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Research Report on Miyako Ryukyuan : General Study for Research and Conservation of Endangered Dialects in Japan

General Study for Research and Conservation of Endangered Dialects in Japan

Research Report on Miyako Ryukyuan

Edited by

KIBE Nobuko

August 2012

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR JAPANESE LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Preface

The 'General Research for the Study and Conservation of Endangered Dialects in Japan' project was started in October 2009 as a core collaborative research project of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. Since 2010, we have been conducting yearly joint surveys, in which collaborating researchers and young researchers gather in one location to carry out a survey together. We have conducted the following two such surveys thus far.

First joint survey: survey on the Kikaijima dialects
(Kagoshima Prefecture, September 2010)

Second joint survey: survey on the Miyako dialects (Okinawa Prefecture, September 2011)

The present volume constitutes the research report resulting from the second joint survey, the survey on the Miyako dialects.

We had the help of many people in conducting this survey. Firstly, we are very grateful to our informants, who were willing to make time and defy the heat to come to the community center to kindly share the language of Miyako with us. It is thanks to them that we have been able to produce this report. From the preparation and execution of the survey to the cultural symposium, we also received much help from the people of the Lifelong Learning Advancement Division of the Lifelong Leaning Department of the Miyako City Board of Education, including the director of the Board, Mr. Tetsuya Kawakami. We are particularly indebted to the head of the Cultural Property Section of the Lifelong Learning Advancement Division, Mr. Munefumi Shinjo, who introduced us to participants and helped us with scheduling. I would like to take this opportunity to express our deep gratitude.

When considering the entirety of the language of Miyako, it is clear that the contents of this report represent but a small fragment of it, but we would be delighted if it were found to be a useful resource for the study, documentation, and conservation of this language. The reader is invited to also have a look at the PDF version of this volume, which has been made available on the 'General Research for the Study and Conservation of Endangered Dialects in Japan' page of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics website.

August 1, 2012

Nobuko KIBE
National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

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1 Project Overview

Nobuko KIBE (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics)

1 Purposes of the project

The 'General Research for the Study and Conservation of Endangered Dialects in Japan' project was started in 2009 as a core collaborative research project of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. The purposes of the project are as follows.

As globalization proceeds, minority languages around the world have become endangered. Among Japanese dialects, almost all of the dialects of Okinawa Prefecture, the Amami dialects of Kagoshima Prefecture, and the dialect of the island of Hachijōjima, part of Tokyo Metropolis, are classified as 'endangered' in a UNESCO report published in February 2009. Many of these endangered dialects retain features from Old Japanese that have already been lost in other dialects and have linguistic systems different from theirs. These dialects are therefore not only valuable for the dialectology of a particular area, but also for historical and general linguistics. Moreover, these dialects often differ from village to village, so the question of how this variation arose is also of interest.

In this project, a group of researchers from throughout Japan with a track record in fieldwork was brought together to study these endangered dialects and elucidate their characteristics, as well as to shed light on linguistic diversification processes and general properties of language. In addition, the endangered dialects are recorded, preserved, and promoted by recording and preserving video and audio data of them and making these available to the general public.

(from the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics website)

2 Research methods

Endangered dialect research is an urgent matter. It is therefore necessary to organize researchers from both inside and outside Japan with a track record in field research, in order to move their research forward efficiently. Additionally, in order to obtain high-quality data, dialect (or language) survey and description methodologies need to be made consistent, which they have not always been. Furthermore, it is necessary to train young researchers to be able to undertake future dialect (or language) research. In light of the above, this project is being carried out based on the following two kinds of research:

(1) field research conducted by each of the collaborating researchers at their respective research sites, and

(2) joint research conducted by the collaborating researchers in concert.

In the case of the former, each of the collaborating researchers conducts field research at their respective research sites and presents the results of this research at the project's collaborative research workshops, which provides them with an opportunity to develop their research further. Additionally, young researchers who are not part of the group of collaborating researchers are sometimes invited to give presentations, in order to support their research.

In the case of the latter, a survey site is decided upon and its dialects described comprehensively in terms of, among other things, their phonetics, accent, grammar, and basic vocabulary, as well as discourse. Not only the group of collaborating researchers, but also young researchers such as postdoctoral fellows, research fellows of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and graduate students participate in this research; the participants carry out the survey, organize the data, and produce a report collaboratively. Two surveys, on the Kikaijima dialects of Kagoshima Prefecture (September 2010) and on the Miyako dialects of Okinawa Prefecture (September 2011), have been conducted thus far.

3   Collaborative research workshops

In addition to field research, collaborative research workshops open to the public are held two or three times per year, at which researchers can exchange views. The following workshops were held in the academic year 2011–2012:

- First session, jointly with the 'Phonological Characteristics of the Japanese Lexicon' project
    Date and time: Saturday, May 21 and Sunday, May 22, 2011
    Location: Kobe University
  Saturday, May 21: public symposium
  'Principles and Emergence of N-Pattern Accent Systems'
    1. Zendo UWANO
    (professor emeritus at the University of Tokyo; invited professor at NINJAL)
    'What are N-Pattern Accent Systems?'
    2. Nobuko KIBE
    (professor at the Department of Language Change and Variation at NINJAL)
    'The Character of Kyushu Two-Pattern Accent Systems'

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3. Haruo KUBOZONO

(professor at the Department of Linguistic Theory and Structure at NINJAL)

'Accent Rules of the Koshikijima Dialect of Kagoshima Prefecture'

4. Akiko MATSUMORI

(professor at Japan Women's University; invited professor at NINJAL)

'Reinterpretation of the Three-Pattern Accent System of Okinoshima'

5. Tetsuo NITTA (professor at Kanazawa University; collaborating researcher at NINJAL)

'The N-Pattern Accent System of the Fukui City Area'

Discussion

Chair: Wayne LAWRENCE

(University of Auckland, New Zealand; collaborating researcher at NINJAL)

Sunday, May 22: collaborative research workshop

1. Hirotake MATSUMOTO ('Endangered Languages' project collaborating researcher)

'Outline of the *-Ari*/*-Ri*-System of the Kikaijima Dialects of Amami'

2. Yasunori TAKAHASHI (research fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

'The Pitch Drop Phenomenon in Shanghainese Tone Sandhi'

- Second session, jointly with the 'Phonological Characteristics of the Japanese Lexicon' project

  Date and time: Saturday, July 16 and Sunday, July 17, 2011

  Location: National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

Saturday, July 16

1. Hayato AOI (research fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

'Phonetic Description of Vowels with Tongue Blade Stricture: A Case Study of the Tarama Dialect of Miyako'

2. Satomi MATAYOSHI (Shigakukan University)

'Sentence-Final Particles in the Tsukenjima Dialect of Okinawa'

Sunday, July 17

3. Yuto NIINAGA (research fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science at the University of Tokyo), Shinji OGAWA (NINJAL)

'The Accent System of the Northern Ryukyuan Yuwan Dialect of Amami'

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4. Yosuke IGARASHI (Hiroshima University), Yukinori TAKUBO (Kyoto University; invited professor at NINJAL), Yuka HAYASHI (part-time lecturer at Kyoto University), Tomoyuki KUBO (Kyushu University)

'The Three-Pattern Accent System of the Ikema Dialect of the Ryukyuan Language of Miyako'

- Third session, titled 'Dialectology and Text—Present and Future'

    Date and time: Saturday, February 18 and Sunday, February 19, 2012

    Location: National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics

Saturday, February 18

1. Mizuho HIDAKA (Kansai University)

    '"Narration Patterns" in Fairy Tales and Their Regional Differences'

2. Tetsuo NITTA (Kanazawa University)

    'Dialect Texts as Historical Language Materials of Japanese'

3. Chie TAKAGI (Osaka University)

    'Decline and Retention of -*U*-Conjugation Forms of -*W*-Stem Quintigrade Verbs in Kansai Dialect Natural Discourse'

Sunday, February 19

Panel discussion

1. Tomoyo OTSUKI (senior undergraduate student at the University of Tokyo)

    'Usage of the Inferential Form *Byon* in the Tsugaru Dialect'

2. Reiko ASO (research fellow of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

    'Analyzing Verb Inflection and Derivation in the Hateruma Dialect of Yaeyama through Texts'

3. Rihito SHIRATA (graduate student at Kyoto University)

    'The Dialects of Kikaijima—Problems of Verb Morphology as Seen through Texts'

Plenary discussion

Commentators: Toshihide NAKAYAMA (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Shinjiro KAZAMA (Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Nobuko KIBE (NINJAL)

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4   Collaborating researchers

As of April 1, 2012, this project is being carried out by the following collaborating researchers (in alphabetical order):

Chris DAVIS (University of the Ryukyus), Akihiro KANEDA (Chiba University), Shigehisa KARIMATA (University of the Ryukyus; invited professor at NINJAL), Tomoyuki KUBO (Kyushu University), Haruo KUBOZONO (NINJAL), Wayne LAWRENCE (University of Auckland), Daniel LONG (Tokyo Metropolitan University), Hiromitsu MACHI (Hiroshima University), Satomi MATAYOSHI (Okayama University), Akiko MATSUMORI (Japan Women's University; invited professor at NINJAL), Hirotake MATSUMOTO (Beppu University), Harumi MITSUI (NINJAL), Jo NAKAHARA (University of the Ryukyus), Yumi NAKAJIMA (Hitotsubashi University), Satoshi NISHIOKA (Okinawa International University), Tetsuo NITTA (Kanazawa University), Takuichiro ONISHI (NINJAL), Thomas PELLARD (French National Center for Scientific Research), Kayoko SHIMOJI (Okinawa International University), Michinori SHIMOJI (Kyushu University; invited associate professor at NINJAL), Koko TAKEDA (part-time project research fellow at NINJAL), Yukinori TAKUBO (Kyoto University; invited professor at NINJAL), Zendo UWANO (invited professor at NINJAL).

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2   Survey Overview

Nobuko KIBE (National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics)

1   Overview of the Miyako Islands

Located 300 km to the south of Okinawa Island, the Miyako Islands consist of the islands of Miyakojima, Ikemajima, Ōgamijima, Irabujima, Shimojijima, Kurimajima, Taramajima, and Minnajima (see Maps 1 and 2). As of October 1, 2005, the five former municipalities of Hirara City, Irabu Town, Ueno Village, Gusukube Town, and Shimoji Town (the latter four formerly constituting Miyako District) have merged, forming Miyakojima City; Miyakojima, Ikemajima, Ōgamijima, Irabujima, Shimojijima, and Kurimajima therefore presently constitute Miyakojima City, while Taramajima and Minnajima together constitute Tarama Village, Miyako District.

Miyakojima City has a surface area of 204.59 km^2 (Miyakojima: 159.26 km^2; Ikemajima: 2.83 km^2; Ōgamijima 0.24 km^2; Irabujima: 29.08 km^2; Kurimajima: 2.84 km^2) and a population of 55,036 (as of December 2010—Hirara area: 36,138; Gusukube area: 6,780; Shimoji area: 3,065; Ueno area: 3,128; Irabu area: 5,925), and among its main industries are the cultivation of sugar cane, mango, and the like, tourism, and distilling (figures according to *23-Nendoban Tōkei Miyakojima* [*2011 Statistics on Miyakojima*] on the Miyakojima City website).

Tarama Village comprises Taramajima, with a surface area 19.75 km^2 and a population of 1,273, and Minnajima, with a surface area of 2.153 km^2 and a population of 6 (as of June 2012, according to the Tarama Village website).

Map 1. Location of the Miyako Islands.
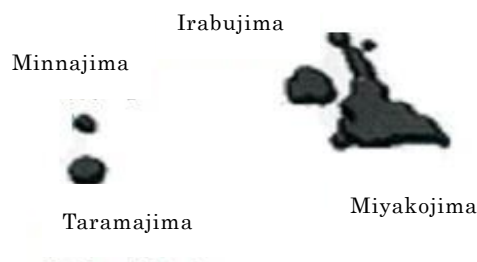
Map 2. The Miyako Islands.

2   Survey overview

The September 2011 dialect survey was conducted on Miyakojima, Ikemajima, Irabujima, Shimojijima, and Kurimajima, all part of Miyako City. The following is an overview of the survey.

2.1   Survey sites

The fifteen survey sites were Ikema, Karimata, Simajiri, Ōura, Nishihara, Kugai (Hirara area), Yonaha, Uechi, Kurima (Shimoji area), Nobaru, Miyaguni (Ueno area), Uruka, Bora (Gusukube area), Irabu, and Kuninaka (Irabu area) (see Map 3).
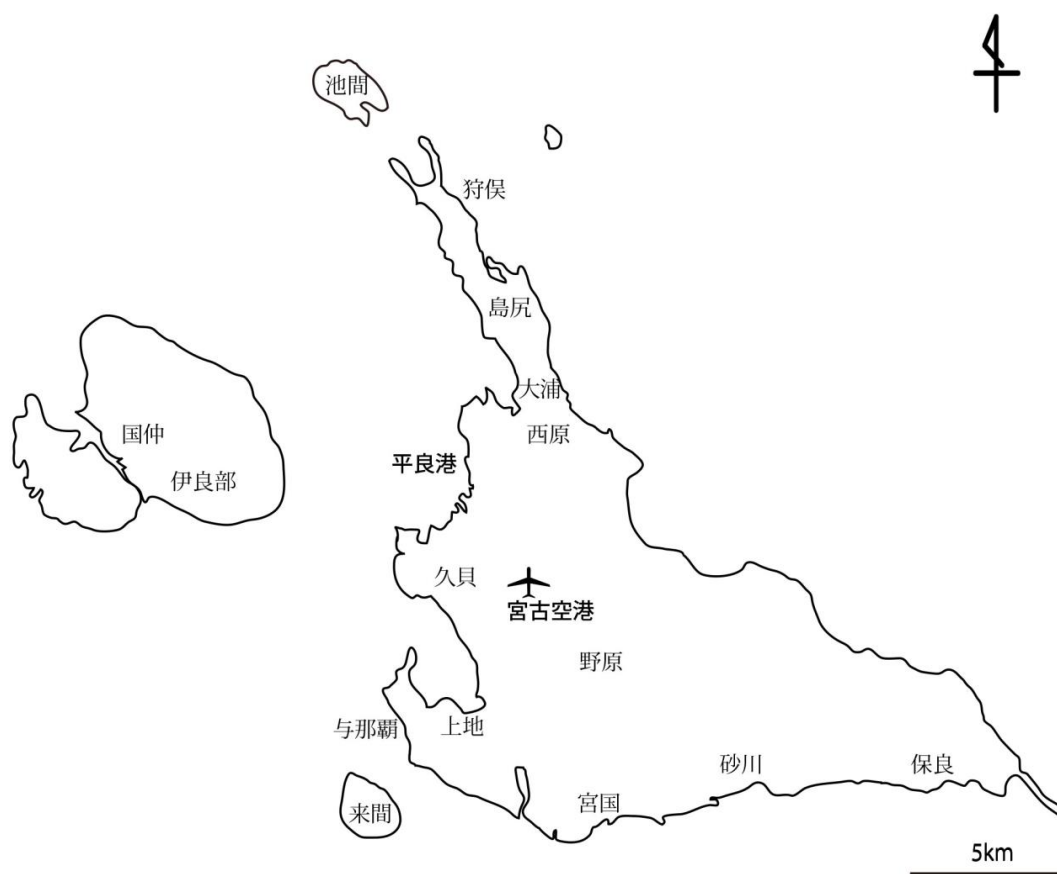
Map 3. Miyako dialect survey sites.

2.2   Schedule, modules, and researchers

The survey was conducted between September 4 and September 7, 2011. Survey sites, modules, and researchers were as follows.

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Miyako dialect survey sites, modules, and researchers

Date/time	Site	Module	Researchers	Speakers
September 4 13:00–	Ikema	Basic vocabulary *a*	Lawrence, Ogino, Hirako, Aoi	Akiko Katsuren
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Nitta, Hirayama, Matsuura, Kawase	Yoshiko Nakahara
		Grammar (first)	Nohara, Nakahara, Davis, Utsumi	Masako Hamakawa
		Grammar (last)	Matayoshi, Yamada, Shirata, Toyama	Teruko Hamamoto
September 5 14:00–	Karimata	Basic vocabulary *a*	Lawrence, Nakazawa	Masaaki Nema
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Nakajima, Takeda	Hide Hanashiro
		Grammar (first)	Nakahara, Matsumoto	Masayuki Uehara
		Grammar (middle)	K. Nakama, Davis, Utsumi	Masaki Karimata
	Ōura	Basic vocabulary *a*	Hayashi, Takemura	Hatsuko Shimoji
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Hirako, Kubozono	Masayuki Ozato
	Uechi	Basic vocabulary *a*	Nitta, Inoue, Kawase	Kiyokatsu Uechi
		Accent	Uwano, Matsuura, Aoi	Shigeo Uechi
		Discourse	Takubo, Ogino, Yamada, Shirata	Tomi Nakahara, Fumi Shimoji
	Nobaru	Basic vocabulary *b*	Nohara, Tokunaga, Matayoshi, Hirayama	Shige Kugai
	Bora	Grammar (last)	Karimata, Kaneda, Yamada, Morooka	Yoshiko Shimoji
	Nishihara	Accent	Igarashi, H. Nakama, Takubo	Kimie Nakahara
September 6 14:00–	Uruka	Basic vocabulary *a*	Karimata, Kibe, Hirayama, Takemura	Toshio Sunagawa
		Grammar (first)	K. Nakama, Inoue, Ogino	Hisao Miyazato
		Grammar (middle)	Nishioka, Utsumi, Davis	Wataru Sunagawa
	Kugai	Basic vocabulary *a*	Lawrence, Nakahara, Kawase, Kubozono	Kinkichi Yonaha
		Grammar (first)	Nohara, Hayashi, H. Nakama, Matsumoto	Yoshihiko Yonaha
	Miyaguni	Grammar (first)	Kaneda, Takeda	Kiku Miyaguni
		Grammar (middle)	Takubo, Nakajima	Hideko Matsuoka
19:30–	Bora	Basic vocabulary *a*	Shirata, Tokunaga, Pellard	Harumi Sunagawa
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Nitta, Hirako, Nakazawa	Meiko Hirara
		Accent	Igarashi, Uwano, Matsuura, Aoi	Hiromori Shimoji
		Grammar (first)	Karimata, Toyama	Tatsuo Sunagawa
		Grammar (middle)	Shimoji, Morooka	Yoshio Hirara

September 7 14:00–	Kurima	Basic vocabulary *a*	Lawrence, Hirako	Kiku Kawamitsu, Chiyo Tamashiro
		Grammar (first)	Karimata, Utsumi, Davis	Ume Sunagawa
		Grammar (middle)	Kaneda, Inoue, Takeda	Haru Sunagawa
	Kuninaka	Basic vocabulary *a*	Nitta, Nakazawa	Genshin Nakasone
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Morooka, Tokunaga	Chiyoko Nakasone
		Grammar (last)	Nakajima	Yoshiko Yoshihama
	Irabu	Basic vocabulary *a*	Pellard, Takemura	Yoshihiro Kawamitsu
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Kibe, H. Nakama, Toyama	Katayuki Shimoji, Gensuke Hirara
	Yonaha	Basic vocabulary *a*	Shirata, Ogawa	Noriyoshi Kochi
		Accent	Igarashi, Uwano, Aoi, Matsuura	Toyosuke Ikemura
		Grammar (first)	Shimoji	Shigeo Yonaha
		Grammar (middle)	Hayashi	Takeichi Kakinohana
19:30–	Shimajiri	Basic vocabulary *a*	Shirata, Pellard	Toyokazu Hentona
		Basic vocabulary *b*	Shimoji, Hayashi	Sadao Ikema

2.3   Survey content and methods

The survey consisted of four modules: 'Basic vocabulary *a*', 'Basic vocabulary *b*', 'Accent', and 'Grammar'. 'Basic vocabulary *a*' and 'Basic vocabulary *b*' comprised basic vocabulary items in frequent daily use, such as items referring to body parts, family members, animals, plants, natural phenomena, time, space, tools, and numbers. The difference between groups *a* and *b* lies in the fact that those in group *a* refer to things common to different languages and dialects, while those in group *b* have specific cultural connotations. 'Basic vocabulary *a*' contained 189 items, while 'Basic vocabulary *b*' contained 149. The method used was that of translation questions, where the researcher utters a Standard Japanese vocabulary item and the speaker replies by uttering the corresponding vocabulary item of their dialect; for example, the researcher asks, 'How do you say (…) in your dialect?' and the speaker replies by translating the vocabulary item to their dialect.

As regards 'Accent', a list was made of 71 two-, three-, and four-mora nouns, which were recorded uttered in isolation as well as inserted into carrier sentences of the type 'There is no (…)', after which they were analyzed. The accent survey data have not been included in this report in their entirety. For an overview, the reader is referred Yosuke Igarashi's chapter, 'The Nominal Accent System of the Yonaha Dialect of the Southern Ryukyuan Language of Miyako: A Preliminary Report'.

Verb conjugation formed the core of the 'Grammar' module, which consisted of sentences designed to elicit the assertive (affirmative), negative, past, *shite*-continuative, and *ari*-continuative forms and the like of 38 verbs, such as those corresponding to Standard Japanese *tobu* 'to fly; to

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jump' and *kogu* 'to row'. This resulted in a total of 190 items. It is impossible, however, to elicit all 190 items in one two-hour session, so they were divided into three subsets, each group thus being tasked with eliciting about a third (around sixty) of the items. In the table above, 'Grammar (first)', 'Grammar (middle)', and 'Grammar (last)' refer to the first, middle, and last subset of grammar items, respectively. Consequently, researchers and speakers differ for each of the subsets at each site. Although it is desirable, if possible, to have a single speaker utter all of the items when dealing with a systematic phenomenon such as verb conjugation, time constraints forced us to use this method. As with 'Basic vocabulary', the elicitation method we used was that of translation questions.

In addition to the above, discourse material was recorded in Uechi. As analysis of this material is still underway, it has not been included in this report.

2.4   Participating researchers

The following 39 researchers participated in the survey. In addition to the leader and two research fellows of this project, the group consisted of fourteen collaborating researchers, nine university or institute staff members who were not collaborating researchers, nine graduate students, and four JSPS PD research fellows.

Nobuko KIBE (NINJAL; project leader), Shinji OGAWA (NINJAL; PD research fellow of this project), Sichao SHENG (NINJAL; research fellow of this project)—continues in alphabetic order; collaborating researchers at the time of the survey are marked with '*'—Hayato AOI (doctoral student at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; JSPS research fellow), Chris DAVIS (JSPS PD research fellow at Kyoto University), Yuka HAYASHI (part-time lecturer at Kyoto University), Manami HIRAYAMA (Ritsumeikan University), Tatsuya HIRAKO (doctoral student at Kyoto University; JSPS research fellow), Yosuke IGARASHI (Hiroshima University), Fumiko INOUE (NINJAL), *Akihiro KANEDA (Chiba University), *Shigehisa KARIMATA (University of the Ryukyus), Suguru KAWASE (doctoral student at Kyushu University), Ai KUBOZONO (doctoral student at Kyushu University; JSPS research fellow), *Wayne LAWRENCE (University of Auckland), *Satomi MATAYOSHI (Shigakukan University), *Hirotake MATSUMOTO (Beppu University), Toshio MATSUURA (Hokusei Gakuen University), Daigo MOROOKA (MA student at Hitotsubashi University), *Jo NAKAHARA (part-time lecturer at the University of the Ryukyus), *Yumi NAKAJIMA (Hitotsubashi University), Hiroyuki NAKAMA (adviser at the Public Relations Office of the Kake Educational Institution; former principal of Miyako High School), Keiko NAKAMA (part-time lecturer at the University of the Ryukyus), Kohei NAKAZAWA (MA student at the University of Tokyo), *Satoshi NISHIOKA (Okinawa International

University), *Tetsuo NITTA (Kanazawa University), Yuichi NOHARA (part-time lecturer at the University of the Ryukyus), Chisako OGINO (Oita University), Thomas PELLARD (JSPS PD research fellow at Kyoto University), *Kayoko SHIMOJI (Okinawa International University), Rihito SHIRATA (MA student at Kyoto University), *Koko TAKEDA (project research fellow at NINJAL), Akiko TAKEMURA (PD project research fellow at NINJAL), *Yukinori TAKUBO (Kyoto University), Akiko TOKUNAGA (MA student at Hitotsubashi University), Nana TOYAMA (MA student at the University of the Ryukyus), Atsuko UTSUMI (Meisei University), *Zendo UWANO (invited professor at NINJAL), Masahiro YAMADA (JSPS PD research fellow at Kyoto University).

2.5 Speakers

The details of the speakers are as follows.

Ikema	Ms. Teruko HAMAMOTO (86), Ms. Akiko KATSUREN (83), Ms. Yoshiko NAKAHARA, Ms. Masako HAMAKAWA (90)
Karimata	Mr. Masaki KARIMATA (88), Mr. Masaaki NEMA (78), Ms. Hide HANASHIRO (84), Mr. Masayuki UEHARA (68)
Ōura	Ms. Hatsuko SHIMOJI (87), Mr. Masayuki OZATO (80)
Uechi	Mr. Shigeo UECHI (84), Ms. Tomi NAKAHARA (89), Ms. Fumi SHIMOJI (90), Mr. Kiyokatsu UECHI (79)
Nobaru	Ms. Shige KUGAI (86)
Uruka	Mr. Toshio SUNAGAWA (83), Mr. Wataru SUNAGAWA (75), Mr. Hisao MIYAZATO (84)
Kugai	Mr. Yoshihiko YONAHA (69), Mr. Kinkichi YONAHA (84)
Miyaguni	Ms. Kiku MIYAGUNI, Ms. Hideko MATSUOKA
Bora	Ms. Yoshiko SHIMOJI (82), Mr. Tatsuo SUNAGAWA (55), Mr. Yoshio HIRARA (77), Mr. Hiromori SHIMOJI (61), Ms. Meiko HIRARA (79); Ms. Harumi SUNAGAWA (59) from Aragusuku
Nishihara	Ms. Kimie NAKAHARA (63)
Kurima	Ms. Haru SUNAGAWA (86), Ms. Ume SUNAGAWA (83), Ms. Kiku KAWAMITSU (90), Ms. Chiyo TAMASHIRO (81)
Kuninaka	Ms. Chiyoko NAKASONE (83), Ms. Yoshiko YOSHIHAMA (84), Mr. Genshin NAKASONE (86)
Irabu	Mr. Yoshihiro KAWAMITSU (87), Mr. Katayuki SHIMOJI (69), Mr. Gensuke HIRARA (81)
Yonaha	Mr. Takeichi KAKINOHANA (76), Mr. Noriyoshi KOCHI (75), Mr. Shigeo YONAHA (77), Mr. Toyosuke IKEMURA (75)
Shimajiri	Mr. Toyokazu HENTONA (72), Mr. Sadao IKEMA (73)

I would like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the above speakers for taking the time to participate in the survey.

3. Overview of Miyako Ryūkyūan

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The Phonology of the Miyako Dialects: Phonological Systems and Comparisons

Thomas PELLARD & Yuka HAYASHI

1   Introduction

  The Miyako dialects are a group Southern Ryukyuan dialects spoken in Miyakojima City and Tarama Village in Okinawa Prefecture. They are considered to comprise between thirty and forty dialects, differing from hamlet to hamlet, albeit to different degrees. Surveys were conducted in Uechi, Yonaha, Kugai, Irabu, Bora, Kuninaka, Ōura, Shimajiri, Kurima, Ikema, Karimata, Uruka, and Nobaru in September 2011; in this chapter, we will use the data obtained at these thirteen sites to organize and outline the phonology of the Miyako dialects based on historical-linguistic sound correspondences. While it is customary to consider sound correspondences with (Old) Japanese, we will mostly look at correspondences with the Proto-Miyako stage for the purpose of interdialectal comparison, rather than going back all the way to Proto-Japonic (unless noted otherwise, the proto-form marker '*' indicates a Proto-Miyako form)[1].

  Examples of existing research on the phonology of the Miyako dialects are the works of Hirayama, Oshima & Nakamoto (1967); Nakamoto (1976), Hirayama (ed., 1983), and Nakama (1992), who have described the phonemes and phonological characteristics of each site. More recently, Nakamoto (2000), Nakahara (2001), K. Shimoji (2003), Karimata (2005), M. Shimoji (2008, 2011), Pellard (2009, 2010), and Hayashi (2010), among others, have conducted surveys and research on the phonological systems of individual dialects, as well; the phonologies of each site are thus becoming better understood, but different researchers have interpreted the phonology of the Miyako dialects very differently. In the Miyako dialects, there are a vowel with a free variant involving consonantal noises and syllables in which it is difficult to phonetically and phonologically confirm the existence of a specific vowel, for example; there has been much debate regarding their sound values and phonological interpretation. This debate centers on a phoneme that incorporates consonantal as well as vocal elements, which is called a central or apical vowel by some and analyzed as a syllabic consonant with the sound value [s~z] by others. In addition, sounds such as 'v' and 'ɾ' ([l̩]) can become moraic, and in terms of phonetic characteristics, even open vowels can be devoiced; syllable nuclei are thus frequently occupied by (at least phonetically) consonantal elements, which is why the Miyako dialects are considered to be 'strongly consonantal' (Sawaki

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[1] Reconstructed Proto-Miyako forms are based on those of Pellard (2009) and reconstructed Proto-Ryukyuan forms on those of Thorpe (1983).

2000). Although this is among the issues regarding phonological interpretation discussed by, for example, Kitamura (1960), Karimata (1986, 1987), Kajiku (1989), and Sawaki (2000), there are still many unresolved questions. Many of these questions can be considered to involve differences in opinion resulting from the use of different frameworks of analysis to deal with the large differences in the respective roles of consonants and vowels between these dialects and Japanese. Although we can discuss only a small subset of these questions, we hope to be able to elucidate part of the phonological characteristics of the Miyako dialects by discussing a number of morphophonological phenomena that have not previously been discussed in much detail.

In this chapter, in addition to discussing the issues mentioned above, we will outline aspects the Miyako dialects all share as well as differences between them by looking at how each of the phonemes posited for Proto-Miyako is realized at each of the sites. We use a simplified phonetic notation, and the data in the tables are presented as they were transcribed by each of the researchers in the survey[2]. As we will only discuss segments in this chapter and not consider pitch accent, we have not included any notation regarding the latter that was present in the data[3].

2   Vowels

2.1   Vowel types and properties

In this section, we will give the sound values of each of the vowel phonemes of the Miyako dialects and examples of words containing them, obtained at each of the survey sites. In cases where there has been a local sound change at a single site or where there is an exceptional sound correspondence, we will give additional examples for these.

The six vowel types of the Miyako dialects encountered in the survey data that we will discuss in this chapter are /a, e, i, o, u, ɿ/. A distinction is made between short and long vowels, although, with the exception of their use in loan words, /e, o/ are typically only used as long vowels, as they derive historically from vowel sequences. Although it is not among the dialects considered in this chapter, /ëː, üː/ are additionally recognized for the Tarama dialect (K. Shimoji 2003)[4]. Among the dialects examined in the survey, there are dialects

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[2] Because they are phonetic transcriptions of utterances mostly obtained from a single speaker in a single survey, the data also include seeming mistranscriptions. As regards their interpretation, we have made corrections where our knowledge allowed us to; we have indicated where this is the case.

[3] There have been recent advances in research on pitch accent, Igarashi et al. (2012) having shown that the Ikema dialect has a three-pattern rather than a two-pattern accent system, for example.

[4] Furthermore, the Ōgami dialect has /ɯ/, which derives from *ɿ but is not accompanied by a friction sound; its vowel system differs from those of the other dialects, consisting of /ɑ, ɛ, i, u, ɯ/ (Pellard 2009).

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that have the four vowels /a, i, u, ɿ/, dialects that have the five vowels /a, i, o, u, ɿ/, and dialects that have the six vowels /a, e, i, o, u, ɿ/. The phoneme /ɿ/ is a vowel that is accompanied by a friction noise; it can be considered a 'fricative vowel' of the kind that is encountered in, for example, Chinese and the Bantu languages (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996). Although we will treat it as a vowel, there are also researchers who interpret it as a consonant.

2.1.1   Open vowel

/a/ (unrounded open vowel) [a] ~ [ɑ] < Miyako *a

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *a and surfaces as [a] ~ [ɑ] in all of the dialects[5].

Table 1. The unrounded open vowel.

	A-187 'there (distal)'	A-062 'mosquito'	A-174 'sand'	B-060 'feather; wing'	B-002 'tooth'
Uechi	kama	gadʑam	m̩nagu		pa:
Yonaha	kʰama	gadʑam	nnagʊ:		
Kugai	kʰama	gadʑam	m·nagu		
Irabu	kʰama	gadʑam	mnagu	pani	pa:
Bora	kʰama	gaᵈzam	nnagʊ:	pʰani	pʰa:
Kuninaka	kama	kadam̩	m̩nagu		
Ōura	kʰama	gaᵈzaŋ	nnagu	pani	pa:
Shimajiri	kama	gadaŋ	nnagu	pʰaɲi	pʰa:
Kurima	kama	gadʑam	m:nagu		
Ikema	kama	kadʑaŋ	nnagu	hani	ha:
Karimata	kama	gaᵈzaŋ	nnagu	pani	pa
Uruka	kʰḁma:	gadʑam̩	n̩nagu		
Nobaru				pani	pa:

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[5] As we will discuss later, in some dialects there are cases where /u/ corresponds to this sound, but this is not the result of a systematic sound change.

2.1.2 Close vowels

/i/ (unrounded close front vowel) [i] ~ [ɪ] < Miyako *i

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *i and surfaces as [i] ~ [ɪ] in all of the dialects. In Karimata, there are words in which /ɿ/ corresponds to *i. In Ikema, *ɿ has merged with /i/, except after /ts/, /z/, and /s/ (see the section on /ɿ/ for details). In addition, there are words in Irabu in which the sound corresponding to Proto-Miyako *(C)ja has changed into 'ii'.

Table 2. The unrounded close front vowel.

	A-170	A-059	A-129	B-093	A-110
	'sea'	'woman'	'wind'	'spatula'	'tree'
Uechi	im̩	midum	kadʑi		ki:
Yonaha	im	midʊmʊ	kʰadʑi		ki:
Kugai	im	midum	kʰadʑi		ki·
Irabu	im	midum	kʰadʑi	piɾa	kʰi:
Bora	im	midʊm	kʰaᵈʑi	pʰiɾa	kʰi:
Kuninaka	im̩	midum̩	kadʑi		ki·
Ōura	iŋ	miduŋ	kʰadʑi	piɾa	kʰi:
Shimajiri	iŋ	miduŋ	kʰadʑi	piɾa	ki:
Kurima	im	midumu	kʰadʑi		ki:
Ikema	iŋ	miduŋ	kʰadi	hiɾa	ki:
Karimata	iŋ	miduŋ	kʰadʑi	piɾa	ki:
Uruka		midum̩	kadʑi		ki: ~ kɿ̥:
Nobaru				piɾa	

Table 3. 'ɿ' partly corresponding to 'i' in Karimata.

	A-016	A-103
	'beard; mustache/hair'	'garlic'
Uechi	pˢɨgi	pʰil
Yonaha	pᶻɿgi	pʰiᶻɿ
Kugai	psgi	pʰiz
Irabu	pˢɿgi / fʊ̥tsɿpˢɿgi	pʰiɿ
Bora	pˢɿgi	pʰiᶻɿ
Kuninaka	pʰɨgi	pʰiɭ

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Ōura	pˢɻgi ~ pɻgi	pʰiɻ
Shimajiri	bᶻɻgi	pʰiᶻɻ
Kurima	psgi	piz
Ikema	higi	hi:
Karimata	bzgɯ ~ bzgï ~ bïgï	pˢï:
Uruka	psgi ~ pˢɻ̥gi	piẓ̩ ~ pi̥ẓ̩
Nobaru		

Table 4. *(C)ja > ii in Irabu.

| | A-165 | A-189 | B-029 |
	'a long time ago'	'to be absent; to be nonexistent'	'one (person)'
Uechi	ŋ̩kja:ŋ		
Yonaha	ŋkʲa:ŋ		tɔʊkʲa:
Kugai	ŋkja:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	tḁfke:
Irabu	mki:ŋ	ni:ŋ	taʊki:
Bora	ŋkʲa:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	taʊkʲa:
Kuninaka	ŋkja:ŋ		taᵛkʲa:
Ōura	ŋkʲa:ŋ		tavkʲa:
Shimajiri	ŋkja:ŋ		tʰafkja:
Kurima	ŋkja:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	
Ikema	ŋkʲa:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	tauka:
Karimata	ikja:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	taɸkʲa:
Uruka	ŋkja:ŋ		tavkʲa:
Nobaru			taʊkja:

/u/ (rounded close back (lax) vowel) [u] ~ [ʊ] < Miyako *u

   This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *u and surfaces as [u] ~ [ʊ] in all of the dialects. Words in which 'a' corresponds to this sound are also encountered occasionally at all of the sites, but this is not a regular correspondence.

Table 5. The rounded close back vowel.

	A-028	A-030	A-060	A-071	B-069
	'bone'	'heart/liver'	'person; human being'	'horse'	'ear (of a cereal plant)'
Uechi	puni	kɕɨmu ~ kɨmu	pi̥su	nu:ma	
Yonaha	puni	kˢɭmu	pˢɭtʰu	nʊ:ma	
Kugai	pʰuni	kˢᶻïmu	pstu	nu:ma	
Irabu	pʰuni	tsɭmu	pstu	nu:ma	pu:
Bora	pʰʊni ~ pʊni	kˢɭmʊ	pstʊ	nʊ:ma	pʰu:
Kuninaka	puni	tsɨmu	pʰi̥tu	nu̥:ma	
Ōura	pʰuni	kˢɭmu	pstu	numa	pʰu:
Shimajiri	pʰuni	kˢɭmu	ttu	nu:ma	pu:
Kurima	pʰuni	tsïmu	pstu	nu:ma	
Ikema	huni	tsïmu	pʰi̥tu ~ ɕtu ~ ɕto	nu:ma	hu:
Karimata	pʰuni	kˢïmu	pstu	nu:ma	pu:
Uruka	pu̥ni ~ pʰuni	ksmu ~ kˢɭmu	pstu̥ ~ pstu̥	nu:mḁ	
Nobaru					pu:

Table 6. Examples of 'a' corresponding to 'u'.

	A-132	A-032	A-079	A-115
	'cloud'	'knee'	'egg'	'common garcinia (tree)'
Uechi	kumu	tsɨgusɨ	tunaka	pu̥kukugi
Yonaha	fʊm	tsɭgʊsɭ	tʰʊnaka	pʰu̥kʊgi:
Kugai	fumu	tsïgusï	tunak̠ʰa	pʰukadʑgi:
Irabu	fumu	tsɭgusɭ	(kʰu:ga)	kuputsɭgi
Bora	fʊmʊ	tsɭgʊsɭ	tʰʊnaka	fu̥kʊkɭgi:
Kuninaka	fumu	tsɨgusɨ	tunuka	pu̥kutsɨgi·
Ōura	kʰumu	sugasɭ	tʰunaka	pʰukagi
Shimajiri	fuma	tugusɭ ~ tugasɭ	tʰunaʁa	kʰu̥pagᶻɭgi:
Kurima	fumu	tsïgusï	tʰunuka	pukutsïgi:
Ikema	m̥mu	sïgusï	tunuka	kutsïgi
Karimata	fumu	tsïgasï	tunuga	pʰu̥kagagi:
Uruka	ɸu̥mu	tsgusɭ ~ tsɭgusɭ	tu̥naka	pu̥ku̥kuki: ~ pu̥kukugi
Nobaru				

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2.1.3 Close-mid vowels and diphthongs

The close-mid vowels of the Miyako dialects mostly derive from sequences of vowels that have fused together. /e/ derives from *ai and *Cja, while /o/ derives from *au and *ua. There are many exceptions, however; apart from *au > oː, these sound changes are not observed in all instances of these environments in most of the dialects.

/e/ (unrounded close-mid front vowel) [e]

/e/ derives from the following two sequences:

- *ai : this is observed only in some vocabulary items.
- *Cja : this is observed most often in the topic forms of words ending in '-i.'

/e/ deriving from these sequences through fusion is not encountered in most of the dialects. Also, there was an instance of mistranscription as /i/ [ɪ] in the data given below.

Table 7. /e/ deriving from *ai in some vocabulary items in Yonaha, Kugai, and Kurima (vocabulary items in which the change *ai > e has not occurred are included for reference.)

	A-131 'earthquake'	A-146 'the south'	A-157 'night'	A-004 'forehead'	'too; also' (particle)	allative marker
Uechi	nai	pʰai				
Yonaha	nai	pai	junai		mai / meː	ŋkai / ŋkeː
Kugai	nai	pʰai	junʲaːŋ / juneː	ftai	mai	ŋkai
Irabu	nai	pʰai	juᶻɳnaᶻɳ	fu̥tai	mai	
Bora	nai	pʰai	junai	fu̥tai	mai	ɳkai
Kuninaka	naɪ	paɪbaɾa	ju̥nai	fu̥taɪ	mai	ɴkai
Ōura	nai	pʰai		fu̥tai ~ ftai		
Shimajiri	nai	pʰai				
Kurima	nai	pʰai	juneː	fte·	meː	ŋkeː
Ikema	nai	haibaɾa		ftai	mai	ŋkai
Karimata	naɯ	pʰai		ftai	mai	ŋgai
Uruka	nai	pʰai	junai		mai	ŋkai
Nobaru						ŋkai

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Table 8. /e/ deriving from *Cja only in some vocabulary items in Kugai.

| | A-165 | A-189 | B-029 | |
	'a long time ago'	'to be absent; to be nonexistent'	'one (person)'	-i + topic marker
Uechi	ŋ̩kja:ŋ			
Yonaha	ŋkʲa:ŋ		tɔʋkʲa:	ja:
Kugai	ŋkja:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	tḁfke:	e:
Irabu	mki:ŋ	ni:ŋ	taʋki:	
Bora	ŋkʲa:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	taʋkʲa:	ja:
Kuninaka	ŋkja:ŋ		taᵛkʲa:	ja:
Ōura	ŋkʲa:ŋ		tavkʲa:	
Shimajiri	ŋkja:ŋ		tʰafkja:	
Kurima	ŋkja:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ		ja:
Ikema	ŋkʲa:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	tauka:	(j)a:
Karimata	ikja:ŋ	nʲa:ŋ	taɸkʲa:	ja:
Uruka	ŋkja:ŋ		tavkʲa:	ja:
Nobaru			taʋkja:	

/o/ (rounded close-mid back vowel) [o]

/o/ derives from the following two sequences.

- *au : this is observed especially often in the accusative forms of words ending in '-a'.

- *ua : this can apparently only be observed in the topic forms of words ending in '-u'.

In most of the dialects /o/ is consistently used as the sound corresponding to *au, but there are also dialects in which there is variation among vocabulary items (Bora, Kurima), as was the case with the examples above. Also, there was an instance of mistranscription as /u/ [ʋ] in the data given below.

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Table 9. /o/ deriving from *au in Uechi, Yonaha, Kugai, Bora, Ōura, Kurima, and Karimata; /o/ deriving from *ua in Kugai, Kuninaka, Kurima, Karimata, and Uruka.

	A-027 'to be itchy'	A-093 'to eat'	A-130 'whirlwind; tornado'	A-136 'to be blue; to be azure'	A-183 'gate'	-a + accusative marker	-u + topic marker
Uechi		fo:	amainoŭ	o:	ʥoˑ		
Yonaha		fo:	amaino:	o:nʊ	ʥo:	o:	a:
Kugai	kʰo:munu	fo:	ama.ino:	o:	ʥo:	o:	o:
Irabu	kʰo:munu	fo:	amaino:	o:	ʥo:vtsʅ		
Bora	kʰaʊkaʊ	faʊ	amaino:	aʊaʊ	ʥo: (Bora) / ʥaʊ (Aragusuku)	au	a:
Kuninaka	kau̯munu	fau	amaɪnaʊ	aŭ	dau̯	ao	u: / o:
Ōura		fo:	amaino:	o:o:	ʥo:futsʅ		
Shimajiri		fau	amaino:	aukaŋ	dau		
Kurima	koʔoko:		ama.ino:	au	ʥo:	a: / o: / au	o: / ua
Ikema	kaumunu		amaunau	aumunu	ʥau	au	u:
Karimata	ko:gaŋ		ino:	o:	ʥo:	au / o:	o:
Uruka Nobaru		fau ~ faʊ	amainau	au ~ aʊ	ʥau	au	o:

2.1.4   Special vowel /ʅ/

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *ʅ, and in addition to its vocal quality as a somewhat fronted close central vowel [ɨ] ~ unrounded close back vowel [ɯ], it is accompanied by an alveolar friction noise; it is a so-called 'fricative vowel'[6,7]. The friction noise is voiceless [s] when it is preceded by a voiceless onset consonant (e.g. Uechi pᵉɨgi 'beard; mustache') and voiced [z] when it is preceded by a voiced onset consonant or no onset

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[6] For many years, there has been debate regarding what kind of vowel the sound corresponding to *ʅ is on the basis of its articulatory properties (see Karimata 1986 for details). Ever since Nevsky's survey of Miyako, it had generally been considered a central vowel, but Sakiyama (1963, 1965), Uemura (1997), and Karimata (1996, 2005), among others, have argued that in terms of articulatory phonetics, it is an apical vowel. In recent years, it has been confirmed experimentally through instrumental analysis that in some of the dialects, it has both the characteristics of a central and of an apical vowel: while it has a vocal quality like that of a central vowel (Ono et al. 2000, Aoi 2010), it is articulated in a position close to s ~ z (Aoi 2010). This parallels reports of fricative vowels in other languages having a dual articulatory character consisting of both vocal and consonantal elements.

[7] As was mentioned in Footnote 4, the vowel deriving from *ʅ in the Ōgami dialect is /ɯ/, which is not devoiced even when preceded by a voiceless onset consonant (e.g. Ōgami [kɯ:] 'character; letter') (Pellard 2009).

consonant (e.g. Yonaha pʰagᶻɿ 'leg'). When it is surrounded by voiceless consonants, in particular, the vowel itself is almost always completely devoiced (e.g. Bora pskaɿ 'light'). Conversely, an allophone with a weakened friction noise, closer to an approximant or vowel, surfaces particularly when it is not preceded by an onset consonant or when it is word-final and preceded by a voiced onset consonant (e.g. Uechi pagɨ 'leg'). In addition to expected differences in the degree of stricture among the dialects, there is also variation among speakers and fluctuation in the pronunciation of individual words in individual speakers (e.g. Ōura pʰagɿ ~ pʰagᶻɿ 'leg'). Depending on the dialect, there are also cases where it sounds like a lateral (e.g. Uechi makˣal '(wooden) bowl').

In comparison to other vowels, only a limited number of onset consonants can precede this vowel; which they are depends on the dialect, but the largest set of possible onset consonants consists of /p, b, k, g, ts, s, z, f, m/. They are especially few in number in Ikema, where it has changed into /i/ in all environments except after /ts/, /s/, and /z/. It must also be mentioned that in many of the dialects, it has changed into a diphthong [iɿ] after sounds such as /m/.

As /ɿ/ sometimes surfaces as [z] or [s], there are also researchers who interpret it as a moraic consonant. [pstu] 'person; human being' provides an example of the diversity encountered in the phonetic transcriptions of this sound: it is variously transcribed as pïtu ~ pɿtu ~ pžtu[8]. Although there is thus a variety of phonological interpretations, the researchers that consider it a vowel still agree that it is accompanied by a friction noise, and those that consider it a consonant still recognize its vowel-like ability to occupy a syllable nucleus. On either view, it is considered a phoneme that has both a consonantal and a vocal quality[9].

Table 10. The special vowel.

	A-016	A-025	A-100	A-087	A-081	A-033	B-062
	'beard; mustache/hair'	'blood'	'(wooden) bowl'	'meat (of sea urchins and the like)'	'fish'	'leg'	'fly (insect)'
Uechi	pᵉɨgi	aχ̥atsɨ ~ akạtsɨ	makˣal	mɨ:	ⁱzzu	pagɨ
Yonaha	pᶻɿgi	akʰạtsɿ	makʰaᶻɿ	mᶻɿ:	zzu ~ ɿzu	pʰagᶻɿ
Kugai	psgi	akatsï	makʰazï	kadʑaᵗsanumiz	zzu	pʰadʑï

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[8] Karimata (2005) also discusses the possibility of interpreting this sound as an allophone of the onset consonants 's' and 'z'.

[9] Although we consider this sound a vowel in this chapter, we use the phonetic symbol /ɿ/ rather than /ï/ in order to express the fricativity that is an important property of this phoneme.

