical and grammatical materials of the Kikaijima dialects, Kasari-chō dialects, and other dialects of the Amami region are required.

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[7] In Proto Kasari, 'sun' is *tïdaɴ, ending in an innovative -ɴ (see Uwano 1996a: 158). As the Proto Kikaijima form for 'sun' is *tida, it can be said that the Kikaijima dialects are not a sub-grouping of the Kasari dialect group.

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