Irabu	pˢ̩gi	ax̞ats̩ ~ ahats̩	maxaɭ ~ mahaɭ	miɭ	ᶻ̩zu	pʰadʑ̩	paz̞
Bora	pˢ̩gi	akʰ̞ats̩	makaᶻɭ	mᶻɭ:	zzʊ ~ ɭzʊ	pʰaᵈzɭ ~ pʰagᶻɭ	paz ~ paɨz
Kuninaka	pʰɨgi	akˣ̞atsɨ	makaɭ	tsɨmu (sea urchin)	(ⁱ)zzu:	pazɨ	
Ōura	pˢ̩gi ~ pɭgi	ha:ts̩	makaɭ	miɭ	ɭzu	pʰagɭ ~ pʰagᶻɭ	paᶻɭ
Shimajiri	bᶻ̩gi	ax̞ats̩	maχaɭ ~ maχaᶻɭ	miᶻɭ	zzu	pʰagɭ ~ pʰagᶻɭ	paz ~ paɭ
Kurima	psgi	A: akatsï / B: aᵏxatsï	A: makaɭ / B: makaz	mï:	zzu̥	pʰadʑï	
Ikema	higi	akatsï	makai	mi:	zzu ~ dʑu	hadʑï	hai
Karimata	bzgɯ ~ bzgï ~ bïgï	ha:tsï	ma:ɯ	mï:	ïzu	pʰagɯ	pai / paɯ
Uruka	psgi ~ pˢ̩gi	ak̞ats̩	makaz̞	mz̞:	zzu	pagz̞	
Nobaru						pagɭ	paᶻɭ

There has long been debate on (phonetic) issues related to the articulatory properties of this vowel, but we will not discuss these in detail in this chapter (see, however, Footnote 6). We will instead consider some morphophonological issues highly relevant to a discussion of this vowel and discuss a problem of phonological interpretation in regard to the Miyako dialects.

Is there a vowel or not?

In the Miyako dialects, syllables in which it is debatable whether there is a vowel are frequently encountered; they are mostly cases of this special vowel preceded by an onset fricative or affricate. For example, some interpret [usɨ] 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' as 'usï' or 'usɭ', in which 's' is followed by a vowel, while others interpret it as 'uṣ', in which 's' is a syllabic consonant. Although the second syllable of this word does not always surface phonetically unvoiced [10], it appears to be interpreted this way due to a number of morphophonological phenomena.

The questions of whether there is a phoneme or not and whether this phoneme is a consonant or a vowel have to be answered by considering the phonological systems of each of the dialects in their entirety. There is not much research, however, that examines the relevant phonological phenomena comprehensively. Although it is not possible to resolve the issue in its entirety for each of the dialects in this chapter, we will introduce one morphophonological phenomenon that is often cited in discussions on the presence of a vowel and discuss some matters that are essential to the resolution of this issue. Furthermore, as this issue is as yet unresolved, we have in this chapter

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[10] As there are also cases in which a vowel is inserted phonetically, this in itself does not prove that there is a vowel phonologically.

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chosen the interpretations and transcriptions closest to the Proto-Miyako forms and supplemented forms in which it is unclear if a consonant is moraic with vowels.

Nominal morphophonology

The phenomenon that would seem to be most relevant to the interpretation of the syllables in question is the following nominal-morphophonological phenomenon. In the Miyako dialects, the topic and accusative forms of nouns take different shapes depending on the properties of their stem-final sounds, as shown below; Table 11 gives examples from Karimata.

Table 11. Types of stem-final syllables and their topic and accusative forms[11] ('--' indicates forms for which no data is available).

Type of stem-final syllable		Topic form	Accusative form
C	'sea' im	imma	immu
	'dog' in	inna	innu
	'snake' pav	pavva	pavvu
(C)V[+fricative]	'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' usʐ	ussa	ussu
	'wife' tuzʐ[12]	tuttsa	tuttsu
	'road; path; way' ntsʐ	nttsa	nttsu
	'tofu' toofu	tooffa	tooffu
	-pʐ	--	--
	'paper' kabʐ	kabzza	kabzzu
	'the moon' tsʐkʐ[13]	tsʐkssa	tsʐkssu
	'leg' pagʐ	pagzza	pagzzu
	'rice' maʐ	mazza	mazzu
CV	'umbrella; parasol' sana	sanaa	sanau
	'sake; alcoholic beverage (in general)' saki	sakjaa	sakjuu
	'octopus' taku	takoo	takuu

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[11] In Table 11, data from the NINJAL survey has been supplemented with our own data. We have modified the transcriptions.

[12] It appears to have surfaced as an unvoiced sound here due to restrictions on which sounds can be used as geminates.

[13] In the data from the NINJAL survey, this word is transcribed as 'tskṣsu', but this form is also encountered.

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	'tree' kii	kiija	kiiju
(C)VV	'voice' kui	kuija	kuiju
	'character; letter' zɿɿ	zɿɿja	zɿɿju
	'(to break) wind' pɿɿ	--	--
CC	'sweet potato' mm	mmma	mmmu

   Table 11 shows that consonant doubling occurs when the stem ends in C or (C)V[+fricative] ('ɿ' or a fricativized 'u'). Before considering how to interpret this synchronically, let us first briefly look at how this phenomenon arose historically.

   As is also indicated by, among others, Karimata (1996, 2007), there has been a historical sound change in which the semivowels 'w' and 'j' and the liquid 'ɾ' have changed into the fricatives 's' and 'z' when they follow the special vowel 'ɿ'[14]. The examples in (1) are taken from Karimata (2007); we have modified the transcriptions.

   (1) tsɿkssu < *tsɿkɿju 'the moon' (corresponds to Japanese *tsukuyo* 'moonlit night')
        zzu < *ɿwu 'fish' (corresponds to Japanese *iwo*)
        ssu < *sɿɾu 'white' (corresponds to Japanese *shiro*)

*ja and *ju are thought to have been the forms of the topic and accusative marker, respectively, in Proto-Miyako, and when they were attached to stems ending in *ɿ, the same change must have occurred.

   (2) kabɿ + ju > kabɿ=zu [kabzzu] 'head.hair-ACCUSATIVE' (from Table 11)

In the case of stems ending in consonants, too, the 'j' of the attached marker has assimilated to these consonants, as can be seen in Table 11 (the accusative form of im 'sea': im=mu). We will not discuss the process through which this change occurred in detail, but it seems that the case of stems ending in 'ɿ' can be understood as similarly involving the assimilation of the 'j' following it due to the consonantal aspect of this vowel[15].

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[14] Fricative vowels have also been observed to influence the consonants following them in some of the Bantu languages (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996).

[15] In addition to Karimata (1996, 2007) discussing the causes of this change from the perspective of aerodynamics, Aoi (2012) uses an autosegmental-phonological analysis to explain the process through which this change occurred as the fricativization of semivowels and liquids due to the extension of the apicality of /ɿ/.

Among the stems in Table 11 ending in (C)V[+fricative], however, there are broadly speaking two possible interpretations regarding those ending in 'sɿ', 'zɿ', 'tsɿ', or 'fu'[16]. One of these assumes 'ɿ' (a fricativized 'u' in the case of 'f') to be a syllable nucleus, similarly to 'bɿ', ('pɿ',) 'kɿ', 'gɿ', and 'mɿ', and posits a rule according to which this vowel has changed 'j' into a fricative[17]; the other considers this vowel to have been elided and 'j' to have assimilated directly to the resulting moraic consonants 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f', similarly to what happened in the case of 'm', 'n', and 'v'.

The above also applies to the question of how to analyze the data synchronically[18]. The words in Table 11 that have consonant doubling in their topic and accusative forms, with stems ending in C or (C)V[+fricative], can be divided into two groups: a group with consonants, 'p', 'b', 'k', 'g', and 'm', that are accompanied by an additional syllable nucleus ('ɿ'), which we will call 'group A', and a group with consonants, 'm', 'n', and 'v', that can be considered moraic, which we will call 'group B'[19]. The biggest interpretational question is then whether to put the words with 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' into group A or into group B. This is because it is directly connected to the question of whether 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' have to be recognized as syllabic consonants—a question of phonotactics, syllable structure, and phoneme classification, and thus a major issue regarding the phonological system of the language. Putting 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' into the group of syllabic consonants means the example of 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' given earlier will be interpreted as 'uʂ', in which the second

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[16] 'fu' derives from Proto-Ryukyuan *pu and *ku. According to Karimata (2007:44), who interprets this mora as 'f', *u first changed into 'v', after which *p and *k fused with 'v' to become 'f' due to a reciprocal assimilation in which 'v' changed the place (labiodental) and manner (fricative) of articulation of the preceding consonants *p and *k, and, conversely, *p and *k caused the devoicing of the following 'v'. It is also possible, however, to maintain 'v' as an allophone of 'u', interpreting this mora as /fu/ [fv], and to view this allophone as a fricative vowel like the special vowel 'ɿ' whose labiodental friction caused the assimilation of 'j'.

There are also many other examples of words in which a consonant has assimilated to a preceding 'fu' (or 'f'), resulting in a geminate.

E.g. ffu < furu 'black' (corresponds to Japanese *kuro*)

maffa < mafura 'pillow' (corresponds to Japanese *makura*)

[17] When *ju is attached to C*ɿ (where C is an affricate), a further assimilation occurs; for example, when *ju is attached to *tsɿ, this results in tsɿ + ju > tsɿsu > ttsu. (An example of a historical change: Irabu tsɿkɿju > tsɿtsɿju > tsɿttsu 'the moon'.)

[18] Although we do not take a specific position below, a synchronic analysis need not assume that the accusative marker is 'ju', identical to the proto-form; it would seem possible to analyse it as 'u', as well, although it is also possible that it differs depending on the dialect.

[19] In, for example, Kuninaka, /ɾ/ [l] is an additional syllable nucleus.

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syllable does not have a vowel. Broadly speaking, the phonological phenomena illustrated in Table 11 can be interpreted most economically in the following two ways [20].

1. Like the consonants in group A, 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' are accompanied by an additional syllable nucleus ('ɿ' and the like). (They are not recognized as syllabic consonants.)

2. Like the consonants in group B, 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' can be used as syllabic consonants and thus do not require an additional syllable nucleus.

Irrespective of whether this morphophonological issue os considered, interpretations like 1. that maintain the *ɿ (and 'ɯ') of the proto-forms have up to now been the standard. On the other hand, Karimata (2005), M. Shimoji (2008, 2011), and Pellard (2009, 2010), for example, adopt interpretation 2. For each dialect, the question of which is the more appropriate explanation cannot be resolved without looking at the entire phonological system (phoneme system, phonotactics, syllable structure, and morphophonology), but in the following, we will describe a benefit of choosing interpretation 2. as well as a problem with the traditional account.

For the Ōgami dialect, which is unusual even among the Miyako dialects [21], there is further evidence outside of the nominal morphology illustrated in Table 11 that /m, n, f, s, ʋ/ are used as syllabic consonants, unaccompanied by an additional syllable nucleus (vowel). For example, Ōgami has the contrasting pair of 'sta', meaning 'down; below; under; bottom', and 'sɯta', meaning 'tongue', and there is nothing to necessitate the positing of a fricative vowel like those in the other dialects in addition to 'ɯ', which is not accompanied by friction in the Ōgami dialect. The 's' in 'sta' can therefore be considered a syllable without a vowel. 's' and 'f' can thus be used as syllabic consonants in addition to nasals and approximants, but the liquid 'ɾ' can only be used as an onset consonant and does not function as a syllable nucleus. This forms an exception to the theory that liquids can typologically more easily be used syllabically than fricatives (Zec 2007), but this can be seen as showing that the main quality supporting the syllable in this dialect is 'continuance' rather than 'sonority' [22]. It is possible

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[20] According to a third interpretation, it is sufficient to view the phenomena illustrated in Table 11 as a strictly historical change and assume a simple nominal paradigm synchronically. In essence, this interpretation does not regard these phenomena as objects of synchronic explanation; depending on one's perspective on grammar, this can be a perfectly valid interpretation. If this view is taken, consistency in the phoneme system, phonotactics, and syllable structure, as well as the phonetic reality, must be taken into account in interpreting the sound corresponding to /ɿ/, without considering these morphophonological phenomena.

[21] It has no contrast between voiced and voiceless and no affricates, for example.

[22] The difference between the sounds that can and the sounds that cannot be used as syllable nuclei appears to lie in whether they are sustainable sounds or instantaneous sounds; this approximates the feature 'continuant/interrupted' of Jakobson, Fant & Halle (1952).

that this applies to all of the Miyako dialects, in which case interpretation 2. can be seen as more accurately reflecting their linguistic character[23].

Although they do not show that there is no vowel, M. Shimoji (2008) presents data for the Nagahama dialect showing that 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' are different from the consonants of group A ('p', 'b', 'k', 'g', and 'm'), which require an additional syllable nucleus.

(3) a. Nagahama sïï[24] 'nest'; accusative form sïï=u

   (corresponds to 'sŋ̩' according to the interpretation/transcription of this chapter)

   b. Nagahama pžž 'the sun; sunlight; day'; topic form pžž=ža

   (corresponds to 'pŋ̩' according to the interpretation/transcription of this chapter)

(taken from M. Shimoji 2008)

The words in (3ab) have both been interpreted as having a long special vowel, but in their topic forms, a difference arises. Although this suggests that 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' cannot be treated in exactly the same way as the consonants of group A, the behavior seen in (3a) also differs from that of the syllabic consonants of group B, which can be lengthened. An example of the lengthening of the syllabic consonants of group B is the consonant doubling that occurs in their topic forms: mm = ma 'sweet.potato-TOPIC'. Even if it is possible to treat them identically to either group A or group B depending on to which of these they appears more similar after examining a variety of other phonological phenomena, it also seems possible that rules different both from those of group A and from those group B will have to be posited.

In the above, we have briefly considered the morphophonological reasons for interpreting the word for 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' as 'uṣ', without a vowel in the second syllable, through a discussion of the nominal morphology of the Miyako language. These issues must be investigated for each of the dialects; the situation is very different for a dialect such as that of Ikema, in which the consonants of group A, 'p', 'b', 'k', 'g', and 'm', are never used as onset consonants in combination with the special vowel.

As we have seen, there has been a historical change in which the semivowels 'w' and 'j' and the liquid 'ɾ' of Proto-Miyako have assimilated to preceding consonants and fricativized close vowels;

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[23] It is possible that there is a connection between the fact that 'syllable nuclei are (…) frequently occupied by (at least phonetically) consonantal elements', stated in Section 1, and this quality, as well.

[24] M. Shimoji (2008) also treats the sounds corresponding to 's', 'z', 'ts', and 'f' as syllabic consonants underlyingly; he analyzes this 'ï' as an inserted vowel.

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not only have many consonant sequences resulted from this, it has also given rise to synchronic stem-final consonant doubling in the verbal morphology.

(4) ssam < sɿɾam 'louse' (< Proto-Japonic *sirami)
     tsɿf- 'to make (stem)'; tsɿf-fan 'to.make-NEGATIVE' (< Proto-Japonic *tsukur-)

Also taking phenomena like these into account, the question of whether or not a vowel is present must be answered for each of the dialects within a system in which the morphology of that dialect can most adequately be explained in its entirety.

   In the above, we have briefly discussed the question of whether or not a vowel is present in certain syllables by considering how to explain the nominal morphology of the Miyako dialects. We have not been able to consider all relevant factors in this section; we hope to be able to discuss these in more detail in the future.

2.2 Vowel systems

   In the above, we have looked at each of the vowel phonemes of the Miyako dialects; the different vowel systems can be summarized as follows.

- Four-vowel system: /a, i, u, ɿ/
  Ikema
- Five-vowel system: /a, i, u, o, ɿ/
  Shimajiri, Irabu, Uruka, Bora, Nobaru
- Six-vowel system: /a, i, e, u, o, ɿ/
  Kurima, Kugai, Karimata, Ōura, Yonaha

3   Consonants

3.1   Consonant types and properties

In this section, we will give the sound values of each of the consonant phonemes of the Miyako dialects and examples of words containing them, obtained at each of the survey sites. In cases where there has been a local sound change at a single site or where there is an exceptional sound correspondence, we will give additional examples for these.

The consonant types of the Miyako dialects encountered in the survey data that we will discuss in this chapter are /p, b, t, d, k, g, ts, s, z, f, v, χ, ʁ, h, ʕ, m, n, ŋ̊, ɾ, j, w/. Among these, /v, m, n, r/ can be used as syllable nuclei; there are also cases in which they form a word by themselves, as long consonants[25]. Generally speaking, there is a contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants[26].

3.1.1   Plosives

In phonetic terms, a property of the voiceless consonants is that they are aspirated word-initially.

/p/ (voiceless bilabial plosive)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *p; in some of the dialects, it has undergone the following changes.

- Ikema: p > h/[h~ç~ɸ]
- Karimata, Shimajiri, and Ōura: p > b / #__ŋC[+voiced] (only in some vocabulary items)

Table 12. The voiceless bilabial plosive.

	A-146	A-139	A-016	A-148	A-033	B-002	B-007
	'the south'	'light'	'beard; mustache/ hair'	'(the) left (side)'	'leg'	'tooth'	'face'
Uechi	pʰai	pçkal	pˤigi	pɨdal ~ pɨda	pagɨ	paː	
Yonaha	pai	pˢŋ̊kaᶻŋ	pᶻŋgi	pˢŋ̊daᶻŋ	pʰagᶻŋ		

[25] Some researchers additionally analyze the voiceless fricatives /s, f/ and affricates /ts, z/ as syllabic consonants. See Section 2.1.4 for details.
[26] As was also indicated in Footnote 21, Ōgami is the only dialect without a contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants.

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Kugai	pʰai	pskaz	psgi	pzdaz	pʰaʥï		
Irabu	pʰai	pˢkaŋ	pˢŋgi	pʰidiŋ	pʰaʥŋ	pa:	mipana ~ miɸana
Bora	pʰai	pskaŋ	pˢŋgi	pˢŋdaŋ ~ pˢŋdaᶻŋ	pʰaᵈzŋ ~ pʰagᶻŋ	pʰa:	mipʰana
Kuninaka	paɪbaɾa	pi̥kaʅ	pʰɨgi	pˢɨdaʅ	pazɨ		
Ōura	pʰai	pskaŋ	pˢŋgi ~ pŋgi	bᶻŋdaŋ	pʰagŋ ~ pʰagᶻŋ	pa:	nipana
Shimajiri	pʰai	pskaᶻŋ	bᶻŋgi	bᶻŋdaᶻŋ	pʰagŋ ~ pʰagᶻŋ	pʰa:	mipana
Kurima	pʰai	pskaʅ	psgi	A: pʰïdaʅ / B: psdaz	pʰaʥï		
Ikema	haibaɾa	çi̥kai	higi	çidai	haʥi	ha:	mihana
Karimata	pʰai	pskaɯ	bzgɯ ~ bzgï ~ bïgï	bïdaɯ ~ bzdaɯ	pʰagɯ	pa	mipana
Uruka	pʰai	pṣkaẓ	psgi ~ pˢŋgi	pṣdaẓ ~ pṣdaŋ	pagẓ		
Nobaru					pagŋ	pa:	mipana

/b/ (voiced biliabial plosive)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *b; it is consistently encountered as /b/ at all of the sites.

Table 13. The voiced bilabial plosive.

	A-007	A-051	A-055	A-091	A-156	A-029
	'lip'	'husband'	'child; minor'	'sugar cane'	'evening'	'belly'
Uechi	sɨba	bikidum ~ bikiʣum	jaɾabi	bu:gɨ	jusaɾabi	
Yonaha	sᶻŋba	butʰʊ		bu:gᶻŋ		
Kugai	sïba	butʰu	jaɾabi [new]	bu:gᶻï	jusaɾabi	batʰa
Irabu	sŋba	butu	jaɾabi	bu:ʥŋ	jusaɾabi	bata
Bora	sŋba	b̥utʰʊ	bʊ:gᶻŋ ~ bʊ:ʥŋ	jʊsaɾabi	b̥ata
Kuninaka	sɨbaɣa	bu̥tu	jaɾabi	bu̥:ʥɨ		bata
Ōura	NR	butu	jaɾabi	bu:gŋ ~ bu:gᶻŋ		
Shimajiri	ᶻŋba	butu		bu:gŋ ~ bu:gᶻŋ		
Kurima	sïba	bikidumu	jaɾabi	bu:ʥï	jusaɾabi	bata
Ikema	fu̥tsï	butu	jaɾabi	bu:ʥï	jusaɾabi	bata
Karimata	sïba	budu	jaɾabi	bu:gï	jusaɾabi	bada
Uruka	sb̥a ~ spa	butʰu	jaɾabi	bu:gẓ		
Nobaru						

/t/ (voiceless alveolar plosive)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *t; in some of the dialects, it has undergone the following changes.

- Shimajiri and Kuninaka: t > tɕ / __i
- Karimata: t > d / C[+voiced]V__

Table 14. The voiceless alveolar plosive.

	A-077	A-154	A-177	A-018	B-029
	'bird'	'morning'	'earth'	'strength'	'one (person)'
Uechi	tou	sɨtu̥muti	m̥ta ~ m̥tḁ	taja	
Yonaha	tʊᶻŋ	sŋtʰʊmʊti	mtʰa	tʰaja	tɔʊkʲaː
Kugai	tʰuz	st̥umuti	m̥ta	tʰaja	tḁfkeː
Irabu	tʰuᶻŋ ~ tʰuŋ	stumuti	mta	tʰaja	taʊkiː
Bora	tʰʊŋ	sˑtʊmʊti	mta	tʰaja	taʊkʲa
Kuninaka	tu̥ɭ	sɨtu̥mutɕi	n̥ta	taja	taᵛkʲaː
Ōura	tʰuŋ	stumuti	nta	tʰaja	tavkʲaː
Shimajiri	tʰuᶻŋ	stumatɕi	nta	tʰaja	tʰafkjaː
Kurima	tʰuz	stumuti	mta	taja	
Ikema	tui	çi̥tumuti	nta ~ mta	taja	taukaː
Karimata	tuɯ	stumuti	nta	taja	taɸkʲa
Uruka	tuz̥	stumuti̥ ~ stumuti	m̥ta	taja	tavkʲaː
Nobaru					taʊkjaː

Table 15. Examples of t > d / C[+voiced]V__ in Karimata.

	A-029	A-051
	'belly'	'husband'
Uechi		bikidum ~ bikiʥum
Yonaha		bʊtʰʊ
Kugai	batʰa	butʰu / bikiɾʲa [old]
Irabu	bata	butu
Bora	b̥ata	b̥ʊtʰʊ
Kuninaka	bata	bu̥tu
Ōura		butu

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Shimajiri		butu
Kurima	bata	bikidumu
Ikema	bata	butu
Karimata	bada	budu
Uruka		butʰu
Nobaru		

/d/ (voiced alveolar plosive)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *d. In Shimajiri, the change d > dʑ / __i has occurred.

Table 16. The voiced alveolar plosive.

	A-005	A-037	A-059	A-111	A-182	A-017
	'tear(drop)'	'body'	'woman; female'	'branch'	'door'	'arm'
Uechi			midum ~ miᵈðum	juda		udi
Yonaha			midʊmʊ	jʊda		kʰaina
Kugai	nada / mi:nada	du:	midum	juda	jadu	udi / kʰaina ('shoulder ache')
Irabu	nada	upʰudu:	midum	ida	jadu	kʰaina
Bora	nada	dʊ:	midʊm	jʊda	jadʊ	ʊdi
Kuninaka	nada	dṵ:	midum̩	juda		udi
Ōura	nada		miduŋ	ida		udi
Shimajiri			miduŋ	juda		udʑi
Kurima	nada	du:	midumu	ida	jadu	ude
Ikema	nada	du:	miduŋ	juda	jadu	ti: / kaina 'wrist'
Karimata	nada	du:	miduŋ	ida	jadu	kaina
Uruka			midum̩	juda		kaina
Nobaru						

/k/ (voiceless velar plosive)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *k; it has undergone a variety of changes at the different sites.

33

- Karimata: k > g / C[+voiced]V__[27]
- Irabu, Kuninaka, Kurima, and Ikema: k > ts / __ ɿ
- 'k'-lenition:

    Irabu: k > h ~ x / a__a

    Shimajiri: k > χ / a__a

    Ōura: #aka > #haː

    Karimata: #aka > #haː, Caka > Caː

Table 17. The voiceless velar plosive.

	A-126	A-129	A-139	A-164	A-110
	'ash'	'wind'	'light'	'last year'	'tree'
Uechi	kaɾapʰaʎ ~ kaɾapʰaᶻ	kaʥi	pçkal	kuʥu	kiː
Yonaha	kʰaɾapaᶻɿ	kʰaʥi	pˢɻ̥kaᶻɿ	kʰʊʥʊ	kiː
Kugai	kʰaɾapʰaz	kʰaʥi	pskaz	kuʥu	kiˑ
Irabu	kʰaɾa paɿ	kʰaʥi	pˢkaɿ	kʰudu	kʰiː
Bora	kʰaɾapaɿ ~ kʰaɾapaᶻɿ	kʰaᵈʑi	pskaɿ	kʰʊʥʊ	kʰiː
Kuninaka	kaɾapaɭ	kaʥi	pi̥kaɭ	ku̥du	kiˑ
Ōura	kʰaɾapaɿ	kʰaʥi	pskaɿ	kʰuᵈzu	kʰiː
Shimajiri	kaɾapaᶻɿ	kʰaʥi	pskaᶻɿ	kʰudu	kiː
Kurima	A: kaɾabaɭ / B: kaɾabaz	kʰaʥi	pskaɭ	kʰuʥu	kiː
Ikema	kaɾahai	kʰadi	çɿ̥kai	kuʥu	kiː
Karimata	kaɾapaɯ	kʰaʥi	pskaɯ	kuʥu	kiː
Uruka Nobaru	kaɾapaᶻ̩	kaʥi	pʂkaᶻ̩	ku̥ᵈz̩u	kiː ~ kɿ̥ː

Table 18. Examples of k > g / C[+voiced]V__ in Karimata.

	A-072	A-079
	'buck'	'egg'
Uechi		tunaka
Yonaha		tʰʊnaka
Kugai	bikipʰinʣa	tunak̥ʰa
Irabu	bikipinʣa	kʰuːga

[27] Shimajiri tʰunaʁa 'egg', given in Table 18, seems to have undergone this change, as well, before the occurrence of the change k > χ / a__a in Shimajiri.

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Bora	b̥ikipinʥa	tʰʊnaka
Kuninaka	bikipinda	tunuka
Ōura		tʰunaka
Shimajiri		tʰunaʁa
Kurima	bikipʰinʥa	tʰunuka
Ikema	bikihinʥa	tunuka
Karimata	bigipinʥa	tunuga
Uruka		tu̥naka
Nobaru		

Table 19. Examples of k > ts / __ ɻ in Irabu, Kuninaka, Kurima, and Ikema.

	A-121	A-163	A-030	A-142
	'clothing; kimono'	'yesterday'	'heart/liver'	'the moon/month'
Uechi	kiŋ	kˢɨnu	kçɨmu ~ kɨmu	tsɨ̥kɨjuˑ
Yonaha	kˢɻŋ	kˢɻnʊ	kˢɻmu	tsɻkˢɻ / tsɻkˢɻnʊjʊː
Kugai	kˢïŋ	ksïnu	kˢᶻïmu	tskssu
Irabu	tˢɻŋ	tsɻnuː	tsɻmu	tstsu ~ tsttsu (?)
Bora	kˢɻŋ	kˢɻnʊː	kˢɻmʊ	tskɻ
Kuninaka	tsɨŋ	tsɨnu̥	tsɨmu	tsɨ̥ttu̥
Ōura	kˢɻŋ	kˢɻnu	kˢɻmu	tskɻ
Shimajiri	kˢɻŋ	kˢɻnu	kˢɻmu	tskɻ ~ tskˢɻ
Kurima	tsïŋ	tsïno	tsïmu	A: tsïtsï / B: tsïtsïnujuː
Ikema	tsïŋ	nnu	tsïmu	tsïtsï
Karimata	kˢïŋ	ksn̥u	kˢïmu	tskssu
Uruka	kṣn	kṣnuː	ksmu ~ kˢɻmu	tskṣ
Nobaru				

Table 20. Examples of 'k'-lenition.

Irabu: k > h ~ x / a__a

Shimajiri: k > χ / a__a

Ōura: #aka > #ha:

Karimata: #aka > #ha:, Caka > Ca:

	A-100 '(wooden) bowl'	A-025 'blood'	A-186 'grave; tomb'	A-066 'ant'	A-178 'yard; garden'
Uechi	mak˟al	aχḁtsɨ ~ aka̤tsɨ	pḁka	ak˟ɑ:l̩	
Yonaha	makʰaᶻ̩	akʰa̤tsɩ	pʰaka	aka:ᶻ̩	
Kugai	makʰazï	akatsï	pʰa̤ka	aka:ẓ	minaka
Irabu	maxaɩ ~ mahaɩ	axa̤tsɩ ~ ahatsɩ	pʰa: ~ pʰa̤:	aha:	minaha
Bora	makaᶻ̩	akʰa̤tsɩ	pʰa̤ka	aᶻ̩gaɾa (Bora) / akʰa: (Aragusuku)	minaka
Kuninaka	makal̩	ak˟a̤tsɨ	pa̤ka	aka:	
Ōura	makaɩ	ha:tsɩ	pʰaka	ha:ɩ ~ xa:ɩ	
Shimajiri	maχaɩ ~ maχaᶻ̩	aχatsɩ	pa̤χa	aχaᶻ̩	
Kurima	A: makal̩ / B: makaz	A: akatsï / B: aᵏxatsï	pa̤ka	A: akal̩ / B: akaz	minaka
Ikema	makai	akatsï	haka	akai	minaka
Karimata	ma:ɯ	ha:tsï	pa̤ka	ha:ɯ	a:ɾa / mina:
Uruka	makaẓ	aka̤tsɩ	pa̤ka	aẓgaɾa	
Nobaru					

/g/ (voiced velar plosive)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *g; it has undergone a variety of changes at the different sites.

- Irabu, Kuninaka, Kurima, and Ikema: g > dz / __ ɩ
- Shimajiri: g > ʁ / a__a
- Irabu: g > ʕ / a__a

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Table 21. The voiced velar plosive.

	A-016 'beard; mustache/hair'	A-140 'shade'	A-174 'sand'	A-032 'knee'	A-062 'mosquito'
Uechi	pˀɨgi	kagɨ	m̩nagʊ	tsɨgusɨ	gaʥam
Yonaha	pᶻn̩gi	kʰagi	nnagʊː	tsˌn̩gʊsˌn̩	gaʥam
Kugai	psgi	kʰagi	mˑnagu	tsïgusï	gaʥam
Irabu	pˢn̩gi / fʊ̥tsˌn̩pˢn̩gi	kʰaːgi	mnagu	tsˌn̩gusˌn̩	gaʥam
Bora	pˢn̩gi	kʰag	nnagʊː	tsˌn̩gʊsˌn̩	gaᵈzam
Kuninaka	pʰɨgi	kaːgi	m̩nagu	tsɨgusɨ	kadam̩
Ōura	pˢn̩gi ~ pn̩gi	kʰag	sugasˌn̩	gaᵈzaŋ
Shimajiri	bᶻn̩gi	kʰagi	nnagu	tugusˌn̩ ~ tugasˌn̩	gadaŋ
Kurima	psg	kagi	mːnagu	tsïgusï	gaʥam
Ikema	higi	kagi	nnagu	sïgusï	kadaŋ
Karimata	bzgɯ ~ bzgï ~ bïgï	kag	nnagu	tsïgasï	gaᵈzaŋ
Uruka Nobaru	psg ~ pˢn̩gi	kḁgi ~ kag	n̩nagu	tsgusˌn̩ ~ tsˌn̩gusˌn̩	gaʥam̩

Table 22. Examples of other changes of *g.

Irabu, Kuninaka, Kurima, and Ikema: g > dz / __ n̩

Shimajiri: g > ʁ / a__a

Irabu: g > ʕ / a__a

	A-033 'leg'	A-091 'sugar cane'	A-124 'mirror'	A-143 'the east'
Uechi	pagɨ	buːgɨ	kagam̩	aɣal
Yonaha	pʰagᶻn̩	buːgᶻn̩	kʰagam	agaᶻn̩
Kugai	pʰaʥï	buːgᶻï	kʰagam	aḡaz
Irabu	pʰaʥn̩	buːʥn̩	kʰaʕam	aʕan̩
Bora	pʰaᵈzn̩ ~ pʰagᶻn̩	bʊːgᶻn̩ ~ bʊːʥn̩	kʰagam	agan̩
Kuninaka	pazɨ	bʊ̣ːʥɨ	kagam̩	agaɭ
Ōura	pʰagn̩ ~ pʰagᶻn̩	buːgn̩ ~ buːgᶻn̩	kʰagaŋ	(agan̩ ~) aːn̩
Shimajiri	pʰagn̩ ~ pʰagᶻn̩	buːgn̩ ~ buːgᶻn̩	kʰaʁaŋ	aʁan̩
Kurima	pʰaʥï	buːʥï	kagam	A: agaɭ / B: agaz
Ikema	haʥï	buːʥï	kagaŋ	agai
Karimata	pʰagɯ	buːgï	kʰagaŋ	aːɯ
Uruka	pagẓ	buːgẓ	kagam̩	agaẓ
Nobaru	pagn̩			

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3.1.2 Affricate

/ts/ (voiceless alveolar affricate)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *ts; it is almost always followed by /ɿ/. Depending on the dialect, there are words where /t/ is encountered instead before other vowels (e.g. Shimajiri ata 'tomorrow').

In addition, Proto-Miyako *kɿ has changed into /tsɿ/ in Irabu, Kuninaka, Bora, and Ikema.

Table 23. The unvoiced alveolar affricate.

	A-031 'mother's milk; breast'	A-025 'blood'	A-142 'the moon/month'	A-160 'tomorrow'	A-101 'tea bowl; rice bowl'
Uechi	tsɨ	aχa̰tsɨ ~ aka̰tsɨ	tsɨ̰kiju·	aɕa / atɕ	
Yonaha	tsɿ:	akʰa̰tsɿ	tsɿkˢɿ / tsɿkˢɿnʊjʊ:	atsa	
Kugai	tsï·	akatsï	tskssu	attsa	tɕʰabaŋ
Irabu	tsɿ:	axa̰tsɿ ~ ahatsɿ	tstsu ~ tsttsu (?)	atsa	tɕabaŋ
Bora	tssɿ	akʰa̰tsɿ	tskɿ	atsa	tɕabaŋ
Kuninaka	tsɨ	akˣa̰tsɨ	tsɨ̰ttṵ	ata	
Ōura	tsɿ	ha:tsɿ	tskɿ	atsa	
Shimajiri	tssɿ	aχatsɿ	tskɿ ~ tskˢɿ	ata	
Kurima	A: tsï / B: tssï	A: akatsï / B: aᵏxatsï	A: tsïtsï / B: tsïtsïnuju:	atɕa	tɕabaŋ
Ikema	tsï:	akatsï	tsïtsï	atɕa	tɕabaŋ
Karimata	tzï:	ha:tsï	tskssu	atsa	tɕabaŋ
Uruka Nobaru	tsɿ:	aka̰tsɿ	tskṣ	atsa̰	

Table 24. tsɿ < *kɿ in Irabu, Kuninaka, Bora, and Ikema.

	A-030 'heart/liver'	A-121 'clothing; kimono'	A-009 'breath'
Uechi	kɕɨmu ~ kɨmu	kɨŋ	
Yonaha	kˢɿ̥mu	kˢɿŋ	
Kugai	kˢᶻïmu	kˢïŋ	ikˢï
Irabu	tsɿmu 'liver'	tˢɿŋ	itsɿ
Bora	kˢɿmʊ	kˢɿŋ	ikˢɿ
Kuninaka	tsɨmu	tsɨŋ	itsɨ
Ōura	kˢɿmu	kˢɿŋ	ikɿ

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Shimajiri	ksɿmu	ksɿŋ	
Kurima	tsïmu	tsïŋ	A: iˡtsï / B: iꞵsï
Ikema	tsïmu	tsïŋ	iki
Karimata	ksïmu	ksïŋ	ikɯ
Uruka	ksmu ~ ksɿmu	ks̩n	
Nobaru			

3.1.3 Fricatives

/s/

[s] (voiceless alveolar fricative)

[ɕ] (voiceless alveopalatal fricative) / __ i

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *s; when followed by 'i', its place of articulation moves closer to the palate.

In Ōura and at other sites, the following changes have occurred.

- Ōura and Shimajiri: *sɿ > ɿ / __ C[+voiced]
- Yonaha, Bora, and Ōura: *s > ts / N __

Additionally, in Ōura and Shimajiri, for example, 'ssV' deriving from *fusV is encountered.

Table 25. The voiceless alveolar/alveopalatal fricative.

	A-156 'evening'	A-173 'coral reef'	A-032 'knee'	A-113 'grass'	A-098 'miso; fermented soybean paste'	A-007 'lip'	A-008 'tongue'
Uechi	jusaɾabi	pɕii̥ ~ pɕi	tsïgusɨ	fu̥sa	m̩su	sïba	sïda
Yonaha		ɕiː / pʰi̥ɕi	tsɿgʊsɿ	fsa	mtsʊ	sˀɿba	sˀɿda
Kugai	jusaɾabi	pɕɕi	tsïgusï	fsa	msu	sïba	sïda
Irabu	jusaɾabi	pɕɕi	tsɿgusɿ	fu̥sa	msu	sɿba	sta
Bora	jʊsaɾabi	pɕɕi ~ pi̥ɕi	tsɿgʊsɿ	fu̥sa	mtsʊ	sɿba	sɿda
Kuninaka		pi̥ɕi	tsïgusï	f̩sa	n̩su̥	sïbaɣa	si̥ta / sta
Ōura		pɕɕi	sugasɿ	ssa	ntsu	NR	ɿda ~ ˀɿda
Shimajiri		pi̥ɕi	tugusɿ ~ tugasɿ	ssa	nsu	ˀɿba	ˀɿda
Kurima	jusaɾabi	pɕi	tsïgusï	fsa	A: mːsu / B: mːso	sïba	sïda
Ikema	jusaɾabi	pi̥ɕi	sïgusï	fu̥sa (= [fʷsa])	nsu	fu̥tsï	ɕta
Karimata	jusaɾabi	pɕɕi	tsïgasï	fu̥sa	nsu	sïba	sta

Uruka Nobaru	pi̥çi	tsgusˌ~ tsˌgusˌ	fsa	m̩su ~ m̩su̥	sb̥a ~ sb̥a	sˌda ~ sˌda / sda

/z/

[z] ~ [dz] (voiced alveolar fricative/affricate)

[ʑ] ~ [dʑ] (voiced alveopalatal fricative/affricate) / __ i

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *z; when preceded by 'i', its place of articulation moves closer to the palate. There is free variation between the fricatives and the affricates.

In addition, it has the following properties in the different dialects.

- Uechi and Kurima: except when followed by 'ˌ', it surfaces as [ʑ] ~ [dʑ].
- Ikema: dʑa[28], di, dʑu, dzˌ
- Shimajiri and Kuninaka: except when followed by 'i' or 'ˌ', /d/ is used instead.
- In Irabu, Kuninaka, Kurima, and Ikema, *gˌ has changed into /dzˌ/.

Table 26. The voiced alveolar/alveopalatal fricative/affricate.

	A-023 'elbow'	A-164 'last year'	A-062 'mosquito'	A-183 'gate'	A-129 'wind'
Uechi	pidʑi	kudʑu	gadʑam	dʑoˑ	kadʑi
Yonaha	pʰidʑˌ	kʰʊdʑʊ	gadʑam	dʑo:	kʰadʑi
Kugai	pʰidʑï	kudʑu	dʑo:	gadʑam	kʰadʑi
Kugai	pʰidʑï	kudʑu	gadʑam	dʑo:	kʰadʑi
Irabu	pʰidʑˌ	kʰudu	gadʑam	dʑo:vtsˌ	kʰadʑi
Bora	pʰidˌzˌ	kʰʊdʑʊ	gaᵈzam	dʑo: (Bora) / dʑaʊ (Aragusuku)	kʰaᵈʑi
Kuninaka	pʰidʑɨ	ku̥du̥	kadam̩	dau̥	kadʑi
Ōura	pʰidʑˌ	kʰuᵈzu	gaᵈzaŋ	dʑo:futsˌ 'entrance'	kʰadʑi
Shimajiri	pidʑˌ	kʰudu	gadaŋ	dau	kʰadʑi
Kurima	pidʑï	kʰudʑu	gadʑam	dʑo:	kʰadʑi
Ikema	hidʑi	kudʑu	kadʑaŋ	dʑau	kʰadi
Karimata	pidʑï	kudʑu	gaᵈzaŋ	dʑo:	kʰadʑi
Uruka Nobaru	pi̥dʑˌ ~ pidʑˌ	ku̥ᵈẓu	gadʑam̩	dʑau	kadʑi

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[28] According to the data in Table 26, the Ikema form for 'gate' is 'dzau', but in a survey of our own we have recorded 'dʑau'.

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Table 27. g > dz / __ ɿ in Irabu, Kuninaka, Kurima, and Ikema.

	A-033	A-091	A-118
	'leg'	'sugar cane'	'nail; spike; peg'
Uechi	pagɨ	buːgɨ	fugɨ
Yonaha	pʰagᶻɿ	buːgᶻɿ	fʊgᶻɿ
Kugai	pʰadʑï	buːgᶻï	kʰanifugz / fugz
Irabu	pʰadʑɿ	buːdʑɿ	fudʑɿ
Bora	pʰaᵈzɿ ~ pʰagᶻɿ	bʊːgᶻɿ ~ bʊːdʑɿ	fʊgᶻɿ
Kuninaka	pazɨ	bṳːdʑɨ	kanifudʑɨ
Ōura	pʰagɿ ~ pʰagᶻɿ	buːgɿ ~ buːgᶻɿ	kʰanifugɿ
Shimajiri	pʰagɿ ~ pʰagᶻɿ	buːgɿ ~ buːgᶻɿ	fugᶻɿ
Kurima	pʰadʑï	buːdʑï	fudʑï / kʰanfudʑï
Ikema	hadʑï	buːdʑï	kanifudʑï
Karimata	pʰagɯ	buːgï	fugï ~ fugɯ
Uruka	pagz̩	buːgz̩	fg̊z̩
Nobaru	pagɿ		

/f/ (voiceless labiodental fricative)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *f; it generally has the sound value [f], but in rare cases it can also surface as a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]. The 'k' in the word for 'cloud' in the data given below seems to have been used under the influence of Standard Japanese.

In Ōura, for example, *fusV has changed into 'ssV'.

Table 28. The voiceless labiodental fricative.

	A-094	A-172	A-132	A-004	A-006
	'food'	'boat; ship'	'cloud'	'forehead'	'mouth'
Uechi	faˑmunu	funʲi	kumu		fṳtsɨ
Yonaha	foːmʊnʊ	fʊni	fʊm		fʊ̥tsɿ
Kugai	foːmunu	funi	fumu	ftai	ftsï
Irabu	faɿmunu	funi	fumu	fṳtai	fṳtsɿ
Bora	faʊmʊnʊ	fʊni	fʊmʊ	fṳtai	fṳtsɿ
Kuninaka	faṳmunu	funi	fumu	fṳtaɿ	fṳtsɨ
Ōura	foːmunu	funi	kʰumu	fṳtai ~ ftai	fṳtsɿ
Shimajiri	faumunu	funi	fuma		ftsɿ

Kurima	foːmunu	funi	fumu	ftęˑ	ftsï
Ikema	faimunu	funi	m̥mu	ftai	fu̥tsï
Karimata	faumunu	funi	fumu	ftai	fu̥tsï
Uruka Nobaru	faumunu	ɸu̥nʲi	ɸu̥mu		fts ~ ftsɻ̩

Table 29. *fusV > ssV in Ōura and Shimajiri.

	A-113 'grass'	A-003 'comb'
Uechi	fu̥sa	fu
Yonaha	fsa	fˢɻʊ
Kugai	fsa	fsï
Irabu	fu̥sa	fu̥sɻ̩
Bora	fu̥sa	fu̥sɻ̩
Kuninaka	fsa	fsu
Ōura	ssa	sː ~ sɻː
Shimajiri	ssa	ssɻ̩
Kurima	fsa	fu̥sï
Ikema	fu̥sa (= [fʷsa])	fu̥çi
Karimata	fu̥sa	fu̥sï = fʷsï
Uruka Nobaru	fsa	fs̩ ~ fs̩ɻ̩ ~ fu̥sɻ̩

/v/

[v] (voiced labiodental fricative)

[ʋ] (voiced labiodental approximant)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *v; it is used not only as an onset consonant, but also as a syllable nucleus (with the exception of Ikema). In either environment, there is variation between the fricative and the approximant; its degree of stricture is high in some dialects and low in others. There are also dialects in which it assimilates to 'u' when preceded by 'u' (see 'rice porridge' in the table below). Furthermore, variation between /f/ ~ /v/ is observed among dialects for some vocabulary items.

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Table 30. The voiced labiodental fricative/approximant.

	A-035	A-043	A-095	A-096
	'calf (of the leg)'	'you'	'oil'	'rice porridge'
Uechi		vva		juʋ
Yonaha	kʰʊːʋa	ʋʋa		jʊː
Kugai	kuvva	vva	avva	juʋ
Irabu	kʰuvva	jaː	avva	ʥuːɕa
Bora	kʊvva	vva ~ ʋva	avva ~ aʋva	jʊʋ ~ jʊʋ
Kuninaka	kṳʋʋa	ʋʋa	aʋʋa	jṳ·ʋ
Ōura	NR	ʋʋa		juʋ
Shimajiri	kuvva ~ kuʋva	vva		juʋ
Kurima	kuvva	vva	avva	juʋ
Ikema	kuvva	vva	avva	juː
Karimata	kuʋʋa	ʋva	aʋʋa	N/R
Uruka	kṳʋ̞va ~ kṳʋʋa	vva		juʋ̞
Nobaru				

Table 31. Variation among dialects between /f/ ~ /v/ (examples in which /f/ in Uechi, Kugai, and Shimajiri corresponds to /v/ in the other dialects).

	B-029	A-184/A-149
	'one (person)'	'front'
Uechi		mafkjaː
Yonaha	tɔʋkʲaː	maʋkʰʲaː
Kugai	tafkeː	mafkʲa ~ mafi̥kʲa
Irabu	taʋki:	maʋkjaː
Bora	taʋkʲaː	maʋkʲaː
Kuninaka	taᵛkʲaː	maʋkjaː
Ōura	tavkʲaː	
Shimajiri	tʰafkjaː	mafkjaː
Kurima		moːtʰu[29]
Ikema	tauka:	maukʲaː
Karimata	taɸkʲaː	maukjaː / mafkʲa
Uruka	tavkʲaː	mavkjaː ~ maʋkjaː
Nobaru	taʋkjaː	

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[29] This word has a derivation different from those given for the other dialects.

/h/

[h] (voiceless glottal fricative) /__a

[ç] (voiceless palatal fricative) /__i

[ɸ] (voiceless bilabial fricative) /__u

This sound has the following two derivations.

- From *p: only in Ikema, /p/ has changed into /h/.
- From *k: only when adjacent to 'a'; in Irabu and Karimata, for example.

See Table 12 for examples.

/χ/ (voiceless uvular fricative) [χ]

This sound is only encountered in Shimajiri; it is the result of *k in *aka undergoing a sound change. See Table 20 for examples. This sound occurs nowhere else in the Japanese archipelago.

/ʁ/ (voiced uvular fricative) [ʁ]

This sound is only encountered in Shimajiri; it is the result of *g in *aga undergoing a sound change. See Table 22 for examples. This sound occurs nowhere else in the Japanese archipelago.

/ʕ/ (voiced pharyngeal fricative) [ʕ]

This sound is only encountered in Irabu; it is the result of *g in *aga undergoing a sound change[30]. See Table 22 for examples. This sound occurs nowhere else in the Japanese archipelago.

3.1.4 Nasals

/m/ (voiced bilabial nasal)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *m. It is a bilabial nasal when used as a syllable onset, but there are also dialects (Ōura, Shimajiri, Ikema, and Karimata) in which it loses its place of articulation and merges with /n/, becoming the equivalent of the Japanese moraic nasal, when used moraically (as a syllable nucleus or as a coda consonant).

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[30] This sound has previously been described as a glottal stop.

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Table 32. The voiced bilabial nasal.

	A-030	A-071	A-127	A-130	A-187
	'heart/liver'	'horse'	'water'	'whirlwind; tornado'	'there (distal)'
Uechi	kçїmu ~ kїmu	nu:ma	miʥɨ	amainoŭ	kama
Yonaha	kˢ̩mu	nʊ:ma	miᵈz̩	amaino:	kʰama
Kugai	kˢᶻïmu	nu:ma	miʥï	ama.ino:	kʰama
Irabu	ts̩mu	nu:ma	miᵈz̩	amaino:	kʰama ~ kʰama:
Bora	kˢ̩mʊ	nʊ:ma	miᵈz̩	amaino:	kʰama
Kuninaka	tsɨmu	nṵ:ma	miʥɨ	amaɪnʊ	kama
Ōura	kˢ̩mu	numa	miʥ̩	amaino:	kʰama
Shimajiri	kˢ̩mu	nu:ma	miʥ̩	amaino:	kama
Kurima	tsïmu	nu:ma	miʥï	ama.ino:	kama
Ikema	tsïmu	nu:ma	miʥï	amaunau	kama
Karimata	kˢïmu	nu:ma	mi(ᵈ)zï	ino:	kama
Uruka Nobaru	ksmu ~ kˢ̩mu	nu:mḁ	miʥ̩	amainau	kʰḁma:

Table 33. When it is used moraically (as a syllable nucleus or as a coda consonant).

	A-170	A-062	A-059	A-098	A-177
	'sea'	'mosquito'	'woman; female'	'miso; fermented soybean paste'	'earth'
Uechi	im̩	gaʥam	midum ~ miᵈðum	m̩su	m̩ta ~ m̩tḁ
Yonaha	im	gaʥam	midʊmʊ	mtsʊ	mtʰa
Kugai	im	gaʥam	midum	msu	m̩ta
Irabu	im	gaʥam	midum	msu	mta
Bora	im	gaᵈzam	midʊm	mtsʊ	mta
Kuninaka	im̩	kadam̩	midum̩	n̩su̩	n̩ta
Ōura	iŋ	gaᵈzaŋ	miduŋ	ntsu	nta
Shimajiri	iŋ	gadaŋ	miduŋ	nsu	nta
Kurima	im	gaʥam	midumu	A: m:su / B: m:so	mta
Ikema	iŋ	kaʥaŋ	miduŋ	nsu	nta ~ mta
Karimata	iŋ	gaᵈzaŋ	miduŋ	nsu	nta
Uruka Nobaru	im̩	gaʥam̩	midum̩	m̩su ~ m̩su̩	m̩ta

/n/

[n] (voiced alveolar nasal)

[ŋ] (voiced velar nasal) /__#

   This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *n. It is an alveolar nasal when used as a syllable onset; when used moraically (as a syllable nucleus or as a coda consonant), its place of articulation assimilates to that of the following phoneme, it becoming the equivalent of the Japanese moraic nasal.

Table 34. The voiced alveolar nasal.

	A-172	B-054	A-131	A-079	A-028
	'boat; ship'	'flower'	'earthquake'	'egg'	'bone'
Uechi	funʲi		nai	tunaka	puni
Yonaha	fʊni		nai	tʰʊnaka	puni
Kugai	funi		nai	tunak̟ʰa	pʰuni
Irabu	funi	pana	nai	kʰuːga	pʰuni
Bora	fʊni	pʰana	nai	tʰʊnaka	pʰʊni ~ pʊni
Kuninaka	funi		naɪ	tunuka	puni
Ōura	funi	pana	nai	tʰunaka	pʰuni
Shimajiri	funi	pʰana	nai	tʰunaʁa	pʰuni
Kurima	funi		nai	tʰunuka	pʰuni
Ikema	funi	hana	nai	tunuka	huni
Karimata	funi	pana	naɯ	tunuga	pʰuni
Uruka	ɸu̥nʲi		nai	tu̥naka	pu̥ni ~ pʰuni
Nobaru		pana			

Table 35. The voiced velar nasal (word-final).

	A-101	A-121
	'tea bowl; rice bowl'	'clothing; kimono'
Uechi		kɨŋ
Yonaha		ksɹ̩ŋ / ksɹ̩mʊnʊ
Kugai	tɕʰabaŋ	ksïŋ
Irabu	tɕabaŋ	tsɹ̩ŋ
Bora	tɕabaŋ	ksɹ̩ŋ
Kuninaka		tsɨŋ

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Ōura		kˢɭŋ
Shimajiri		kˢɭŋ
Kurima	tɕabaŋ	tsïŋ
Ikema	tɕabaŋ	tsïŋ
Karimata	tɕabaŋ	kˢïŋ
Uruka		kṣn
Nobaru		

/n̥/

[n̥] (voiceless alveolar nasal)

[m̥] (voiceless bilabial nasal) /__C [+labial]

   This sound is only encountered in Ikema. The two allophones have arisen through the sound changes *tsɭNV > n̥NV and *fumV > m̥mV, respectively. This sound occurs nowhere else in the Japanese archipelago. ('nnu' given below as the Ikema form for 'horn (of an animal)' and 'yesterday' appears to be a mistranscription for 'n̥nu' in both cases.)

Table 36. The voiceless alveolar/bilabial nasal.

	A-132 'cloud'	A-073 'horn (of an animal)'	A-163 'yesterday'
Uechi	kumu	tsɨnu	kˢɨnu
Yonaha	fʊm	tsɭnʊ	kˢɭnʊ
Kugai	fumu	tsïnu	ksïnu
Irabu	fumu	tsɭnu ~ tsɭno	tsɭnu:
Bora	fʊmʊ	tsɭnʊ	kˢɭnʊ:
Kuninaka	fumu	tsɨn̪	tsɨn̪
Ōura	kʰumu	tsɭnu	kˢɭnu
Shimajiri	fuma	tsɭnu	kˢɭnu
Kurima	fumu	tsïnu	tsïno
Ikema	m̥mu	nnu	nnu
Karimata	fumu	tsn̥u	ksn̥u
Uruka	ɸʉmu	tsnu ~ tsɭn̥u	kṣnu:
Nobaru			

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3.1.5 Liquid

/ɾ/ (voiced alveolar tap)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *ɾ. It is consistently encountered as [ɾ] at all of the sites when used as a syllable onset. In one dialect, that of Kuninaka, it can be used moraically, in which case it surfaces as an alveolar lateral approximant [l][31].

Table 37. The voiced alveolar tap.

	A-055	A-092	A-156
	'child; minor'	'sickle; scythe'	'evening'
Uechi	jaɾabi	ⁱzzaɾa	jusaɾabi
Yonaha		zzaɾa	
Kugai	jaɾabi [new]	zzaɾa	jusaɾabi
Irabu	jaɾabi	ɭzaɾa	jusaɾabi
Bora	jaɾabi	zzaɾa	jʊsaɾabi
Kuninaka	jaɾabi	ⁱzzaɾa	
Ōura	jaɾabi	ᶻɭzaɾa	
Shimajiri		zzaɾa	
Kurima	jaɾabi	zzaɾa	jusaɾabi
Ikema	jaɾabi	zzaɾa ~ ᵈzaɾa	jusaɾabi
Karimata	jaɾabi	ïzaɾa	jusaɾabi
Uruka	jaɾabi	zzaɾa	
Nobaru			

Table 38. Moraic /ɾ/ in Kuninaka.

	A-077	A-155	A-126	A-139	A-143
	'bird'	'daytime'	'ash'	'light'	'the east'
Uechi	tou	pˢɨma	kaɾapʰaʎ ~ kaɾapʰaᶻ	pçkal	aɣal
Yonaha	tʊᶻɭ	pˢɭ̥ma	kʰaɾapaᶻɭ	pˢɭ̥kaᶻɭ	agaᶻɭ
Kugai	tʰuz	psïma	kʰaɾapʰaz / pʰaz(ï)	pskaz	aḡaz
Irabu	tʰuᶻɭ ~ tʰuɭ	pˢɭ:ma	kʰaɾa paɭ	pˢkaɭ	aʕaɭ
Bora	tʰʊɭ	pˢɭ:ma	kʰaɾapaɭ ~ kʰaɾapaᶻɭ	pskaɭ	agaɭ
Kuninaka	tʊl	pʰɨl:ma	kaɾapal	pɨkal	agal

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[31] Moraic /ɾ/ derives from *ɭ. The Uechi and Kurima forms in Table 10 also contain laterals, but these correspond phonologically to /ɭ/.

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Ōura	tʰuɳ	pˢɳma	kʰaɾapaɳ	pskaɳ	(agaɳ ~) aːɳ
Shimajiri	tʰuᶻɳ	pˢɳnaχa / pˢɳma	kaɾapaᶻɳ	pskaᶻɳ	aʁaɳ
Kurima	tʰuz	pssïma	A: kaɾabaɭ / B: kaɾabaz	pskaɭ	A: agaɭ / B: agaz
Ikema	tui	hiːma	kaɾahai	çi̥kai	agai
Karimata	tuɯ	psm̥a	kaɾapaɯ	pskaɯ	aːɯ
Uruka	tuz̞	pˢɳːma	kaɾapaz̞	pṣkaz̞	agaz̞
Nobaru					

3.1.6　　　Approximants

/j/ (voiced palatal approximant)

This sound corresponds to Proto-Miyako *j.

Table 39. The voiced palatal approximant.

| | A-055 | A-111 | A-165 | A-179 | A-182 |
	'child; minor'	'branch'	'a long time ago'	'house'	'door'
Uechi	jaɾabi	juda	ŋkjaːŋ		
Yonaha		jʊda	ŋkʲaːŋ		
Kugai	jaɾabi [new]	juda	ŋkjaːŋ	jaː	jadu
Irabu	jaɾabi	ida	mkiːŋ	jaː	jadu
Bora	jaɾabi	jʊda	ŋkʲaːŋ	jaː	jadʊ
Kuninaka	jaɾabi	juda	ŋkjaːŋ		
Ōura	jaɾabi	ida	ŋkʲaːŋ	jaː	
Shimajiri		juda	ŋkjaːŋ		
Kurima	jaɾabi	ida	ŋkjaːŋ	jaː	jadu
Ikema	jaɾabi	juda	ŋkʲaːŋ	jaː	jadu
Karimata	jaɾabi	ida	ikjaːŋ	jaː	jadu
Uruka	jaɾabi	juda	ŋkjaːŋ		
Nobaru					

/w/ (voiced labiovelar approximant)

As Proto-Japonic *w changed into Proto-Miyako *b, there are only a few examples of this sound; it is only used before the vowel /a/. As it appears in only a limited number of words, such as that for 'pig', and is in a complementary distribution with 'v', it may be an allophone of 'v'. In fact, in many dialects (Yonaha, Kugai, Bora, Shimajiri, and Uruka) it surfaces

as the approximant [ʋ], close to [v], rather than as [w]. In the other dialects, it appears to have become 'v' when used as a geminate, coda consonant, or syllable nucleus, and 'w' when used as a single onset consonant[32].

Table 40. The voiced labiovelar approximant.

	A-075
	'pig'
Uechi	wa:
Yonaha	ʋa:
Kugai	va:
Irabu	wa:
Bora	ʋa: ~ wa:
Kuninaka	wa:
Ōura	wa:
Shimajiri	ʋa:
Kurima	wa:
Ikema	wa:
Karimata	wa:
Uruka	ʋa:
Nobaru	

3.1.7 On whether there are glottalized sounds

According to, for example, Hirayama (ed., 1983), some of the dialects have the glottalized sounds /tˀ, tsˀ, kˀ/. Sounds that are phonetically close to the glottalized sounds widely encountered in the Northern Ryukyus are indeed observed, but they only appear word-initially, and together with the accompanying vowel, they have a length of two morae (e.g. Shimajiri ttu 'person; human being')[33]. Their distinctive feature is therefore their length; it seems they should be interpreted phonologically as geminates, laryngeal tension occurring phonetically because they are stops[34]. Furthermore, they differ from the glottalized sounds

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[32] For this reason, Pellard (2009:336) reconstructs the proto-form as *v.

[33] In the Miyako dialects, the minimum word length is two morae.

[34] Nakama (1984) takes his view, as well. Furthermore, differently from the glottalized sounds of Yonaguni and the like, they are the result of lexical rather than regular changes and therefore few in number; they are encountered only in some words in some of the dialects.

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of the Northern Ryukyus in that they have all arisen through vowel elision (e.g. Shimajiri ttu < Proto-Miyako *pɿtu 'person; human being'). The following sounds are observed.

[tˀ] ~ [tt]:   Ikema '(tobacco) pipe', Shimajiri 'person; human being'

[kˀ] ~ [kk]:   Ikema 'nine (things)' (although it appears as 'kukunutsɨ' in the reported data, the variant 'kkunutsɨ' is also encountered)

[tsˀ] ~ [tts]:   Ikema 'sago palm', Irabu '(tobacco) pipe'

Table 41. Words containing sounds phonetically close to glottalized sounds.

	A-060 'person; human being'	B-113 '(tobacco) pipe'	B-027 'nine (things)'	B-076 'sago palm'
Uechi	pi̥su			
Yonaha	pˢɿ̥tʰu			
Kugai	pstu			
Irabu	pstu	ttɕ(ɿ)z	kukunutsɿ	sditsɿ
Bora	pstʊ	kʰiɕi:l̩ᶻ	kukunutsɨ	ɕukʰatsɨ̥
Kuninaka	pʰi̥tu		kokonotsɨ	sotetsɨ
Ōura	pstu	kiɕiᶻɿ	kukunutsɿ	
Shimajiri	ttu	ki̥ɕiɿ	ku̥kunutsɿ	
Kurima	pstu			
Ikema	pʰi̥tu ~ ɕtu ~ ɕto	t'i: tti:?	ku̥kunutsɿ	ttɕu:tsɿ
Karimata	pstu	kˢɨsɨɯ	ku̥kunutsɯ	stɿtsɯ / sɿsuʑɯ / ssuʑɯ
Uruka	pstu̥ ~ pstu̥			
Nobaru		kiɕiᶻɿ	ku̥kunutsɿ	sotetsɿ

3.2   Consonant systems

In the above, we have looked at each of the consonant phonemes of the Miyako dialects; the different consonant systems can be summarized as follows.

- The phonemes common to all the dialects:

  /p, b, t, d, k, g, ts, s, z, f, v, h, m, n, ɾ, j, w/
- Phonemes that are encountered only in some of the dialects:
  - /χ/: Shimajiri
  - /ʁ/: Shimajiri
  - /ʕ/: Irabu
  - /ŋ̊/: Ikema

4　Syllables

At present, there has not yet been any research in which the syllable is discussed as a principal unit of articulatory rules in the Miyako dialects. We use the term 'syllable' to refer to a descriptive unit of, mainly, morphophonology and phonotactics[35].

There are many possible interpretations of the syllable structure of the Miyako dialects, depending on to what degree the syllabic consonants discussed in section 2.1.4 are recognized and on whether the glottalized sounds discussed in the previous section are recognized. We take the view that only /v, m, n, r/ can be syllabic consonants, recognizing geminates for other consonants, as was discussed in section 3.1. The syllable structure is then as in (5).

(5)　(i)　$(C_1)(C_2)(j)V(V)(C_3)$
　　　(ii)　$(C_4)C_{5}(C_6)$

Of these, (i) applies to syllables with a vowel as the nucleus, while (ii) applies to those with a consonant as the nucleus.

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[35] As a result, it also has properties that are not wholly compatible with general syllable theory, such as the fact that the first 'C' in 'CCV' has a length of one mora.

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- Cases in which both C_1 and C_2 are occupied involve either a geminate[36], of a fricative or a resonant /s, z, f, v, m, n, ɾ/, or a partial geminate with /v, m/ as C_1. Furthermore, in Ikema, Shimajiri, and Irabu, for example, geminates of plosives and affricates such as 't', 'k', and 'ts' can also occupy C_1 and C_2.

  E.g. ssan 'louse', ffa 'child', nta 'earth', ttu 'person; human being'

- C_3 can be occupied by /v, m, n, ɾ/ ('ɾ' only in Kuninaka; also, 'v' cannot occupy this position in Ikema).

- VV can be occupied by either a long vowel or a sequence of two different vowels. We have not, however, been able to discuss questions such as what kinds of vowel sequences are (or are not) possible in each of the dialects in this chapter.

- C_6 can be occupied by a consonant identical to C_5 (resulting in a long consonant). C_5 can be occupied by /v, m, n, ɾ/ ('v' cannot occupy this position in Ikema). Also, C_4 can only be filled before /ɾ/ (in Kuninaka); it can only be occupied by labials ('p', 'b', and 'm').

  E.g. vv 'to sell', mm 'sweet potato', mɾɾna ([m̩ːna~mɨ̩ːna]) 'garlic chive'

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[36] We have discussed in section 2.1.4 how the geminates in 'ssam' ('louse') and 'ffa' ('child') have arisen as the result of the fricativization of a close vowel and the assimilation of a following liquid or semivowel. Although this fricativized vowel is maintained in the nominal-morphological interpretation that posits the same sound change, we view words like these as containing a geminate without a vowel. This is because they are the result of a sound change that has already been completed and therefore do not require the kind of synchronic analysis that is required in nominal morphology, and because the CCV syllable type that we assume for words such as 'ssam' ('louse') is independently needed for word-initial stop geminates such as that in Shimajiri 'ttu' ('person; human being').

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The Nominal Accent System of the Yonaha Dialect of the Southern Ryukyuan Language of Miyako: A Preliminary Report

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1   Introduction

The Ryukyuan language group comprises five languages, namely Amami, Okinawan (together constituting the Northern Ryukyuan group), Miyako, Yaeyama, and Yonaguni (together constituting the Southern Ryukyuan group) (Pellard 2009, 2011; Shimoji 2010). The Yonaha dialect, which will be the subject of analysis in this chapter, is a dialect of Miyako, a language in the Southern Ryukyuan group. It is spoken in the Yonaha district of Shimoji, Miyakojima City, Okinawa Prefecture.

My aim in this chapter is to describe the nominal accent system of the Yonaha dialect by analyzing the data obtained in a one-hour accent survey conducted with one native speaker, focusing especially on the surface realizations of accent patterns and the classification of vocabulary items falling under each pattern.

2   Descriptions in the literature

2.1   Overview

A description of the accent system of the Yonaha dialect may be found in the work of Teruo Hirayama et al. (1967). They state that while pitch is generally level, so that it can easily be mistaken for a one-pattern accent system, there is in fact a contrast between a low level pattern and a high level pattern (Hirayama et al. 1967:27). This description tells us, firstly, that the Yonaha dialect has a two-pattern accent system (see Uwano 1984), and secondly, that no marked pitch movements are observed in utterances of this dialect.

Hirayama et al. indicate that although the Yonaha dialect has a two-pattern accent system, a phenomenon is observed in which the distinction between the accent patterns is becoming unclear in the speech of younger speakers, which they call 'accent conflation'. In particular, they state, a partial or complete coalescence of the accent patterns has occurred in verbs and adjectives. If the younger generation of the 1960s, when Hirayama et al. conducted their survey, can be defined as ranging from 10 to 25 years of age, the speakers in question must have been between their early sixties and late seventies in 2011, when our survey was conducted. As will be detailed below, the

analysis in this chapter is based on the utterances of a native speaker that was 75 years of age at the time. If, therefore, the description by Hirayama et al. is accurate, the distinction between the Yonaha dialect accent patterns that are the subject of the analysis in this chapter might have become unclear.

2.2   Classification of vocabulary items

According to Hirayama et al. (1967), the two-mora nouns of classes 1 through 3 (see Kindaichi 1974) fall under one accent pattern and those of classes 4 and 5 under the other in the Yonaha dialect (II-1,2,3/4,5). As regards three-mora nouns, however, the majority of classes 1 through 4 and part of class 5 fall under one accent pattern, while the majority of class 5 and almost all of classes 6 and 7 fall under the other (III-1,2,3,4,(5)/5,6,7). It has already been demonstrated sufficiently, however, that the classification of vocabulary items under accent patterns in the Ryukyuan languages cannot be explained by positing only the coalescence of classes (Hattori 1958, 1979; Matsumori 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2008, 2010, 2011). When discussing the classification of vocabulary items under accent patterns in the Ryukyuan languages, it is useful to adopt the concept of classifying vocabulary items into 'series', as proposed by Akiko Matsumori.

These 'series' are classes of words distinguished by the accent patterns of Proto-Ryukyuan, as reconstructed by comparing the modern Ryukyuan dialects (Matsumori 2000b). Matsumori posits the existence of a distinction in Proto-Ryukyuan between at least two accent patterns for one-mora words and at least three for those with two or more morae, and calls the word classes distinguished by these accent patterns 'series A', 'series B', and 'series C'. The order of the uppercase letters in these names is based on the correspondences between these series and the traditional classes. Specifically, the series that comprises almost all of the two-mora nouns of classes 1 and 2 is called 'series A', the series that comprises the majority of class 3 and part of classes 4 and 5 is called 'series B', and the series that comprises a minority of class 3 and part of classes 4 and 5 is called 'series C'.

When the description by Hirayama et al. regarding which words fall under which accent pattern in the Yonaha dialect is re-examined using this classification by series, it is observed that series A and series B have coalesced into one accent pattern, series C constituting the other (A,B/C), as is pointed out by Matsumori (2011).

In the following, I will use the term 'pattern AB' for the accent pattern of the majority of the vocabulary items of series A and B in the Yonaha dialect and the term 'pattern C' for the accent pattern of the majority of the vocabulary items of series C. When referring to the accent patterns of Ryukyuan dialects that have a three-pattern accent system, I will use the terms 'pattern A', 'pattern B', and 'pattern C' for the accent patterns of the majority of the vocabulary items of series A, B, and C, respectively.

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2.3 Surface realizations

The surface realizations of the accent patterns of the Yonaha dialect according to Hirayama et al. (1967) are given in Table 1. Below, I will follow custom in indicating the position of a pitch rise with '[' and that of a pitch drop with ']'. Judging by the realizations and the vocabulary items falling under the two patterns, the pattern that Hirayama et al. call the 'low level pattern' appears to correspond to our pattern AB, while the pattern they call the 'high level pattern' appears to correspond to our pattern C. Although Hirayama et al. give realizations of two-mora nouns both in isolation and followed by the particle *nudu* (nominative case + focus marker) and a predicate, they only give realizations in isolation for three-mora nouns.

Table 1. The descriptions by Hirayama et al. (1967) of the realizations of
each of the accent patterns; the transcription is that of Hirayama et al. (1967).

No. of morae	Accent pattern	Utterance in isolation	Utterance followed by the marker *nudu* (nominative case + focus marker)
Two morae	Low level pattern (AB pattern)	jama 'mountain'	jama nudu [ʔaɨ. 'There is a mountain.'
	High level pattern (C pattern)	[usɨ 'mortar; millstone'	[usɨ nudu ʔaɨ. 'There is a mortar.'
Three morae	Low level pattern (AB pattern)	fu̥kuru 'bag; sack; pouch'	
	High level pattern (C pattern)	[fu̥suɨ 'medicine'	

As is clear from Table 1, pattern-AB words are realized entirely at low pitch, while pattern-C words are realized entirely at high pitch. When a two-mora noun is followed by the particle *nudu*, the pitch of the noun is maintained in the particle. In other words, the particle is realized with low pitch in the case of a pattern-AB noun and with high pitch in the case of a pattern-C noun.

3 Analysis

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Survey date and location

The data were obtained on September 7, 2011 in Shimoji, Miyakojima City, Okinawa Prefecture.

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3.1.2 Informant

The survey was conducted with one male informant, born in 1936 (75 years of age at the time of the survey), who has lived in Yonaha his entire life. His parents and wife are also all from Yonaha.

3.1.3 Surveyed vocabulary

When compiling the vocabulary list used in the survey, I referred to the word forms of cognates in the Tarama (Matsumori 2010) and Ikema (Igarashi et al. 2012) dialects, which are also dialects of Miyako, to make sure that roughly the same number of two-mora nouns and three-mora nouns would be included. Vocabulary items were selected with the purpose of examining the correspondences between the traditional classes and the series in mind.

There is as yet no established view on what words constitute each series. I therefore used data from the Tarama dialect (Matsumori 2010) as a substitute for a classification into series in selecting items for the vocabulary list. This dialect has a three-pattern accent system and is among the dialects whose accent patterns display a systematic correspondence with those of other Ryukyuan languages. I made sure that of the items on the vocabulary list, roughly the same number would fall under each of the three Tarama dialect accent patterns (patterns A, B, and C).

As regards the traditional classes, I referred to *Akusento Chōsa Goi (B)* (*Accent Survey Vocabulary Items (B)*), a private printing by Zendo Uwano (see Uwano 1985 for the included vocabulary items), to make sure that at least one word of each class would be included in my selection of items for the vocabulary list.

Although 71 words had been included on the vocabulary list, the number of words that were actually recorded in the field and whose accent patterns could be identified through analysis is 66 (36 two-mora nouns, 25 three-mora nouns, and 5 four-mora nouns). They are given in Tables 3 and 4. Below, I will use a simplified phonetic transcription for words of the Yonaha dialect. [ɿ] represents an apical vowel; long vowels are transcribed using doubled vowel symbols.

In the survey, the vocabulary was recorded both uttered in isolation and inserted into the carrier sentences given in Table 2. One carrier sentence consisted of the surveyed vocabulary followed by the particle *nudu* (nominative case + focus marker) and a predicate; a second consisted of the surveyed vocabulary followed by the particle *mee* 'too; also' and a predicate[1]. The various predicates used are also given in Table 2.

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[1] A carrier sentence in which the demonstrative *kunu* 'this' was placed before and the particle *ja* (topic marker) after the surveyed vocabulary was used, as well, but as only a small portion of the surveyed vocabulary was uttered with this carrier sentence, I excluded it from the data for the analysis.

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Table 2. Carrier sentences; X indicates the surveyed vocabulary.

Utterance in isolation	X.	'X.'
Surveyed vocabulary + particle *nudu* + predicate	X nudu nʲaaŋ / uɾaŋ.	'There is no X.' (*nʲaaŋ* for inanimate; *uɾaŋ* for animate)
	X nudu aa / uu.	'There is X.' (*aa* for inanimate; *uu* for animate)
Surveyed vocabulary + particle *mee* + predicate	X mee nʲaaŋ / uɾaŋ.	'There is no X, either.' (*nʲaaŋ* for inanimate; *uɾaŋ* for animate)
	X mee aa.	'There is X, too.' (inanimate)
	X mee aa dussɿ.	'There is X, too.' (inanimate)
	X mee aɾii duu.	'There is X, too.' (inanimate)

3.1.4 Analysis procedure

The analysis is based on a combination of my own auditory impression of the recorded utterances and a visual inspection of the fundamental frequency (F0) curves extracted from the utterances. As the analysis in this chapter is of a preliminary nature and the quality and quantity of the data are limited, I did not perform a quantitative analysis. I used *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2011) to analyze the F0 curves.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Overview

The validity of the descriptions in the existing literature was mostly confirmed. The range of pitch movement in the Yonaha dialect seems to be mostly narrow; one gets the impression that there are no marked fluctuations. This can be considered to be consistent with the description by Hirayama et al. (1967), who state that pitch is generally level. Furthermore, there is a distinction between at least two accent patterns in this dialect, again matching the description by Hirayama et al. (1976). Definitive evidence for a three-way distinction was not found (see Section 3.2.4, however). As regards the classification of vocabulary items, series A and series B have mostly merged to fall under one accent pattern, series C falling under the other (A,B/C), which again matches the description in the literature (Matsumori 2011).

Facts contradicting descriptions in the literature were also found, however. Hirayama et al. (1967) stated that a phenomenon was underway in which the distinction between the accent patterns was becoming unclear in the generation of our informant (accent conflation), but the results of our analysis indicate that a clear distinction between the accent patterns has been retained. The surface realizations of the accent patterns according to the analysis results do not completely match the description by Hirayama et al. (1967), which was given in Table 1.

3.2.2   Classification of vocabulary items

The accent patterns of the surveyed vocabulary according to the analysis results are given in Tables 3 and 4. In cases where the traditional classification contains a corresponding vocabulary item (a cognate), its class is indicated to the left of the Yonaha dialect word form.

As is clear from the table, all of the vocabulary items falling under pattern A in the Tarama dialect fall under pattern AB in the Yonaha dialect, with the exception of one word (*munuŋ* 'language; word'). All of the vocabulary items falling under pattern B in the Tarama dialect, too, fall under pattern AB in the Yonaha dialect, again with the exception of one word (*pɥsŋ* 'star; celestial body'), and all of the vocabulary items falling under pattern C in the Tarama dialect also fall under pattern C in the Yonaha dialect. This result supports Matsumori's (2011) view that series A and series B have merged in the Yonaha dialect (A,B/C).

Table 3. The correspondences between the accent patterns of
the Yonaha dialect and those of the Tarama dialect (first half).

			Accent patterns of the Yonaha dialect			
			Pattern AB		Pattern C	
		1-mora class 1	puu	'sail; canvas'	— munuŋ	'language; word'
		1-mora class 2	naa	'name'		
		2-mora class 1	ika / ikʲa	'squid'		
		2-mora class 1	usŋ	'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)'		
		2-mora class 1	zzu	'fish'		
		2-mora class 1	fṵtsŋ	'mouth'		
		2-mora class 1	kɥsŋ	'lower back; waist'		
		2-mora class 1	juda	'branch'		
		2-mora class 1	musŋ	'bug; insect'		
		2-mora class 2	kabŋ	'paper'		
		2-mora class 2	pi̥tu	'person; human being'		
Accent patterns of the Tarama dialect	Pattern A	2-mora class 2	isŋ	'stone'		
		2-mora class 2	kaa	'water well'		
		2-mora class X	kami	'turtle; tortoise'		
		2-mora class X	tuŋ	'bird'		
		3-mora class 1	butu	'husband'		
		3-mora class 1	kḁtaa	'shape; form'		
		3-mora class 1	buduŋ	'dancing; dance'		
		3-mora class 1	judaŋ	'drool'		
		3-mora class 1	panatsŋŋ	'nosebleed'		
		3-mora class 4	kagam	'mirror'		
		3-mora class 4	fṵkuru	'bag; sack; pouch'		
		3-mora class 4	kujum	'calendar'		
		—	ffa	'child; offspring'		
		—	tuzŋ	'wife'		
		—	bikidumu	'man; male/husband'		

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Table 4. The correspondences between the accent patterns of
the Yonaha dialect and those of the Tarama dialect (second half).

			Accent patterns of the Yonaha dialect					
			Pattern AB			Pattern C		
Accent patterns of the Tarama dialect	Pattern B	1-mora class 3	tii	'hand; arm'		2-mora class 1	pu̥sɿ	'star; celestial body'
		2-mora class 3	mm	'sweet potato'				
		2-mora class 3	pana	'flower'				
		2-mora class 4	jadu	'door'				
		2-mora class 4	dʑiŋ	'money'				
		2-mora class 5	ami	'rain'				
		3-mora class 1	kuɾuma	'car'				
		3-mora class 4	uza	'quail'				
		3-mora class 5	maffa	'pillow'				
		3-mora class 5	avva	'oil'				
		—	ŋki	'scale (of an animal)'				
		—	kaina	'arm'				
		—	kamatsɿ	'cheek'				
		—	midumu	'woman; female'				
		—	sajafu	'carpenter'				
	Pattern C					2-mora class 3	puni	'bone'
						2-mora class 3	uja	'grandfather'
						2-mora class 3	maaɿ	'ball'
						2-mora class 4	usɿ	'mortar; millstone'
						2-mora class 4	im	'sea'
						2-mora class 4	funi	'boat; ship'
						2-mora class 5	madu	'(spare) time'
						2-mora class 5	nabi	'pot; pan'
						3-mora class 4	oogɿ	'(folding) fan'
						3-mora class 4	paa̯sam	'scissors; shears'
						3-mora class 5	pookɿ	'broom'
						3-mora class 6	ssam	'louse'
						3-mora class 7	fu̥suɿ	'medicine'
						—	sa̯ta	'sugar'
						—	tida	'the sun'
						—	waa	'pig'
						—	aagu	'song'
						—	gazam	'mosquito'
						—	mmaga	'grandchild'
						—	jaɾabi	'child; minor'
						—	miipana	'face'
						—	nuʑʑuu	'thread; string'
						—	ɕiibuni	'spine'

Below, I will briefly discuss the words with irregular series or class correspondences. I will consider not only correspondences with the Tarama dialect, but also those with the Okinoerabu

dialect of Amami (Matsumori 2000b) and the Kin dialect of Okinawan (Matsumori 2008). Like the Tarama dialect, these dialects have a three-pattern accent system.

As *pᵢsɿ* 'star; celestial body' is a two-mora class 1 word in the traditional classification, the views given in the literature regarding the correspondences between the traditional classification and the accent patterns of the Ryukyuan languages would lead one to expect it to be a series-A word (Hattori 1958, 1979; Matsumori 1998 et seq.). As it has a pattern-B accent in the Tarama dialect of Miyako and a pattern-C accent in the Yonaha dialect, however, the correspondence is irregular. In the Kin dialect of Okinawan, on the other hand, the correspondence is regular, it having a pattern-A accent (Matsumori 2008).

As *fᵤkuru* 'bag; sack; pouch' is a three-mora class 4 word in the traditional classification, one would expect it to be either a series-B or a series-C word, but as it has a pattern-A accent in the Tarama dialect of Miyako, the correspondence is irregular. In the Yonaha dialect, on the other hand, it has a pattern-B accent, so the correspondence appears to be regular. It has a pattern-C accent in the Kin dialect of Okinawan, however, so the correspondences among the dialects are nonetheless irregular.

Similarly, *pasam* 'scissors; shears' is a three-mora class 4 word in the traditional classification, so one would expect it to be a series-B or a series-C word. This word has a pattern-C accent both in the Tarama dialect of Miyako and in the Yonaha dialect, but as it has a pattern-B accent in the Kin dialect of Okinawan, the correspondences among the dialects are irregular.

As *kagam* 'mirror' and *kujum* 'calendar', too, are three-mora class 4 words in the traditional classification, one would expect them to be either series-B or series-C words. Although the correspondences appear to be regular in the Kin dialect of Okinawan, where these words have a pattern-B accent, they are irregular in the case of the Tarama dialect of Miyako, where they have a pattern-A accent. In the Yonaha dialect, on the other hand, they have a pattern-AB accent, so it cannot be determined whether the correspondences are regular.

Lastly, although no cognate of the word *munuɿ* 'language; word' is included in the traditional classification, it has a pattern-B accent both in the Tarama dialect of Miyako and in the Okinoerabu dialect of Amami. In the Yonaha dialect, however, it has a pattern-C accent, so the correspondence is irregular.

3.2.3   Realizations in 'noun + *nudu* + predicate'

Let us first examine the realizations of nouns followed by the particle *nudu* and a predicate. Two examples of realizations of two-mora nouns are given in Figure 1. The top portion of the figure contains the acoustic waveforms, the middle portion the F0 curves, and the bottom portion

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transcriptions of the words and their morae. The vertical lines crossing the acoustic waveforms and F0 curves indicate mora boundaries.

In the pattern-AB example, F0 rises in the second mora of the particle *nudu*; before that, F0 remains low. In the pattern-C example, on the other hand, F0 rises in the second mora of the noun and remains high until the end of the particle *nudu*. The pitch of the first mora of the pattern-C noun appears not to be stable. Although the pitch of this mora is sometimes perceived to be at the same level as that of the second mora (that is, high), it is also sometimes perceived as lower than that of the second mora. This may be connected to the 'sudden word-initial drop' discussed below.

Hirayama et al. (1967) give a description of the realization of two-mora nouns followed by the particle *nudu* (Table 1). Let us compare it to the results of our analysis. The description by Hirayama et al. is different from our analysis results in that they state that all morae are realized with low pitch in pattern AB, including those of the particle *nudu*. It is unclear whether this is due to a generational or individual difference or caused by something else. As regards pattern C, on the other hand, Hirayama et al. state that all morae, including those of the particle *nudu*, are realized with high pitch, which mostly matches the results of our analysis (this is limited, however, to realizations in which F0 remains at roughly the same level throughout the first and second morae).

As is clear from the left-hand part of Figure 1, a sudden word-initial drop of F0 is observed in two-mora pattern-AB nouns (it is unclear if this can also be observed in two-mora pattern-C nouns). It is at present unclear whether this drop is an attribute of the beginning of the word (the beginning of the prosodic word) or an attribute of the beginning of a higher-level prosodic unit. In the following, I will call this drop the 'sudden word-initial drop'.

This sudden word-initial drop is perceptible, but, at least in the case of two- and three-mora nouns, it does not give the same kind of auditory impression as initial-high-pattern nouns in the Tokyo dialect. This sudden word-initial drop gives one the auditory impression of the pitch of the voice tracing a concave curve. Moreover, while this sudden word-initial drop is perceived distinctly in some tokens, it is hardly perceived in others—in the case of two- and three-mora nouns, at least. It is at present unclear whether the sudden word-initial drop is a linguistically significant attribute. I will consider this question again when I will examine four-mora nouns.
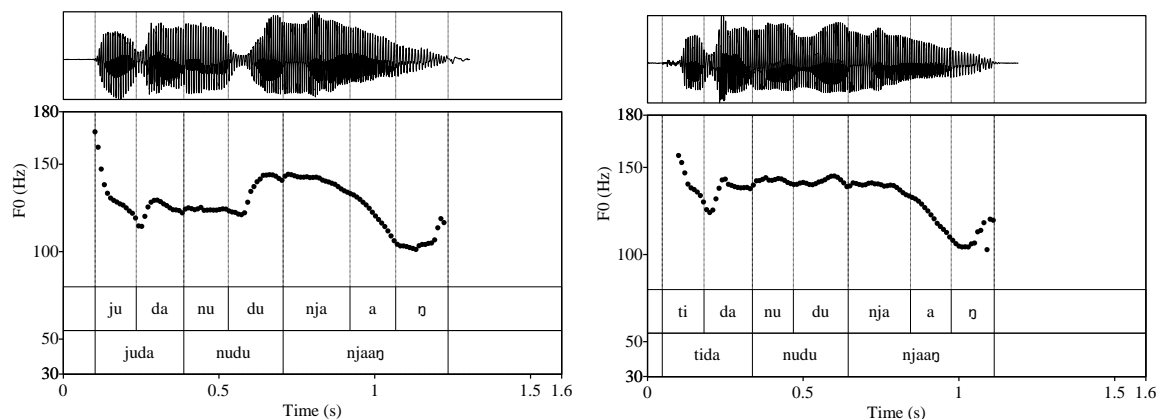
Figure 1. Two-mora noun + *nudu* + predicate;
pattern-AB *juda* 'branch' (left), pattern-C *tida* 'the sun' (right).

Two examples of realizations of three-mora nouns are given in Figure 2. In the pattern-AB example, F0 rises in the second mora of the particle *nudu*, similarly to two-mora pattern-AB nouns. It is also similar to two-mora pattern-AB nouns in that a sudden word-initial drop is observed.

In the pattern-C example, F0 rises in the third mora of the noun and remains high until the end of the particle *nudu*; it remains low before the third mora of the noun. At the beginning of the word, a sudden word-initial drop is observed.

Differently from Figure 1, a drop in F0 is observed from the particle *nudu* into the predicate in Figure 2; this is not due, however, to the accent pattern of the noun, but rather to that of the predicate (*nʲaaŋ* vs. *uraŋ*).
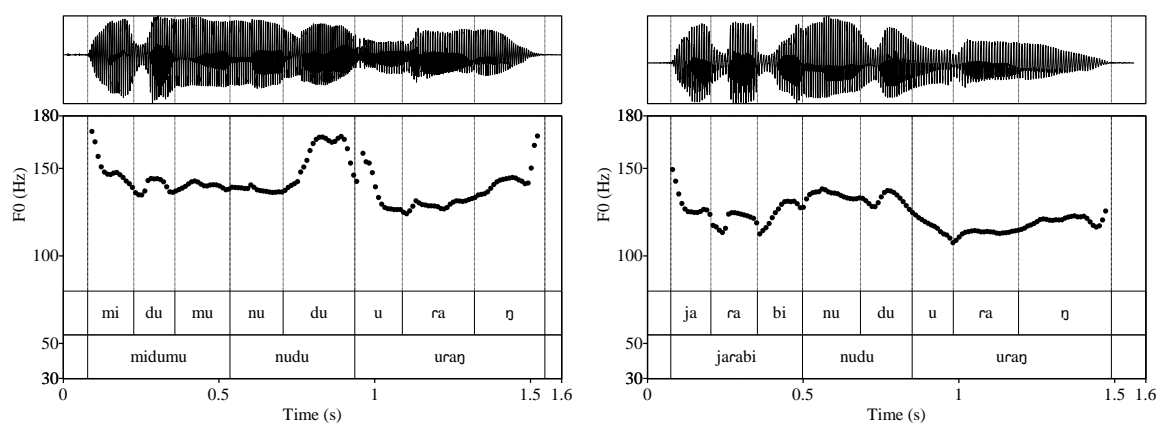
Figure 2. Three-mora noun + *nudu* + predicate;
pattern-AB *midumu* 'woman; female' (left); pattern-C *jaɾabi* 'child; minor' (right).

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Two examples of realizations of four-mora nouns are given in Figure 4. In the pattern-AB example, F0 rises in the second mora of the particle *nudu*, similarly to two- and three-mora pattern-AB nouns. In the pattern-C example, on the other hand, F0 rises in the third mora of the noun and remains high until the end of the particle *nudu*, similarly to three-mora pattern-C nouns.

Both in the pattern-AB example and in the pattern-C example, a drop in F0 is observed from the first mora of the noun into the second mora. This drop is different from the sudden word-initial drop observed in two- and three-mora nouns, both acoustically and in terms of the auditory impression it gives. In two- and three-mora nouns, the F0 drop is completed in a very short time, so F0 has a low value for most of the first mora. In four-mora nouns, on the other hand, F0 has a high value for most of the first mora, the F0 drop occurring from around the end of the first mora into the second mora. Consequently, the beginning of four-mora nouns gives an auditory impression similar to initial-high-pattern nouns in the Tokyo dialect; that is, an impression of a high-pitched first mora and a low-pitched second mora. I will call the phenomenon observed in four-mora nouns 'word-initial prominence'. It is unclear whether this is an attribute of the beginning of the word or an attribute of the beginning of a higher-level prosodic unit.
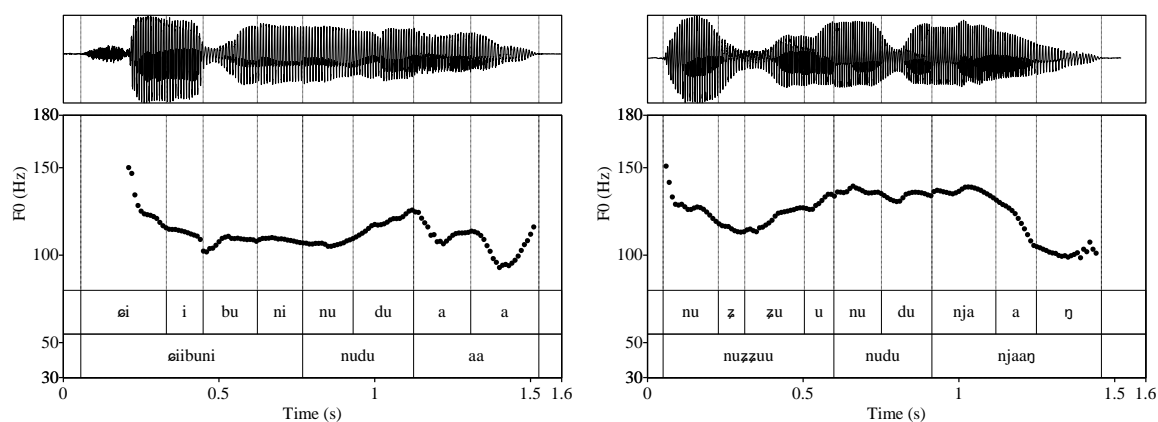

Figure 3. Four-mora noun + *nudu* + predicate;

pattern-AB *ɕiibuni* 'spine' (left), pattern-C *nuzzuu* 'thread; string' (right).

In the environment of 'four-mora noun + particle *nudu* + predicate', the combination of this word-initial prominence with the F0 rise that occurs in the second mora of the particle *nudu* in the case of pattern AB and in the third mora of the noun in the case of pattern C results in high-pitched morae being perceived in two places, surrounding morae perceived as low-pitched. In other words, a realization with what has traditionally been called 'double-contour pitch' is observed[2].

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[2] Akiko Matsumori had informed me before the survey that double-contour pitch can be observed in nouns comprising a large number of morae.

Whether there is a connection between this word-initial prominence in four-mora nouns and the sudden word-initial drop in two- and three-mora nouns or they are independent phenomena is a matter that has to be resolved in future research[3].

3.2.4   Realizations in 'noun + *mee* + predicate'

Next, let us examine the realizations of nouns followed by the particle *mee* and a predicate. As will become clear below, these realizations differ from those of nouns followed by the particle *nudu*. As the difference observed between these two environments is marked, it may be possible to view this phenomenon as an alternation between different accent patterns depending on the adjacent element[4].

Two examples of realizations of two-mora nouns are given in Figure 4. It appears that in this environment, the distinction between pattern AB and pattern C is neutralized. In both accent patterns, F0 is low in the first mora, rises in the second mora, and remains high until the end of the particle. In addition, a sudden word-initial drop is observed at the beginning of the word.
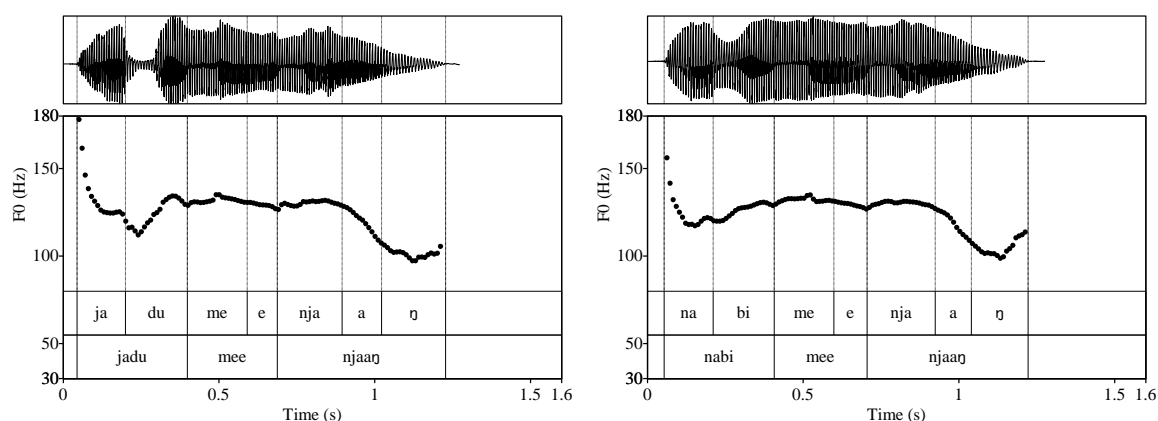
Figure 4. Two-mora noun + *mee* + predicate;

pattern-AB *jadu* 'door' (left), pattern-C *nabi* 'pot; pan' (right).

Two examples of realizations of three-mora nouns are given in Figure 5. In the pattern-AB example, F0 rises in the third mora of the noun and remains high until the end of the particle. At

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[3] In my subjective observation, sudden word-initial drops also occur in some of the Japanese dialects that, similarly to the Yonaha dialect, have an accent pattern in which pitch starts low word-initially and rises in the middle of the word, such as the Kagoshima dialect and the dialect of Goshogawara in Aomori Prefecture. It interesting that dialects with what is called 'double-contour pitch' are found in the vicinity of the areas where these dialects are spoken (for example, the dialect of Yamada Town in Iwate Prefecture (Onishi 1989) and the dialect of Koshikijima in Kagoshima Prefecture (Kamimura 1941)).

[4] Akiko Matsumori had informed me before the survey that such an alternation between accent patterns can be observed in this dialect.

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the beginning of the word, a sudden word-initial drop is observed. In the pattern-C example, on the other hand, the whole noun is realized with a high F0, after which it drops from the end of the noun into the beginning of the particle, rising again in the second mora of the particle. A sudden word-initial drop is observed in this environment, as well.
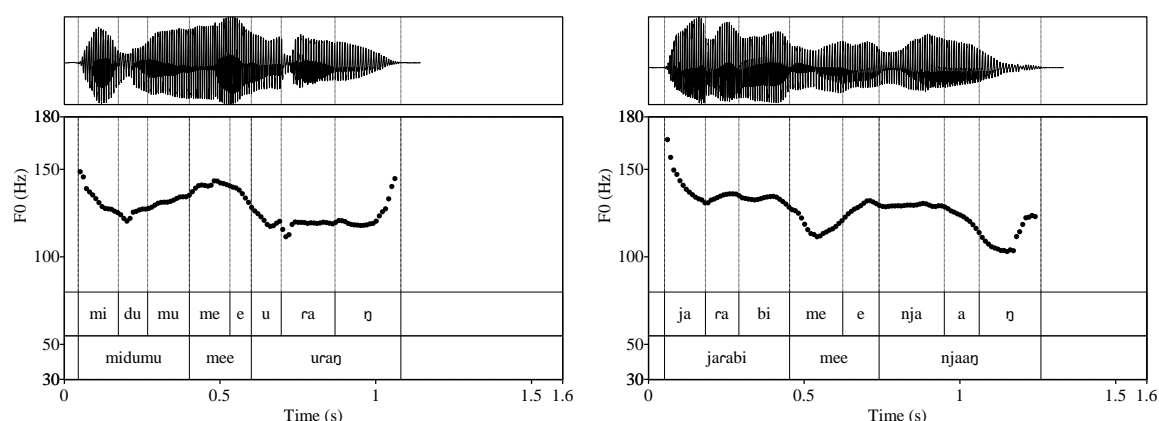
Figure 5. Three-mora noun + *mee* + predicate;

pattern-AB *midumu* 'woman; female' (left), pattern-C *jaɾabi* 'child; minor' (right).

Two examples of realizations of four-mora nouns are given in Figure 6. In the pattern-AB example, word-initial prominence is observed—in other words, the first mora is high-pitched and the second mora low-pitched—after which F0 rises in the third mora, remaining high until the end of the particle. In the pattern-C example, on the other hand, roughly the whole noun is realized with a high F0, after which a drop in F0 is observed from the end of the noun into the beginning of the particle; F0 rises again in the second mora of the particle.
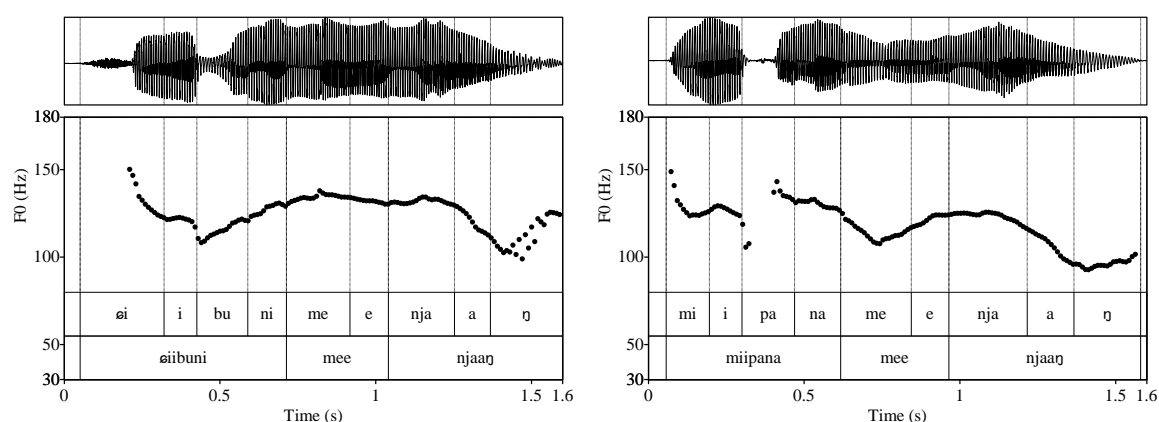
Figure 6. Four-mora noun + *mee* + predicate;

pattern-AB *ɕiibuni* 'spine' (left), pattern-C *miipana* 'face' (right).

3.2.5   Realizations in utterances in isolation

Lastly, let us examine the realizations of nouns uttered in isolation. In isolation, the realizations of two-mora nouns that fall under pattern AB as well as those that fall under pattern C fluctuate between a falling pattern and a rising pattern. A 'falling pattern' refers here to a realization in which the first mora has high pitch and the second mora low pitch, while a 'rising pattern' refers to a realization in which the first mora has low pitch and the second mora high pitch. Consequently, pattern AB and pattern C cannot always be distinguished when these words are uttered in isolation. As is explained below, however, a falling pattern and a rising pattern are not always equally likely to occur.

Pattern-C words are more often realized with the rising pattern. There were eleven two-mora pattern-C nouns, but among them, *uja* 'parent', *waa* 'pig', and *pusʅ* 'star; celestial body' are the only three words that were pronounced with the falling pattern at least once. If we use the term 'falling pattern ratio' for the number we get by dividing the number of tokens of a certain word that were realized with the falling pattern in isolation by the total number of tokens of that word and multiplying the result by 100, the falling pattern ratio for pattern-C words was 21.2% (N = 11, SD = 40.2). It therefore seems justified to view the rising pattern as the typical realization of pattern-C words when uttered in isolation.

In pattern-AB words, on the other hand, no marked difference is found between the number of realizations with the falling pattern and the number of realizations with the rising pattern. There were 25 two-mora pattern-AB nouns, among which 16 words were realized with the falling pattern at least once. The falling pattern ratio was 50.3% (N = 25, SD = 44.9). It is therefore difficult to determine whether the falling pattern or the rising pattern is the typical realization of pattern-AB words.

An example of a minimal pair with contrasting accent patterns (pattern-AB *usʅ* 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' and pattern-C *usʅ* 'mortar; millstone'), uttered in isolation, is given in Figure 7. At least in the data used for this analysis, pattern-AB *usʅ* 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' was always realized with a falling pattern and pattern-C *usʅ* 'mortar; millstone' always with a rising pattern. That there are pattern-AB words that are realized both with the falling pattern and with the rising pattern is shown in Figure 8. In this case, pattern-AB *ika* 'squid' was realized with both patterns.

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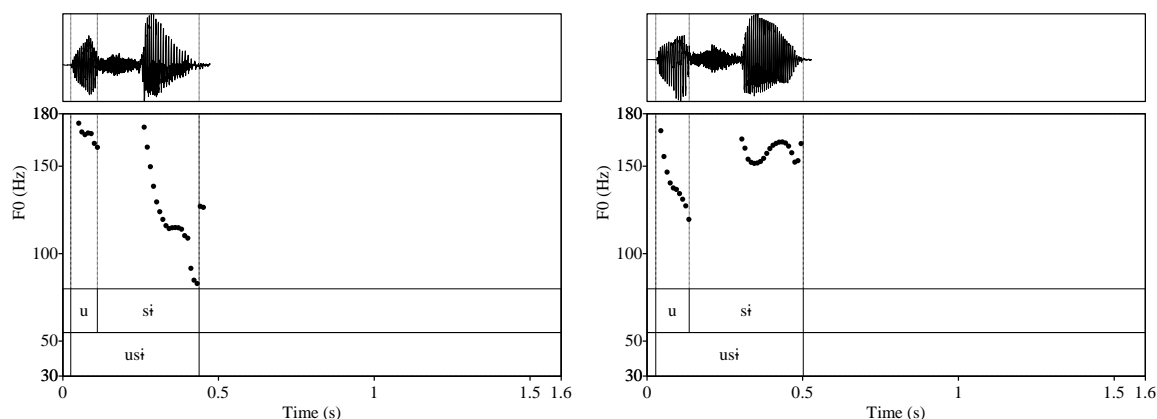
Figure 7. Two-mora nouns uttered in isolation;

pattern-AB *usʔ* 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)' (left), pattern-C *usʔ* 'mortar; millstone' (right).
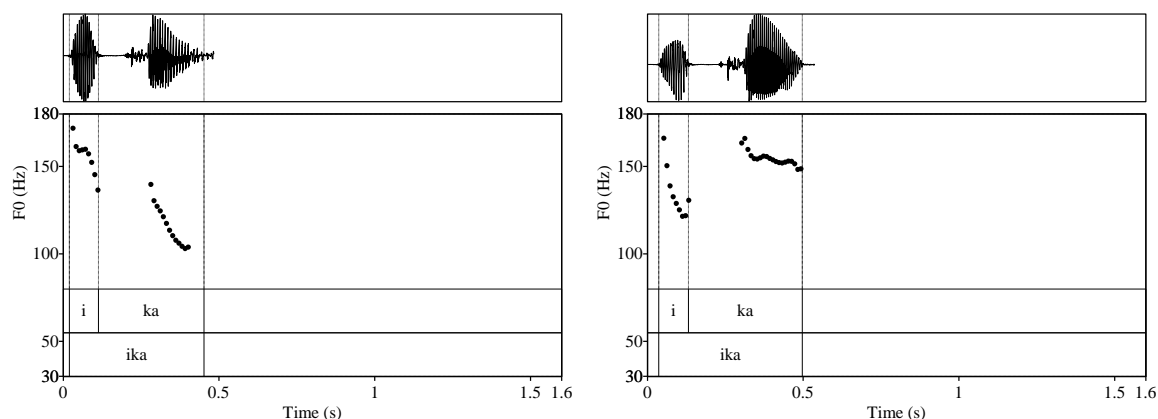
Figure 8. Fluctuation in a two-mora AB-pattern noun uttered in isolation;

pattern-AB *ika* 'squid' realized with falling pitch (left) and with rising pitch (right).

As Hirayama et al. (1967) give a description of the realization of two-mora nouns uttered in isolation (Table 1), let us compare it to the results of our analysis. According to the description by Hirayama et al., all morae are realized with low pitch in pattern AB; this does not match our analysis results. They state that all morae are realized with high pitch in pattern C; this, too, does not match our analysis results. It is unclear whether this is due to a generational or individual difference or caused by something else.

Let me next point out some interesting tendencies that were observed in the fluctuation in the realizations of two-mora pattern-AB words uttered in isolation, bearing in mind that as the quality and quantity of the data used for this analysis are limited, the likelihood that they are due to chance is very high.

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A tendency towards one of the series was observed in the two-mora pattern-AB nouns that were realized with the rising pattern. The seven words among the two-mora pattern-AB nouns that are regarded as belonging to series B were always realized with the rising pattern, with the exception of one word (all except the last word of *ami* 'rain', *mm* 'sweet potato', *pana* 'flower', *tii* 'hand; arm', *jadu* 'door', *dziŋ* 'money', and *uza* 'quail'). The falling pattern ratio of the series-B words was 14.2% (N = 7, SD = 37.8). This result suggest that the rising pattern is the typical realization of series-B words. Among the eighteen words regarded as belonging to series A, on the other hand, no more than three words were always realized with the rising pattern (only the last three words of *butu* 'husband', *ffa* 'child; offspring', *fu̧cɿ* 'mouth', *ika* 'squid', *isɿ* 'stone', *kaa* 'river', *kami* 'turtle; tortoise', *musɿ* 'bug; insect', *naa* 'name', *pɿ̊tu* 'person; human being', *puu* 'sail; canvas', *tuɿ* 'bird', *tuzɿ* 'wife', *us̩ɿ* 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)', *zzu* 'fish', *kabɿ* 'paper', *ku̧sɿ* 'lower back; waist', and *juda* 'branch'). The falling pattern ratio of the series-A words was 64.4% (N = 18, SD = 40.0). This result suggests that the falling pattern is the typical realization of series-A words.

Provided that these results are not due to chance, they show that in the Yonaha dialect, there is a distinction in accent patterns between series A on the one hand and series B and C on the other in two-mora nouns uttered in isolation (A/B,C). As was discussed in sections 3.2.2 through 3.2.4, in other environments a distinction in accent patterns is made between series A and B on the one hand and series C on the other in two-mora nouns (A,B/C). This means, in other words, that the Yonaha dialect does not have a two-pattern, but a three-pattern accent system—provided that these results are not due to chance. Further research is needed to confirm this.

Next, let us examine three-mora nouns uttered in isolation. Two examples of realizations of three-mora nouns uttered in isolation are given in Figure 9. In the pattern-AB example, F0 is low in the first two morae and rises in the third mora. At the beginning of the word, a sudden word-initial drop is observed. In the pattern-C example, on the other hand, F0 is high in the first two morae and drops in the third mora. At the beginning of the word, a sudden word-initial drop is observed.

As Hirayama et al. (1967) give a description of the realization of three-mora nouns uttered in isolation (Table 1), let us compare it to the results of our analysis. According to the description by Hirayama et al., all morae are realized with low pitch in pattern AB; this does not match our analysis results. They state that all morae are realized with high pitch in pattern C; this, too, does not match our analysis results. It is unclear whether this is due to a generational or individual difference or caused by something else.

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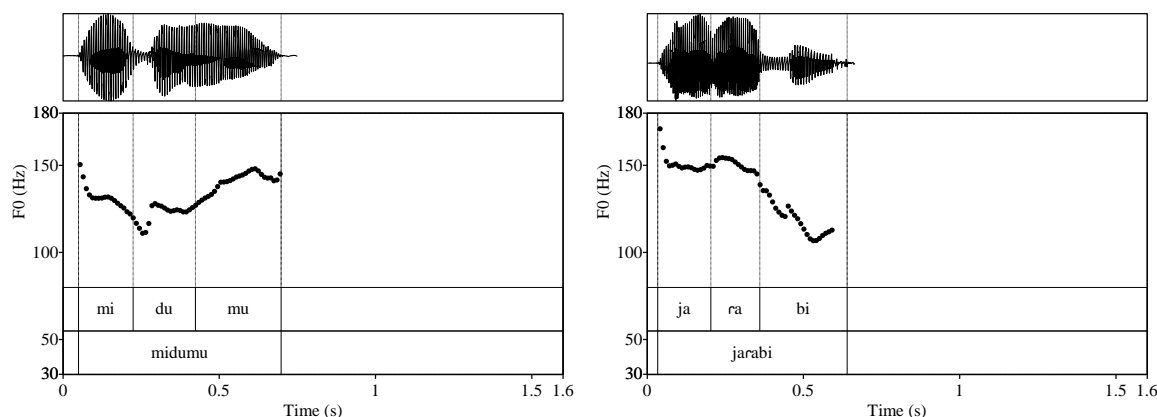
Figure 9. Three-mora nouns uttered in isolation;

pattern-AB *midumu* 'woman; female' (left), pattern-C *jaɾabi* 'child; minor' (right).

Let us next examine four-mora nouns uttered in isolation. Two examples of realizations of four-mora nouns uttered in isolation are given in Figure 10. In the pattern-AB example, F0 is low in the first three morae and rises in the fourth mora. There appears to be no word-initial prominence, but a sudden word-initial drop is observed. In the pattern-C example, on the other hand, F0 is high in the first three morae and drops in the fourth mora.
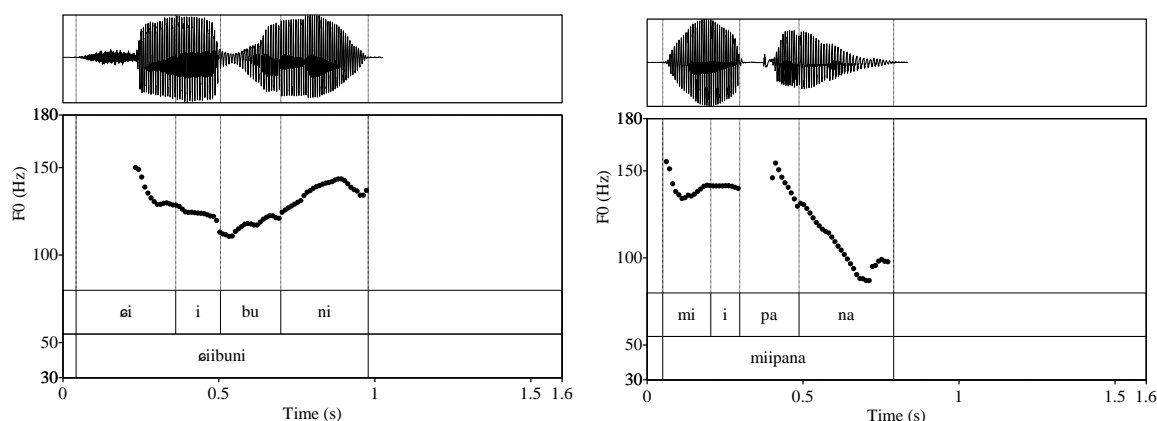
Figure 10. Four-mora nouns uttered in isolation;

pattern-AB *ɕiibuni* 'spine' (left), pattern-C *miipana* 'face' (right).

3.2.6 Summary of accent pattern realizations

In the above, we have examined the realizations of accent patterns in nouns comprising different numbers of morae in three different environments. As is clear from the discussion thus far, the Yonaha dialect presents us with a complicated picture as regards the realizations of its accent patterns. The fact that the realizations of the accent patterns differ markedly depending on the

presence and type of adjacent elements is especially interesting. As was mentioned in section 3.2.4, it may be possible to view this phenomenon as an alternation between different accent patterns.

An overview of the realizations of the accent patterns of the Yonaha dialect is given in Table 5. Although word-initial prominence has been transcribed in this overview, transcriptions of sudden word-initial drops have been omitted.

Table 5. Accent pattern realizations in the Yonaha dialect;
X indicates the surveyed vocabulary and periods indicate mora boundaries.

Number of morae		X *nudu*		X *mee*		X (uttered in isolation)
2	Pattern AB	ju.da nu.[du 'branch'	Pattern AB	ju.[da me.e 'branch'	Pattern AB	[i.]ka ~ i.[ka 'squid'
	Pattern C	ti.[da nu.du ~ [ti.da nu.du 'sun'	Pattern C	na.[bi me.e 'pot; pan'	Pattern C	u.[sɿ 'mortar; millstone'
3	Pattern AB	mi.du.mu nu.[du 'woman; female'	Pattern AB	mi.du.[mu me.e 'woman; female'	Pattern AB	mi.du.[mu 'woman; female'
	Pattern C	ja.ɾa.[bi nu.du 'child; minor'	Pattern C	[ja.ɾa.bi] me.[e 'child; minor'	Pattern C	[ja.ɾa.]bi 'child; minor'
4	Pattern AB	[ɕi].i.bu.ni nu.[du 'spine'	Pattern AB	[ɕi].i.[bu.ni me.e 'spine'	Pattern AB	ɕi.i.bu.[ni 'spine'
	Pattern C	nu.]ʑ.[ʑu.u nu.du 'thread; string'	Pattern C	[mi.i.pa.na] me.[e 'face'	Pattern C	[mi.i.pa.]na 'face'

4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analyzed the nominal accent system of the Yonaha dialect of Miyako on the basis of the utterances of one native speaker. In doing this, I was able to confirm the validity of the description given by Hirayama et al. (1967), which states that this dialect has a two-pattern accent system. As regards what vocabulary items fall under each accent pattern, I was able to confirm the validity of the description given by Matsumori (2011), which states that series A and series B have merged in this dialect (A,B/C). The surface realizations of the accent patterns, on the other hand, were shown not always to match the description by Hirayama et al. (1967). Furthermore, a phenomenon was observed in which the realizations of the accent patterns of nouns differed markedly depending on the presence and type of adjacent elements, which may be viewed as an alternation between different accent patterns. This fact, too, had not yet been reported in the literature (see Footnote 4, however).

Further research is needed in order to elucidate the accent pattern realization rules of the Yonaha dialect, also in respect to the accent pattern alternation. The results of our analysis suggest that the accent pattern realization rules of this dialect are complex. Depending on the results of further

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research, however, it may become possible to propose simple rules for accent pattern realization in this dialect. On the other hand, recent research by myself and others suggests that the accent pattern realization rules of the Ikema dialect, which, like the Yonaha dialect, is a dialect of the Miyako language, are also very complex (Igarashi et al. 2012). It is worth examining the possibility that complex realization rules are a characteristic of the accent systems of the Miyako language.

The analysis results of this chapter were based on data of a limited quality and quantity, obtained in a one-hour survey with one native speaker. What is required next is an analysis of accent pattern realizations in more diverse contexts based on utterance data from a larger number of native speakers.

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Verb Conjugation in the Miyako Language:
Perfective, Negative, Past, and Continuative Forms

Shigehisa KARIMATA

1   Survey overview

Over a period of four days between September 4 and September 7, 2011, grammar surveys were conducted at nine sites on Miyakojima as part of the joint survey of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. The survey sites were Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, Kurima, Kugai, Karimata, Ikema, and Kuninaka. The surveyed items comprised the 37 verbal items included in *Ryūkyū Rettō no Gengo no Kenkyū: Zen-Shūraku Chōsahyō* (*Studies on the Languages of the Ryukyu Islands: Survey Sheets for All Villages*; henceforth 'the *Zen-Shūraku*'), compiled in 1982 by the Okinawa Center for Language Studies. The verbal items included there have been selected with the purpose of getting a grasp of the conjugation classes of the dialects of the Ryukyuan languages in mind; included were Japanese regular verbs, comprising strong as well as weak regular verbs with stems ending in sounds such as *b, *m, *k, *g, *s, *t, *n, *r, *w, and irregular verbs, namely *aru* 'to be (inanimate); to exist', *iru* 'to be (animate)', *kuru* 'to come', *suru* 'to do', and *nai* 'to be absent; to be nonexistent'. In order to be able to identify the conjugation class of each verb, their perfective[1] (e.g. *suru*), negative (e.g. *shinai*), past (e.g. *shita*), and continuative (e.g. *shite*) forms were all included as sub-items.

The perfective forms were included in order to identify perfective aspect verb forms. The negative forms were included in order to identify the base stems of the verbs. Although base stems can also be obtained from imperative and hortative forms, the negative forms were chosen because imperative and hortative forms are not available for non-volitional verbs. The past tense forms were included in order to identify any *onbin* verb stems[2]. In the Northern Ryukyuan languages, *onbin* stems can also be identified in continuative forms. The continuative forms were included in the *Zen-Shūraku* in order to determine whether *onbin* stems are used in forms other than past tense forms in the Southern Ryukyuan languages.

For the joint survey on Miyakojima, we amended the *Zen-Shūraku* to include example sentences. The example sentences were included in the amended survey sheet as part of the research project *The Study of the Linguistic Geography of the Miyako Dialects of Ryukyuan*, JSPS KAKENHI

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[1] *Translator's note:* throughout, the author uses the term '*daihyōkei*', meaning 'representative form', akin to the term 'dictionary form'.

[2] *Translator's note:* 'euphonic stems'; see section 4.1 for an explanation.

Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (B), led by Satoshi Nishioka (Okinawa International University), in order to make it easier to obtain the conjugated verb forms. The method used in the survey consisted of asking the informants to translate the example sentences on the survey sheet into their respective dialects.

Taking the considerable number of surveyed items and the number of survey days into account, the items were divided into three subsets and three groups of researchers tasked with eliciting the items of one subset each. Due to problems of informant availability and the number of available researchers, we were unable to form three groups and elicit all of the items at some of the sites. Furthermore, there were cases where a sentence was elicited but the intended word form was not obtained. In this chapter, I will use materials obtained in surveys I conducted in Shimajiri[3] (December 10, 2011), Kugai[4] (March 3, 2012), and Karimata[5] (August 15 and 16, 2011) in addition to the materials obtained in the joint survey on Miyakojima. The Shimajiri grammar survey is a completely new addition. In all, data from ten sites will be examined in this chapter.

Corresponding to the *shite*-type continuative of Japanese, the dialects of the Miyako language (henceforth simply 'the Miyako language' or 'Miyako') have two types of continuative forms. One type, exemplified by *numi:* 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE' and *kaki:* 'to.write-CONTINUATIVE', is formed by suffixing *-i* to the base stem. The other type, exemplified by *numitti* (to.drink-CONTINUATIVE) and *kakitti* (to.write-CONTINUATIVE), ends in *-ti*. On the amended survey sheet the former is called the '*ari*-continuative' and the latter the '*shite*-continuative', so I will also use those terms in this chapter.

The *ari*-continuative is used for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates to express how two actions take place in succession, either in a subordinate or in a non-subordinate manner. The *shite*-continuative is used for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates to express mainly non-subordinate actions. The *ari*-continuative is also used for the first element of a compound predicate. In order to be able to elicit both types of continuative forms, example sentences for both were made for each verb in preparing the survey sheet.

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[3] The informant was S. I., a male speaker born and raised in Shimajiri, date of birth May 6, 1937.
[4] The informant was K. Y., a male speaker born and raised in Kugai, date of birth December 23, 1926.
[5] The informant was Y. N., a female speaker born and raised in Karimata, date of birth December 15, 1926.

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2   Stems and suffixes

Conjugated verb forms consist of elements such as the stem, suffixes, and particles[6]. The suffixes and particles form the part that is modified according to the intended grammatical meaning; the remaining, unchanging part is the stem. Verbs in the Northern Ryukyuan languages alternate between three stem types: base stems, *onbin* stems, and infinitive stems[7]. Among these three stem types, base stems and *onbin* stems also exist in Japanese, but infinitive stems can be said to be peculiar to the Northern Rykyuan languages. In this chapter, I will use '-' to indicate boundaries between stems and suffixes, as in *kak-eː*, and '=' to indicate boundaries between stems and particles, as in *nudi=kara*.

Base stems	*Onbin* stems	Infinitive stems
kak-aN 'to.write-NEGATIVE'	katɕ-aN 'to.write-PAST'	katɕ-uN 'to.write-PERFECTIVE'
tur-aN 'to.take-NEGATIVE'	tut-aN 'to.take-PAST'	tu-iN 'to.take-PERFECTIVE'
jum-aN 'to.read-NEGATIVE'	jud-aN 'to.read-PAST'	jun-uN 'to.read-PERFECTIVE'

Table 1. The Shuri dialect of Naha City, Okinawa Island.

Base stems	*Onbin* stems	Infinitive stems
hakˀ-aN 'to.write-NEGATIVE'	hattʒ-aN 'to.write-PAST'	hatʒ-uN 'to.write-PERFECTIVE'
tur-aN 'to.take-NEGATIVE'	tutt-aN 'to.take-PAST'	tu-N 'to.take-PERFECTIVE'
jum-aN 'to.read-NEGATIVE'	jud-aN 'to.read-PAST'	jum-iN 'to.read-PERFECTIVE'

Table 2. The Jana dialect of Nakijin Village.

As can be seen in Table 3, and as was also pointed out by Moriyasu Motonaga (1973), it is not necessary to posit *onbin* stems, as in Modern Japanese (henceforth just 'Japanese'), or infinitive stems, as in the Northern Ryukyuan languages, for the Miyako language; only base stems have to be recognized[8]. The fact that it is not necessary to posit *onbin* stems is a notable characteristic of Miyako verb conjugation. Some verbs in Miyako have a base stem variant with a reduplicated final consonant. Among the items in our survey, *kav* 'to put on (headwear)', *niv* 'to fall asleep', and *az* 'to say' have such variant stems. While the perfective forms *kav*, *niv*, and *az* consist of stems ending in consonants without suffixes, their stem-final consonants are reduplicated in the corresponding imperative, hortative, and negative forms: *kavv-i*

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[6] I use the terms 'stem' and 'suffix' as defined by Shigeyuki Suzuki (1972).
[7] *Translator's note: ren'yō* stems.
[8] I have adopted the terms 'base stem', '*onbin* stem', and 'infinitive stem' for the three stem types from Yukio Uemura's (1963) 'Shuri Hōgen no Bunpō', *Okinawago Jiten* (*A Dictionary of Okinawan*). In addition to these three stems types, Uemura also posits fused stems and contracted stems.

'to.put.on(headwear)-IMPERATIVE',   *kavv-a*   'to.put.on(headwear)-HORTATIVE',   *kavv-an*
'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE',   *nivv-i*   'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE',   *nivv-a*
'to.fall.asleep-HORTATIVE', *nivv-an* 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', *azz-i* 'to.say-IMPERATIVE', *azz-a*
'to.say-HORTATIVE', and *azz-an* 'to.say-NEGATIVE'. The perfective form *v:* 'to sell' consists of a
single long consonant without a suffix, but the corresponding imperative, hortative, and negative
forms have stems that consists of just a reduplicated short consonant: *vv-i* 'to.sell-IMPERATIVE',
vv-a 'to.sell-HORTATIVE', and *vv-an* 'to.sell-NEGATIVE'. Although there are verb types with stem
variants different from these, as well, I hope to discuss them as part of a complete description of
the conjugated forms and conjugation types of the Miyako dialects at a later time.

Base stems		
kak-an 'to.write-NEGATIVE'	kak-ŋtaŋ 'to.write-PAST'	kak-ŋ 'to.write-PERFECTIVE'
jum-an 'to.read-NEGATIVE'	jum-taŋ 'to.read-PAST'	jum 'to.read.PERFECTIVE'
tur-an 'to.take-NEGATIVE'	tu-ŋtaŋ 'to.take-PAST'	tu-ŋ 'to.take-PERFECTIVE'
kavv-an	kav-taz	kav
'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE'	'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST'	'to.put.on(headwear).PERFECTIVE'

Table 3. The Shimozato dialect of Hirara.

The verbs elicited in response to the following Japanese verbs have been identified as strong
verbs: *tobu* 'to fly; to jump', *asobu* 'to play', *kogu* 'to row', *iku* 'to go', *otosu* 'to drop', *dasu* 'to
put out', *motsu* 'to carry; to hold; to have', *kiru* 'to cut', *shibaru* 'to tie up', *horu* 'to dig', *furu* 'to
fall (e.g. rain)', *kaburu* 'to put on (headwear)', *tojiru* 'to close', *neru* 'to sleep', *kau,* 'to buy', *uru*
'to sell', *nomu* 'to drink', *taberu* 'to eat', *you* 'to get drunk', *arau* 'to wash', and *iu* 'to say'. The
verbs elicited in response to the following Japanese verbs have been identified as weak verbs:
suteru 'to discard', *oriru* 'to get off (e.g. a vehicle)', *ochiru* 'to fall', *kureru* 'to give', *morau* 'to
receive', *okiru* 'to get up', *kiru* 'to put on (e.g. clothing)', *suwaru* 'to sit down', *miru* 'to see; to
look', and *keru* 'to kick'. The verbs elicited in response to the following Japanese verbs have been
identified as irregular verbs: *kuru* 'to come', *suru* 'to do', *aru* 'to be (inanimate); to exist', *iru* 'to
be (animate)', *shinu* 'to die', and *nai* 'to be absent; to be nonexistent'.

Although *nai* is classed as an adjective in Japanese, the equivalent in the Ryukyuan languages is
classed as an irregular verb. In Miyako, adjectives have conjugated forms consisting of a
grammaticized combination of a *-ku*-infinitive and the existential verb *az* or forms containing a
reduplicated stem, for example; the Miyako equivalent of *nai* is classed as a verb because it has no
such forms. Even though it is classed as a verb, however, it of course does not have the
morphological categories of aspect and voice, nor does it have forms for the imperative or
hortative moods; in these respects, it has the same grammatical properties as adjectives.

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In response to *shibaru*, the use of a verb corresponding to Japanese *kubiru* 'to tie up' is expected; in response to *neru*, that of a verb corresponding to *nemuru* 'to sleep'; in response to *taberu*, that of a verb corresponding to *kurau* 'to eat'; in response to *tojiru*, that of a verb corresponding to *kuru*; in response to *morau*, that of a verb corresponding to *eru* 'to get'; in response to *suwaru*, that of a verb corresponding to *wiru* 'to sit down'; in response to *iru*, that of a verb corresponding to *woru* 'to be (animate)'.

Among the weak verbs of Japanese, those with one-syllable stems ending in the vowel *-i*, such as *mi-ru* 'to see; to look', *ki-ru* 'to put on (e.g. clothing)', and *ni-ru* 'to boil', were also weak in Central Old Japanese (henceforth just 'Old Japanese'), but those with two-syllable stems ending in either the vowel *-i* or the vowel *-e* (called 'upper bigrade verbs' and 'lower bigrade verbs', respectively) had a combination of weak conjugated forms, such as negative *oki-zu* 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE' and imperative *oki-yo* 'to.get.up-IMPERATIVE', and strong conjugated forms, such as perfective *ok-u* 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE' and adnominal non-past *ok-uru* 'to.get.up-ADNOMINAL'. Verbs of the latter type can be called verbs with a 'mixed conjugation' of strong and weak forms (henceforth 'mixed verbs'). The verb *shinu* 'to die', a strong verb in Japanese, can be seen as having had a type of mixed conjugation combining conjugated forms comprising a strong conjugation stem and a suffix, such as *sin-azu* 'to.die-NEGATIVE' and *sin-itari* 'to.die-ALTERNATIVE', with conjugated forms comprising a mixed conjugation stem and a suffix, such as *sin-uru* 'to.die-2ND.CONCLUSIVE' and *sin-ure* 'to.die-3RD.CONCLUSIVE'[9].

			Negative	Imperative	Past	Non-past	Adnominal
Modern	Strong conjugation	'to go'	ik-anai	ik-e	iQ-ta	ik-u	ik-u
		'to die'	ɕin-anai	ɕin-e	ɕiN-da	ɕin-u	ɕin-u
	Weak conjugation	'to get up'	oki-nai	oki-ro	oki-ta	ok-iru	ok-iru
		'to see'	mi-nai	mi-ro	mi-ta	mi-ru	mi-ru
Old Japanese	Strong conjugation	'to go'	ik-adzu	ik-e	ik-itari	ik-u	ik-u
	Mixed conjugation *a*	'to die'	ɕin-adzu	ɕin-e	ɕini-tari	ɕin-u	ɕin-uru
	Mixed conjugation *b*	'to get up'	oki-dzu	oki-jo	oki-tari	ok-u	ok-uru
	Weak conjugation	'to see'	mi-dzu	mi-jo	mi-tari	mi-ru	mi-ru

Table 4. Verb conjugation types in Japanese.

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[9] The second conclusive form is used for predicates of emphatic sentences, agreeing with the focus particles *zo*, *nan*, *ya*, and *ka*, and is homophonous with the adnominal form. The third conclusive form is used for predicates of emphatic sentences, as well, agreeing with *koso*, and is homophonous with the conditional form.

In the Shimajiri, Karimata, and Kugai dialects, not only the negative of the Old Japanese weak conjugation, but also those of the Old Japanese mixed conjugations correspond to forms in which the negative suffix *-n* is attached to a base stem ending in the vowel *-i*. In other words, the mixed conjugations of Old Japanese have become weak. In the Shimajiri and Karimata dialects *shinu* 'to die' has become weak, as well; it has become strong in the Kugai dialect.

(1) ki:ju juɾugaɕɕa:mai n:ta: <u>utiɴ</u>. (Karimata)

tree=ACCUSATIVE to.shake-CONTINUATIVE=too fruit=TOPIC <u>to.fall-NEGATIVE</u> (*ochinai*)

'No mandarins fall from the tree, even when you shake it.'[10]

(2) baja: umanna <u>uɾiɴ</u>. (Kugai)

I=TOPIC here=LOCATIVE=TOPIC to.get.off-NEGATIVE (*orinai*) (Kugai)

'I don't get off here.'

While forms such as the perfective and the imperative of verbs corresponding to Old Japanese weak and mixed verbs also follow the weak conjugation in, among others, the Bora, Miyaguni, and Kurima dialects, comprising a base stem ending in the vowel *-i* or the vowel *-i:* and a suffix such as *-ru*, the negative form instead follows the strong conjugation, comprising a base stem ending in a consonant and a suffix beginning with the vowel *-u* or the vowel *-u:*. In these dialects, the weak conjugation has become mixed.

(3) vvaga tuʐʐuba smaɾi <u>fi:ɾu</u>. (Bora)

you=NOMINATIVE chicken=ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE <u>to.give-IMPERATIVE</u> (*kure*)

'You tie up the chicken.' (imperative)

(4) utu̥tʰa sudaŋkaija ka:ssuba <u>fu:ŋ</u>. (Bora)

younger.brother=TOPIC   older.brother=DATIVE=TOPIC   sweets=ACCUSATIVE to.give-NEGATIVE (*kurenai*)

'The younger brother doesn't give sweets to the older brother.'

(5) kunu fsu̥zza azumakaɾʲa numi <u>mi:ɾu</u>. (Bora)

this medicine=TOPIC to.be.sweet=because to.take-CONTINUATIVE <u>to.see-IMPERATIVE</u> (*miro*)

'This medicine is sweet, so try taking it.'

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[10] *Translator's note:* throughout this chapter, Japanese model sentences have been replaced by glosses and their English translations; the relevant Japanese conjugated verb forms of the model sentences are given underlined in parentheses.

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(6) uja: jakju:juba: <u>mju:ŋ</u>. (Bora)

father=TOPIC baseball=TOPIC <u>to.see-NEGATIVE</u> (*minai*)

'My father doesn't watch baseball.'

(7) gumiu umaŋkai <u>sï̥tiɾu</u>. (Miyaguni)

garbage=ACCUSATIVE there=LOCATIVE <u>to.discard-IMPERATIVE</u> (*sutero*)

'Throw away the garbage over there.'

(8) mma: fz:fznu kïnnumai <u>sï̥tuŋ</u>. (Miyaguni)

grandmother=TOPIC to.be.old-ADNONMINAL kimono=too <u>to.discard-NEGATIVE</u> (*sutenai*)

'My grandmother doesn't even throw away her old kimonos.'

(9) unu ma:zzu kumaŋkai kiɾi <u>fi:ɾu</u>. (Miyaguni)

that   ball=ACCUSATIVE   here=LOCATIVE   to.kick-CONTINUATIVE   <u>to.give-IMPERATIVE</u>
(<u>*kure*</u>)

'Kick that ball this way.'

(10) ǫtʰu̥too adʑaŋ koosuba ɸu:ŋ. (Miyaguni)

younger.brother=TOPIC   older.brother=DATIVE   sweets=ACCUSATIVE   <u>to.give-NEGATIVE</u>
(<u>*kurenai*</u>)

'The younger brother won't give sweets to the older brother.'

(11) vvaŋa tuzzuba: smaɾi/sʋ̩maɾi <u>fi:ɾo</u>. (Kurima)

you=NOMINATIVE   chicken=ACCUSATIVE   to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE   <u>to.give-IMPERATIVE</u>
(<u>*kure*</u>)

'You tie up the chicken.' (imperative)

(12) utu̥toa azanna/suzanna ko:suba: <u>fu:ŋ</u>. (Kurima)

younger.brother=TOPIC   older.brother=DATIVE=TOPIC   sweets=ACCUSATIVE
<u>to.give-NEGATIVE</u> (<u>*kurenai*</u>)

'The younger brother won't give sweets to the older brother.'

There are Miyako dialects in which a mixed conjugation is used for verbs that correspond to Old Japanese mixed verbs. They are mixed conjugations of a different kind, however; as will be discussed later, strong conjugation forms are used for the conclusive non-past and adnominal non-past forms of mixed verbs in Old Japanese, while they are used for the negative and hortative forms of mixed verbs in Miyako. The negative suffixes *-uŋ* and *-u:ŋ* are used for mixed verbs, *-iŋ* and *-i:ŋ* for weak verbs, and *-aŋ* and *-a:ŋ* for strong verbs.

			Negative	Imperative	Past	Non-past	Adnominal
Bora	Strong conjugation	'to go'	ik-aŋ	ik-i	ik-staː	ik-s	ik-s
		'to die'	sn-aŋ	sn-i	sn-ta	sn	sn
	Mixed conjugation	'to get up'	uk-uŋ	uki-ɾu	uki-taː	uki	uki-z
		'to see'	mj-uːŋ	miː-ɾu	miː-taː	miː	miː-z
Simajiri	Strong conjugation	'to go'	ik-aŋ	ik-i	ik-staz	ik-s	ik-s
	Weak conjugation	'to die'	sni-ŋ	sni-ɾu	sn-ta	sni-z	sni-z
		'to get up'	uki-ŋ	uki-ɾu	uki-taz	uki-z	uki-z
		'to see'	miː-ŋ	miː-ɾu	miː-taz	miː-z	miː-z

Table 5. Verb conjugation types in the Bora and Simajiri dialects.

In this chapter, we examine the conjugated forms and conjugation types by comparing them to those of Old Japanese, and occasionally those of Modern Japanese, as well.

3   Negative forms

Whether a Miyako verb follows a strong conjugation, a weak conjugation, or a mixed conjugation can be determined by looking at its negative form.

Miyako negative forms end in either -*an*, -*in*, or -*un*. Forms in which -*dzaːn* or -*dʲaːn* is substituted for the final -*n* are observed, as well. Forms ending in -*an*, -*in*, or -*un* take a variety of shapes and are used in multiple senses. Forms ending -*adzaːn*, -*i-dzaːn*, and -*udzaːn* express the intention or judgment of the speaker. As the forms ending in -*adzaːn*, -*i-dzaːn*, and -*udzaːn* are also formed with base stems, I will treat them together with -*an* in this chapter.

(13)   ujaː tɕiŋkzga bazkaiba imkaija <u>ikaʑaŋ</u>. (Miyaguni)

father=TOPIC   weather=NOMINATIVE   to.be.bad=because   sea=ALLATIVE=TOPIC

<u>to.go-NEGATIVE</u> (*ikanai*)

'My father won't go to the sea, because the weather is bad.'

(14)   ameno tʰo̜kʲaːnna pukaŋkai nimottsɯ <u>idasadʑaːŋ</u>. (Miyaguni)

rain=GENITIVE   time=LOCATIVE=TOPIC   outside=LOCATIVE=TOPIC   luggage=ACCUSATIVE

<u>to.put.out-NEGATIVE</u> (*dasanai*)

'When it's raining, I don't put my things outside.'

(15)   kaɾʲaː unaga duːnu waːjuba: <u>vvaN</u>/<u>vvadjaːɴ</u>. (Yonaha)

he=TOPIC self=GENITIVE pig=TOPIC <u>to.sell-NEGATIVE</u> (*uranai*)

'He doesn't sell his pig.'

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-an is used in verbs that correspond to Old Japanese strong verbs; it is suffixed to base stems ending in a consonant. *-in* is used in verbs that correspond to Old Japanese weak verbs; when their negative forms are compared to other conjugated forms, they can be analyzed as *uki-n*, consisting of a vowel stem of the weak conjugation to which the suffix *-n* has been attached. *-un* is used in verbs that correspond to Old Japanese mixed verbs; while their imperative forms are formed by suffixing *-ru* to a vowel stem, their negative forms can be analyzed as *uk-un*, consisting of a consonant stem of the strong conjugation to which the suffix *-un* has been attached. When their conjugations are considered in their entirety, verbs whose negative forms are formed with the suffix *-un* thus follow a mixed conjugation.

For reference, I will also give imperative forms obtained in the survey. While imperative forms are formed by suffixing *-i* to a base stem that ends in a consonant in the strong conjugation, they are formed by suffixing *-ru* to a base stem that ends in the vowel *-i* or the vowel *-i:* in the weak conjugation.

The Bora dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Bora dialect, with the suffixes *-uŋ* and *-u:ŋ*. On the other hand, the forms corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', and *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', which derive from Old Japanese weak verbs, as well as *shinanai* 'to.die-NEGATIVE', which derives from a strong verb, follow the strong conjugation, while the form corresponding to *minai* 'to.see-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the mixed conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE' follows the mixed conjugation, while the form corresponding to *inai* 'to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE' follows the strong conjugation.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', asʅpaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaŋ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', utusaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasaŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', mutaŋ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', puraŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', kssaŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', vvaŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', kavvaŋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE', nivvaŋ 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', azzaŋ 'to.say-NEGATIVE', ka:ŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', fa:ŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE', ara:ŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', mura:ŋ 'to.receive-NEGATIVE', bja:ŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE'

- kiraŋ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', kssaŋ 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', bzzaŋ 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', snaŋ 'to.die-NEGATIVE'

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Mixed conjugation

- uruŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utuŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', ukuŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', stuŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fuːŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE'
- mʲuːŋ 'to.see-NEGATIVE', juːŋ 'to.get-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE', suːŋ 'to.do-NEGATIVE', uraŋ 'to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE', njaːŋ 'to be absent'

Imperative forms

- piɾijo 'to.go-IMPERATIVE=EMPHATIC', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', fai 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', nʲivvi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'
- miːɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', ʑʑiɾu / iʑiɾu 'to.put.in-IMPERATIVE'
- kuː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE', ʃiːru / aʃiɾu 'to.do-IMPERATIVE'

The Uruka dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Uruka dialect, with the suffix *-uŋ*, except for *ukiŋ* 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', which follows the weak conjugation. The form corresponding to *minai* 'to.see-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, is the weak conjugation form *miːŋ*; forms for other verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, however, so further details on the Uruka dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', asˌpaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', utusaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasaŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', puraŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', ʋʋaŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', kˌsaŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', kaːŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', faːŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE', araːŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', muraːŋ 'to.receive-NEGATIVE', bjoːŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- urudʲaŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utuŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', stuŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', ffudʑaŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE'
- miːŋ 'to.see-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE'

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Imperative forms

- iki jo: 'to.go-IMPERATIVE=EMPHATIC', piɾi 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', fai 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'

- miːɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', k̥akiɾu 'to.put.on-IMPERATIVE', ffiɾu / fiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', iziɾujo: / idʑiɾujo: 'to.put.in-IMPERATIVE=EMPHATIC'

- ku: 'to.come-IMPERATIVE',

The Miyaguni dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Miyaguni dialect, with the suffix *-uŋ*, except for *ukiŋ* 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', which follows the weak conjugation. The form corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE' is the strong conjugation form *kiraŋ*; forms for other verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, however, so further details on the Miyaguni dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- asˀpaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', nomaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikazaŋ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', utusaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasadzaːŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', motadzaːŋ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', poraŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', kˀsaŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', ᵘvaŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', ɸaːŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE', kaːŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', bʲoːŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE', aɾaːŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', moraːŋ 'to.receive-NEGATIVE'

- kiraŋ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾudzaːŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utuŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', sutuŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fuʑʑaŋ 'to.tie.up-NEGATIVE', ɸuːŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE', ituŋ 'to.go.out-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE'

Imperative forms

- pʰiɾi 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', ɸai 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'

- miɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', sï̥tiɾu 'to.discard-IMPERATIVE', kṵ: 'to.come-IMPERATIVE'

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The Yonaha dialect

The negative forms of some verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Yonaha dialect, with the suffix *-uŋ*, while those of others follow the weak conjugation, with the suffix *-iŋ*. Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, so further details on the Yonaha dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- tubaɴ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', kugaɴ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaɴ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', ffaɴ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', utusaɴ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', kiraɴ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', kiraɴ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', idasaɴ (to.put.out-NEGATIVE) mutaɴ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', vvaɴ ~ vvadʲaːɴ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', kaːɴ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- urudʲaɴ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utuɴ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', stuɴ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fudʲaːɴ 'to.give-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiɴ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːɴ 'to.come-NEGATIVE'

Imperative forms

- iki 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', feː 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'
- miːɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', kakiɾu 'to.put.on-IMPERATIVE', ffiɾu / fiɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE'
- kuː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE'

The Kurima dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the mixed conjugation in the Kurima dialect, with the suffix *-uŋ*. The form corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE' is the strong conjugation form *kiɾaŋ*; forms for other verbs that derive from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained, however, so further details on the Kurima dialect remain unclear.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', aspaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaŋ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', utusaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasaŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', mutɕaŋ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', pɿaŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', sɿmaɾaŋ

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'to.tie.up-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', tssaŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', muɾaŋ 'to.receive-NEGATIVE', vvaŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', faːŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE', kaːŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', aɾaːŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', bʲoːŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE'

- kiɾaŋ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uruŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utuŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', ukuŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', stuŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fuːŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE'

Imperative forms

- iki 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', piɾe 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', smaɾe 'to.tie.up-IMPERATIVE', idaɕeː 'to.put.out-IMPERATIVE', jaraɕe 'to.give(-CAUSATIVE)-IMPERATIVE', tɕi̥ɕe 'to.cut-IMPERATIVE', keː 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', feː 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukui / juke̥ː 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'

- miːɾʊ 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', stiɾo 'to.discard-IMPERATIVE', zz̩iɾo 'to.put.in-IMPERATIVE'

- kuː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE'

The Kugai dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Kugai dialect, with the suffixes -iŋ and -iːŋ. Furthermore, the form corresponding to *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese irregular verb, is the weak conjugation form *ʃiːŋ*. The forms corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE' and *shinanai* 'to.die-NEGATIVE' follow the strong conjugation. While the forms corresponding to *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE' and *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE' follow the strong conjugation in other dialects, the weak conjugation forms *kiʃiŋ* and *biʑiŋ* are used in the Kugai dialect.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', aspaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaŋ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', utasaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasaŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', mutaŋ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', puraŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', fuɾaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', ksʱ̩saŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', sʱ̩maɾaŋ 'to.tie.up-NEGATIVE', vvaŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', kavvaŋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.close-NEGATIVE',

nivvaŋ 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', ka:ŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', fa:ŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE', bja:ŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE', aɾa:ŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', andzaŋ 'to.say-NEGATIVE'

- kiɾaŋ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', snaŋ 'to.die-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- uɾiŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utiŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', ukiŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', sɿtiŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fi:ŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE'

- zʒiŋ 'to.get-NEGATIVE', kiʃiŋ 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', biʒiŋ 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', mi:ŋ 'to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ku:ŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE', ʃi:ŋ 'to.do-NEGATIVE', nja:ŋ 'to be absent'

Imperative forms

- iki 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', idaʃi 'to.put.out-IMPERATIVE', uri 'to.be(animate)-IMPERATIVE', kavvi 'to.put.on(headwear)-IMPERATIVE', ffijo: 'to.close-IMPERATIVE'

- mi:ɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fi:ɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', kạkiɾu 'to.put.on-IMPERATIVE', kiʃiru 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-IMPERATIVE'

- ku: 'to.come-IMPERATIVE', ʃi:ru 'to.do-IMPERATIVE'

The Shimajiri dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Shimajiri dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-i:ŋ*. The forms corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE' and *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', which derive from weak verbs, follow the strong conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE' follows the weak conjugation. *ʃiro > sru > ssu*.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', appaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaŋ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', utusaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasaŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', mutaŋ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', puraŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', kssaŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', fgzzaŋ 'to.tie.up-NEGATIVE', kavvaŋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE', vva:ŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.close-NEGATIVE', nivvaŋ 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', azzaŋ 'to.say-NEGATIVE', ka:ŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', fa:ŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE', aɾa:ŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', bja:ŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE'

- kiɾaŋ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', bz:zaŋ 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

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- uriŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utʃiŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', stʃiŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fiːŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE', ukiŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', sniŋ 'to.die-NEGATIVE'

- miːŋ 'to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE', zʒiŋ 'to.get-NEGATIVE', ʃʃiŋ 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE', ʃiŋ 'to.do-NEGATIVE', njaːŋ 'to be absent'

Imperative forms

- iki 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', uki 'to.place-IMPERATIVE', piri 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', fai 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukai 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'

- miːu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', ʃʃiru 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-IMPERATIVE', kuː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE', ssu 'to.do-IMPERATIVE'

The Karimata dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Karimata dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-iːŋ*. The forms corresponding to *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', and *shinanai* 'to.die-NEGATIVE' also follow the weak conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE' follows the weak conjugation, while the form corresponding to *inai* 'to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE' follows to the strong conjugation.

Strong conjugation

- tubaŋ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', asbaŋ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaŋ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaŋ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaŋ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', utasaŋ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idasaŋ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', mutaŋ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', puraŋ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', smaraŋ 'to.tie.up-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', kssaŋ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', kavvaŋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE', ffaŋ 'to.close-NEGATIVE', vvaŋ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', nivvaŋ 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', azzaŋ 'to.say-NEGATIVE', kaːŋ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', araːŋ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', faːŋ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE'

- kiraŋ 'to.kick-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- uriŋ 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utiŋ 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', ukiŋ 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', ʃitiŋ 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fiːŋ 'to.give-NEGATIVE', ʃimiŋ 'to.close-NEGATIVE', kadʒiŋ

'to.nibble-NEGATIVE/to.dig-NEGATIVE', sniŋ 'to.die-NEGATIVE', bʲuːiŋ 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE[11]'

- iʒiŋ 'to.get-NEGATIVE', kiʃiŋ 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', biʒiŋ 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', miːŋ 'to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːŋ 'to.come-NEGATIVE', aʃiŋ 'to.do-NEGATIVE', uraŋ 'to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE', njaːŋ 'to be absent'

Imperative forms

- iki 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', uki 'to.place-IMPERATIVE', idaʃi 'to.put.out-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', ɸai / fai 'to.eat-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', niʋi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'

- miːɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fiːɾu / ffiru 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', uriru 'to.get.off-IMPERATIVE', k̩kiɾu 'to.put.on-IMPERATIVE', ɕimiɾu 'to.close-IMPERATIVE', ŋgiɾu 'to.return.home-IMPERATIVE', iʒiru 'to.put.in-IMPERATIVE'

- kuː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE', aʃiru 'to.do-IMPERATIVE'

The Ikema dialect

Negative forms of verbs that derive either from Old Japanese weak verbs or from mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Ikema dialect, with the suffixes *-iŋ* and *-iːŋ*. The forms corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', and *shinanai* 'to.die-NEGATIVE' follow the strong conjugation. As regards irregular verbs, the form corresponding to *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE' follows the mixed conjugation.

Strong conjugation

- tubaɴ 'to.fly-NEGATIVE', aɕibaɴ 'to.play-NEGATIVE', numaɴ 'to.drink-NEGATIVE', kugaɴ 'to.row-NEGATIVE', ikaɴ 'to.go-NEGATIVE', utuhaɴ 'to.drop-NEGATIVE', idanaɴ 'to.put.out-NEGATIVE', muteaɴ 'to.carry-NEGATIVE', furadzaːɴ 'to.dig-NEGATIVE', kiɾaɴ 'to.cut-NEGATIVE', ɕimaɾaɴ 'to.tie.up-NEGATIVE', ffaɴ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-NEGATIVE', vvaɴ 'to.sell-NEGATIVE', kaʋʋaɴ 'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE', ttadzaːɴ 'to.close-NEGATIVE', nʲivvaɴ 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', azzaɴ 'to.say-NEGATIVE', kaːɴ 'to.buy-NEGATIVE', aɾaːɴ 'to.wash-NEGATIVE', faːɴ 'to.eat-NEGATIVE'

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[11] *bʲuːiŋ* may be a negative potential form corresponding to Japanese *yoenai* 'to.get.drunk-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE'.

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- kiɾaN 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', ttɕaN 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', bidʑaN 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', ɕinaN 'to.die-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiN 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', uɾidʑaːN 'to.get.off-NEGATIVE', utiN 'to.fall-NEGATIVE', sïtiN 'to.discard-NEGATIVE', fiːN 'to.give-NEGATIVE'

- zziN / ddʑiN 'to.get-NEGATIVE', bʲuːiN 'to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE [12] ', miːN 'to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kuːN 'to.come-NEGATIVE', ɸuN 'to.do-NEGATIVE', nʲaːN 'to be absent'

Imperative forms

- iki 'to.go-IMPERATIVE', jukui 'to.rest-IMPERATIVE', kai 'to.buy-IMPERATIVE', nʲivvi / nʲiʋʋi 'to.fall.asleep-IMPERATIVE'

- miːɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', fiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', sïtiɾu 'to.discard-IMPERATIVE'

- kuː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE', assu 'to.do-IMPERATIVE'

The Kuninaka dialect

The form corresponding to *minai* 'to.see-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, is the weak conjugation form *miːɴ*; those corresponding to *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE' and *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', however, are the strong conjugation forms *ʔtaɴ* and *bɿzaɴ*, respectively. The form corresponding to *okinai* 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese mixed verb, follows the weak conjugation. As only a small number of word forms was obtained for the Kuninaka dialect, no more than a brief outline can be given at present.

Strong conjugation

- kavvaN 'to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE', nivvaN 'to.fall.asleep-NEGATIVE', azzaN / al̩zaN 'to.say-NEGATIVE'

- sɿnaN 'to.die-NEGATIVE', ʔtaN 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', bɿzaN 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- okiɴniː 'to.get.up-NEGATIVE[13]'

- miːN 'to.see-NEGATIVE/to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE'

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[12] *bʲuːiŋ* may be a negative potential form corresponding to Japanese *yoenai* 'to.get.drunk-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE'; further confirmation is needed.
[13] *niː* in *okiɴniː* may be a sentence-final particle.

Irregular conjugation

- ahoɴ / asoɴ 'to.do-NEGATIVE', njaːɴ 'to be absent'

Imperative forms

- miːɾu 'to.see-IMPERATIVE', ɸiːɾu 'to.give-IMPERATIVE', ɕimiɾu 'to.close-IMPERATIVE', ko̞ː 'to.come-IMPERATIVE', asso 'to.do-IMPERATIVE'

3.1 Summary of negative forms

As it was not possible to obtain data for all the survey items at all the sites where the verb conjugation survey was conducted, the number of word forms that were obtained is limited, but when comparing the conjugation types of the Northern Ryukyuan languages (the dialects of Okinawa Island in particular), Old Japanese, and the Miyako language, the following observations can be made.

(i)   Miyako has strong, weak, mixed, and irregular conjugation types.

(ii)   Verbs deriving from Old Japanese strong verbs consistently follow the strong conjugation in Miyako.

(iii)   The verb corresponding to *keru* 'to kick', which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the strong conjugation in Miyako.

(iv)   The verb corresponding to *miru* 'to see; to look', which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the weak conjugation in some dialects and the mixed conjugation in others.

(v)   Verbs deriving from Old Japanese mixed verbs follow the weak conjugation in the Kugai, Karimata, Ikema, and Kuninaka dialects, while they follow the mixed conjugation in the Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, and Kurima dialects.

(vi)   The verb corresponding to *shinu* 'to die', which derives from an Old Japanese mixed verb, follows the weak conjugation in the Karimata and Shimajiri dialects, while it follows the strong conjugation in the Bora, Kugai, and Ikema dialects[14].

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[14] In the Nishizato dialect of Miyako, according to Moriyasu Motonaga (1973), the form *snan* 'to.die-NEGATIVE', among others, follows the strong conjugation, while the forms *sniru* 'to.die-IMPERATIVE', *sniriba* 'to.die-CONDITIONAL', and others follow the weak conjugation. Furthermore, in a survey on the Nobaru dialect of former Ueno Village I conducted in November 2011 (the informant: Y. N., male, b. 1943), both a strong form, *snatti: u:* 'to be about to die', and a weak form, *snitti: u:* 'to be about to die' were obtained for expressing an impending boundary point of the event referred to by the verb. Of these, the former expresses the impending inception point of a volitional action, while the latter expresses an impending terminal point of a non-volitional change of state. All kinds of conjugated forms have to be examined in order to determine what the conjugation type of *sn* 'to die' is and which of its conjugated forms follow the weak conjugation. It is interesting to note that there are different mixed conjugation variants in different dialects. Together with the question of how these things have arisen, these are matters to be resolved in future research.

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(vii)   A phenomenon is observed in the dialects of Okinawa Island in which verbs deriving from Old Japanese weak verbs have changed into strong verbs; similarly, the form corresponding to *keranai* 'to.kick-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese weak verb, follows the strong conjugation in every Miyako dialect, while the same holds for *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE' in the Bora and Ikema dialects, and for *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE' in the Bora, Shimajiri, and Ikema dialects. Not enough word forms were obtained draw conclusions regarding the other dialects.

(viii)   Although a phenomenon is observed in the dialects of Okinawa Island in which verbs deriving from Old Japanese mixed verbs have changed into strong verbs (i.e. into verbs with *-r*-stems), such a change is not observed in Miyako.

(ix)   In the Kugai, Shimajiri, and Karimata dialects, the forms corresponding to *kinai* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-NEGATIVE', *winai* 'to.sit.down-NEGATIVE', and *enai* 'to.get-NEGATIVE' also follow the weak conjugation.

(x)   The form corresponding to *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE', which derives from an Old Japanese irregular verb, follows the weak conjugation in the Kugai, Karimata, and Shimajiri dialects, while it follows the mixed conjugation in the Bora and Ikema dialects.

An interesting fact regarding the lexical meaning of negative verbs is that there were multiple sites where the negative form of *miz* 'to see; to look' was used in addition to *uraŋ* as a present tense negative form of *uz* 'to be (animate)'.

(16)   tunazïnna imma miːŋ. (Shimajiri)
        next.door=LOCATIVE=TOPIC dog=TOPIC to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE
        'My neighbors don't have a dog.'

(17)   tunazïnu jaːnna inna miːŋ. (Kugai)
        next.door=GENITIVE house=LOCATIVE=TOPIC dog=TOPIC to.be(animate)-NEGATIVE
        'My neighbors don't have a dog.'

4   Past tense forms

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffixes used for the past tense are *-taː*, *-ta*, *-tai*, and *-taˀŋ*. Unlike in Japanese and the Northern Ryukyuan languages, voicing of the *-t-* in these suffixes is not observed in strong verbs. As the sound changes *ri > i*, exemplified by *tuˀŋ* 'bird' and *paˀŋ* 'needle; pin', and *ru > z*, exemplified by *piru > piˀŋ* 'garlic' and

*saru > saᶻ*ŋ 'monkey', have occurred in Miyako, *-taᶻ*ŋ, *-tai*, *-ta:*, and *-ta* must derive either from *-tari* or from *-taru*.

The Bora dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is either *-ta:* or *-ta*, in which the final *-z* has undergone lenition. The sole exception is *ata*ŋ 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', in which *-ta*ŋ is used.

Strong conjugation

- tubzta: 'to.fly-PAST', asɿpɿta 'to.play-PAST', kugzta: 'to.row-PAST', iksta: 'to.go-PAST', utusta: 'to.drop-PAST', idasuta: 'to.put.out-PAST', mutsɿta 'to.carry-PAST', numta 'to.drink-PAST', fʊmta: 'to.put.on(footwear)-PAST', puzɿta: 'to.dig-PAST', fʊzta: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', pizta: 'to.go-PAST', smazta: 'to.tie.up-PAST', kssta: 'to.cut-PAST', kaʊta: 'to.buy-PAST', arɔʊta 'to.wash-PAST', fɔʊta 'to.eat-PAST', bju:ta: 'to.get.drunk-PAST', kavta: 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', niʊta: 'to.fall.asleep-PAST', fʊ:ta: 'to.close-PAST', azta: 'to.say-PAST', vvita: 'to.sell-PAST', kssta: 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PAST', kizta: 'to.kick-PAST', fttsta: 'to.tie.up-PAST', bz:ta: 'to.sit.down-PAST', snta: 'to.die-PAST'

Mixed conjugation

- urita: 'to.get.off-PAST', utɕita: 'to.fall-PAST', stɕita: 'to.discard-PAST', ffita: 'to.give-PAST', bakita: 'to.divide-PAST', piŋgita 'to.escape-PAST', ukita: 'to.get.up-PAST'
- mi:ta: 'to.see-PAST', i:ta: 'to.get-PAST'

Irregular conjugation

- ksta: 'to.come-PAST', sɿ:ta: 'to.do-PAST', ata ŋ 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', uta: 'to.be(animate)-PAST'

The Uruka dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-ta*ᶻŋ. Forms in which *-ta:* is used are also observed.

Strong conjugation

- tuvᶻɿtaᶻŋ ~ tubᶻɿtaᶻŋ 'to.fly-PAST', asɿpˢɿtaᶻŋ 'to.play-PAST', iksɿtaᶻŋ ~ iksta: 'to.go-PAST', kugᶻɿtaᶻŋ 'to.row-PAST', utusˌtaᶻŋ ~ utusˌta· 'to.drop-PAST', idasɿtaᶻŋ 'to.put.out-PAST', mutsɿtaᶻŋ 'to.carry-PAST', numtaᶻŋ 'to.drink-PAST', funtaᶻŋ 'to.put.on(footwear)-PAST', puᶻɿtaᶻŋ 'to.dig-PAST', muduɾi piᶻɿtaᶻŋ 'to.return to.go-PAST', fᶻɿtaᶻŋ ~ fᶻɿta: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', kaʊtaᶻŋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', kautaᶻŋ 'to.buy-PAST', fo:taᶻŋ ~ fautaᶻŋ ~

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foutaᶻ ‘to.eat-PAST’, murautaᶻ ‘to.receive-PAST’, bʲuːtaᶻ ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, aɾautaᶻ ‘to.wash-PAST’, ʋːtaᶻ ‘to.sell-PAST’, kstaᶻ ~ ksɿːtaᶻ ‘to.cut-PAST’, sɿmaᶻɿtaᶻ ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, kˢɿtaᶻ ‘to.kick-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- uɾitaː ~ uɾitaᶻ ‘to.get.off-PAST’, utitaᶻ ~ utitaː ‘to.fall-PAST’, piŋgitaː ‘to.escape-PAST’, stitaᶻ ~ stitaː ‘to.discard-PAST’, ffitaᶻ ‘to.give-PAST’, bakitaᶻ ‘to.divide-PAST’, piŋgitaᶻ ‘to.escape-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- sɿtaᶻ ‘to.do-PAST’, ksɿtaᶻ ~ ksɿtaː ~ kˢɿːtaᶻ ‘to.come-PAST’, kugiᵏstaɿ ~ kugᶻiᵏstaɿ ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’

The Miyaguni dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-taː*.

Strong conjugation

- asɿpʰɿtaː ‘to.play-PAST’, uːgʒːtaː ‘to.swim-PAST’, ikstaː / ikɿtaː ‘to.go-PAST’, utu̥staː ‘to.drop-PAST’, idaɕita / idasɿta ‘to.put.out-PAST’, piɾasɿ̈ta ‘to.go-CAUSATIVE-PAST’, mo̥tɕi̥ta ‘to.carry-PAST’, num̩ta ‘to.drink-PAST’, fuztaː ‘to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST’, po̥zta ‘to.dig-PAST’, muduɿta ‘to.return-PAST’, kïːta ‘to.cut-PAST’, nakaᶻɿta ‘to.divide-PAST’, fuztaː / fɿztaː ‘to.tie.up-PAST’, kizta ‘to.kick-PAST’, kauta ‘to.buy-PAST’, ɸoota ‘to.eat-PAST’, moɾautaː / moɾoota ‘to.receive-PAST’, bʲoːta ‘to.get.drunk-PAST’, aɾautaː ‘to.wash-PAST’, uːtaː / uvtaː / uʋtaː ‘to.sell-PAST’

Mixed conjugation

- uɾitaː ‘to.get.off-PAST’, uci̥ta ‘to.fall-PAST’, sɿtita ‘to.discard-PAST’, ɸiita ‘to.give-PAST’, pʰiŋgitaː / ɸiŋgitaː ‘to.escape-PAST’

Irregular conjugation

- kïːtaː / kï̥ta ‘to.come-PAST’, kugiksta ‘to.row-to.come-PAST’, kugiuta ‘to.row-PROGRESSIVE-PAST’

The Yonaha dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-taː*.

Strong conjugation

- tubɿta: / tubɿtaɴ 'to.fly-PAST', appɿta: 'to.play-PAST', ikˢɿta: 'to.go-PAST', kugɿta: 'to.row-PAST', utusɿta: 'to.drop-PAST', idasɿta: 'to.put.out-PAST', mutsɿta: 'to.carry-PAST', numta: 'to.drink-PAST', ffu̜tta: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', puzta: 'to.dig-PAST', pi:ta: 'to.go-PAST', kɿsɿta: 'to.cut-PAST', ko:ta: 'to.buy-PAST', aɾo:ta: 'to.wash-PAST', fo:ta: 'to.eat-PAST', bju:ta: 'to.get.drunk-PAST', ʋ:ta: / u:ta: 'to.sell-PAST', kizɿta: 'to.kick-PAST', sɿmaᶾɿta: 'to.tie.up-PAST'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾita: 'to.get.off-PAST', utita: 'to.fall-PAST', su̜tita: 'to.discard-PAST', fi:ta: 'to.give-PAST', bakita: 'to.divide-PAST'

Weak conjugation

- zzita: 'to.get-PAST'

Irregular conjugation

- ksta: / kɿsɿta: 'to.come-PAST', kugɿdu sɿta: 'to.row=FOCUS to.do-PAST', ʋ:dusɿta: 'to.sell=FOCUS to.do-PAST' bju:i uta: 'to.get.drunk-STATIVE-PAST', tubɿdu sɿta: 'to.fly=FOCUS to.do-PAST'

The Kurima dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, mixed, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is *-taɿ*. Forms deriving from Old Japanese weak verbs were not obtained. In the strong conjugation, the suffix takes the shapes *-ztaɿ*, *-ɿtaɿ*, and *-taɿ*; in the mixed conjugation, it takes the shape *-taɿ*.

Strong conjugation

- tubz̩taz̩ / tubz̩taɿ 'to.fly-PAST', aspɿtaɿ 'to.play-PAST', numutaɿ[15] 'to.drink-PAST', kudztaɿ 'to.row-PAST', i̯tstaɿ 'to.go-PAST', piɿtaɿ / piᶻɿtaɿ 'to.go-PAST', utu̜staz̩ / utu̜staɿ 'to.drop-PAST', idastaɿ 'to.put.out-PAST', puztaɿ 'to.dig-PAST', sɿmaɿtaɿ / smaztaɿ 'to.tie.up-PAST', f̩ftaɿ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', tsṣtaɿ / tsṣtaz̩ 'to.cut-PAST', muro:taɿ 'to.receive-PAST', u:taɿ 'to.sell-PAST', fo:taɿ 'to.eat-PAST', ko:taɿ 'to.buy-PAST', aɾo:taɿ 'to.wash-PAST', bʲu:taɿ 'to.get.drunk-PAST'
- kiz̞taz / kiz̞taɿ 'to.kick-PAST'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾitaz̩ / uɾitaɿ 'to.get.off-PAST', uti̥taz̩ 'to.fall-PAST', sti̥taz̩ / sti̥taɿ 'to.discard-PAST', fi:taɿ 'to.give-PAST', baki̥taɿ 'to.divide-PAST', piŋgitaɿ 'to.escape-PAST'

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[15] Although the suffix does not begin with a vowel in strong verbs with a stem ending in *-m* in the other dialects, *-u-* appears here; further confirmation is needed.

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Irregular conjugation

- tsstaŋ / tstaŋ 'to.come-PAST', kugitstaŋ 'to.row-to.come-PAST', uɾitstaŋ / tsṣtaŋ 'to.get.off-to.come-PAST', muɾaitsɻtaŋ 'to.receive-to.come-PAST', ikʲu:taz / ikʲu:taŋ 'to.go-STATIVE-PAST', mmʲaɻtaŋ 'to.come-HONORIFIC-PAST' u:gi tstaŋ 'to.swim-to.come-PAST'

The Kugai dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense is -ta:. In the strong conjugation, the suffix takes the shapes -sta:, -ɻta:, and -ta:; in the weak conjugation, it takes the shape -ta:.

Strong conjugation

- aspsta: 'to.play-PAST', kugᶻɻta: 'to.row-PAST', ikˢɻta: 'to.go-PAST', utasta: 'to.drop-PAST', idasta: 'to.put.out-PAST', mutsta: 'to.carry-PAST', numta: 'to.drink-PAST', fʊmta: 'to.put.on(footwear)-PAST', fuᶻɻta: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', puzta: 'to.dig-PAST', pi̥ta: 'to.go-PAST', kˢɻta: 'to.cut-PAST', kiᶻɻta: / kiᶻɻta: 'to.kick-PAST', sɻmaɻta: 'to.tie.up-PAST', naka:zta: 'to.divide-PAST', ko:ta: 'to.buy-PAST', aɾo:ta: 'to.wash-PAST', fo:ta: 'to.eat-PAST', moro:ta: 'to.receive-PAST', bʲu:ta: 'to.get.drunk-PAST', v:ta: 'to.sell-PAST', nivta: 'to.fall.asleep-PAST', kaʋta: 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', ffta: 'to.close-PAST', anta: 'to.say-PAST', snta: 'to.die-PAST'

Weak conjugation

- uɾita: 'to.get.off-PAST', utita: 'to.fall-PAST', ukita: 'to.get.up-PAST', sɻtita: 'to.discard-PAST', kiɕita: 'to.sell-PAST', fi:ta: 'to.give-PAST', smita: 'to.wash-PAST', piŋgipi̥ta: 'to.escape-PAST'
- mi:ta: 'to.see-PAST', zzita: 'to.get-PAST', biʑita: 'to.sit.down-PAST'

Irregular conjugation

- kˢɻta: 'to.come-PAST', kugikˢɻta: 'to.row-to.come-PAST', sta: 'to.do-PAST', uta: 'to.be(animate)-PAST', ata: 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', ariuta: ~ arʲu:ta: 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', bʲu:iuta: 'to.get.drunk-STATIVE-PAST', tatɕi:uta: 'to.stand.up-STATIVE-PAST', niviuta: 'to.fall.asleep-STATIVE-PAST'

The Shimajiri dialect

-ta: is the suffix most often used for the past tense in the Shimajiri dialect, but -ta and -taz are used, as well. In the strong conjugation, the suffix takes the shapes -sta:, -zta:, -uta:, and -ta:; in the weak conjugation, it takes the shape -taz.

Strong conjugation

- tubzta: 'to.fly-PAST', appsta: 'to.play-PAST', kugzta: 'to.row-PAST', iksta: 'to.go-PAST', utusta: / utusta 'to.drop-PAST', idasta: 'to.put.out-PAST', mutsta 'to.carry-PAST', nunta: 'to.drink-PAST', funta: / fnta: 'to.put.on(footwear)-PAST', puzta: 'to.dig-PAST', ffta: / ffutaŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', pizta: 'to.go-PAST', kssta: 'to.cut-PAST', kauta: 'to.buy-PAST', arauta: 'to.wash-PAST', fauta: 'to.eat-PAST', bju:taz 'to.get.drunk-PAST', kavta: 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', nʲiuta: 'to.fall.asleep-PAST', ffta: / ffuta: 'to.close-PAST', azta: 'to.say-PAST', v:ta: / v:ta: 'to.sell-PAST', fgzta: 'to.tie.up-PAST', kizta: 'to.kick-PAST', bz:ta: 'to.sit.down-PAST', snta: 'to.die-PAST'

Weak conjugation

- urita: 'to.get.off-PAST', utɕita: 'to.fall-PAST', stɕita: 'to.discard-PAST', fi:ta: 'to.give-PAST', bakitaz 'to.divide-PAST', ukitaz / ukita: 'to.get.up-PAST'
- mi:ta: 'to.see-PAST', zzitaz 'to.get-PAST', ʃʃitaz 'to.sell-PAST'

Irregular conjugation

- ssta: 'to.come-PAST', ssta: 'to.do-PAST', ata: 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', u:ta: / uta: 'to.be(animate)-PAST'

The Karimata dialect

In addition to *-taz*, *-daz* is used as a suffix for the past tense in the Karimata dialect. At first glance, *-daz* in *nundaz* 'to.drink-PAST' looks like an *onbin* form[16], but as *-daz* is used in weak verb forms such as *uridaz* 'to.get.off-PAST' and *utidaz* 'to.fall-PAST' as well as in strong verb forms such as *asudaz* 'to.play-PAST', and as there are verbs such as *sntaz* / *sndaz* 'to.die-PAST' and *ɕimitaz* / *ɕimidaz* 'to.close-PAST' in which the use of *-taz* and *-daz* as variant forms is observed, they seem to be phonetic variants. In the Karimata dialect the suffix thus takes the shapes *-itaz* and *-taz* in the strong conjugation; in the weak conjugation, it takes the shape *-taz*.

Strong conjugation

- tubitaz / tuutaz 'to.fly-PAST', asudaz 'to.play-PAST', kugitaz / kuutaz 'to.row-PAST', iftaz / ikitaz 'to.go-PAST', utastaz 'to.drop-PAST', idastaz 'to.put.out-PAST', mutstaz 'to.carry-PAST', nundaz 'to.drink-PAST', puztaz 'to.dig-PAST', ffutaz 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', ksstaz 'to.cut-PAST', kaztaz / ko:ta: / ko:taz 'to.buy-PAST', aro:daz 'to.wash-PAST', fo:taz 'to.eat-PAST', bʲu:ztaz 'to.get.drunk-PAST', kautaz 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', nʲiutaz

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[16] *Translator's note:* a 'euphonic form'; see section 4.1 for an explanation

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'to.fall.asleep-PAST', ffitaz 'to.close-PAST', aztaz 'to.say-PAST', ʋ:taz 'to.sell-PAST', ks:daz 'to.kick-PAST', smaztaz 'to.tie.up-PAST', sntaz / sndaz[17] 'to.die-PAST'

Weak conjugation

- uridaz 'to.get.off-PAST', utidaz 'to.fall-PAST', ɕitidaz 'to.discard-PAST', fi:taz 'to.give-PAST', ŋgidaz 'to.return.home-PAST', taskaritaz 'to.be.saved-PAST', ukitaz 'to.get.up-PAST', ɕimitaz / ɕimidaz 'to.close-PAST'

- mi:daz 'to.see-PAST', zzitaz 'to.get-PAST', kiitaz 'to.sell-PAST', biʑitaz 'to.sit.down-PAST'

Irregular conjugation

- ksstaz 'to.come-PAST', kugiftaz 'to.row-to-come-PAST', astaz 'to.do-PAST', ataz 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', utaz 'to.be(animate)-PAST'

The Ikema dialect

Irrespective of whether a verb is strong, weak, or irregular, the suffix used for the past tense in the Ikema dialect is *-tai*.

Strong conjugation

- aɕibitai ~ aɕu:tai 'to.play-PAST', kugitai 'to.row-PAST', ifutai ~ ikitai 'to.go-PAST', utaɕitai 'to.drop-PAST', idaɕitai 'to.put.out-PAST', muttai 'to.carry-PAST', nuntai 'to.drink-PAST', mmitai 'to.put.on(footwear)-PAST', fu:tai 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PAST', fuitai 'to.dig-PAST', muduitai 'to.return-PAST', hatai 'to.go-PAST', kiritai 'to.cut-PAST', ɕɻmaɾitai 'to.tie.up-PAST', kautai ~ kaʋtai ~ kaitai 'to.buy-PAST', vvitai 'to.sell-PAST', faitai ~ fautai ~ faʋtai 'to.eat-PAST', bʲu:itai 'to.get.drunk-PAST', araitai 'to.wash-PAST', aitai 'to.say-PAST', kavvitai 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', ffitai 'to.close-PAST', nʲu:tai 'to.fall.asleep-PAST', taskaitai 'to.be.saved-PAST', ki:tai 'to.kick-PAST', ttɕaddaN 'to.cut-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE-PAST[18]'

Weak conjugation

- ukitai 'to.get.up-PAST', uritai 'to.get.off-PAST', utɕita: 'to.fall-PAST', bakitai 'to.divide-PAST', udʑɻmitai 'to.bury-PAST', piŋgita 'to.escape-PAST', fi:tai 'to.give-PAST'

- mi:tai 'to.see-PAST', tsɻitai ~ ttitai 'to.sell-PAST', bi:tai 'to.sit.down-PAST', ddʑitai 'to.get-PAST'

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[17] While the past tense forms *sntaz* / *sndaz* 'to.die-PAST' follow the strong conjugation, the negative form *sniŋ* 'to.die-NEGATIVE' follows the weak conjugation. This verb thus follows a mixed conjugation, albeit a different one from that of Old Japanese.

[18] This form was elicited in response to Japanese *kirenakatta* 'to.cut-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE-PAST', but as it appears to follow the strong conjugation, it may be a form corresponding to *kiranakatta* 'to.cut-NEGATIVE-PAST'.

Irregular conjugation

- ttai 'to.come-PAST', asɿtai / aɕitai 'to.do-PAST', aruːtai 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', uruːtai 'to.be(animate)-PAST'

The Kuninaka dialect

Although only a small number of word forms was obtained, the suffix observed most often is -taḷ, irrespective of whether the verb is strong, mixed, weak, or irregular; -taː is used as well.

Strong conjugation

- ɴgitaḷ 'to.go-PAST', pʲaḷtaḷ 'to.go-PAST', kaʋtaḷ 'to.put.on(headwear)-PAST', ɸuṃtaḷ 'to.put.on(footwear)-PAST', nivtaḷ 'to.fall.asleep-PAST', sɿntaḷ 'to.die-PAST'

Mixed conjugation

- ɕimḛtaḷ 'to.close-PAST', okitaḷ 'to.get.up-PAST'

Weak conjugation

- miːtaḷ 'to.see-PAST', tsɿːtaː 'to.sell-PAST', bɿːtaː / bɿztaː 'to.sit.down-PAST'

Irregular conjugation

- astaːḷ 'to.do-PAST', ataḷ 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST', ọtaḷ 'to.be(animate)-PAST', tatɕii ọtaḷ 'to.stand.up-STATIVE-PAST'

4.1   Past tense forms—discussion (1): on the presence of *onbin*

The sound changes undergone by Heian-era Japanese verb stems that are called '*onbin*' are also observed in the *Omoro Sōshi*[19] and the Northern Ryukyuan languages. '*Onbin*' refers to sound changes involving stem-final consonants and suffixes that have resulted in changes in the paradigms of strong verbs, which acquired alternating stems in the process. Alternate stems are used in past tense and *shite*-continuative forms, which includes derived forms containing a *shite*-continuative as an element.

Neither '-*i*-*onbin*' in -*k*-stem and -*g*-stem verbs, nor 'nasal *onbin*' in -*b*-stem verbs, nor 'geminating *onbin*' in -*t*-stem or -*r*-stem verbs are observed in the strong conjugation of the Miyako language. The '-*i*-*onbin*' seen in -*s*-stem verbs in the Northern Ryukyuan languages are not observed, either. Although the suffix-initial vowel -*i*- is elided in the case of -*m*-stem verbs, 'nasal *onbin*' is not observed. Furthermore, the 'elision *onbin*' seen in the strong conjugation of the Northern Ryukyuan languages is not observed, either. It can thus be concluded that *onbin* stems need not be posited for Miyako.

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[19] *Translator's note:* a Ryukyuan compilation of poems and songs compiled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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In the *Omoro Sōshi*, the stem-final consonant and the initial vowel *-i-* of the suffix *-ite* are elided in the *shite*-continuatives of *-b*-stem and *-m*-stem verbs, and the *-t-* in the suffix is voiced, resulting in the suffix *-de*: *tsu-de* < *tsuNde* < *tsum-ite* 'to.pile-CONTINUATIVE'; *era-de* < *eraNde* < *erab-ite* 'to.choose-CONTINUATIVE'. It is assumed that the syllables *-mi-* and *-bi-* on the boundary between the stem and the suffix collapsed into the moraic nasal *-N-*, which then caused the voicing of the *-t-* in the suffix through assimilation, after which the moraic nasal was elided. The sound changes *-mi- > -N-* and *-bi- > -N-* occurred before palatalization.

In *-r*-stem verbs, too, the stem-final consonant and the suffix-initial vowel are elided. The stem-final consonant *-r-* and the intial vowel *-i-* of the *shite*-continuative suffix *-ite* are thus elided, but voicing of the *-t-* in the suffix is not observed: *ino-te* < *inoQte* < *inor-ite* 'to.pray-CONTINUATIVE'. The elision of the suffix-initial vowel *-i-* and the appearance of the geminate element *-Q-* are thought to have occurred before palatalization, after which degemination must have occurred.

In *-w*-stem verbs, the stem-final consonant and the suffix-initial vowel collapsed into the vowel *-u-*, which was then elided. It is thought that Old Japanese intervocalic *-p-* consecutively underwent fricativization, voicing, labial lenition, and *onbin* into *-u-*: *wara-te* < *waraute* < *waraw-ite* 'to.laugh-CONTINUATIVE'. Both the sound change *-ri- > -Q-* and the sound change *-wi- > -u-* occurred before palatalization.

In the case of *-k*-stem, *-s*-stem, and *-g*-stem verbs, the stem final consonant and the suffix-initial vowel *-i-* are elided, and the consonant *-t-* in the suffix palatalized into *-tɕe-*: *da-tɕe* < *da-itɕe* < *dak-ite* 'to.embrace-CONTINUATIVE'; *wata-tɕe* < *wata-itɕe* < *wataɕ-ite* 'to.transfer-CONTINUATIVE'; *ko-dʑe* < *ko-idʑe* < *kog-ite* 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE'. 'Elision *onbin*', in which the stem consonant is elided, is thus observed. Furthermore, the voicing of the suffix-initial consonant into *-dʑe-* in the case of *-g*-stem verbs is the result of voicing occurring before '*-i-onbin*'.

In *-t*-stem verbs, the *-t-* in the suffix is palatalized: *motɕ-itɕe* < *motɕ-ite* 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE'. Although palatalization and affrication due to the suffix-initial *-i-* are thus observed, any kind of *onbin* is not.

In the weak conjugation, in which stems end in vowels, no *onbin* of any kind has occurred: *ore-te* 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE'; *ake-te* 'to.open-CONTINUATIVE'. In verbs with stems ending in the vowel *-i-*, however, the *-t-* in the suffix is palatalized under the influence of this *-i-*: *mi-tɕe* < *mi-te* 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE'; *mitɕi-tɕe* < *mitɕite* 'to.become.full-CONTINUATIVE'.

The *onbin*-phenomena observed in the *Omoro Sōshi* have been preserved in the Northern Ryukyuan languages:

tudi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', iradi 'to.choose-CONTINUATIVE', nudi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', huti 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', huti 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', ʔarati 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', warati 'to.laugh-CONTINUATIVE', datʃi 'to.embrace-CONTINUATIVE', katʃi 'to.write-CONTINUATIVE', kudʒi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', tudʒi 'to.sharpen-CONTINUATIVE', ukutʃi 'to.raise', watatʃi 'to.transfer-CONTINUATIVE', nitʃi 'to.boil-CONTINUATIVE', n:tʃi 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE'

Conclusions regarding why the Miyako language does not have *onbin* stems and if this is indicative of its age can as yet not be drawn. When we consider, however, that *onbin*-phenomena are not observed in the Southern Ryukyuan languages and *onbin* had thus not yet occurred when the Southern Ryukyuan languages split from Proto-Ryukyuan, while *onbin* had already occurred in the sixteenth century, when the *Omoro Sōshi* was compiled, it can at least be surmised that the Northern Ryukyuan languages and the Southern Ryukyuan languages had split before the writing of the *Omoro Sōshi*, and that *onbin* occurred in the Northern Ryukyuan languages after this split.

4.2 Past tense forms—discussion (2): the *shi*-continuative form observed in stems

Another aspect of past tense forms that warrants attention is that they appear to consist of *shi*-continuatives to which *-ta*, *-ta:*, *-tai*, or *-tazɿ* has been attached, similarly to pre-*onbin* Old Japanese *shitari* 'to.do-PAST', *nomitari* 'to.drink-PAST', and *uketari* 'to.receive-PAST'. Of course, a variety of sound changes have occurred in the Miyako language, so it has not preserved the *shi*-continuative forms of Old Japanese in their original shape.

Shi-continuatives are almost never observed in their original adverbial usage, but rather exclusively as elements in the formation of forms and words; it is therefore possible to determine the phonetic shapes of *shi*-continuative forms in Miyako by looking at the stem portions of Miyako past tense forms.

As I have discussed before (Karimata 1999), forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used as the perfective forms of *-b*-stem, *-k*-stem, and *-g*-stem verbs in the strong conjugation of the dialects of the central and southern regions of Miyakojima, such as those of Hirara and Bora. I concluded from this that the perfective forms of the Miyako language may derive from *shi*-continuative forms. In dialects such as those of Karimata and Ikema, however, forms deriving from *suru*-conclusives or *suru*-adnominals are used as well, as will be discussed below. As past tense forms allow us to identify the shape of *shi*-continuative forms, they also play a key role when investigating the origin of the perfective forms of verbs in Miyako.

As the non-past assertive predicative conclusive (henceforth '*su*-conclusive') and non-past adnominal (henceforth '*suru*-adnominal') forms of the strong conjugation of Old Japanese are

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homophonous, it cannot be determined whether the perfective forms of *-w-stem verbs such as Bora dialect *kau* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE' and *arau* 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE' and Shimajiri dialect *ko:* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE' and *aro:* 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE' derive from *su*-conclusives or from *suru*-adnominals. As regards strong conjugation *-m*-stem, *-s*-stem, *-t*-stem, and *-r*-stem verbs in the Miyako language, it cannot be determined whether their perfective forms derive from Old Japanese *shi*-continuatives, *su*-conclusives, or *suru*-adnominals.

Weak conjugation *shi*-continuative and *su*-conclusive forms differ in shape in Old Japanese as well as in Miyako, but as their *su*-conclusive and *suru*-adnominal forms are homophonous both in Old Japanese and in Miyako, it cannot be determined whether perfective forms derive from *su*-conclusives or from *suru*-adnominals. Mixed conjugation *shi*-continuative, *su*-conclusive, and *suru*-adnominal forms, on the other hand, all differ in shape in Old Japanese, and their reflexes in Miyako are different, as well; it is therefore essential to examine Miyako verbs that correspond to Old Japanese mixed verbs.

In the following, we will examine past tense forms by conjugation, covering each of the strong, weak, and mixed conjugations; as regards the strong conjugation, we will look at the shapes taken by *-b*-stem, *-k*-stem, *-g*-stem, and *-w*-stem verbs.

4.2.1   -*b*-stem verbs

The Japanese -*b*-stem verb past tense form that was included on the survey sheet was *tonda* 'to.fly-PAST', but the only past tense forms of a -*b*-stem verb that were obtained in Miyaguni, Kugai, and Ikema were those corresponding to *asonda* 'to.play-PAST'. Forms with stems deriving from one of the *shi*-continuatives **tobi* and **asobi* were observed at every site; in Karimata and Ikema, respectively, the stems *tuv-* and *aɕu:-*, which derive from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms **tobu* and **asubu*, were observed in addition to those deriving from *shi*-continuatives.

tubzta: (Bora), tuvᶻ˞ta˞ˀ ~ tubᶻ˞ta˞ˀ (Uruka), tub˞ta: / tub˞taɴ (Yonaha), tubẕtaẕ / tubẕta˞ (Kurima), tubzta: (Shimajiri), tubitaz / tuʋtaz (Karimata), as˞pʰ˞ta: (Miyaguni), aspsta: (Kugai), aɕibitai ~ aɕu:tai (Ikema)

4.2.2   -*g*-stem verbs

The Japanese -*g*-stem verb past tense form that was included on the survey sheet was *koida* 'to.row-PAST', but the only past tense form of a -*g*-stem verb that was obtained in Miyaguni was the form corresponding to *oyoida* 'to.swim-PAST'. Forms with stems deriving from one of the *shi*-continuatives **kogi* and **ojogi* were observed at every site; in Karimata, the stem *kuv-*, which

derives from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form *kogu, was observed in addition to the stem deriving from the *shi*-continuative.

kugztaː (Bora), kugᶻŋtaᶻŋ (Uruka), kugŋtaː (Yonaha), kudztaŋ (Kurima), kugᶻŋtaː (Kugai), kugztaː (Shimajiri), kugitaz / kuʋtaz (Karimata), kugitai (Ikema), uːgʒːtaː (Miyaguni)

4.2.3　　-*k*-stem verbs

The Japanese -*k*-stem verb past tense form that was included on the survey sheet was *itta* 'to.go-PAST'. Forms with stems deriving from the *shi*-continuative *iki were observed at every site; in Karimata and Ikema, the stem *if-*, which derives from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form *iku, was observed in addition to the stem deriving from the *shi*-continuative.

ikstaː (Bora), iksŋtaᶻŋ ~ ikstaː (Uruka), ikstaː / ikŋtaː (Miyaguni), ikˢŋtaː (Yonaha), iʦtaŋ (Kurima), ikˢŋtaː (Kugai), ikstaː (Shimajiri), iftaz / ikitaz (Karimata), ifutai ~ ikitai (Ikema)

4.2.4　　*-*w*-stem verbs

The Japanese *-*w*-stem verb past tense forms that were included on the survey sheet were *katta* 'to.buy-PAST', *kuratta* 'to.eat-PAST', *aratta* 'to.wash-PAST', *yotta* 'to.get.drunk-PAST', and *itta* 'to.say-PAST'. We will look at word forms corresponding to *katta*. Forms with one of the stems *kau-* and *koː-*, which derive from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form *kawu, were observed at every site. In Karimata and Ikema, the stem *kai-*, which derives from the *shi*-continuative *kawi, was observed in addition to the stems deriving from the *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form.

kaʋtaː (Bora), kautaᶻŋ (Uruka), kautaː (Miyaguni), koːtaː (Yonaha), koːtaŋ (Kurima), koːtaː (Kugai), kautaː (Shimajiri), kaztaz / koːtaː / koːtaz (Karimata), kautai ~ kaʋtai ~ kaitai (Ikema)

4.2.5　　The weak conjugation

The Japanese weak verb past tense forms that were included on the survey sheet were *mita* 'to.see-PAST', *kita* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PAST', *ketta* 'to.kick-PAST', *eta* 'to.get-PAST', and *wita* 'to.sit.down-PAST'. The form corresponding to *ketta* follows the strong conjugation at every site, as does the form corresponding to *kita* at some of them. Below, I give the forms corresponding to *mita*, except for Yonaha, for which I give the form corresponding to *eta*. No weak verb forms were obtained in Uruka, Miyaguni, and Kurima. Past tense forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives were observed, not only for *mita* and *eta*, but for all weak verbs.

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mi:ta: (Bora), mi:ta: (Kugai), mi:ta: (Shimajiri), mi:daz (Karimata), mi:tai (Ikema), mi:taḷ (Kuninaka), zzita: (Yonaha)

4.2.6   The mixed conjugation

The Japanese mixed verb past tense forms that were included on the survey sheet were *orita* 'to.get.off-PAST', *ochita* 'to.fall-PAST', *suteta* 'to.discard-PAST', *kureta* 'to.give-PAST', and *okita* 'to.get.up-PAST'. We will consider word forms corresponding to *okita*, except for those from Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, and Kurima, where no word forms corresponding to *okita* were obtained; for these dialects, I give the word forms corresponding to *ochita*, instead. Forms with stems deriving from one of the *shi*-continuative forms **oke* and **ote* were observed at every site. Past tense forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives were observed not only for *okita* and *ochita*, but for all mixed verbs.

Although there are two types of mixed verb in Old Japanese, namely those that have *-i* as the stem-final vowel of the *shi*-continuative ('upper bigrade verbs') and those that have *-e* ('lower bigrade verbs'), only one type of mixed verb is observed in the Ryukyuan languages, which has *-e*.

ukita: (Bora), utita²ŋ ~ utita: (Uruka), uci̥ta: (Miyaguni), utita: (Yonaha), uti̥taẓ (Kurima), ukita: (Kugai), ukitaz / ukita: (Shimajiri), ukitaz (Karimata), ukitai (Ikema), okitaḷ (Kuninaka)

While in all the other dialects forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives are observed for *-b*-stem, *-g*-stem, and *-k*-stem verbs, two kinds of forms coexist in the Karimata and Ikema dialects, namely those with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives and those with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms. Forms with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms are observed for **-w*-stem verbs. As regards mixed and weak verbs, forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives are observed at every site.

The questions of why forms with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms are observed for *-g*-stem and *-k*-stem verbs in the Karimata and Ikema dialects and why forms with stems deriving from *su*-conclusive (or *suru*-adnominal) forms are observed for **-w*-stem verbs, instead of the expected forms with stems deriving from *shi*-continuatives, must be considered when we examine the perfective forms.

5   Perfective forms

Although the *shi*-continuative and *su*-conclusive forms of the strong and weak conjugation differ in shape in Old Japanese, their *su*-conclusive and *suru*-adnominal forms are homophonous.

Conversely, although the *su*-conclusive forms of the verbs corresponding to *aru* 'to be (inanimate)' and *oru* 'to be (animate)' differ in shape from their *suru*-adnominal forms in Old Japanese, their *shi*-continuative and *su*-conclusive forms are homophonous. *Shi*-continuative, *su*-conclusive, and *suru*-adnominal forms each take a different shape in the mixed conjugation, as well as in those of the verbs corresponding to *shinu* 'to die', *kuru* 'to come', and *suru* 'to do'.

In the case of Miyako, it can be determined whether the perfective forms of -*k*-stem, -*g*-stem, -*b*-stem, and *-w*-stem strong verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives or from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms, but not whether they derive from *su*-conclusives on the one hand or from *suru*-adnominals on the other. Furthermore, as sound changes such as *-mi > -m*, *-mu > -m*, *-si > -s*, *-su > -s*, *-tsi > -ts*, *-tsu > -ts*, *-ri > -z*, and *-ru > -z* have occurred, it cannot be determined whether the perfective forms of -*m*-stem, -*s*-stem, -*ts*-stem, and -*r*-stem strong verbs as well as those of the irregular verbs corresponding to *suru*, *oru*, and *aru* derive from *shi*-continuatives, *su*-conclusives, or *suru*-adnominals. As regards *sn* 'to die', which has changed into a strong verb, it is difficult to determine from which form it derives, as the sound changes *-ni > -n* and *-nu > -n* have also occurred. As regards the verb corresponding to *kuru*, which follows either the weak or an irregular conjugation, it can be determined whether it derives from a *shi*-continuative or from a *su*-conclusive, but not whether it derives from a *su*-conclusive or from a *suru*-adnominal. It can be determined whether a perfective form derives from a *shi*-continuative, from a *su*-conclusive, or from a *suru*-adnominal only in the case of the mixed conjugation.

In emphatic sentences with the focus particle *=du*, emphatic forms homophonous with adnominal forms and different from the perfective forms used in sentences without *-du* are used in the dialects of Okinawa Island, but in the Miyako language, the same forms are used for the predicate irrespective of whether the focus particle *=du* is used[20]. For this reason, I will not take into account whether *=du* is used in reporting the perfective forms in this chapter.

(18) p̥atume: tḁkame: <u>tubz̩</u>. (Kurima)
       pigeon=too hawk=too <u>to.fly-PERFECTIVE</u> (*tobu*)
       'Pigeons and hawks both fly.'

(19) tḁkanu<u>du</u> <u>tubz̩</u>. (Kurima)
       hawk=NOMINATIVE <u>to.fly-PERFECTIVE</u> (*tobu*)
       'A hawk flies away.'

(20) sarumai ki:kara <u>utɕi</u>. (Bora)
       monkey=too tree=ABLATIVE <u>to.fall-PERFECTIVE</u> (*ochiru*)

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[20] I have pointed out that whether a focus particle is used does not determine which conjugated form is used as a conclusive form in an earlier work, as well (Karimata 2011).

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'Even monkeys fall from trees./Even the best sometimesmake mistakes.'

(21)   m:na uman<u>du</u> <u>uri</u>. (Bora)

everyone there=LOCATIVE to.get.off-PERFECTIVE (*oriru*)

'Everyone gets off (e.g. the bus) there.'

(22)   maznu<u>du</u> ama:tta ari <u>uz</u>[21]. (Shimajiri)

rice=NOMINATIVE much to.be-PROGRESSIVE (*iru*)

'I have a lot of rice.'

(23)   ssuznu arittɕi taskari: <u>uz</u>. (Shimajiri)

medicine=NOMINATIVE to.be-CONTINUATIVE to.be.saved-PROGRESSIVE (*iru*)

'I'm lucky to have some medicine.'

The Bora dialect

In the Bora dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are observed for strong (e.g. *tubz* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE'), mixed (e.g. *uki* 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE'), and weak (e.g. *kˢʅ:* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE') verbs, as well as for the irregular verb *kˢʅ:* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kʰaʋ* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE'). Either a perfective form deriving from a strong conjugation *shi*-continuative or one deriving from a *suru*-adnominal is used for *sʅŋ ~ ʂ̩ṇ* 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'.

Strong conjugation

- tubz 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', asʅpˢʅ ~ asʅbʅ 'to.play-PERFECTIVE', kugz 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', iks 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', piz 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', utus ~ utusʅ 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idasʅ 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', mutsʅ 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', num 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', puzʅ 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', fʋz 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', kˢʅ: 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', ftts 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', smaz 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', kʰaʋ 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', fɔʋ 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', aɾɔʋ 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', bʲu: 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', kaʋ ~ kaʄ 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', fʋ: 'to.close-PERFECTIVE', niʋ 'to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE', aʐ 'to.say-PERFECTIVE', vvʅ 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', sʅŋ ~ ʂ̩ṇ 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'

- kiʐ 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE', kˢʅ: 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE', bᶻʅ: 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE'

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[21] *ari uz*, a combination of the *ari*-continuative form of *az* 'to be (inanimate)' and the existential verb *uz* corresponding to Japanese *atte iru* 'to.be-PROGRESSIVE', is used for the transient, actual existence of inanimate objects. Further confirmation is needed in regard to the details of this form.

Mixed conjugation

- stɕi 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', uri 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE', utɕi 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE', ffiː 'to.give-PERFECTIVE', uki 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE'
- miː 'to.see-PERFECTIVE', iː 'to.get-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kˢɿː 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', sɿː 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', uʐ ~ uː 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE', aɿ 'to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE', nʲaːŋ 'to be absent'

The Uruka dialect

In the Uruka dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *asɿpˢɨ* 'to.play-PERFECTIVE'), as well as for the irregular verb *ksɿː* / *ksᶻɿː* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Only a small number of examples of mixed verbs were obtained, but *ʂti* 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE' appears to derive from a *shi*-continuative. No examples of weak verbs were obtained. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for **-w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kau* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE').

Strong conjugation

- asɿpˢɨ 'to.play-PERFECTIVE', kuguˢɿ / kuguᶻɿ [22] 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', ikˢɿ / ikɿs 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', fuᶻɿ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', utusɿ 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idasɨ 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', mutsɨ 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', ksᶻɿ 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', sɿmaɾi 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE [23] ', puᶻɨ 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', num 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', kau 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', fou / fau 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', aɾau 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', muɾau 'to.receive-PERFECTIVE' bjuː 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', kaʋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', ʋː / ʋʋu 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', kiᶻɿ 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- ʂti 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', uɾittɕaː 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE-QUOTATIVE (evidential?)', utidu sɿː / sɿᶻɿ 'to.fall=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE'

Weak conjugation

(no data)

Irregular conjugation

- ksɿː / ksᶻɿː 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', sɿː / sɿᶻɿ 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', uᶻɿ 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE'

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[22] The obtained word forms suggest a derivation from either **kogoru* or **kogori*.

[23] *sɿmaɾi* may correspond to Japanese *shibare* 'to.tie.up-IMPERATIVE'.

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The Miyaguni dialect

In the Miyaguni dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *ikˢi* 'to.go-PERFECTIVE'), as well as for the irregular verb *kï:* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Only a small number of examples of mixed verbs were obtained, but *uci* 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE' appears to derive from a *shi*-continuative. No examples of weak verbs were obtained. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kau* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE').

Strong conjugation

- butuki̥ 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', kugi 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', ikˢi 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', fuŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', utu̥su 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idaɕi 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', kï̥si 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', mo̥tsɿ 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', kau 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', aɾau 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', ɸau / ɸoo 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', bʲu: dusɿ: 'to.get.drunk=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE', u: / uv 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', kiz 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- sï̥ciu 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE[24]', uɾiɾu 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE[25]', uci 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE', ɸi: 'to.give-PERFECTIVE',

Weak conjugation

(no data)

Irregular conjugation

- kï: 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', u: 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE'

The Yonaha dialect

In the Yonaha dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *kugɿ* 'to.row-PERFECTIVE'), as well as for the irregular verb *kɿsɿ* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Only a small number of examples of mixed verbs were obtained, but *uti:* 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE' derives from a *shi*-continuative, while *suti²ŋ* 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE' appears to derive from a *suru*-adnominal. No examples of weak verbs were obtained. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko:* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE').

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[24] *sï̥ciu* may correspond to Japanese *sutete iru* 'to.discard-PROGRESSIVE'.
[25] *uɾiɾu* may correspond to Japanese *oriro* 'to.get.off-IMPERATIVE'.

Strong conjugation

- tubˑdu sˑ 'to.fly=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE', kugˑ 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', ikˢˑ 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', utusˑ 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idasˑ 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', mutsˑ 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', num 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', puzˑ 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', ffˑ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', kˑsˑ 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', sˑmaˑ 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', ko: 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', fo: 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', aɾo: 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', bju: 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', kˑ:dusu / kizˑ 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- sutiᶻˑ 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', uɾiɾu 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE[26]', uti: 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE'

Weak conjugation

(no data)

Irregular conjugation

- kˑsˑ 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', sˑ 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', uˑ 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE'

The Kurima dialect

In the Kurima dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubẓ* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE'), as well as for the irregular verb *tssˑ* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals are used for mixed verbs (e.g. *uɾiᶻˑ* 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE'). Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko:* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE').

Strong conjugation

- tubẓ 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', aspi 'to.play-PERFECTIVE[27]', kudzˑ 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', its / itsˑ 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', utu̥sˑ 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idaɕe: 'to.put-PERFECTIVE[28]', mutsu / mutsˑ 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', num 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', puˑ 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', ffʋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', samaˑ[29] 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', tsṣ / tssˑ 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', v: 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', ko: 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', fo: 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', muɾoa 'to.receive-PERFECTIVE', aɾoa 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', bʲu: 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE'
- kiẓ / kiˑ 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE'

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[26] *uɾiɾu* may correspond to Japanese *oriro* 'to.get.off-IMPERATIVE'.
[27] *aspi* may correspond to Japanese *asobe* 'to.play-IMPERATIVE'.
[28] *idaɕe:* may correspond to Japanese *dase* 'to.put.out-IMPERATIVE'.
[29] Perhaps *smaˑ*.

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Mixed conjugation

- stiŋ / stiʐ 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', uɾiᶻŋ 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE', utidus / utidus̩ 'to.fall=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE', uti̥mdoː 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE=FOCUS', fiːŋ 'to.give-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ʦsŋ 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', nʲaːŋ 'to be absent'

The Kugai dialect

In the Kugai dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubᶻŋ* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE'), as well as for the irregular verb *kˢŋsŋ / ksː* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals are used for mixed (e.g. *ukiz* 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE') and weak (e.g. *miːz* 'to.see-PERFECTIVE') verbs. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for **-w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *koː* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE'). A perfective form deriving from a strong conjugation *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form is used for *ʂŋ* 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'.

Strong conjugation

- tubᶻŋ 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', asps 'to.play-PERFECTIVE', kugᶻŋ 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', ikˢŋ 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', utasŋ 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idas 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', muts 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', num 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', sŋmaᶻŋ 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', puz 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', fuᶻŋ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', ki̥ɕi 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', kiᶻŋ 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE', koː 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', moroː 'to.receive-PERFECTIVE', foː 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', bʲuː 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', aɾoː 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', kav 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', ffʋ̩ 'to.close-PERFECTIVE', niɣ 'to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE', vː 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', andʐ 'to.say-PERFECTIVE', ʂŋ 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiz 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE', stiᶻŋ 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', uɾiᶻŋ 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE', utiᶻŋ 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE', fiːz 'to.give-PERFECTIVE', ukiz 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE'
- miːz 'to.see-PERFECTIVE', biʑiz 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE', ki̥ɕiz 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kˢŋsŋ / ksː 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', ss 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', uː 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE', az 'to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE', nʲaːŋ 'to be absent'

The Shimajiri dialect

In the Shimajiri dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubz* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', *kugz* 'to.row-PERFECTIVE'), as well as for the irregular verb *ss* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE'. Perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals are used for mixed verbs. For *uriz* / *uri* 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE', however, a perfective form deriving from a *suru*-adnominal and one deriving from a *shi*-continuative appear to coexist. As regards weak verbs, *mi:z* 'to.see-PERFECTIVE' derives from a *suru*-adnominal, while *bz:* 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE' derives from a *shi*-continuative. As only a small number of examples was obtained, a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-w*-stem strong verbs. A perfective form deriving from a mixed conjugation *suru*-adnominal is used for *sniz* 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'.

Strong conjugation

- tubz 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', kugz 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', iks 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', ffʋ / ff 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', utus 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', kizdus 'to.kick=FOCUS to.do-PERFECTIVE', kss 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', fgz 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', puz 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', muts 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', kau 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', v: 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', nun 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', fau / fao / fo: 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', apps 'to.play-PERFECTIVE', bʲu: 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', aɾau 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', kav 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', ff / ffʋ 'to.close-PERFECTIVE', niɣ 'to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE', aẓ 'to.say-PERFECTIVE', bz: 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE'

Weak conjugation

- stɕiz 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', uriz / uri 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE', utɕiz 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE', ffi:z 'to.give-PERFECTIVE', zzɿiz 'to.get-PERFECTIVE', ukiz 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE', sniz 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'

- mi:z 'to.see-PERFECTIVE', ss 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ss 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', ss 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', az 'to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE', uẓ 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE', nʲa:ŋ 'to be absent'

The Karimata dialect

In the Karimata dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives (*tubi* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE') and perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms (*tuʋ* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE') coexist for strong verbs. For mixed verbs (*utɕi* / *utɿz* 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE'), too, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives and perfective forms

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deriving from *suru*-adnominals coexist. As regards weak verbs, *mi:* 'to.see-PERFECTIVE' derives from a *shi*-continuative, while *bz:z* 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE' derives from a *suru*-adnominative. It cannot be determined from which form *kss:* 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)' derives. Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *ko:* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE'). A perfective form deriving from a mixed conjugation *suru*-adnominal is used for *snɤz* 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'. The perfective form used for the irregular verb *ffu* / *ff* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE' may derive either from a *su*-conclusive or from a *suru*-adnominal; a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn.

Strong conjugation

- tubi / tuʋ 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', asuʋi / asʋ 'to.play-PERFECTIVE', kugi / kuʋ 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', ifu / if 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', utasɤ: / utaʂ 'to.drop-PERFECTIVE', idas 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', mutsɤ / muts 'to.carry-PERFECTIVE', num ~ nuŋ 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', ffu / fʋ: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', ᵖɸɤ / ᵖɸ: / puz 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE', kiɾi / kss 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', sïmaɾi / smaz 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', ko: 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', aɾo: 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', fo: / ɸo: 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', bʲu: / bʲu:z 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', kavvi / kaʋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', ffi 'to.close-PERFECTIVE', niʋ 'to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE', az 'to.say-PERFECTIVE', ʋ: 'to.sell-PERFECTIVE', ki: / ks:dus 'to.kick-PERFECTIVE'

Weak conjugation

- uriz 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE', utɕi / utɤz 'to.fall-PERFECTIVE', ukɤ ~ ukɤz 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE', fɤ / fɭ / fɭ: 'to.give-PERFECTIVE', sïti / sïtidu / sɭtɤ 'to.discard-PERFECTIVE', kadz:z 'to.dig-PERFECTIVE/to.nibble-PERFECTIVE', snɤz 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'

- mi: 'to.see-PERFECTIVE', kss: 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE', bz:z 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE', iʑitaᶻɤ / ʑʑidaz 'to.get-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ffu / ff 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', as 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', uz 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE', az 'to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE', nʲa:ŋ 'to be absent'

The Ikema dialect

In the Ikema dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives are used for strong verbs (e.g. *tubi* 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE'). Perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used for *-*w*-stem strong verbs (e.g. *kau* 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE'). As only a small number of examples were obtained, a definitive conclusion cannot be drawn, but the perfective forms used

for mixed verbs (e.g. *uki:* 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE') seemingly derive from *shi*-continuatives. The possibility that they derive from *suru*-adnominals can at present not be denied, however.

Weak verb forms such as *biɀi* 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE' also seem to derive from *shi*-continuatives, although the possibility that they derive from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms can at present not be denied, either. More examples of mixed and weak verb forms have to be obtained and the sound changes that have occurred in the Ikema dialect must be examined. The perfective form *ɕinʲi* 'to.die-PERFECTIVE' seems to derive from a mixed conjugation *shi*-continuative.

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-PERFECTIVE', kugi 'to.row-PERFECTIVE', ifu 'to.go-PERFECTIVE', idaɕi 'to.put-PERFECTIVE', kiɾi 'to.cut-PERFECTIVE', numi / nuɴ 'to.drink-PERFECTIVE', sïmai 'to.tie.up-PERFECTIVE', fu: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PERFECTIVE', kau 'to.buy-PERFECTIVE', fau / faʊ 'to.eat-PERFECTIVE', aɾau 'to.wash-PERFECTIVE', bʲu:i 'to.get.drunk-PERFECTIVE', kavvi / kaʊʋi 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', ffi 'to.close-PERFECTIVE', nʲivvi 'to.fall.asleep-PERFECTIVE', adʑi 'to.say-PERFECTIVE'

Weak conjugation

- fi: 'to.give-PERFECTIVE', uki: 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE', ɕinʲi 'to.die-PERFECTIVE', uɾiɾu 'to.get.off-PERFECTIVE[30]'
- biɀi 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE', ʦɿ: / ʦɿi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- fu: 'to.come-PERFECTIVE', assɿ / aɕɕi 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', uɾijui / uɾi:ui [31] 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE', aɾi:jui 'to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE', nʲa:ɴ 'to be absent'

The Kuninaka dialect

Only a small number of examples of strong verbs were obtained for the Kuninaka dialect; moreover, only examples of which it is difficult to determine whether they derive from *shi*-continuatives or from *su*-conclusives were obtained. The mixed verb example *okiɭ* 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE' seems to derive from a *suru*-adnominal.

Strong conjugation

- kaʋ 'to.put.on(headwear)-PERFECTIVE', aɭ 'to.say-PERFECTIVE', sɿɴ 'to.die-PERFECTIVE', ʦɿ: / ʦɿ:i 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-PERFECTIVE', bɿ: / biɀi / bɿzɿ 'to.sit.down-PERFECTIVE'

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[30] *uɾiɾu* may correspond to Japanese *oriro* 'to.get.off-IMPERATIVE'.
[31] /ui/ is used as an auxiliary verb in continuous aspect forms, such as *tubiui* 'to.fly-PROGRESSIVE'.

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Weak conjugation

- okiḷ / okiḷli 'to.get.up-PERFECTIVE', ɕimiʥi 'to.close-PERFECTIVE'
- miːʥi 'to.see-PERFECTIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- asɿ 'to.do-PERFECTIVE', oḷ 'to.be(animate)-PERFECTIVE', aḷ 'to.be(inanimate)-PERFECTIVE', nʲaːɴ 'to be absent'

5.1 Summary of perfective forms

Regarding the origin of the perfective forms of the Miyako language, it has been thought that forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives functioned both as perfective forms and as adnominal forms, on the basis of sound correspondences between these forms in the dialect of the urban area of former Hirara City (Nishizato, Shimozato, Higashi-Nakasone, and Nishi-Nakasone; henceforth just the 'Hirara dialect') and the *shi*-continuatives of Japanese. I have taken this view in previous work, as well (Karimata 1990). Until now, however, discussion has been limited to the strong conjugation; moreover, it has only taken into account the south-western dialects of Miyako, spoken for example in former Gusukube Town, former Ueno Village, and former Shimoji Town, centering on the Hirara dialect. In this section, we additionally considered the Karimata and Ikema dialects, and although the number of examples was limited, we examined data regarding the weak and mixed conjugations and looked at the derivations of the assertive forms of Miyako verbs.

(i)   In all of the dialects except for those of Karimata and Ikema, the perfective forms of -*k*-stem, -*g*-stem, and -*b*-stem verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives.

(ii)   In the Karimata and Ikema dialects, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives and perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms coexist for strong verbs.

(iii)   For *-*w*-stem verbs, perfective forms deriving from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms are used.

(iv)   The Ikema form ɕinʲi 'to.die-PERFECTIVE' derives from a mixed conjugation *shi*-continuative, while the Karimata form snɣz 'to.die-PERFECTIVE' derives from a mixed conjugation *suru*-adnominal.

(v)   In the Bora, Kurima, and Ikema dialects, the perfective forms of weak verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives, while in the Kugai dialect, the perfective forms of weak verbs derive from *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal forms.

(vi)   In the Bora, Miyaguni, and Ikema dialects, the perfective forms of mixed verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives, while in the Kurima and Shimajiri dialects, the perfective forms

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of mixed verbs derive from *suru*-adnominals. In the Karimata dialect, perfective forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives and perfective forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals coexist for mixed verbs.

(vii)   In the Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, Kurima, Kugai, and Shimajiri dialects, the perfective form of the irregular verb corresponding to *kuru* 'to.come-PERFECTIVE' derives from a *shi*-continuative. In the Karimata and Ikema dialects, the perfective form of the irregular verb corresponding to *kuru* seems to derive from a *su*-conclusive or *suru*-adnominal form.

(viii)   It cannot be determined whether the perfective forms of *-m*-stem, *-s*-stem, *-ts*-stem, and *-r*-stem strong verbs derive from *shi*-continuatives, from *su*-conclusives, or from *suru*-adnominals.

More examples of verb forms from the sites reported on in this chapter have to be obtained, and it must be determined what sound changes have occurred in each of the dialects; moreover, further research at an increased number of survey sites is necessary. Although the extent to which we can draw conclusions is thus limited, it is possible to identify within the whole of the data forms deriving specifically from *shi*-continuatives as well as forms deriving specifically from *suru*-adnominals, while no dialects or verbs are found for which forms deriving specifically from *su*-conclusives can be identified[32].

6   *Ari*-continuative forms

Among the continuative forms of the Miyako language, the one that is most similar in function to the Japanese *shite*-continuative is the *ari*-continuative. *Ari*-continuatives can be used as independent constituents for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates to express how two actions take place in succession, either in a subordinate or in a non-subordinate manner. The *ari*-continuative can also be used for forming compound predicates. In these respects, it corresponds to the Japanese *shite*-continuative.

(24)   ki:nu ʋa:gun <u>nu:ri</u> n:to: utaɕi fi:ru. (Karimata)

tree=GENITIVE   top=LOCATIVE   <u>to.climb-CONTINUATIVE</u>   fruit=ACCUSATIVE

to.drop-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE (*nobotte*)

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[32] The mixed conjugation form *ukiN* 'to get up' and the weak conjugation form *mi:N* 'to see' of the Ishigaki dialect of the Yaeyama language seem to be forms deriving from *shi*-continuatives with *-N* suffixed to them, while *ukiruN* 'to get up' and *mi:ruN* 'to see' seem to be forms deriving from *suru*-adnominals with *-N* suffixed to them.

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'Climb the tree and drop some fruit.'

(25) tuzzu <u>smari</u> kagoŋkai iʑiru. (Karimata)

chicken=ACCUSATIVE <u>to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE</u> cage=LOCATIVE to.put.in-IMPERATIVE (<u>*shibatte*</u>)

'Tie up the chicken and put it into the cage.'

(26) taʋkʲaːɕidu fnʲuː <u>kuɡi</u> kstaː. (Bora)

one.person=INSTRUMENTAL boat=ACCUSATIVE <u>to.row-CONTINUATIVE</u> to.come-PAST (<u>*koide*</u>)

'I rowed the boat by myself.'

(27) kiːn nuːriː naʑzu <u>utu̥ɕi</u> fiːɾu. (Bora)

tree=LOCATIVE to.climb-CONTINUATIVE fruit=ACCUSATIVE <u>to.drop-CONTINUATIVE</u> to.give-IMPERATIVE (<u>*otoshite*</u>)

'Climb the tree and drop some fruit.'

(28) kaɾʲaː bʲuːitti cununu ku̥to̥ː <u>bassii</u> uɳ. (Kurima)

he=TOPIC to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE yesterday=GENITIVE thing=TOPIC <u>to.forget</u>-STATIVE (<u>*wasurete*</u>)

'He got drunk, so he has forgotten about yesterday.'

Formally, the Miyako *ari*-continuative does not correspond to the *shite*-continuative. At first glance, it appears to correspond to the *shi*-continuative of Old Japanese. If the Miyako *ari*-continuative corresponded to the Japanese *shi*-continuative, the fact that sound changes such as *-ki > -ks*, *-gi > -gz*, *-bi > -bz*, *-mi > -m*, *-si > -s*, *-tɕi > -ts*, and *-ri > -z* have occurred in many of the dialects of Miyako would lead us to expect the *ari*-continuative forms of strong verbs to be identical to the *shi*-continuative forms contained in their past tense forms that were discussed above, such as *kaks* 'to.write-CONTINUATIVE', *kugz* 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', *tubz* 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', *num* 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', *utus* 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', *muts* 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', and *puz* 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE'. Formally, however, the *ari*-continuative does not correspond to the *shi*-continuatives of Japanese and the Northern Ryukyuan languages. The *shi*-continuative forms used in the Miyako language as elements in the formation of words and forms differ formally from *ari*-continuative forms. Let us take a look at the kinds of forms observed for the *ari*-continuative.

The Bora dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', asɿpi: ~ asɿbi: 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', kugi / kugᶻi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', iki 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', ffi: 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', puri 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', kiri 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', numi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', arai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', bʲuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', vvi: 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kavvi: 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', fttɕi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', azzi: 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'
- sɿnʲi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', biʑi: 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- fi: 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', utɕi 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sumi: 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', uki: 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', stɕi 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', uri 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE'
- mi: 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', i: 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kiɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', ɕi: 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', ari: 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', uri 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Uruka dialect

Strong conjugation

- tuvi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', asɿpi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', iki 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', idaʃi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', mutʃi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', numi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', puɾi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', sɿmaɾi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', kᶖɕi / kiɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', aɾai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', muɾai 'to.receive-CONTINUATIVE', bʲuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', ʋʋi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kaʋʋi 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiɾi 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uri 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', uti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sɿti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE'

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Irregular conjugation

- kį̇ɕi / kiɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Miyaguni dialect

Strong conjugation

- tu̥bi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', ikį̇ 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', utu̥si 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', kį̇sï 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', sïmaɾi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', pǫɾi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕitɕi [33] 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', motɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', kʰai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', uvi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', moɾai 'to.receive-CONTINUATIVE', nǫmi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', ɸai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', asˠpi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', aɾai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiɾi 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- ɸii 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', sï̥tˢi 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', ucį̇ 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', uɾi 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kį̇si 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Yonaha dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', appi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', iki 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', numiː 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', sˠmaɾi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', puɾi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', kˠɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', vvi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', keː 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', bjuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', aɾeː 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiɾi 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾi 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', uti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', su̥ti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', ˠzi 'to.put.in-CONTINUATIVE', piŋgi 'to.flee-CONTINUATIVE', fiː 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE'
- zzi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kˠɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

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[33] When compared to other word forms, it appears that this may be a *shite*-continuative form.

The Kurima dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', iki̥ 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', idasi̥ 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', utu̥ɕi̥ 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕi̥ 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', tɕi̥ɕi̥ 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', smaɾi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', puɾi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', ffi̥ 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', nuːɾiː 'to.climb-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', vvi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', muɾai 'to.receive-CONTINUATIVE', numi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiɾi 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾi 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', uti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fiː 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', piŋgi 'to.flee-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- tɕi̥ɕi̥ 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Kugai dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', aspi / aspiː 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', numi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', uːgi 'to.swim-CONTINUATIVE', iki 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', kaːraki 'to.dry.up-CONTINUATIVE', utaɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', sɻmari 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', puri 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', javviː 'to.tear-CONTINUATIVE', furiː 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', nuːri 'to.climb-CONTINUATIVE', vviː 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bʲuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', tskai 'to.use-CONTINUATIVE', arai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', kavvi 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', tatɕiː 'to.stand.up-CONTINUATIVE', andʑi 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiri 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'
- snʲi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- uri 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', uti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', faːsari 'to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE', ukiː 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', ᶻɻʑi 'to.put.in-CONTINUATIVE', piŋgi 'to.flee-CONTINUATIVE', fiː 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', sɻti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE'

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- mi: 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', biʑi 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE', zzi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kiɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', ɕi: 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', ari: 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', uri: 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Shimajiri dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', appi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', ujagi 'to.swim-CONTINUATIVE', iki 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', numi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', piri 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', vvi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', fgzzi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', puri 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', kavvi 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bʲuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', arai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', nivvi 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', azzi 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiri 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- uki 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', uri 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', stɕi 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', utɕi 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', iʑi: 'to.put.in-CONTINUATIVE', sskai 'to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE', baɕɕi 'to.forget-CONTINUATIVE', fi: 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', piŋgi 'to.flee-CONTINUATIVE'
- snʲi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'
- mi: 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', biʑi 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE', ɕɕi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', zzi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ɕɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', ɕi: 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', uri 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Karimata dialect

Strong conjugation

- asbi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', numi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', uigi 'to.swim-CONTINUATIVE', iki 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', utaɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', smari

'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', puri 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', kadʑi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE/to.nibble-CONTINUATIVE', ʋʋʋi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kavvi 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', niʋvi 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', ffi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bʲuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', arai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', aʑʑi 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'

- kiri 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- uri 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', uti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', uki 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', ɕiti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fiː 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', piŋgi 'to.flee-CONTINUATIVE', baɕɕi 'to.forget-CONTINUATIVE', ɕikari 'to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE'

- miː 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', iʑi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE', biʑi 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE'

- snʲi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kiɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', aɕi 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', ari 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', uri 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE',

The Ikema dialect

Strong conjugation

- tubi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', aɕibiː 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', numiː 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', kugi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', uːgi 'to.swim-CONTINUATIVE', ikiː / ikị̈ː 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', kaːki 'to.dry.up-CONTINUATIVE', utaçi / utaçiː 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', idaçiː 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', muti 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', nuːɾi 'to.climb-CONTINUATIVE', ffiː 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', kiɾiː 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', sïmaɾiː 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', fuɾi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', vvi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kavvi / kavviː 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffiː 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', sadaɾiː 'to.precede-CONTINUATIVE', nivvi / nivviː 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', haɾiː 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', kai 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', aɾai 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', fai 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bʲuːi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', addʑiː 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE', kiɾiː 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiː 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', uɾi / uɾiː 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utiː 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sï̈tiː 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', baɕɕi 'to.forget-CONTINUATIVE', hikai 'to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE', çiŋgi 'to.flee-CONTINUATIVE', sɿmiː / sʉmiː 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', fiː 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', ddʑi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

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- miː 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', ttiː 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', biʑiː 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE', ɕinʲi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE',

Irregular conjugation

- tti 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', çiː 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', aɾiː 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', uɾi 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Kuninaka dialect

Strong conjugation

- kavviː 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', niɣviː 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', aᶻʑiː 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'

- sɳni 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

- ʨiː 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', biʑiː 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- okii 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', pˢɳkaii 'to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE', ɕimii / ɕimi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', taskaɾi 'to.be.saved-CONTINUATIVE'

- miː 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ɕiː 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', aɾii 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', oɾe̞ː 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

In the Miyako language, *ari*-continuatives of strong verbs are formed by suffixing *-i* to stems ending in consonants, while those of weak verbs are identical in shape to base stems ending in vowels. Both the suffix used for strong verbs and the final vowel observed in weak verbs derive from *e*.

As will be discussed below, it is thought that the *ari*-continuative arose through the grammaticization of *shi*-continuatives to which the *shi*-continuative form of the existential verb *az* had been suffixed, in which these were fused together, but this can not yet be said to be certain[34]. Further surveys and research into these forms in Miyako and the dialects of the Yaeyama language are needed.

6.1 Characteristics of *ari*-continuative forms

Although their origins are different, the grammatical behavior of the Miyako *ari*-continuative is identical to that of the *shite*-continuative of the Northern Ryukyuan languages. Not only are they

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[34] Mitsunari Nakama (1982) views the Miyako forms in question as *shite*-continuatives.

used for non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences and sentences with multiple predicates, they are also used identically as elements in, for example, coninuous aspect forms, forms expressing attempts such as *numi miːru* 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE to.see-IMPERATIVE' and *tubi miːrʊ* 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE to.see-IMPERATIVE', and benefactive forms such as *sti fiːro* 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE' and *tɕiɕi̥ fiːru* 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE to.give-IMPERATIVE'.

Continuous aspect forms such as *aɕibi ui* 'to.play-PROGRESSIVE' and *ffi uɭ* 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PROGRESSIVE', which are analytical forms combining *ari*-continuatives with the existential verb *uz* or *uː*, coexist with fused, synthetic forms such as *aɕibʲuːi* 'to.play-PROGRESSIVE' and *fʲuːzɭ* 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-PROGRESSIVE'. The continuous aspect forms of action verbs in examples (29)–(32) express a continuing action of the subject referent[35], while those of inchoative verbs in examples (33)–(40) express a continuing state resulting from a change in the subject referent[36]. How the semantics of the continuous aspect are realized is also similar to how they are realized with the *shite*-continuative of the Northern Ryukyuan languages[37].

Continuing action of the subject referent

(29)　ffaf naikʲataːçiː aɾaɴ a̱ɕibi ui / a̱ɕibʲuːi. (Ikema)

　　　to.be.dark-INFINITIVE to.become=TERMINATIVE outside=LOCATIVE to.play-PROGRESSIVE

　　　(*asonde iru*)

　　　'I'm playing outside until it gets dark.'

(30)　mainitɕi teɾebʲuː mi̱ː jui. (Ikema)

　　　every.day television=ACCUSATIVE to.see-PROGRESSIVE (*mite iru*)

　　　'I'm watching television every day.'

(31)　namaː aminudu ffi uɭ / fʲuːzɭ. (Uruka)

　　　now=TOPIC rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PROGRESSIVE (*futte iru*)

　　　'It's raining now.'

(32)　nnamaː aminudu fʲuː / ffjuː. (Karimata)

　　　now=TOPIC rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PROGRESSIVE (*futte iru*)

　　　'It's raining now.'

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[35] *Translators note:* in glosses, this usage is represented as 'progressive'.

[36] *Translators note:* in glosses, this usage is represented as 'stative'.

[37] There is also a continuous aspect form that combines the *ari*-continuative form of the existential verb *az* with *uz*, which expresses a transient state existing at the time of the utterance.

　maznu amaːtta ari uz. (Shimajiri)

　rice=NOMINATIVE much to.be-PROGRESSIVE 'I have a lot of rice.'

　kumanna kaːnu arjuːtaː. (Kugai)

　here=LOCATIVE=TOPIC well=NOMINATIVE to.be-PROGRESSIVE-PAST 'There used to be a well here.'

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Continuing state resulting from a change in the subject referent

(33) upuaminu ffitteidu pʲaːɾinu <u>tsɿdzɿkʲuː</u>. (Bora)

heavy.rain=NOMINATIVE   to.fall-CONTINUATIVE   drought=NOMINATIVE

<u>to.continue-STATIVE</u> (*tsuzuite* *iru*)

'After the heavy rain, there has continued to be a drought.'

(34) kaɾʲaː bʲuːittidu kˢɿnuːnu kutuːba <u>baɕɕidu</u> <u>uŋ</u>. (Uruka)

he=TOPIC   to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE   yesterday=GENITIVE   thing=TOPIC

<u>to.forget-STATIVE</u> (*wasurete* *iru*)

'He got drunk, so he has forgotten about yesterday.'

(35) gabaːaminu ffiː ntanu <u>kaːki</u> <u>jui</u>. (Karimata)

heavy.rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-CONTINUATIVE earth=NOMINATIVE <u>to.dry.up-STATIVE</u>

(*kawaite* *iru*)

'After the heavy rain, the soil has dried up.'

(36) kaɾʲaː ksnunu kutuːbaː <u>baɕɕi</u> <u>uŋ</u>. (Ikema)

he=TOPIC yesterday=GENITIVE thing=TOPIC <u>to.forget-STATIVE</u> (*wasurete* *iru*)

'He has forgotten about yesterday.'

(37) boːɕuː utuɕiteidu tuzga <u>ikʲuːtaː</u>. (Bora)

hat=ACCUSATIVE to.drop-CONTINUATIVE to.get=DATIVE <u>to.go-STATIVE-PAST</u> (*itte* *ita*)

'I had dropped my hat and was on my way to get it.'

(38) bututuzza jamakasa numiːdu <u>bʲuːi</u> <u>utaː</u>. (Kugai)

day.before.yesterday=TOPIC much to.drink-CONTINUATIVE <u>to.get.drunk-STATIVE-PAST</u>

(*yotte* *ita*)

'The day before yesterday, I had drank a lot and was drunk.'

(39) ɕinɕiːja biʑiɕitidu, ffanukjaːja <u>tatɕiː</u> <u>utaː</u>. (Kugai)

teacher=TOPIC   to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE   child=PLURAL=TOPIC

<u>to.stand.up-STATIVE-PAST</u> (*tatte* *ita*)

'The teacher was sitting, while the children were standing.'

(40) kuːmujamai sniːdu jumunumai <u>sni</u> <u>uː</u>. (Kugai)

cockroach=too to.die-CONTINUATIVE mouse=too <u>to.die-STATIVE</u> (*shinde* *iru*)

'The cockroach is dead, as is the mouse.'

Although the phonetic forms are different, the tense and aspect contrasts displayed by Miyako verbs are similar to the binary contrasts of the eastern Japanese languages (Modern Japanese).

	Non-past	Past
Perfective	asps 'to.play-PERFECTIVE' sn 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'	aspsta: 'to.play-PAST' snta: 'to.die-PAST'
Continuous	aspju: 'to.play-PROGRESSIVE' snju: 'to.die-STATIVE'	aspju:ta: 'to.play-PROGRESSIVE-PAST' snju:ta: 'to.die-STATIVE-PAST'

Table 6. Tense and aspect in the Bora dialect.

Miyako *ari*-continuatives can be used as sentence-final predicates to express past events; in this, too, they are similar to the *shite*-continuatives of the Northern Ryukyuan languages. In the case of the dialects of Okinawa Island, the *shite*-continuative is used for past perfective polar questions, while in the dialects of Amami Ōshima, the *shite*-continuative is used for the past indicative. I hope to discuss this matter in more detail at a later time.

(41)　kju:ja tubansuga ksno: tubi. (Karimata)

　　　today=TOPIC to.fly-NEGATIVE=CONCESSIVE yesterday=TOPIC to.fly-PAST

　　　Although they won't fly today, they flew yesterday.

(42)　ksnumaidu iŋgaija iki. (Karimata)

　　　yesterday=too sea=ALLATIVE=TOPIC to.go-PAST

　　　'I went to the sea yesterday, too.'

(43)　ksno aminudu ffi / fftaz. (Karimata)

　　　yesterday=TOPIC rain=NOMINATIVE to.fall-PAST

　　　'Yesterday, it rained.'

6.2　　　The origins of *ari*-continuative forms

Ari-continuatives are also observed in the dialects of Okinawa Island. In the dialects of central and southern Okinawa Island, *ari*-continuatives function as non-conclusive predicates in compound sentences, but they are not used to form a variety of grammatical forms as in the Miyako language. In the Shuri dialect, the *ari*-continuative takes the shape of *numa:ni* or *numa:i*; according to the *Okinawago Jiten* (*A Dictionary of Okinawan*; National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (ed.) 1963), *numa:i* is the older form.

The *ari*-continuatives of the dialects of Iheya and Izena seem to resemble that of Miyako the most. Like in Miyako, *ari*-continuative forms display degree of productivity in the Iheya and Izena dialects, being used not only as predicates in compound sentences, but also as elements in forming words and forms such as continuous aspect forms.

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	'to.write -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.play -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.get.up -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.get.off -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.wash -CONTINUATIVE'	'to.resemble -CONTINUATIVE'
Shuri dialect	katʃaːi	ʔaʃibaːi	ʔukijaːi	ʔurijaːi	ʔarajaːi	nijaːi
Iheya dialect	katʃeː	ʔaʃineː	ʔukijeː	ʔurijeː	ʔarajeː	nijeː
Hirara dialect	kakiː	aspiː	ukiː	uriː	araiː	niː
Ishigaki dialect	kakiː	asˠbiː	ukeː	ureː	arajaː	nijaː

Table 7. *Ari*-continuative forms in the dialects of Okinawa and the Miyako and Yaeyama languages.

(44)   ʔamaNdʒi <u>ʔaʃineː</u> hwaː. (Gakiya, Iheya Village)

over.there=LOCATIVE <u>to.play-CONTINUATIVE</u> to.come-IMPERATIVE (*asonde*)

'Go play over there.'

(45)   <u>ʔutuheː</u> huː. (Jitchaku, Izena Village)

<u>to.drop-CONTINUATIVE</u> to.come-IMPERATIVE (*otoshite*)

'Go drop it.'

(46)   <u>ʔwidʒeː</u> watataN. (Shomi, Izena Village)

<u>to.swim-CONTINUATIVE</u> to.cross-PAST (*oyoide*)

'I swam across.'

(47)   boːʃi <u>haujeː</u> ʔattʃuN. (Gakiya)

hat <u>to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE</u> to.walk-PERFECTIVE (*kabutte*)

'I walk with a hat on.'

(48)   ʔnaNma ʔaminu <u>hujoːN</u>. (Shomi)

now rain=NOMINATIVE <u>to.fall-PROGRESSIVE</u> (*futte iru*)

'It's raining now.'

(49)   ʔnama ʔami <u>hujoN</u>. (Shimajiri)

now rain <u>to.fall-PROGRESSIVE</u> (*futte iru*)

'It's raining now.'

(50)   hunu ʔiʃi <u>kijeː</u> <u>Nri</u>. (Gakiya)

this stone <u>to.kick-CONTINUATIVE</u> <u>to.see-IMPERATIVE</u> (*kette miro*)

'Try kicking this stone.'

In the dialects of Gakiya in Iheya Village, Noho, and Shimajiri, there are past tense forms such as *ʔaʃinaN* 'to.play-PAST', *sukunaN* 'to.die-PAST' (Gakiya and Shimajiri; cf. Shomi *ʃikudaN*), *nunaN* 'to.drink-PAST', and *junaN* 'to.call-PAST', which are thought to consist of *ari*-continuatives to which *ʔaN* 'to.be(inanimate)-PAST' has been attached. This type of past tense form has been displaced, however, by a type of past tense form deriving from *shite*-continuatives, such as *ʔaʃidaN* 'to.play-PAST'.

The *ari*-continuatives of the dialects of Okinawa Island originated as *shi*-continuatives such as *numi* 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE' combined with the existential verb *ʔai*, corresponding to Japanese *ari*, and are mostly used to express temporal ordering relations. In the *Omoro Sōshi*, a compilation of poems and songs whose first volume was compiled in 1531, these forms end in the *hiragana* corresponding to *-yari*. According to Toshizo Takahashi (1982), the *-yari* forms in the *Omoro Sōshi* consist of infinitive forms to which *-yari* has been attached, express perfect aspect, and are only used in a continuative usage.

(51)　*Toyomu Ōkimiya momoshima <u>soroheyari</u> mioyase.* (volume 176)

　　　to.resound-ADNOMINAL　　sovereign=TOPIC　　Momoshima　　<u>to.gather-CONTINUATIVE</u>
　　　to.present-IMPERATIVE

　　　'Gather the Momoshima Islands and present them to the renowned sovereign.'

(52)　*Ito <u>nukiyari</u>, nawa <u>nukiyari</u>,* (volume 632)

　　　thread <u>put.through-CONTINUATIVE</u> rope <u>put.through-CONTINUATIVE</u>

　　　Putting through threads, putting through ropes, and…'

The strong conjugation *ari*-continuatives of the Miyako language consist of base stems to which *-i* or *-i:* has been attached. Weak and mixed conjugation *ari*-continuatives, on the other hand, are homophonous with *shi*-continuatives (base stems). Although *shi*- and *ari*-continuatives of the strong conjugation also resemble each other, the final vowel of strong conjugation *shi*-continuatives as used for the stem portions of past tense forms derives from **-i*, while that of *ari*-continuatives derives from **-e*. The *ari*-continuatives of Miyako appear to derive from forms like the *ari*-continuatives of the Iheya dialect.

Supplementary note

The tense-aspect system of the dialects of Okinawa Island appears to derive from the ternary contrast system of the western Japanese languages. Continuous aspect forms consist of *shite*-continuatives combined and fused together with the animate existential verb, corresponding formally to western Japanese perfect aspect forms such as *ɛitoru* 'to.do-STATIVE'. They differ from

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western Japanese *ɕitoru* in their aspectual meaning, however; they express a continuing action by the subject referent in the case of action verbs, while they express a continuing state resulting from a change in the subject referent in the case of inchoative verbs, similarly to the continuous aspect forms of the eastern Japanese languages and the Miyako language.

In the dialects of Yaeyama, too, there are forms combining the *ari*-continuative with *uN* 'to be (animate)', fused together phonetically, such as the Ishigaki dialect forms *numi: uN > numiN* 'to.drink-PROGRESSIVE', *uke: uN > uke:N* 'to.get.up-STATIVE', and *kaNgaja: uN > kaNgaja:N* 'to.think-PROGRESSIVE'.

(53) utudoː guɕi numiN. (continuing action)
  younger.brother=TOPIC liquor=ACCUSATIVE to.drink-PROGRESSIVE
  'My brother is having a drink.'

(54) aQpaːja meː ukeːN. (continuing resultant state)
  mother=TOPIC already to.get.up-STATIVE
  'My mother is already up.'

Although the tense-aspect system of the southern dialects of Okinawa Island is similar to that of the western Japanese languages in that it has a ternary contrast of the type *suru-ɕijoru-ɕitoru*, its continuous aspect is used similarly to that of the eastern Japanese languages; it is thus a unique system. That of the Miyako language is similar to that of the eastern Japanese languages in that it has a binary contrast and its continuous aspect is used similarly, but it is a unique system in that its continuous aspect forms are formed differently from those of the eastern Japanese languages. It can therefore be concluded that the tense-aspect systems of the dialects of southern Okinawa Island, the Miyako language, the western Japanese languages, and the eastern Japanese languages all have similarities as well as differences, each being unique in their own way.

	Non-past	Past
Perfective	ʔaʃibuN 'to.play-PERFECTIVE', ʃinuN 'to.die-PERFECTIVE'	ʔaʃidaN 'to.play-PAST', ʃidʒaN 'to.die-PAST'
		ʔaʃibutaN 'to.play-PAST', ʃinutaN 'to.die-PAST'
Continuous	ʔaʃidoːN 'to.play-PROGRESSIVE', ʃidʒoːN 'to.die-STATIVE'	ʔaʃidoːtaN 'to.play-PROGRESSIVE-PAST', ʃidʒoːtaN 'to.die-STATIVE-PAST'

Table 8. Tense and aspect in the Agena dialect of Uruma City, Okinawa Island.

7   *Shite*-continuative forms

The *shite*-continuative of the Miyako language is used for predicates in compound sentences, functioning similarly to the *shite*-continuative of Japanese; it is formally similar to it, as well. It has no subordinate usages, however; it is not used in the formation of forms such as continuous aspect forms, forms expressing attempts, and benefactive verbs. In this respect, it is different from the *shite*-continuatives of Japanese and the Northern Ryukyuan languages.

(55)   oto:ja sakju: <u>muteittei</u>, mma: faumunu: muts. (Karimata)

     father=TOPIC   liquor=ACCUSATIVE   <u>to.carry-CONTINUATIVE</u>,   mother=TOPIC food=ACCUSATIVE to.carry-PERFECTIVE (*motte*)

     'My father carries the liquor; my mother carries the food.'

(56)   mmaduŋnu <u>tubittei</u>, fa:duŋmai tubinʲa:n. (Karimata)

     parent.bird=NOMINATIVE <u>to.fly-CONTINUATIVE</u> little.bird=too to.fly-PAST (*tonde*)

     'The parent bird flew away, and the little bird flew away, too.'

(57)   fŋju: <u>kugitti</u> unu atu jukui. (Kurima)

     boat=ACCUSATIVE <u>to.row-CONTINUATIVE</u> after.that to.rest-IMPERATIVE (*koide*)

     'Row the boat; then, take a rest.'

(58)   funʲu: <u>kugittikara</u> jukui. (Uruka)

     boat=ACCUSATIVE <u>to.row-CONTINUATIVE</u>=after to.rest-IMPERATIVE (*koide*)

     'Row the boat; then, take a rest.'

(59)   fu̥sizzu <u>numitti</u> pja:pja:ti nivvi. (Uruka)

     medicine=ACCUSATIVE   <u>to.take-CONTINUATIVE</u>   to.be.early-INFINITIVE to.sleep-IMPERATIVE (*nonde*)

     'Take some medicine and go to bed early.'

The Bora dialect

Bora dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-ttɕi* has been attached. The sounds corresponding to *ti* in the other dialects have undergone affrication in the Bora dialect, becoming *tɕi*, as in *tɕi:* 'hand' and *tɕida* 'the sun'; *-ttɕi* thus seems to derive from *-tti*.

Strong conjugation

- tubittɕi   'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE',   kugittɕi   'to.row-CONTINUATIVE',   ikittɕi 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE',   ffittɕi   'to.fall(e.g.   rain)-CONTINUATIVE',   utuɕittɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕittɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', fttɕittɕi 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE',

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puritɕi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕitɕi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕittɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', kaittɕi 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', vvittɕi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', numittɕi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', faittɕi 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', asʳpittɕi ~ asʳbittɕi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', numittɕi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', araittɕi 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', kavvittɕi 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffittɕi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', nivvttɕi 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', azzittɕi 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE', kirittɕi 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕittɕi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', bizzittɕi 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE', sʳnʲittɕi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- ukittɕi 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', urittɕi 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utɕittɕi 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', stɕittɕi 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fi:ttɕi 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', mi:ttɕi 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', i:ttɕi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kiɕittɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', ɕi:ttɕi 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', arittɕi 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', urittɕi 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Uruka dialect

Uruka dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-tti* has been attached.

Strong conjugation

- tuvitti 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', asɨpitti 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', numitti 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', kugittikaɾa 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE=ABLATIVE', ikitti 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', idaʃi̥tti 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', muʧitti 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕitti 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', ffitti 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', puɾitti 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', ki̥ɕɕiti / kiɕɕiti 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', ɕimaɾitti 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', kavvitti 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', aɾaitti 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', kaitti 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', ʋitti 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', muɾaitti 'to.receive-CONTINUATIVE', faitti 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bju:itti 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE'
- kiɾitti 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾitte̥ 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utittii 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', ffitti 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', stitti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kiɕi̥tti 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Miyaguni dialect

Miyaguni dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which -*cci* has been attached. The suffix seems to have undergone affrication, as in the Bora dialect.

Strong conjugation

- kugi̥cci 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', iki̥cciɛ 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', ficci 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', utu̥si̥ttˢi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', ki̥sïttɛ 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', po̥rittɛi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕitɛi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', uvittɛi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', no̥mittɛi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', ɸaittɛi 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', asŋpittɛi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', araittɛi 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', nuːricci 'to.climb-CONTINUATIVE', moraittɛi 'to.receive-CONTINUATIVE', bʲoːittɛi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- ucïcci 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sï̥cïccï 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', ɸiittɛi 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ki̥sicci 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Yonaha dialect

Yonaha dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which -*tti* has been attached.

Strong conjugation

- tubitti 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', kugittiː 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', ʋːgitti 'to.swim-CONTINUATIVE', ikitti 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', ffitti 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕitti 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', kɿɕitti 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', sŋmaittiː 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', idasitti 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕitti 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', kaitti 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', vvitti 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', numitti 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', feːti 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', appitti 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', bjuːitti 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', areːtti 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', kiritti 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

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Mixed conjugation

- uɾitti 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utɕitti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sutitti: 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fitti 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', zzitti 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kʲɛ̥itti 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Kurima dialect

Kurima dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-tti* has been attached.

Strong conjugation

- tubitti 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', kugitti 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', ikḭtti 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', utu̥ɛ̥iti 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', ffaɕḭti 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', tɕḭɕitti 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', smaɾitti 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', ffḭtti 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', idasḭti 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', vvitti 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', numitti 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', faitti 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', aspʲtti [38] 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', bʲu:itti 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', aɾaitti 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', kiɾitti 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

Mixed conjugation

- uɾitti 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utḭtti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', stḭtti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fi:tti 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- tɕḭɕitti 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Kugai dialect

In the Kugai dialect, *shite*-continuatives consisting of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-ɕḭti* has been attached, such as *aspsɛ̥iti* 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE' and *ukiɕḭti* 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', coexist with forms to which *-tti* has been attached, such as *kugitti* 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE' and *uɾitti* 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE'[39]. Further confirmation is necessary regarding whether this is due to individual differences between speakers or due to influence from the surrounding dialects.

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[38] Differently from the other *shite*-continuative forms, this form consists of a *shi*-continuative form to which *-tti* has been attached. Further confirmation is necessary.

[39] I obtained forms ending in *-ɕḭti* such as *puriɕḭti* 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE' and *ɕi:ɕḭti* 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE' in a survey in December, 2011.

Strong conjugation

- aspsɛ̣ti 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', kugitti 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', numiɛ̣ti 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', idaɛ̣ti 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', utaɛ̣ti 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', mutɛiɛ̣ti 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', puriɛ̣ti 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', kị̇ɛitti 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', sŋmaritti 'to.tie.up-CONTINUATIVE', vviɛ̣ti 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kavviɛ̣ti 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffiɛ̣ti 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', nivviɛ̣ti 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', kaiɛ̣ti 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', faiɛ̣ti 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bjuːiɛ̣ti 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', araiɛ̣ti 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', andzɨɛ̣ti 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE', kiriti 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE', snʲiɛ̣ti 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiɛ̣ti 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', uritti 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utị̇tti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', sŋtitti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fiːɛ̣ti 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE'

- miːɛ̣ti 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', zzɨɛ̣ti 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE', bizɨɛ̣ti 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE', kiɛiɛ̣ti 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ksŋɛittikara / kị̇ɛittikara 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE=ABLATIVE', ɕiːɛ̣ti 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', ariɛ̣ti 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', uriɛ̣ti 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Shimajiri dialect

Shimajiri dialect *shite*-continuatives, too, consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which *-cci* has been attached. The suffix seems to have undergone affrication, as in the Bora dialect.

Strong conjugation

- tubittɕi 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', appittɕi 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', numittɕi 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', kugittɕi 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕittɕi 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', utuɕittɕi 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕittɕi 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕittɕi 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', purittɕi 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', ffittɕi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', vvittɕi 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kavvittɕi 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffittɕi 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', nivvttɕi 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', kaittɕi 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', araittɕi 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', faittɕi 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', bjuːittɕi 'to.get.drunk-CONTINUATIVE', azzittɕi 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'

- kirittɕi 'to.kick-CONTINUATIVE'

- bizittɕi 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE'

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Weak conjugation

- ukittɕi 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', urittɕi 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utɕittɕi 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', stɕittɕi 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fiːttɕi 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', snʲittɕi 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

- miːttɕi 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', ɕɕittɕi 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', zzittɕi 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- ɕɕittɕi 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', aɕittɕi 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', arittɕi 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', urittɕi 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Karimata dialect

Karimata dialect *shite*-continuatives consist of *ari*-continuative forms to which -ɕi̯ti has been attached, as in the Kugai dialect.

Strong conjugation

- tubiɕi̯ti 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE', asbiɕi̯ti 'to.play-CONTINUATIVE', kugiɕi̯ti 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', numiɕi̯ti 'to.drink-CONTINUATIVE', ikiɕi̯ti 'to.go-CONTINUATIVE', utaɕi̯ti 'to.drop-CONTINUATIVE', idaɕiɕi̯ti 'to.put.out-CONTINUATIVE', mutɕiɕi̯ti 'to.carry-CONTINUATIVE', ffiɕɕi 'to.fall(e.g. rain)-CONTINUATIVE', puriɕi̯ti 'to.dig-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕiɕi̯ti 'to.cut-CONTINUATIVE', ʋʋiɕi̯ti 'to.sell-CONTINUATIVE', kavviɕi̯ti 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', ffiɕi̯ti 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', niʋviɕi̯ti 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', kaiɕi̯ti 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE', araiɕi̯ti 'to.wash-CONTINUATIVE', faiɕi̯ti 'to.eat-CONTINUATIVE', azziɕi̯ti 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE', snʲiɕi̯ti 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation

- ukiɕɕi 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', uriɕi̯ti 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE', utiɕi̯ti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE', ɕitiɕi̯ti 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE', fiːɕi̯ti 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', ɕimiɕi̯ti 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE'

- miːɕi̯ti 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', iziɕi̯ti 'to.get-CONTINUATIVE', kiɕiɕi̯ti 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', biziɕi̯ti 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation

- kiɕiɕi̯ti 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', aɕiɕi̯ti 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', ariɕi̯ti 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', uriɕi̯ti 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

The Ikema dialect

While the three forms given below are *shite*-continuatives, *ari*-continuatives are observed in almost all cases where one would expect a *shite*-continuative. The irregular verb form *tti* 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE', too, is homophonous with the *ari*-continuative. Further confirmation seems necessary regarding whether *shite*-continuatives are not used in the Ikema dialect or they could be obtained using a different survey method.

Strong conjugation
- kugitti 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation
- sandʑaɾi:ti 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE'

Irregular conjugation
- tti 'to.come-CONTINUATIVE'

The Kuninaka dialect

As only a small number of examples were obtained for the Kuninaka dialect in the survey, not much can be said regarding its *shite*-continuative, but no examples have been obtained that can be said with certainty to be *shite*-continuative forms. In response to sentences intended to elicit *shite*-continuatives, the forms *al̦zii* 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE', *niɣvii* 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', and *sɿnii* 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE' were obtained, while the forms *aᶻzi:* 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE', niɣvi: 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', and *sɿni:* 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE' were obtained in response to sentences intended to elicit *ari*-continuatives; although they are different, a further survey is necessary to determine whether this is a significant difference.

Strong conjugation
- kavvi: 'to.put.on(headwear)-CONTINUATIVE', niɣvii 'to.fall.asleep-CONTINUATIVE', al̦zii 'to.say-CONTINUATIVE'
- sɿnii 'to.die-CONTINUATIVE'
- ʨi: 'to.put.on(e.g. clothing)-CONTINUATIVE', biʑi: 'to.sit.down-CONTINUATIVE'

Weak conjugation
- okii 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', pˢɿkaii 'to.be.run.over-CONTINUATIVE', ɕimii 'to.close-CONTINUATIVE', taskaɾi 'to.be.saved-CONTINUATIVE'
- mi: 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE'

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Irregular conjugation

- ɕiː 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE', aɾii 'to.be(inanimate)-CONTINUATIVE', oɾẹː 'to.be(animate)-CONTINUATIVE'

It may seem like geminating *onbin* has occurred in the *shite*-continuatives of the dialects of Miyako, both in those like Uruka *uɾitti* 'to.get.off-CONTINUATIVE' and *utittii* 'to.fall-CONTINUATIVE' and in those like Bora *tubittɕi* 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE' and *kugittɕi* 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE', which have undergone affrication. They are formed in the same way irrespective of verb type, however, in the strong, weak, mixed, and irregular conjugations; it therefore seems that this is not an *onbin* phenomenon.

In strong verb *shite*-continuatives, suffixes such as *-itti* and *-ittɕi* are attached to consonant stems, while in weak verb *shite*-continuatives, suffixes such as *-tti* and *-ttɕi* are attached to vowel stems. Both kinds of forms consist of *ari*-continuatives to which suffixes such as *-tti* and *-ttɕi* are attached.

In forms such as Karimata *tubiɕi̥ti* 'to.fly-CONTINUATIVE' and *kugiɕi̥ti* 'to.row-CONTINUATIVE' and Kugai *kaiɕi̥ti* 'to.buy-CONTINUATIVE' and *fiːɕi̥ti* 'to.give-CONTINUATIVE', a form like *ɕi̥ti* (corresponding either to Japanese *shite* 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE' or to Japanese *sute* 'to.discard-CONTINUATIVE') seems to have been suffixed to *ari*-continuative forms. Further research is needed regarding these forms.

There are *shite*-continuatives in which *-Qte* is suffixed to *ari*-continuatie forms in the Ishigaki dialect of the Yaeyama language, too, such as *kakiQte* 'to.write-CONTINUATIVE', *ukeːQte* 'to.get.up-CONTINUATIVE', *mijaːQte* 'to.see-CONTINUATIVE', and *ɕiːQte* 'to.do-CONTINUATIVE'.

8　　Conclusion

As the survey was conducted within a limited period of time, the amount of data that was obtained is limited, as well. Furthermore, the survey was limited to only five verb conjugation forms, namely the perfective (corresponding to Japanese *suru* 'to.do-PERFECTIVE'), negative (corresponding to Japanese *shinai* 'to.do-NEGATIVE'), past tense (corresponding to Japanese *shita* 'to.do-PAST'), *ari*-continuative, and *shite*-continuative forms. On the other hand, the survey was conducted at a balanced selection of sites, spread over Miyako: Bora, Uruka, Miyaguni, Yonaha, Kurimajima, Kugai, Shimajiri, Karimata, Ikemajima, and Kuninaka on Irabujima. Thanks to this, we were able to review the conjugation types and five conjugated forms of the Miyako language.

Further surveys covering a larger number of verbs at each site as well as more conjugation forms are needed. In addition, it is necessary to examine the dialects of Ōgamijima; Sawada and

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Nagahama on Irabujima; Irabu and Nakachi on Irabujima; Taramajima; and so on, which we were unable to examine in this survey and which are known to have unique characteristics within the Miyako language.

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4. Features of Miyako Ryūkyūan

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Phonetic Realizations in the Miyako Dialects:
A Preliminary Investigation

Toshio MATSUURA

1   Introduction

1.1   Research background and goals

In addition to intervocalic geminates such as those in (1a), the Miyako dialects have word-initial geminates such as those in (1b) and word-initial clusters of different consonants such as those in (1c) (in (1), dialects are indicated in parentheses).

(1)   a.   [avva] 'oil' (Irabu, Kugai), [mizza] 'garlic chive' (Kugai)

      b.   [ffa] 'child' (Kugai), [ssï] 'nest' (Kugai)

      c.   [sta] 'tongue' (Irabu), [mta] 'earth' (Irabu, Kugai)

Pellard (2007) and Shimoji (2008) argue that geminates such as those in (1b) are segmented into two morae, as in (2a), to avoid violating the bimoraic Minimality Constraint in the Miyako dialect. It seems appropriate to assume that consonant clusters such as those in (1c) are likewise segmented as in (2b) to avoid violating this Minimality Constraint.

(2)   Segmentation avoiding Minimality Constraint violation
      a.   [f.fa], [s.sï]
      b.   [s.ta], [m.ta]

How are these consonants realized acoustically, though?

Firstly, (2) does indeed seem to be an appropriate phonological segmentation for word-initial geminates such as those in (1b). Does this mean, then, that there is a phonetic difference between word-initial geminates and single word-initial consonants? One would expect [ff] in [ffa] to be longer in duration than a single syllable-initial [f] (e.g. [fau]). The phonetic transcription does, of course, represent geminates as pronounced with a longer duration than single consonants, which matches auditory perception, as well. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Miyako dialects are similar in this regard to Standard Japanese (the Tokyo dialect), to which they are closely related and for which the proportion of single consonants to geminates has been reported as being

around 1:2–3 (Han 1962, among others)[1]. It would seem worthwhile, however, to confirm that this is in fact the case.

Next, word-initial consonant clusters such as [m.ta] do not exist in mainland Japanese, with the exception of words with devoiced vowels, and there are as yet no data on their acoustic-phonetic realization. Among others, Shimoji (2008) argues that the first vowel in such a cluster by itself constitutes one mora. If this is the case, it seems not unlikely that [m] in [m.ta] differs acoustically from a single syllable-initial [m]. According to Sato (1993), syllable-final [n], [m], and so on (moraic nasals) are longer in duration than syllable-initial [n], [m], and so on in Japanese, while almost no such difference is observed in English and Korean, for example. Sato (1993) attributes this difference to differences in rhythmic structure among languages, Japanese having a moraic rhythm, English a stress rhythm, and Korean a syllabic rhythm; applying this to the Miyako dialects would lead us to expect a result similar to that for Japanese, assuming that the Miyako dialects have a moraic rhythm, as well.

Lastly, voiced obstruent geminates such as those in (1a) are observed only in Western loans such as *beddo* 'bed' and *kiddzu* 'kids' in Standard Japanese[2]. Moreover, as will be shown in Section 2.2, the acoustic-phonetic realization of this type of geminate in Standard Japanese cannot be described as the mere lengthening of a single consonant. Are voiced obstruent geminates realized just as they are in Standard Japanese, then, in the Miyako dialects?

In this chapter, I will investigate these kinds of issues related to temporal control and vocal fold vibration based on recorded materials from the joint survey. Data from the Irabu[3] and Kugai dialects are used, although I will also touch upon other dialects where necessary.

1.2   Method of analysis

I will use materials recorded during the joint survey of the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics. I performed a spectrographic analysis on the recorded materials using *Praat* (Boersma & Weenink 2009), labeling segments by visual inspection and measuring segment durations with a self-written script. The identification of segments was largely based on formants, voice bars, noise components, and the like. There were, however, cases where identification was difficult, such as utterance-final vowels. In these cases, I set the dynamic range of the spectrogram

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[1] It has been reported, however, that in syllabeme dialects such as those of Akita and Kagoshima, geminates are not as long in proportion to single consonants as in Standard Japanese.
[2] When we take Japanese dialects into consideration, they are also observed in Chinese loans and native words in the Hachijōjima (Mase 1961) and Antō (Nitta 2011) dialects, as well as in a significant part of the Kyūshū region (the Kagoshima (Kamimura 1957) and Saga (Fujita 2003) dialects as well as that of Kuchinotsu in Nagasaki Prefecture (Minami 1959)), among others.
[3] Strictly speaking, it is the dialect of the Irabu district of Irabujima, but I will use the term 'Irabu dialect' in this chapter.

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to 30 dB and designated those parts in which there was a clear energy component in the 2000–3000 Hz range as vowels.

The details of the speakers of the two dialects are given in (3).

(3)   Speaker details
   a. Irabu dialect: male, b. 1924
   b. Kugai dialect: male, b. 1926

When measuring consonant durations, and especially when comparing those of geminates and single consonants, it is desirable to also measure the duration of the vowels following them and the proportion between consonant and vowel durations (the normalized duration), but there were cases in the data where the length of these vowels was difficult to determine accurately because they were utterance-final. For this reason, I will consider only absolute consonant duration in this chapter. In addition, when performing an analysis of this kind, it is desirable to use averages of data consisting of a large number of utterances from multiple speakers, but as I only had data of one speaker per dialect, the analysis is in many cases based on a single recording. In this respect, this chapter constitutes a preliminary investigation; further research is therefore necessary, including in regard to reproducibility.

2   Geminates

In this section, I will examine the durations of different types of geminate in the Miyako dialects, distinguishing between intervocalic and word-initial geminates and further subcategorizing the former into voiceless and voiced intervocalic geminates. Below, I will first analyze the durations of [t] and [tt], as well as of [ts] and [tts]. Next, I will analyze voiced obstruent geminates such as [vv] and [zz], focusing on their durations, noise components, and voice bars. As regards [vv], I will also take dialects other than those of Irabu and Kugai into consideration.

2.1   Voiceless intervocalic geminates
2.1.1   [t] and [tt]
In the Irabu dialect, [bata] 'belly' and [batta] 'armpit' form a minimal pair for [t] and [tt]. Waveforms and spectrograms of these words are given in Figure 1.
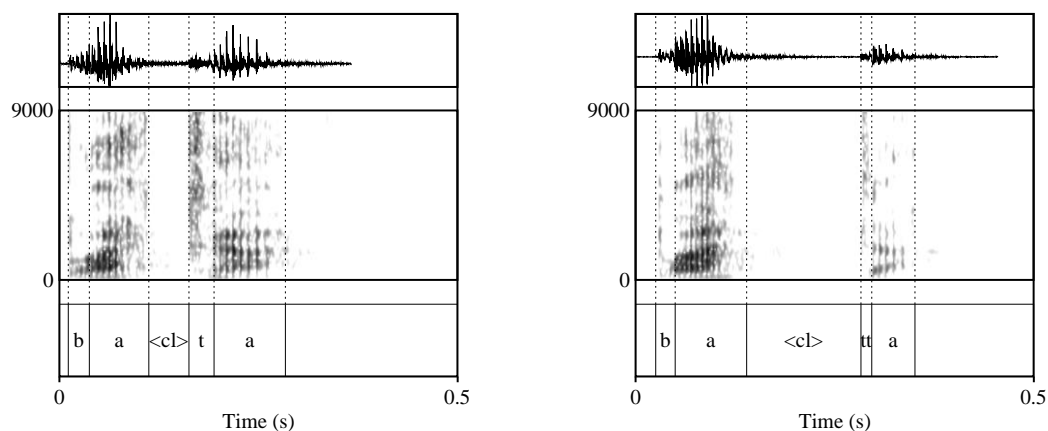
Figure 1. Waveforms and spectrograms of [bata] and [batta] (Irabu).

As is clear from Figure 1, a large difference between [t] and [tt] lies in the durations of the consonant portions. The durations of the closure portions (indicated by <cl> in Figure 1) were 50 ms for [t] and 143 ms for [tt] (a ratio of 1:2.86). Figure 1 also shows a difference in length between the following vowels (89 ms for [bata] and 54 ms for [batta]), but this is not observed in other words. Although they do not form a minimal pair, let us examine the pair of [budzati] 'uncles' and [asatti] 'the day after tomorrow'. Waveforms and spectrograms of these words are given in Figure 2.
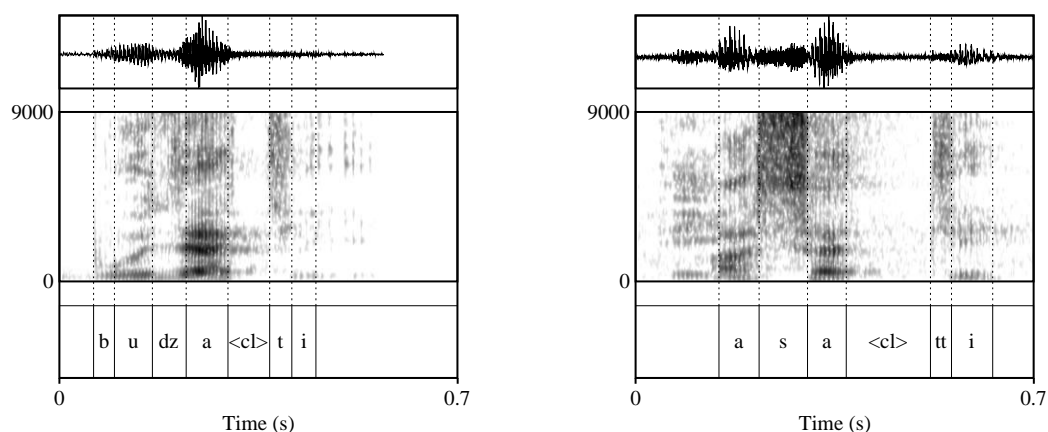
Figure 2. Waveforms and spectrograms of [budzati] and [asatti] (Irabu).

As is clear from Figure 2, the most conspicuous difference between [t] and [tt] is again the difference in duration between their consonant portions, the durations being 73 ms for [t] and 148 ms for [tt] (a ratio of 1:2.02). The duration of the following vowel was 42 ms for [budzati] and 72 ms for [asatti], however, which is the reverse of the pattern we saw for [bata] and [batta]. It therefore seems

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best to view the shortening of the vowel following a geminate seen above as exceptional or incidental.

2.1.2 [ts] and [tts]

The Kugai dialect has the pair of [itsa] 'board' and [attsa] 'tomorrow'. Waveforms and spectrograms of these words are given in Figure 3.
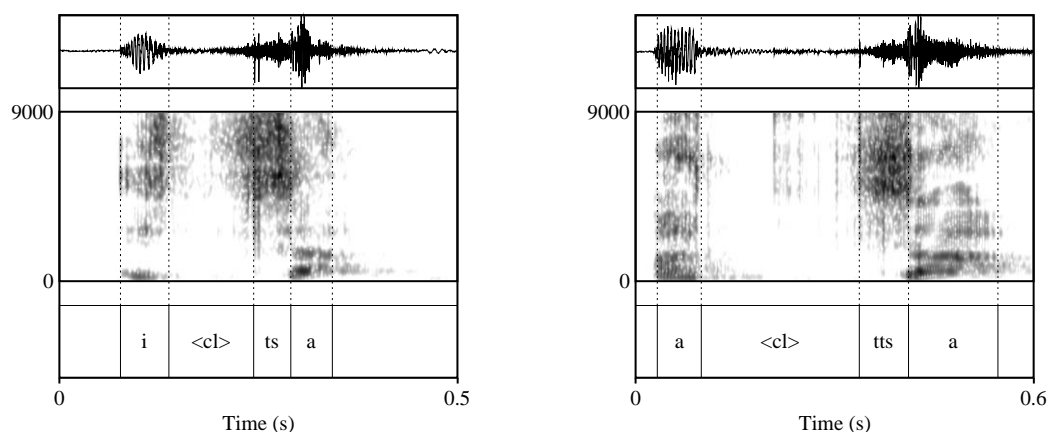
Figure 3. Waveforms and spectrograms of [itsa] and [attsa] (Kugai).

As is clear from Figure 3, the most conspicuous difference between [ts] and [tts] is the difference between their closure durations. The duration of the closure portion was 96 ms (SD = 9; n = 2) for [ts], while it was 238 ms for [tts] (a ratio of 1:2.47).

2.2 Voiced intervocalic geminates

In the Miyako dialects, voiced obstruent geminates such as [zz] and [vv] are also observed in what seem to be native words. In Western loans, they are observed in mainland Japanese, as well. Because they have the two properties in (4), however, the voiced obstruent geminates of mainland Japanese cannot strictly be described as the mere lengthening of a single consonant.

(4) a. There are no voiced fricative geminates. Even if a sound is realized as a fricative when used as a single consonant, it becomes an affricate ([dz]) or a plosive ([b, g]) when used as a geminate.

b. Vocal fold vibration is observed in the first half of the closure portion only.

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Firstly, as regards (4a), while e.g. /z/ is often realized as a fricative when it appears as a single consonant in the Tokyo dialect of Japanese, such as in *kizu* 'wound'[4], it is realized as an affricate with a long closure in the case of a geminate, such as in *kiddzu* 'kids'. Waveforms and spectrograms of these words are given in Figure 4 (the recordings are of a male speaker of the Tokyo dialect in his thirties).
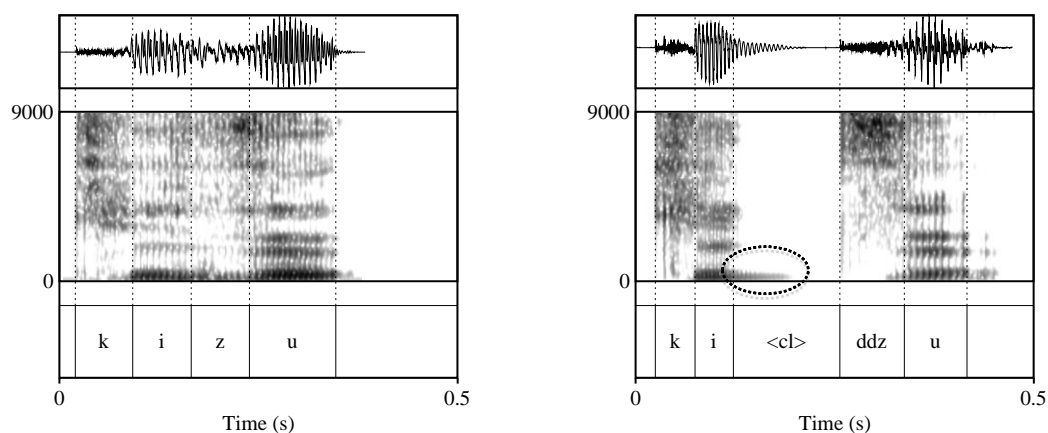
Figure 4. Waveforms and spectrograms of *kizu* 'wound' (left) and *kiddzu* 'kids' (right).

Next, as regards (4b), vocal fold vibration is often observed not over the whole consonant portion of voiced obstruent geminates in the Tokyo dialect, but only in the first half (Kawahara 2006, among others). In the right-hand part of Figure 4, too, a voice bar (energy in the low frequency region, circled) can be seen in the first half of the closure portion only.

In addition to their durations, I will examine below whether the properties in (4) can also be observed in [zz] and [vv].

2.2.1   [z] and [zz]

The Kugai dialect has an example which which intervocalic [z] and [zz] contrast such as [aːza] 'father' and [mizza] 'garlic chive'. Waveforms and spectrograms of these words are given in Figure 5.

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[4] While this description cannot strictly be said to be accurate, I have described it in this way in the interest of clarity. The reader is referred to Maekawa 2010a and 2010b for details on the phonetic realization of voiced obstruents in mainland Japanese.

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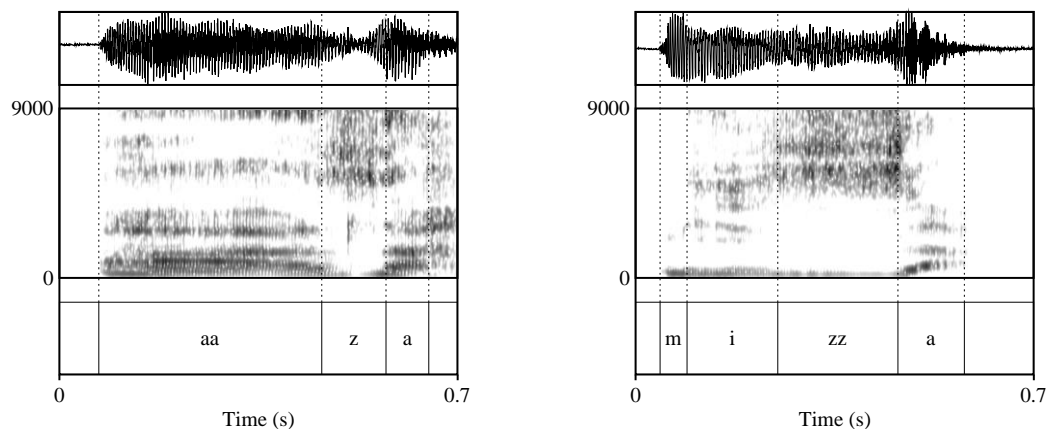
Figure 5. Waveforms and spectrograms of [aːza] and [mizza] (Kugai).

As is clear from Figure 5, the most conspicuous difference between [z] and [zz] is the difference in duration between their consonant portions. This duration was 74 ms for [z], while it was 173 ms (SD = 29; n = 3) for [zz], which gives us a ratio of 1:2.33.

Next, let us consider the noise components and voice bars. High-frequency noise components can be seen even in [zz], indicating that friction continued throughout the geminate. In addition, a voice bar is observed throughout the geminate, indicating that the vocal folds vibrated throughout its pronunciation, unlike how they vibrate only during the first half of the geminate in mainland Japanese.

2.2.2 [vv]

The Miyako dialects have the sound [vv], which does not appear in Standard Japanese. Examples of words in which it appears are [avva] 'oil' and [kuvva] 'calf (of the leg)'. In the following discussion, I will consider not only the Irabu and Kugai dialects, but also those of Ikema and Bora. I will not examine duration in this section, as there are no instances of [v] contrasting with [vv] in the survey data.

Firstly, waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Irabu dialect are given in Figure 6.

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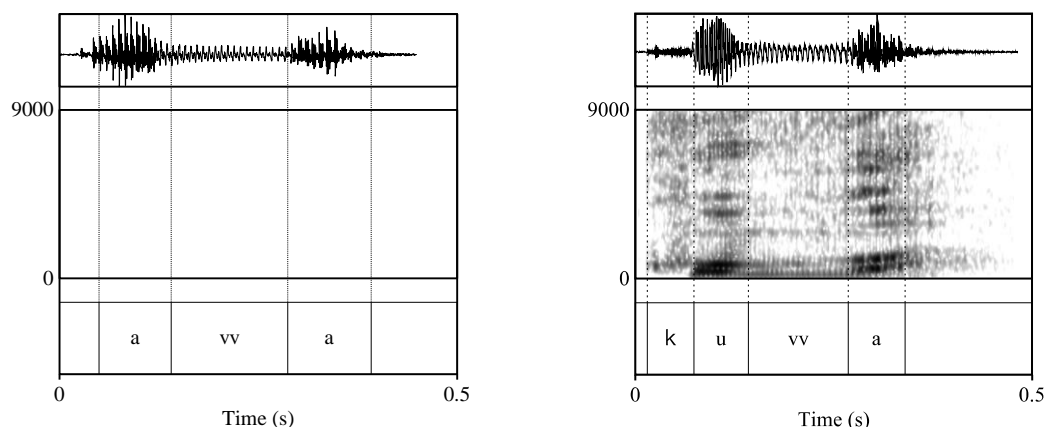
Figure 6. Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] (left) and [kuvva] (right) in the Irabu dialect.

When looking at the friction noise components in Figure 6, they appear weak in [avva], while they appear stronger in [kuvva], indicating that friction continued. In addition, voice bars are observed throughout the consonant portion in both words, indicating that the vocal folds vibrated throughout its pronunciation.

Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Kugai dialect are given in Figure 7.
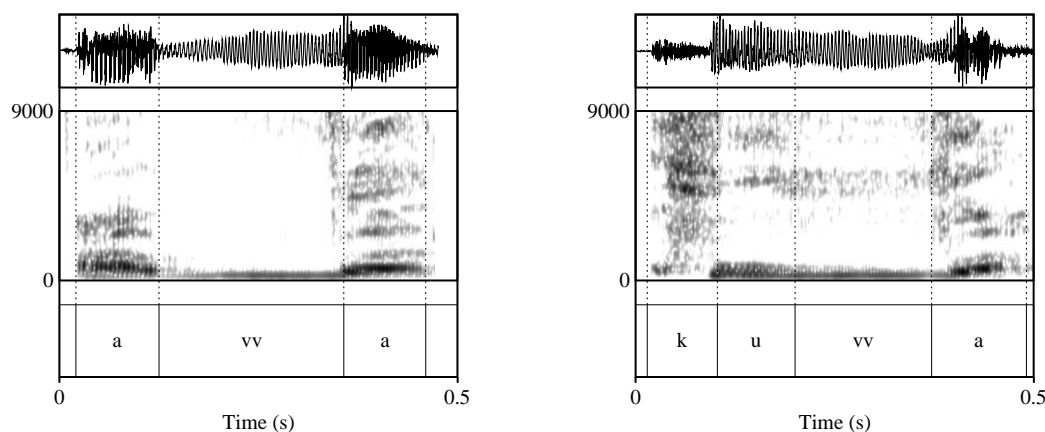
Figure 7. Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Kugai dialect.

When looking at the friction noise components in Figure 7, they appear weak in [avva], while they appear stronger in [kuvva], indicating that friction continued. In addition, voice bars are observed throughout the consonant portion in both words, indicating that the vocal folds vibrated throughout its pronunciation.

Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Ikema dialect are given in Figure 8.

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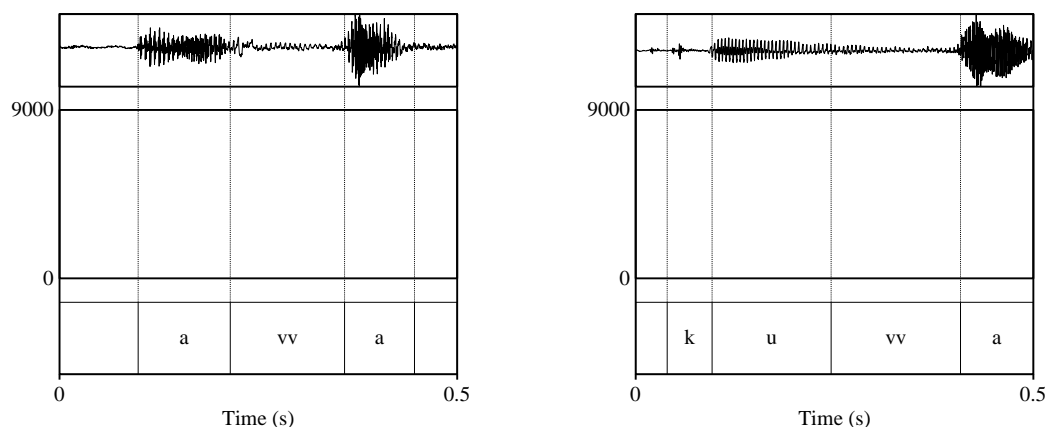
Figure 8. Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Ikema dialect.

When looking at the friction noise components in Figure 8, they appear quite weak in both [avva] and [kuvva]. Voice bars, on the other hand, are observed throughout the consonant portion in both words.

Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Bora dialect are given in Figure 9.
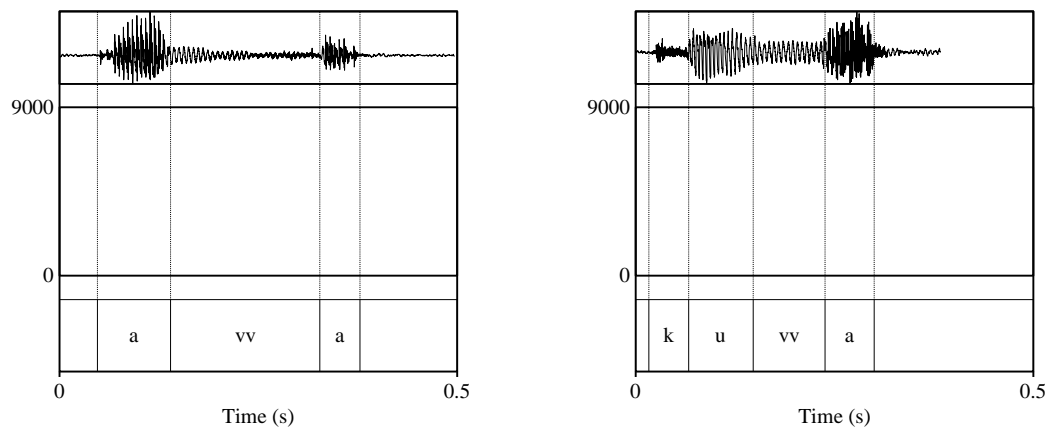
Figure 9. Waveforms and spectrograms of [avva] and [kuvva] in the Bora dialect.

When looking at the friction noise components in Figure 9, they appear strong in both words. As regards voice bars, on the other hand, one is observed throughout the consonant portion in [kuvva], while the one in [avva] weakens in the second half. This can be observed more distinctly in utterances of the word [avvamtsu] 'grease miso'. There are three instances of [avvamtsu] in the data; the waveforms and spectrograms of all of them are given in Figure 10.

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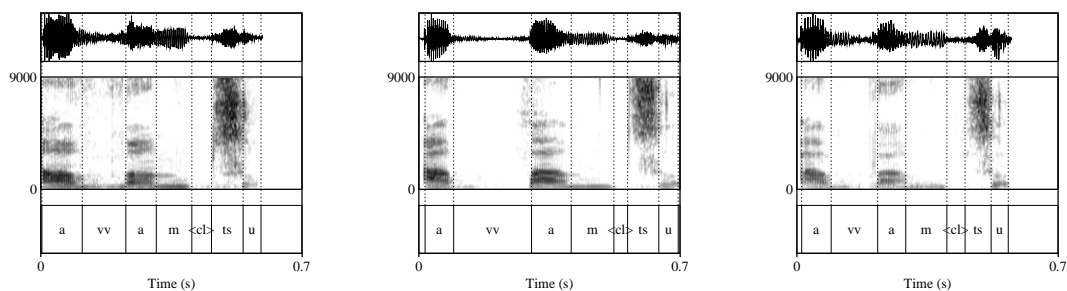
Figure 10. Waveforms and spectrograms of [avvamtsu] in the Bora dialect
(left: first recording; middle: second recording; right: third recording).

Firstly, when looking at the friction noise components, the friction appears quite weak in all three instances. Next, when looking at the voice bars, one is observed throughout the consonant portion of the first instance, but the ones in the second and third instances disappear in the second half. In auditory perception, too, the geminate in the second instance sounds like [vf]. The duration of the first instance was 116 ms, that of the second one 208 ms, and that of the third one 124 ms, so the second instance also has a longer duration; the disappearance of the voice bar could be connected to this. Further research is needed, however, to determine whether this is an idiosyncrasy of the speaker or a regional characteristic.

The above observations are summarized in (5).

(5) a. The friction is continuous in all of the dialects; fricatives do not become affricates or plosives.

b. In the Irabu, Kugai, and Ikema dialects, the vocal folds vibrate throughout the consonant portion.

c. In the Bora dialect, vocal fold vibration sometimes disappears in the second half of the consonant portion.

Noise components are thus more or less consistently observed, while vocal fold vibration (voice bars) sometimes disappears in the second half of the consonant portion in the Bora dialect.

2.3   Word-initial geminates

In the Miyako dialects, there are words with word-initial geminates, such as [ffa] and [vva]. To what degree does the length of these geminates differ from that of single consonants? This question would also seem central to considering the isochrony of syllables or morae; that is, rhythm. Below, I will discuss [nn], [ff], [ss], and [vv].

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2.3.1　　[n] and [nn]

[nada] 'tear' and [nnami] 'now' are an example of [n] and [nn] contrasting word-initially in the Irabu dialect. Waveforms and spectrograms are given in Figure 11.
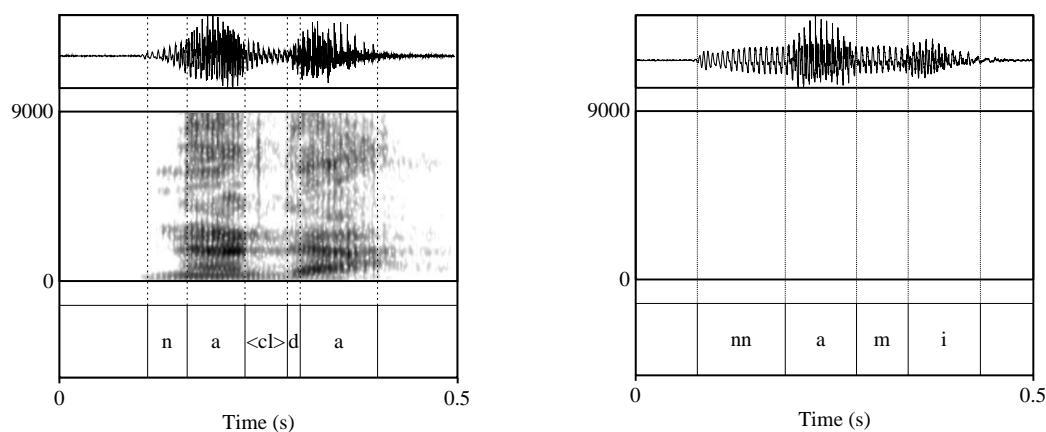
Figure 11. Waveforms and spectrograms of [nada] and [nnami] (Irabu).

As is clear from Figure 11, [nn] was realized with a longer duration than that of [n]. The duration of [n] was 49 ms, while that of [nn] was 110 ms (a ratio of 1:2.24).

2.3.2　　[f] and [ff]

[funi] 'ship' and [ffa] 'child' are an example of [f] and [ff] contrasting word-initially. Waveforms and spectrograms are given in Figure 12.
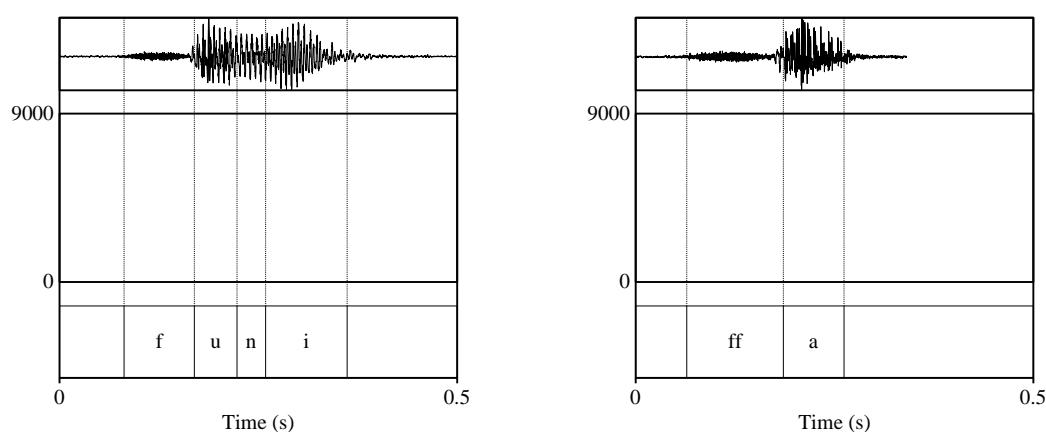
Figure 12. Waveforms and spectrograms of [funi] and [ffa] (Irabu).

As is clear from Figure 12, [ff] was realized with a longer duration than that of [f]. The duration of [f] was 92 ms (SD = 4.5; n = 2; Irabu) or 108 ms (Kugai), while that of [ff] was 135 ms (Irabu) or

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143 ms (Kugai), giving us a ratio of 1:1.45 (Irabu) or 1:1.32 (Kugai) between single consonants and geminates. It is worth remarking that this difference in duration is smaller than that between [n] and [nn] and that between single intervocalic consonants and intervocalic geminates.

2.3.3   [s] and [ss]

[sïba] 'lip' and [ssï] 'nest' are an example of [s] and [ss] contrasting word-initially in the Kugai dialect. Waveforms and spectrograms are given in Figure 13.
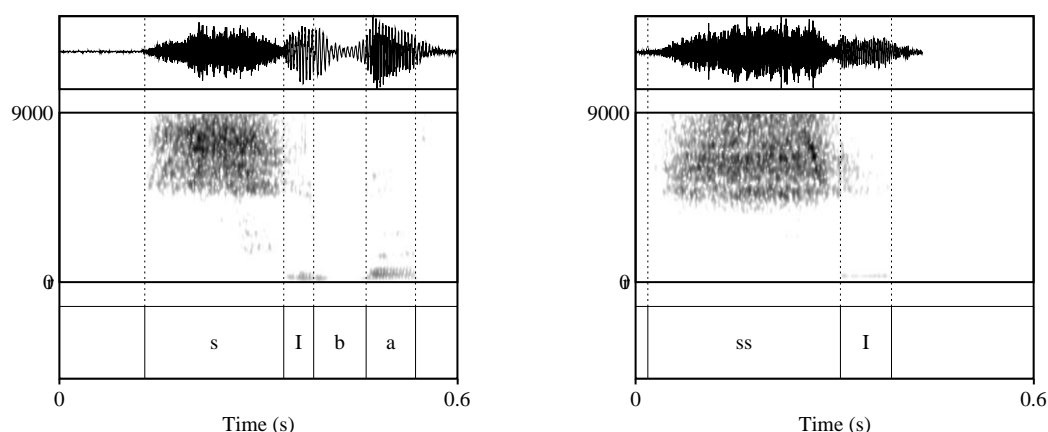
Figure 13. Waveforms and spectrograms of [sïba] and [ssï] (Kugai).

As is clear from Figure 13, [ss] was realized with a longer duration than that of [s]. The duration of [s] was 190.3 ms (SD = 16.93; n = 3), while that of [ss] was 289 ms (a ratio of 1:1.51).

2.3.4   [v] and [vv]

The Kugai dialect has a pair of examples which contrasts [v] and [vv] such as [vaa] 'pig' and [vva] 'you'. Waveforms and spectrograms are given in Figure 14.

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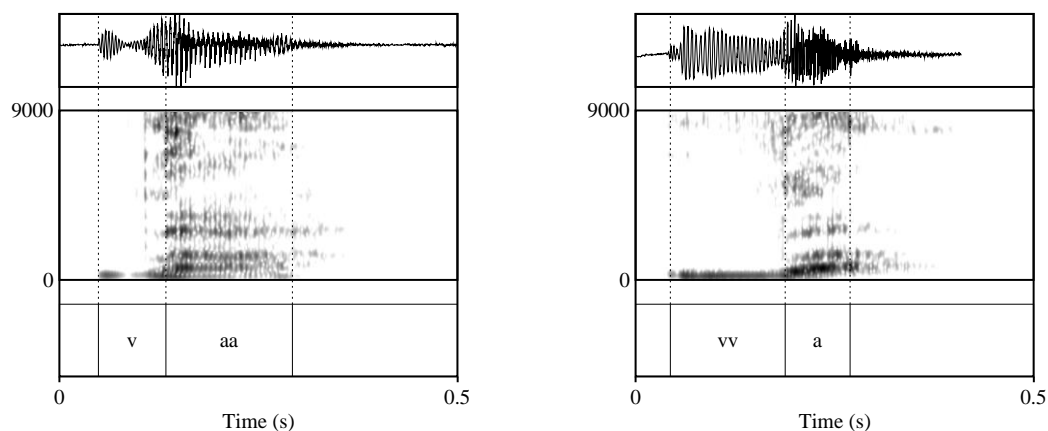
Figure 14. Waveforms and spectrograms of [vaa] and [vva] (Kugai).

As is clear from Figure 14, [vv] was realized with a longer duration than that of [v]. The duration of [v] was 84 ms (SD = 0.00; n = 2), while that of [vv] was 143 ms (a ratio of 1:1.70).

To summarize the above, each of the geminates was realized with a longer duration than the corresponding single consonant, but while the ratio was 1:2.24 for [n] and [nn], the difference in duration was smaller for [ff], [ss], and [vv], with ratios between 1:1.3 and 1:1.7. When the difference in duration between a single consonant and a geminate is small, other aspects, such as the length of the following vowel, may need to be adjusted to avoid perceptual confusion. Further research is needed to determine whether such adjustments in fact occur.

3　　　Consonant clusters

In the Miyako dialects, there are words with initial consonant clusters, such as [mta]. Which syllable position does [m] occupy in this word? Is it an onset like [t], a coda, or a nucleus? In order to determine this, it is necessary to consider (morpho-)phonological alternations. It seems not unlikely, however, that there are also acoustic-phonetic cues. In this section, I will consider this question by comparing occurrences of [m] in consonant clusters with occurrences as a single onset or coda consonant.

Examples from the survey data of words in which an initial [m] is followed by another consonant are given in (6).

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(6)   Word-initial [m]+consonant clusters (Irabu)

a.   Words in which [m] is followed by a voiceless obstruent[5]:

mkiiN, mta, msu

b.   Words in which [m] is followed by [n]:

mmna, mmni, mnii, mni, mnapskaï

In words in which [m] is followed by [n], likewise a nasal, double articulation sometimes occurs, making measurement of the duration of [m] difficult. For this reason, I will limit analysis and discussion to words in which [m] is followed by a voiceless obstruent in this section.

Waveforms and spectrograms of [maʋkjaː] 'front' and [mta] 'earth' in the Irabu dialect are given in Figure 15.
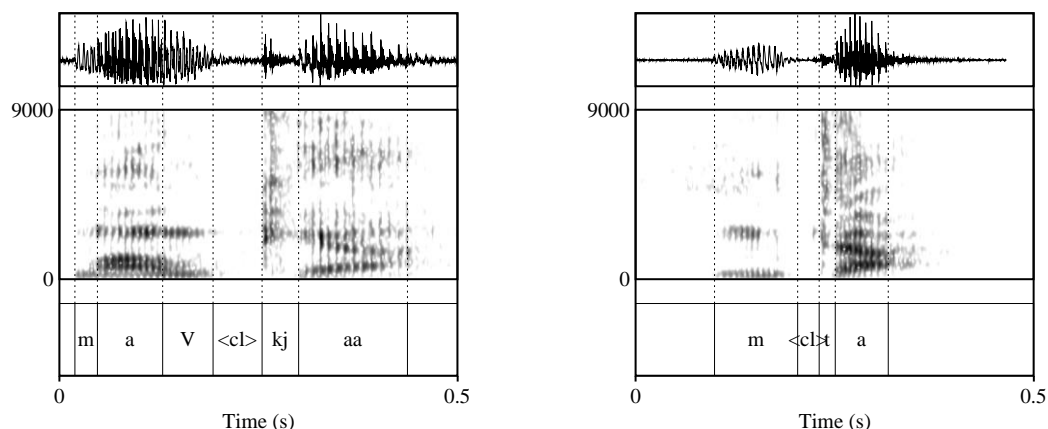
Figure 15. Waveforms and spectrograms of [maʋkjaː] and [mta] (Irabu).

As is clear from Figure 15, [m] was realized with a longer duration in a consonant cluster than it was as a single consonant. In order to confirm whether this is a systematic difference, let us compare the words containing an [m] that are present in the data of which I have labeled the segments, classified according to its position within the syllable. The words to be considered are given in (7).

(7)   Words from the survey data

a.   Consonant cluster: [msu], [mta], [mkiiN]

b.   Syllable onset: [amambuni], [maxaï], [umatsï], [nnami], [nufumunu], [ɕɕanamunu], [mizza], [midzï], [maʋkjaː]

c.   Syllable coda: [amambuni], [avvamtsu], [umku]

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[5] [mmtsI] is an example of a word in which [m] is used as a geminate and is moreover followed by [ts], but it will not be considered here.

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The durations of [m] in these words are given in (8)[6].

(8)　Durations of [m]

Position	Mean (SD)	Max. value	Min. value	Sample size
Consonant cluster	77.8 (4.3)	100.3	73.5	3
Syllable onset	51.4 (15.9)	81.6	28.2	12
Syllable coda	86.7 (18.7)	114.4	57.7	6

According to this table, the duration increases in the order onset < consonant cluster < coda. When comparing the differences, that between consonant clusters and codas is smaller at 8.9 ms than that between consonant clusters and onsets, which is 26.4 ms. As the sample is small and the standard deviations are large, definitive conclusions cannot be drawn, but at this stage, the data suggest that interpreting [m] in consonant clusters as belonging to a different syllable from the following consonant is appropriate.

4　　　　Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined temporal control in the Miyako dialects. As a result, it has become clear that geminates are longer in duration than single consonants. The duration ratios between geminates and single consonants are summarized in (9).

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[6] There was one instance of [mizza] with a duration of 177 ms, but as this exceeds the mean + 2SD, I have excluded it from consideration.

(9) Duration ratios between single consonants and geminates

a. Intervocalic

Consonants	Ratio
[t] and [tt]	1:2.02–2.86 (Irabu)
[ts] and [tts]	1.2.47 (Kugai)
[z] and [zz]	1.2.33 (Kugai)

b. Word-initial

Consonants	Ratio
[n] and [nn]	1.2.24 (Irabu)
[f] and [ff]	1.1.45 (Irabu)
	1.1.32 (Kugai)
[s] and [ss]	1.1.51 (Kugai)
[v] and [vv]	1:1.70 (Kugai)

It can be gleaned from these results that there is a tendency for the difference in duration between single consonants and geminates to be smaller word-initially than intervocalically. Further research is needed to determine how stable this difference is.

Moreover, it has become clear that differently from Standard Japanese, friction continues and vocal fold vibration is maintained throughout intervocalic voiced obstruent geminates such as [zz] and [vv].

Further, consonants were realized with a longer duration in consonant clusters than as single consonants. The duration ratio is given in (10).

(10) Duration ratio between single consonants and consonants in consonant clusters

Consonant	Ratio
[m]	1:1.42 (Irabu)

Further research based on a larger data set is required to confirm these results, especially considering the fact that as noted in Section 1, the recorded data used in the present analysis consist almost entirely of single utterances, which are furthermore utterances of words in isolation rather than embedded in sentences. Consequently, improvements on these fronts are required in order to further elucidate the details of not only duration, but also articulatory dynamics. In addition, while I have focused on analyzing durations at the segmental level in this chapter, it is necessary to

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investigate whether the rhythmic unit in the Miyako dialects is the mora by examining, for example, durations at the word level.

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The State of Dialect Speech Perception in the Younger Generation of the Miyako Islands

Yumi NAKAJIMA, Akiko TOKUNAGA & Daigo MOROOKA

1. Introduction

As of this writing, there have been many reports and analyses regarding a number of unusual speech sounds that are heard often on the Miyako Islands. Among them, a vowel, corresponding to *i* in the mainland dialects, that is accompanied by a distinct friction noise due to the tip of the tongue approaching the alveolar ridge has especially garnered attention. The questions of how to define this vowel phonetically and how to describe it phonologically have also been raised, and attempts have been made at analyzing it using experimental phonetics. Through the use of a standardized survey sheet, the joint survey conducted as part of the present project (henceforth: 'the joint survey') has provided us with new, somewhat comprehensive phonetic data, which has made it easier to perform an analysis that takes all aspects of the Miyako dialects into account, and it is against the background sketched above that we decided to utilize this data in a survey on the linguistic behavior of the younger generation that we had been conducting. Although it is still just an experimental attempt at this stage, and the methodology and the like must be tested, we hope that it will be of use in grasping the state of dialect speech perception in the younger generation in the interest of the preservation and passing on of these endangered dialects.

Yumi Nakajima and her students at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Hitotsubashi University have been conducting a continuous survey on the state of everyday language use on Miyakojima and Irabujima since 2008. Although, for purposes of comparison, it is also partly a survey of the older generation, it mostly focuses on the younger generation, high school students in particular. We have been trying different ways of combining questionnaires and interviews, but while we have always been interested in how the younger generation perceives those phonetic characteristics that are different not only from those of mainland Japanese, but also from those of Okinawa Island, we had not been able to settle on a methodology for investigating this.

With the above in mind, we decided to seek a way forward by including speech recognition items in a small questionnaire conducted in November 2011, which formed the beginning of an experimental attempt at using the data obtained in the joint survey. Based on the results of that questionnaire, we conducted a somewhat larger-scale survey specifically tailored to speech recognition in March 2012. In this chapter, we will report on the results obtained thus far, on the basis of which we plan to determine the direction in which to proceed with this research.

2. Survey overview

A. Survey 1 on the state of Miyakojima dialect speech recognition in the younger generation

B. Survey 2 on the state of Miyakojima dialect speech recognition in the younger generation

2.1 Survey 1 and Survey 2

Survey 1 was conducted in November 2011 with the cooperation of two of the prefectural high schools in Miyakojima City, as part of a survey on the state of everyday language use by high school students. The survey combined a questionnaire with interviews; for the questionnaire, five items that included unusual speech sounds were selected from among the phonetic data collected in the joint survey and played back for the high school students, who were asked, (1) 'What does it sound like?' (Japanese kana were specified as the means to write down the answer, the choice between katakana and hiragana being up to the student), and (2) 'Do you know what it means?' Additionally, for purposes of comparison, a questionnaire on the same items was conducted in March 2012 with the cooperation of a high school in central Okinawa Island. The two high schools in Miyakojima City will be referred to as 'high school A' and 'high school B', while the third high school, located in Urasoe City, will be referred to as 'high school C' [1]. Combined, 130 students at these schools participated in the survey, 79 male and 51 female.

Survey 2 was conducted in March 2012, again at the high schools in Miyakojima City. A somewhat larger-scale survey specifically tailored to speech recognition based on the results of Survey 1, it contained fifty items, again selected from among the data collected in the joint survey. As the task of transcribing fifty items is quite a lot more demanding of the students than an ordinary questionnaire, we asked the schools to enlist volunteers; we were able to secure the cooperation of seventeen students, two male and fifteen female. We will give an overview of the above two surveys in the following section.

2.2 On the survey contents

The items used for Survey 1 were the four words and one sentence given in Table 1. They were selected because they contain unusual speech sounds that deviate markedly from the sounds of Standard Japanese; that is, (1) a central vowel that is accompanied by friction noise, (2) a group of consonants ([m̩], [l̩], and the like; henceforth referred to simply as 'syllabic m', 'syllabic l', and so on), and (3) another group of unusual consonants ([f], [v], and the like). Recordings of a high quality with a clear pronunciation were

Table 1. Survey 1 speech recognition items

	Item	Recording site
1	'head'	Irabu
2	'liver'	Kugai
3	'earthworm'	Bora
4	'rice ball'	Irabu
5	'A child is born.'	Yonaha

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1   The three schools that cooperated with these surveys were Okinawa Prefectural Miyako High School and Okinawa Prefectural Irabu High School in Miyakojima City and Okinawa Prefectural Urasoe Industrial High School in Urasoe City. We would like to take this opportunity to thank these three schools for their cooperation. Survey 1 was jointly conducted by fourteen undergraduate and one graduate student studying under Yumi Nakajima at the Faculty of Social Sciences of Hitotsubashi University as well as three undergraduate students at Shigakukan University in Kagoshima. Survey 2 was jointly conducted by Yumi Nakajima and two of her graduate students, the coauthors of this chapter.

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Sites	Miyakojima			Kurima-jima	Irabujima		No. of sites
	Kugai	Bora	Miyaguni	Kurima	Irabu	Kuninaka	
'head'	◯	—	—	—	◯	◯	3
'liver'	◯	—	—	—	◯	◯	3
'sugar cane'	◯	◯	—	—	◯	—	3
'breath'	◯	—	—	◯	—	—	2
'lightning'	◯	◯	—	—	—	—	2
'you'	◯	—	—	—	—	◯	2
'sickle'	◯	—	—	—	◯	—	2
'fog'	◯	◯	—	—	—	—	2
'fist'	—	◯	—	—	◯	—	2
'fish'	◯	—	—	—	◯	—	2
'person'	◯	—	—	—	◯	—	2
'everyone'	◯	—	—	—	◯	—	2
'niece'	—	◯	—	—	—	◯	2
'grease miso'	—	◯	—	—	—	—	1
'ant'	—	—	—	—	—	◯	1
'sea'	—	◯	—	—	—	—	1
'mirror'	—	—	—	—	◯	—	1
'mouth'	—	—	—	—	—	◯	1
'night-scented lily'	—	◯	—	—	—	—	1
'child'	◯	—	—	—	—	—	1
'anyone'	—	—	◯	—	—	—	1
'the moon'	◯	—	—	—	—	—	1
'the east'	◯	—	—	—	—	—	1
'daytime'	◯	—	—	—	—	—	1
'all together'	—	—	◯	—	—	—	1
'elderly person'	◯	—	—	—	—	—	1
No. of word items	16	8	2	1	9	6	42

Table 2. Survey 2 word items.

Table 3. Survey 2 sentence items.

	Item	Recording
1	'A child is born.'	Irabu
2	'I went to the sea.'	Kurima
3	'Cockroaches don't die easily.'	Bora
4	'High school students wear uniforms.'	Bora
5	'Yesterday, the principal sat.'	Bora
6	'I just drank tea.'	Uruka
7	'Yesterday, I played with my cousin.'	Uruka
8	'I went to the sea yesterday, too.'	Bora

selected from among the data collected in the vocabulary modules of the joint survey. The single sentence was also obtained in the vocabulary module of the joint survey, as an example sentence. At this stage, we did not give particular consideration to regional differences in speech sounds.

In Survey 2, the number of items was increased to fifty. The selection criteria were generally the same as those used in Survey 1, but in cases where regional differences had been identified in the joint survey, we strove to select a sample for each feature when the quality of the recordings permitted this. For example, even among just the survey sites of the joint survey, what appear to be three variants of the sound corresponding to *-ri in the mainland dialects were identified: that of southwestern Miyakojima, including Kugai, which is accompanied by a distinct friction noise; that of Karimata, Ikema, and the like, which is more vowel-like; and that of Irabujima, Kuninaka, and the like, which sounds like a syllabic l. In order to determine how high school students perceived these regional differences, we selected recordings from the three recording sites of Kugai, Kuninaka, and Irabu for the item 'head', which contains the sound corresponding to *-ri. For each survey site, however, there were either no recordings of certain items or only recordings that were unusable due to their quality, so it was not possible to make an exhaustive selection of recordings. Including words added in order to examine other seemingly unusual speech sounds and semantic comprehension, 42 word items were selected and arranged to avoid consecutive words that either have the same meaning or were recorded at the same site. Furthermore, eight short sentences from the grammar module of the joint survey were added. This was done in order to find out how dialect perception differs between words and sentences, but the phonetic criteria given above for the word items were also taken into account in their selection.

In the survey, each of the recordings was played back three times in direct succession for the high school

students, who were asked to transcribe them. As in Survey 1, the answers were to be written down using kana, the choice between katakana and hiragana being up to the student. All the different word items and the sites whose recordings were selected for them are given in Table 2 on the previous page, while the sentence items and their recording sites are given in Table 3. Additionally, distribution maps indicating the regional differences are given in Figures 1–8.

2.3   On the treatment of the different phonetic characteristics

We focused on regional variants in Survey 2 because we thought that their differences might be reflected to a significant degree in the high school students' perception. We hoped that we would be able to attain a more concrete understanding of speech perception in the younger generation if we compared how they would process each variant—how they would react to different sounds appearing in similar words. Our classification of these variants was geared towards this purpose; it was not based on a comprehensive understanding of geographic distributions among the different areas of Miyakojima. The joint survey was not originally aimed at investigating distributions, nor have the documentation formats of the different researchers been standardized. We therefore decided to classify the variants on the basis of the sound recordings, using the documentation by the researchers as a reference. There were cases where the recording quality and the like made classification difficult; we made the final judgments ourselves [2].

2.4   Regarding the survey participants

Survey 1

The numbers of students participating in the survey at each of the three schools, broken down by sex, are given in Table 4 on the next page. There were first-year as well as second-year students among them, but as there were no noticeable differences between them in the survey results, grades have not been indicated. While there was no large difference in number between male and female participants at high school A, there were relatively fewer female participants at high schools B and C. A breakdown of the birthplaces and places of residence of the students at the two schools in Miyakojima City (School A, B) is given in Tables 5 and 6 on the next page. Although there were four students born outside Okinawa Prefecture at high school A and five at high school B, for a total of nine, their survey results have not been excluded from the data. The birthplaces and places of residence of the students at high school C are given separately in Tables 7 and 8.

Survey 2

As was mentioned above, this survey was conducted with the cooperation of a total of seventeen high school students; three first-year students and fourteen second-year students, or fifteen female and two male students. Fourteen of the students were born on Miyakojima (none on Irabujima) and three outside Okinawa Prefecture (Kagoshima, Aichi,

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2   There were also cases where the informant would pronounce a word with a strong friction sound at first, but then pronounce it slowly with a vowel instead upon the researcher asking them to repeat it. While it is an interesting question what this reveals about the informant's internal phonology, we have used both forms in these cases. Although vowels were realized in various ways, as well, such as more to the front or more to the back, we did not distinguish between these different pronunciations.

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and Tokyo). They all currently live on Miyakojima, twelve of them in the Hirara area (including Shimozato, Nishizato, and Higashi-Nakasone, among others), two in Kugai, one in Uruka, and one in Gusukube; the exact place of residence of one of the students is unclear. Among the students who had experience living outside the island, twelve had lived on Miyakojima for sixteen years or more, but among the remaining five, two students had not lived there for more than five years. Because the whole classes who are the objects of our regular surveys do not exclusively consist of students who were born and raised in the areas in question, either, we have chosen not to differentiate between these groups of participants. As regards their parents, both of them are from Miyakojima in the case of eleven students, one of them in the case of four students, and neither in the case of two students.

Table 4. Number of participating high school students by sex

High school	A	B	C	Total
Male	20	21	38	79
Female	27	9	15	51
Total	47	30	53	130

Table 5. Birthplace (high school A & high school B).

High school	A	B	Total
Within the Miyako Islands	41	23	64
Within Okinawa Prefecture	2	2	4
Outside Okinawa Prefecture	4	5	9
Total	47	30	77

Table 6. Place of residence (high school A & high school B).

Highschool	A	B	Total
Hirara	36	1	37
Gusukube	4	0	4
Ueno	3	0	3
Shimoji	2	0	2
Sarahama	0	13	13
Irabu	0	10	10
Unknown	2	6	8
Total	47	30	77

Table 7. Birthplace (high school C).

Urasoe/Ginowan	35
Northern/central Okinawa Island (other)	6
Southern Okinawa Island	7
Outside Okinawa Island; within Okinawa Prefecture;	1
Outside Okinawa Prefecture	3
Unknown	1
Total	53

Table 8. Place of residence (high school C).

Urasoe/Ginowan	39
Northern/central Okinawa Island (other)	5
Southern Okinawa Island	9
Total	53

3. Survey results

3.1 Survey 1: speech perception and semantic comprehension

3.1.1 'Head'

For 'head', a recording from Irabu on Irabujima (transcribed as 'kʰanamaɿ' in the joint survey documentation) was used. At the Kuninaka survey site, also on Irabujima, there is a clear syllabic *l* at the end of this word; in Irabu the sound is more vowel-like than that, but it sounds more lateral than in Karimata on Miyakojima, for example. It thus sounds like an intermediate pronunciation.

Among the 121 students who transcribed this item, there were only twelve who used something other than ' カ ' (*ka*)[3] for the beginning of this word (see Table 9 on the next page); everyone else used ' カ ', and the transcriptions of more than half of them matched the recording up to ' カナマ ' (*kanama*). Among the answers that matched it up to ' カ

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3   As was indicated above, both hiragana and katakana were used for the answers, but as no one used a mixture of them to transcribe a single item, we use katakana to represent both here.

Table 9. Answers beginning with something other than カ.			
	タ (*ta*)	ハ (*ha*)	
High school A	1	1	
High school B	1	4	
High school C	5	—	
Total	7	5	12

Table 10. What followed 'カナマ'.

カナマ +	イ (*i*)	ウ (*u*)	エ (*e*)	ズ (*zu*)	ル (*ru*)	ア / ー (*a*)	ヌ (*nu*)	ン (*n*)	Ø	
High school A	6	5	1	3	3	—	2	3	2	
High school B	22	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	
High school C	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	2	1	
Total	28	8	2	3	5	3	2	5	3	59

ナマ', we looked at how the students transcribed the following sound (see Table 10). Vowels were most numerous; in all, only five student used 'ル' (*ru*), presumably to represent a syllabic *l*. Among the vowels, 'イ' (*i*) was the most numerous, followed by 'ウ' (*u*) [4]. Interestingly, of the students of high school B who live on Irabujima, where one can hear the syllabic *l* being used by the older generation as in Kuninaka, none used 'ル'. It may be that it is precisely

Table 11. What followed 'カナ X' ('X' signifying one or two arbitrary kana).					
カナ X +	ン (*n*)	イ (*i*)	エ (*e*)	リ (*ri*)	ア (*a*)
High school A	6	3	2	2	1
High school B	—	1	—	—	—
High school C	15	—	1	—	1
Total	21	4	3	2	2	32

Table 12. Examples of answers that matched the recording up to 'カナ'.

カナムアイ	*kanamuai*	カナウマン	*kanauman*
カナムイ	*kanamui*	かなむぁん	*kanamuan*
かなもぃ	*kanamoi*	カナムァン	*kanamuan*
かなんまい	*kananmai*	カナムゥン	*kanamuun*
カナゴェ	*kanagoe*	カナムン	*kanamun*
カナゴェ	*kanagoe*	かなむん	*kanamun*
カナモエ	*kanamoe*	カナモェン	*kanamoen*
かなんまり	*kananmari*	カナワン	*kanawan*
かなうぁん	*kanauan*	かなわん	*kanawan*

because they were used to hearing this dialect sound that they did not expressly transcribe it as such, but this is conjecture.

Next, among the answers that matched the recording up to 'カナ' (*kana*), 'ン' (*n*) was used most often to transcribe the final sound (see Table 11). On the whole, when comparing these answers to those that matched it up to 'カナマ', these students' perception of the word-final sounds was less consistent. Furthermore, considering how multiple students transcribed it as 'かなむん' (kanamun; five students) at high school A and as 'かなわん' (kanawan; six students) at high school C, it may be that some of the students having trouble determining what sounds followed 'カナ' reasoned their way towards a straightforward word form.

While we have considered the answers that were close to the dialect form above, there were many considerably different answers, as well, such as 'カラマル' (*karamaru*) and 'ツナマヨ' (*tsunamayo*). Incidentally, while the degree of semantic comprehension was on the whole low, that of 'head' was highest among the five items (see Table 13),

Table 13. The meaning of 'head'	
	Students answering 'head'
High school A	5
High school B	9
High school C	—
Total	14

Table 14. The connection between semantic comprehension and form (how the students who answered the meaning correctly transcribed the form).

'Head'	カナマイ (*kanamai*)	カナムアイ (*kanamuai*)	カナマウ / ウ ' (*kanamau*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナム (*kanamu*)
High school A	2	—	1	1	1
High school B	5	1	3	—	—

4 After pronouncing a word once with a syllabic l or a friction noise, one sometimes hears the older generation use an i when pronouncing it again slowly; it is unclear if there is a connection.

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but there cannot be said to be a correlation between the actual transcription and semantic comprehension (see Table 14).

3.1.2 'Liver'

For 'liver', a recording from Kugai on Miyakojima, where it is pronounced with a strong friction noise ('kˢᶻīmu' in the joint survey documentation), was used. How did the students perceive such a marked friction noise? Not counting the students who were unable to give an answer, everyone used 'ク' (*ku*) for the beginning of the word. We consider either 'ス' (*su*) or 'ツ' (*tsu*) following this 'ク' to be a likely reflection of the friction noise. If this is correct, it turns out that the students of Okinawa Island (School C) were more responsive to this sound. While, similarly to 'head' above, the students of Miyakojima (School A, B) only have a marginal familiarity with this word in regard to semantic comprehension, they might be able to recognize the sound it contains as a 'regional' or 'natural' sound. Incidentally, 'ス'

Table 15. 'Liver': is the word-initial ク followed by ス or ツ ?			
High school	Yes	No	Total
A	9	38	47
B	—	29	29
C	20	25	45
Total	29	92	121

Table 16. 'Liver': transcriptions following ク that are thought to reflect the friction noise.				
High school	ス (*su*)	セ (*se*)	ツ (*tsu*)	Total
A	9	—	—	9
B	—	—	—	0
C	18	1	1	20
Total	27	1	1	29

was by far the most commonly used of the transcriptions thought to reflect the friction noise, as can be seen in Table 16.

Next, we will look at how the transcriptions were structured on the whole, both those that did and those that did not include an element thought to reflect the friction noise. Answers consisting of two *kana* in which 'ク' is followed by 'ヌ' (*nu*), 'ン' (*n*), or 'ム' (*mu*) were most numerous (75 students), but *kana* representing an M sound [5], such as 'ム', accounted for only six of these; 'ヌ' and 'ン' were more common choices at all three schools. This could mean that the students' ability to perceive word-final *-m* is low, or perhaps that that they chose transcriptions representing *n*

Table 17. Answers that did not include an element thought to reflect the friction noise						
	Two-*kana* forms	Other				Total
	Final nasal	Total	KNC	KNN	KvN	
High school A	*n*	28	5	3	2	38
	m	2	—	—	—	2
High school B	*n*	24	3	—	0	27
	m	0	—	—	—	0
High school C	*n*	17	3	—	—	20
	m	4	1	—	—	5
Total		75	12	3	2	92
	E.g.	くぬ (*kunu*) くん (*kun*) クム (*kumu*) クム (*kumu*)	くぬっ (*kunutsu*) くんっ (*kuntsu*) クモッ (*kumotsu*)	クヌン (*kunun*)	くぅぬ (*kūnu*)	

('v' represents vowels; a lowercase 'v' is used to distinguish them from consonants).

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[5] As regards kana used to represent the word-final nasal, we use the term 'n sound' for kana such as 'ヌ' and 'ン', and 'm sound' for kana such as 'ム' and 'ム'.

Table 18. Answers that did include an element thought to reflect the friction noise.							
	Three-kana forms	Other	Total				
	Final nasal	Total	KSNC	KSNv	KSNN	NSKN	
High school A	*n*	6	—	—	—	1	7
	m	—	—	—	—	—	0
High school B	*n*	—	1	—	—	—	1
	m	0	—	—	—	—	0
High school C	*n*	10	—	—	—	—	10
	n	8	1	1	1	—	11
Total		24	2	1	1	1	29
	E.g.	クスム (*kusumu*) くすん (*kusun*) クセム (*kusemu*) クスミ (*kusumi*)	くすむっ (*kusumutsu*)	クスモア (*kusumoa*)	クスムン (*kusumun*)	ンクスヌ (*nkusunu*)	

('v' represents vowels; a lowercase 'v' is used to distinguish them from consonants).

sounds regardless of an awareness of this sound as a dialect sound. Among the 27 answers including an element thought to reflect the friction noise, on the other hand, answers consisting of three kana were most numerous at 24, sixteen of them representing the word-final nasal as an *n* sound and eight as an *m* sound; answers representing it as an m sound were thus relatively slightly more common than among answers consisting of two *kana*. While the sample size is very small, it may be that the students who perceived the friction noise as a peculiar sound were also more responsive to the word-final -*m*. As was the case with 'head', these answers were more common at high school C; this could perhaps be said to be reflective of a single tendency.

Incidentally, while we had expected the younger generation to be relatively more familiar with the word for 'liver', as it is used in various idioms, only two students gave a meaning for this word, their answers being 'these two people' and 'yesterday'.

3.1.3　'Earthworm'

A recording obtained in Bora ('mimʣ̩' in the documentation) was used. Our intention was to find out how the students would perceive syllabic *m*, which is used often in the Miyako dialects, as in *m*: 'sweet potato', for instance. Contrary to our expectations that due to the relatively simple structure, it would be easy to perceive as a dialect sound, the answers were quite rich in variety. Not counting the students who were unable to give an answer (one at high school A and five at high school C), 96 students used 'ミ' (*mi*) for the beginning of the word, but there were also 27 students who used 'ニ' (*ni*). With the exception of 'びんず' (*binzu*), which occurred once, the remainder of the answers all started with a nasal, as well, such as 'みゅんず' (*myunzu*) and 'ネンムズ' (*nenmuzu*). Furthermore, all answers ended in 'ズ' (*zu*), with the exception of two answers ending in 'ツ' (*tsu*). The majority of the answers thus took the form 'ミ/ニ　ズ', so we looked at what kana were used for the syllabic m in the middle of the word. Overviews of forms beginning with 'ニ' and 'ミ' are given in Tables 19 and 20 on the next page, respectively, on the next page. In both cases 'ン' (*n*) was by far the most common; occurrences of 'ム' (*mu*) thought to represent the syllabic *m* were rare. Moreover, the majority of those who used the latter were Okinawa Island high school students (School C). In comparison to a central vowel accompanied by a friction noise, it would seem that syllabic consonants such as m and l would not sound too strange to

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Table 19. Kana used for the middle of the word in answers beginning with ニ.					
High school	ン (n)	ンッ (ntsu)	ンム (nmu)	ム (mu)	Total
A	8	1	1	1	11
B	—	—	—	—	0
C	9	—	5	2	16
Total	17	1	6	3	27
Eg.	ニンズ (*ninzu*)	にんっず (*nintsuzu*)	ニンムズ (*ninmuzu*)	ニムズ (*nimuzu*)	

Table 20. Kana used for the middle of the word in answers beginning with 'ミ'.										
High school	ン (n)	ンッ (ntsu)	ンム (nmu)	ウン (un)	ム (mu)	ミ (mi)	ニ (ni)	ンムン (nmun)	Ø	Total
A	32	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	36
B	28	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	29
C	18	—	1	—	3	4	1	1	2	30
Total	78	1	3	1	3	5	1	1	2	95
Eg.	ミンズ (*minzu*)	ミンッズ (*mintsuzu*)	ミンムズ (*minmuzu*)	みうんず (*miunzu*)	ミムズ (*mimuzu*)	ミミズ (*mimizu*)	ミニズ (*minizu*)	ミェンムンズ (*myenmunzu*)		

the younger generation of today, accustomed as they are to the sounds of foreign languages, but it nevertheless appears that they are not perceived in particular as dialect sounds. Although these unusual dialect sounds may sound peculiar to the younger generation, the sound system of Standard Japanese having become their frame

Table 21. How students having trouble identifying the sounds transcribed 'rice ball'.						
	マジムン '*majimun*'	マヨネーズ '*mayonēzu*'	マイブーム '*maibūmu*'	マングフ '*mangufu*'	ワームン '*wāmun*'	ワンヌ '*wannu*'
High school A	3	—	1	1	—	—
High school B	21	—	—	—	—	—
High school C	1	1	—	—	1	1
Total	25	1	1	1	1	1

Table 22. The meaning of 'rice ball'.					
	'monster'	'ghost'	'cooked rice'	'to taste good'	'my hobby'
High school A	—	1	—	—	—
High school B	11	3	1	1	1
High school C	—	—	—	—	—

Table 23. Examples of transcriptions for 'rice ball'.

マイグン	'*maigun*'
マイブゥ	'*maibwu*'
まいぶ	'*maibu*'
マイブーム	'*maibūmu*'
マイフン	'*maifun*'
マング	'*mangu*'
まんぐ	'*mangu*'
まうぐー	'*maugū*'
マイム	'*maimu*'
マングフ	'*mangufu*'
マグン	'*magun*'
マグーゥ	'*magūu*'
マイム	'*maimu*'
まいむ	'*maimu*'
マイヌ	'*mainu*'
マイヴン	'*maivun*'
マジムン	'*majimun*'
まぐ	'*magu*'
まんず	'*manzu*'
まいみ	'*maimi*'
マィヌー	'*mainū*'
らいぐ	'*raigu*'
まじむん	'*majimun*'
マイムン	'*maimun*'
まる	'*maru*'

of reference, it appears that they do not particularly stand out to them.

3.1.4 'Rice ball'

In one of the vocabulary modules of the joint survey, the word for 'rice ball' was recorded at a number of research sites as a related vocabulary item for '(cooked) rice'. We used a recording from Yonaha ('maʲŋuʲ' in the documentation). How

did the high school students react to these peculiar sounds? Almost all of the answers either were very different from how the recording actually sounded or seemed to have been attempts at somehow connecting the form with a given meaning. As can be seen in Tables 21–23 on the previous page, 25 students transcribed it as 'マジムン' (*majimun*, used to mean 'ghost' or 'monster' in the Miyako area), and there were even answers such as 'マイブーム' (*maibūmu* 'my boom', used for things one has recently taken a liking to) and 'マヨネーズ' (*mayonēzu* 'mayonnaise'); it appears that, having trouble identifying the sounds used in the word, the students reasoned their way towards these answers. In any case, it is difficult to offer a more detailed analysis than to just state that the degree of comprehension was low for this word.

3.1.5 'A child is born.'

As above, we used a recording obtained in Yonaha as an example sentence in one of the vocabulary modules of the joint survey ([ffanudu mmaɾiː]; the consonant in the particle nu sounds close to -*r*-). We included a sentence item in order to examine whether words and sentences differ in terms of, for example, difficulty in perception and degrees of semantic comprehension.

The answers can be broadly divided into two groups: 44 answers beginning with 'ファ' (*fa*) and 47 beginning with 'パ' (*pa*). It can be surmised that whichever they chose, the students in the Miyako area (School A, B) are familiar with both 'ファ' and 'パ' as dialect sounds and naturally chose one of these *kana* when they heard a sound that approximated it. In the two groups of answers beginning with 'ファ' and 'パ', the first part of the recording, corresponding to 'a child', is transcribed in a way that can be represented schematically as 'FARD' or 'PARD' in more than half of the answers (see Tables 24 and 25). Although the 'D' represents several different *kana* used by the students, such as 'ド' (*do*), 'ドン' (*don*), and 'ドゥ' (*du*), these all appear to be the result of the accurate perception of the particle in the recording. Taking both groups together, then, it can be concluded that 52 students, or around 40%, perceived the first part of the sentence more or less accurately. It therefore seems reasonable to state that the phonetic perception of sentences is not necessarily more difficult than that of words. This conclusion, however, does not seem to hold for the students of Okinawa Island (School C), who gave many answers such as 'はなづまり' (*hana(d)zumari* 'nasal congestion'), 'たなのまわり' (*tana no mawari* 'around the shelf'), 'バリどまり' (*Bari-domari,* the meaning is not

Table 24. 'A child is born': answers of which the first part began with ファ (roughly divided into groups represented schematically by uppercase letters).

	FARD	FARN	FARNT	FAID	FAIB	FAIT	FAIND	FANG	FARG/K	FANZ	Total
High school A	11	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	4	1	19
High school B	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
High school C	4	—	—	2	—	7	2	1	—	—	16
Total	24	1	1	2	1	7	2	1	4	1	44

Table 25. 'A child is born': answers of which the first part began with パ

	PARD	PANG	PAND	PARG	PARK	PART	PAFUN	BARD	HAND	HARB	HANZ	Total
High school A	18	—	—	2	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	23
High school B	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	3
High school C	9	3	5	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	21
Total	28	3	5	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	47

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clear), and even ' ファイトマネー ' (*faito man*ē 'fight money'). This result is the inverse of what we saw above, which seems to suggest a difference in perception between words and sentences.

3.1.6 Survey 1 summary

The results discussed above can be summarized as follows:

1) Although we cannot easily draw conclusions from a survey on just five items, there clearly cannot be said to be a high level of comprehension ability regarding dialectal speech sounds in the younger generation on the Miyako Islands, even though it is claimed that its dialects have been preserved relatively well among those of the Ryukyu Islands. They appear to be unable to associate forms with meanings even for frequently used vocabulary items.

2) The proportion of students who attempted to transcribe sounds such as the friction noise was larger at the Okinawa Island high school than at the Miyakojima City high schools. One possibility to consider is that the fact that they did not understand the meanings of the words at all could be what caused them to try to capture them objectively as sounds. It may be that the stranger the sounds sounded to them, the more they felt the need to proactively distinguish between them in their transcriptions. As dialect use is still relatively prevalent among the middle-aged and elderly generations in Miyakojima City, it may be that the high school students there are at least familiar with the sounds of these dialects, so that they have an awareness of them as a 'peculiar kind of pronunciation' even as they are unable to understand them or reproduce them themselves; because of this, they might not perceive them as unusual sounds, reinterpreting them in their own way along the lines of Standard Japanese, instead.

3) On the Miyako Islands, there is a special system for transcribing unusual sounds, *Miyako-gana*, which is widely used locally for compiling dictionaries, the lyrics of traditional songs, publicity campaigns using dialect, and so on. The only apparent attempts at using *Miyako-gana*, however, were two occurrences of ' コ゚'; it can thus clearly hardly be said to be in general use among the younger generation. The students did, however, devise a variety of their own transcriptions. The use of small kana, not only for vowels and geminates, but also for ' ス ' (*su*), ' ン ' (*n*), and the like, seems to be one way in which they tried to reproduce their impressions of the sounds in question.

4) Contrary to our expectation that sentences would be more difficult to perceive accurately than words, it appears to be easier to obtain a response to a complete message in the form of a sentence than to an isolated word. It is possible that the sentence was perceived as being easier to understand the gist of and as containing more material on which to base one's judgment. This can only be said, however, of the students at the Miyakojima City high schools; in contrast to them, the students at the Okinawa Island high school, who did respond to the 'peculiar sounds' in the words, had trouble dealing with the sentence. The fact that the students at the Miyakojima City high schools are familiar with the dialect speech of the older generation appears to be a factor here, but it could also suggest a difference in perception between words and sentences.

3.2 Survey 2: speech perception and semantic comprehension

With seventeen students participating, the sample size in Survey 2 was small, so a quantitative analysis is not possible; it is possible, on the other hand, to closely examine how each of the students dealt with the data. In the following, we will take this perspective in considering a number of cases.

3.2.1   'Head', 'the east', and 'lightning': responses to sounds corresponding to *ri

Table 26. 'Head': all seventeenstudents' transcriptions for all sites.		
Site	Kugai	Kuninaka	Irabu
Form	kʰanamazï	kanamaɭ	kʰanamaɿ
1	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナアマル (*kanaamaru*)	(no answer)
2	カナマヅ (*kanama(d)zu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	タナモエ (*tanamoe*)
3	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)
4	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)
5	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナーマル (*kanāmaru*)	タナマス (*tanamasu*)
6	カナマズ゚ (*kanamazu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナムル (*kanamuru*)
7	カナマズル (*kanamazuru*)	カナアマル (*kanaamaru*)	カナンマ (*kananma*)
8	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナモエ (*kanamoe*)
9	カナマツ (*kanamatsu*)	カナーマル (*kanāmaru*)	カナモァ (*kanamoa*)
10	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナーマル (*kanāmaru*)	カナム (*kanamu*)
11	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	タナグェ (*tanagwe*)
12	カナンマズイリ (*kananmazuiri*)	カナアマル (*kanaamaru*)	カナンムゥ (*kananmuu*)
13	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナム (*kanamu*)
14	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)
15	カナマツ (*kanamatsu*)	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	(no answer)
16	カナマズ (*kanamazu*)	カナマル (*kanamaru*)	カナムゥ (*kanamuu*)
17	カナマァズ (*kanamaazu*)	カナーマル (*kanāmaru*)	タナム (*tanamu*)

First, we will consider words containing sounds that correspond to *ri. All the data that was obtained in response to recordings of words for 'head' (surmised to derive from *kanamari based on sound correspondences) are given in Table 26. All of the students transcribed the recordings from Kugai and Kuninaka quite accurately, almost all of their transcriptions matching them up to 'カナマ' (*kanama*). In the case of Irabu, on the other hand, there was on the whole quite a lot of variety, including two students who did not give an answer. When focusing on the end of the word, we can clearly distinguish between three groups of answers. As regards the recording from Kugai, the students can be considered to have recognized the friction sound, seeing how they all used either a fricative such as 'ズ' (*zu*) or 'ス' (*su*) or one of the affricates 'ツ' (*tsu*) and 'ヅ' (*(d)zu*). As for Kuninaka, it is clear that the students were aware of the consonant, as many as fourteen students using either a normal-sized or a small 'ル' (*ru*), while only three students used 'ズ'. Answers making distinctions such as 'Kugai: "カナマズル" (*kanamazuru*)/Kuninaka: "カナマル" (*kanamaru*)' can be seen as examples of this. When we look at the correlations between the answers and the three recording sites, it is clear that a majority of the students accurately perceived the contrast between the Kugai and Kuninaka recordings (see Table 27 on the next page). As we had arranged the words to avoid instances of the same word appearing in succession, students could not directly compare these recordings while listening. Compared to the recording from Irabu, also used in Survey 1, those from Kugai and Kuninaka appear to have been relatively easy to perceive accurately for the high school

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Table 27. 'Head': how the end of the word was transcribed.			
Site	Kugai	Kuninaka	Irabu
Form	kʰanamazï	kanamaɭ	kʰanamaɻ
ズ (zu)	10	3	1
ス゚ (zu)	1	—	—
ヅ ((d)zu)	1	—	—
ツ (tsu)	2	—	—
ス (su)	—	—	1
ズル (zuru) / ズイリ (zuiri)	2	—	—
ル (ru)	—	13	2
ﾙ (ru)	—	1	1
エ (e)/ ｴ (e)	—	—	3
ウ (u)	—	—	2
ア (a)	—	—	1
Ø	—	—	4
Total	16	17	15

Table 28. 'Head': the correlations among the three sites				
Kugai	Kuninaka	Irabu		
-Z	-L	-I	4	
-Z	-L	-L	3	
-Z	-L	-Z	1	
-Z	-L	-Ø	3	
-Z	-L	(no answer)	1	12
-ZL	-L	-I	2	
-ZL	-L	-Ø	1	3
-Z	-L	-Z	1	
-Z	-L	(no answer)	1	
-Z	-L	-I	1	3

(roughly divided into groups represented schematic-ally by uppercase letters; 'Z' signifies a friction noise, 'L' a syllabic l, and 'I' a vowel).

students; almost all of them made a distinction between them. As regards that from Irabu, on the other hand, transcription appears to have been difficult for the students. In addition to the two students mentioned above who did not give an answer, there were also students who transcribed it as ' カナマ ', stopping after the first three morae; it is likely that they stopped writing halfway through, unable to decide how to transcribe the end of the word.

Let us consider this from the viewpoint of the correlations between the answers and the three recording sites again. Among the twelve students who made a z/l-distinction between the Kugai and Kuninaka recordings, four students used a vowel and three students used ' ル ' for the Irabu recording; of the five remaining students, one used ' ズ ', while the rest did not transcribe the end of the word. When compared to the recording from Karimata mentioned above ([kanamaɯ ~ kʰanamaï] according to the documentation; additionally, aha is used as a synonym), the pronunciation in Irabu does sound like the tongue approaches the alveolar ridge quite closely. It would seem that high school students who do not know what the word means would have quite a hard time transcribing it. Furthermore, only two students gave an answer regarding the meaning of the word; one of them only gave the correct answer for the recording from Kuninaka, being unable to give an accurate meaning for the other two sites.

All the data for 'lightning' are given in Table 29 on the next page. When focusing on the end of the word, we see that all students used ' ズ ' for the recording from Kugai, with the exception of one student that used ' ヅ '. For the recording from Bora, on the other hand, only one student used ' ズ '; among the rest, answers were diverse, eleven students using ' ル ', two using ' ドゥ ' or ' ヅ ', and two using ' ウ ' (u), for example. There is a marked friction noise in both the Kugai and the Bora sound recordings, but as is also clear from the different transcriptions used by the researchers in the documentation, it appears that it is weaker in that from Bora, and that the tongue does not approach the alveolar ridge as closely and for as long as in that from Kugai. It would seem reasonable to view the fact that the high school students were divided in how they transcribed the sound in the recording from Bora while they uniformly used ' ズ ' for the clear friction sound in the Kugai recording as resulting from their reactions to this subtle difference. An overview of the kinds of sounds the students used for the final part of the word is given in Table 30 on the next page. When these

Site	Kugai	Bora
Form	m:napskaz	nnapskaᶻŋ
1	ンナプカズ (*nnapukazu*)	ンナピカル (*nnapikaru*)
2	シーナツカズ (*nnatsukazu*)	ンナツカル (*nnatsukaru*)
3	ンナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)	ンナピカル (*nnapikaru*)
4	シーナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)	ンナップスカドゥ (*nnappusukadu*)
5	シーナプゥカズ (*nnapwukazu*)	ンア　ピィカル (*n'a piikaru*)
6	シーナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)	ナプスカル (*napusukaru*)
7	ンナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)	ンナプカル (*nnapukaru*)
8	ンナピカズ (*nnapikazu*)	ンナピカ (*nnapika*)
9	ンナプツカズ (*nnaputsukazu*)	ンナピカウ (*nnapikau*)
10	シーナスプカァズ (*nnasupukaazu*)	ンナクスカル (*nnakusukaru*)
11	シーナプツカァズ (*nnaputsukaazu*)	ンナプカーズ (*nnapukāzu*)
12	シーナプゥカズ (*nnapwukazu*)	ンナァピカル (*nnaapikaru*)
13	シーナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)	ンプスカウ (*npusukau*)
14	ウンナツカズ (*unnatsukazu*)	ウナプカル (*unapukaru*)
15	ンナピカヅ (*nnapika(d)zu*)	ンナピカヅ (nnapika(d)zu)
16	ンナプクスカズ (*nnapukusukazu*)	ナプスカル (*napusukaru*)
17	ンナッピカズ (*nnappikazu*)	ンナムピィカァル (*nnamupiikaaru*)

Table 29. 'Lightning': all seventeen students' transcriptions.

Table 30. 'Lightning': the correlations between the end of the word and the recording site

Kugai			Bora	
Z	17		L	11
			Z	2
			D	1
			U	2
			Ø	1

(roughly divided into groups represented schematically by uppercase letters).

Table 31. 'Lightning', 'the east', and 'head': responses to the Kugai sound corresponding to *ri.Table 32. 'Liver': all seventeen students' transcriptions for all sites.

'lightning'	'the east'	'head'	
Z	Z	Z	10
Z	ZN	Z	2
Z	Z	ZL	2
Z	Z	C	2
Z	SN	Z	1

sounds are classified broadly, we see that only two students used a vowel for the recording from Bora with its weak friction noise, the majority using a consonant.

As there was also an instance of the word for 'the east' among the recordings from Kugai, an overview of how each student reacted to different recordings of this sound from Kugai is given in Table 31. When ' ズ ' and ' ヅ ' are taken together, it becomes clear that as many as ten students recognized the friction sound in all three words, while there were no students who did not recognize it in any of them. The friction noise in the recordings from Kugai seems to be perceived quite consistently, and it appears to be recognized as involving an independent consonant [z], which matches the documentation by the researchers.

Furthermore, the *Miyako-gana* ' ズ̊ ' was used twice, as was ' グ̊ ', which appears to be modeled on Miyako-gana. The sound represented by the latter is usually written as ' クス ' (*kusu*); this should be viewed as an indication of how there is no general awareness of *Miyako-gana* among the younger generation, as was also argued in the summary of Survey 1.

3.2.2 ʻLiverʼ, ʻfogʼ, ʻthe moonʼ, and ʻbreathʼ: responses to sounds corresponding to *ki

We will now consider four words containing sounds corresponding to *ki*, representing cases of voiceless consonants followed by central vowels. In the case of 'liver', for which recordings from three sites were chosen, many students used ' ク ' (*ku*) followed by ' ス ' or ' ス ' (*su*) for the recording from Kugai; if we include answers beginning with ' プ ' (*pu*), ten students can be considered to have perceived a word-initial consonant followed by some kind of friction noise (see Table 32 on the next page). In the documentation of the joint survey, the transcription of the recording from Kugai has a central vowel preceded by both a voiceless and a voiced friction noise, which would seem to be intended

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Table 32. 'Liver': all seventeen students' transcriptions for all sites.

Site	Kugai	Kuninaka	Irabu
Form	kˢᶻïmu	tsɨmu	tsɿmu
1	クスム (kusumu)	ツム (tsumu)	セム (semu)
2	ツヌ (tsunu)	ツム (tsumu)	スム (sumu)
3	プスム (pusumu)	ツム (tsumu)	スム (sumu)
4	プスム (pusumu)	ツン (tsun)	セム (semu)
5	グズ (kuzu)	ツム (tsumu)	セム (semu)
6	ックニ (tsukuni)	ツン (tsun)	セム (semu)
7	クゥシニ (kwushini)	ツゥム (tswumu)	スィミ (simi)
8	ティニ (tini)	ツムゥ (tsumuu)	シィミ (shiimi)
9	クスリ (kusuri)	ツェム (tsemu)	セム (semu)
10	クスヌッ (kusunutsu)	ツム (tsumu)	セム (semu)
11	クスヌ (kusunu)	ツム (tsumu)	シム (shimu)
12	クンミ (kunmi)	ツム (tsumu)	スィミ (simi)
13	クスムッ (kusumutsu)	ツム (tsumu)	ツィミ (tsimi)
14	ツニ (tsuni)	ツム (tsumu)	セム (semu)
15	クム (kumu)	ツム (tsumu)	シム (shimu)
16	クスミ (kusumi)	ツム (tsumu)	セヌ (senu)
17	クム (kumu)	ツム (tsumu)	セム (semu)

Table 33. 'Liver': the correlations among the three sites.

Site	Kugai	Kuninaka	Irabu	Total
a	KS	C	S	7
b	KS	C	C	1
c	K	C	S	3
d	C	C	S	2
e	PS	C	S	2
f	CK	C	S	1
g	T	C	S	1
				17

Table 34. 'Fog': all seventeen students' transcriptions.

Site	Kugai	Bora
Form	ksï	kˢɿː
1	クス (kusu)	クス (kusu)
2	クス (kusu)	クス (kusu)
3	プス (pusu)	クス (kusu)
4	プス (pusu)	クフ (kufu)
5	プス (pusu)	クズゥ (kuswu)
6	プス (pusu)	クス (kusu)
7	クス (kusu)	クゥス (kwusu)
8	クゥス (kwusu)	クズッ (kuzutsu)
9	クス (kusu)	クス (kusu)
10	クス (kusu)	クスゥ (kuswu)
11	クス (kusu)	クス (kusu)
12	クスゥ (kuswu)	クスゥ (kuswu)
13	クス (kusu)	クス (kusu)
14	クス (kusu)	クスゥ (kuswu)
15	クス (kusu)	クゥ (kwu)
16	プス (pusu)	クス (kusu)
17	プス (pusu)	クス (kusu)

Table 35. 'Fog': the correlations between the two sites (lowercase 'i' indicates an arbitrary vowel).

Sites	Kugai	Bora	Total
a	KS	KS	7
b	KS	Ki	1
c	KS	KiS	1
d	PS	KS	4
e	PS	KZ	2
f	PS	KF	1
g	KiS	KZ	1
			17

to indicate the strength and length of the friction sound; the high school students seem to have responded similarly to this strong friction sound. In their transcriptions of both the Irabu and the Kuninaka recording, too, the researchers give an affricate followed by a central vowel. They were transcribed by different researchers, so the transcriptions differ as well, but when the sound recordings are compared, the affricate appears to be stronger in the recording from Kuninaka, while the plosive portion in that from Irabu seems a little weaker. Moreover, the beginning of the word has high pitch in the recording from Kuninaka ([tsɨ]mu), while the end of the word has high pitch in the recording from Irabu (tsɿ[mu]). The high school students overwhelmingly used kana including an s-sound, such as ' サ ' (sa), ' セ ' (se), and ' シ ' (shi), for the recording from Irabu, while only one of them used an affricate; it is likely that it is not only because of the weakness of the plosive portion, but also because of the pitch accent that they had difficulty perceiving the first syllable. An overview of these correlations is given in Table 33.

As is the case with 'liver', the word for 'fog' also begins with a sound corresponding to *ki [6]; we used recordings from the two sites of Kugai and Bora. The word is pronounced with a marked friction noise in both recordings, but while the researchers of the joint survey have transcribed the recording from Kugai using an independent consonant [s],

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6   Although the forms kʰiɾi and kçɨɯɾi were reported for Irabu and Uechi, respectively, in the joint survey, we have considered the forms reported for the other sites, including Kugai and Bora, as corresponding to a form in which the second half of *kiri was lost.

Table 36. 'Breath': all seventeen students' transcriptions.		
Site	Kugai	Kurima
Form	ikˢï	iᵗsï
1	イクズ (*ikuzu*)	イス (*isu*)
2	イツ (*itsu*)	イス (*isu*)
3	イップゥ (*itsupwu*)	イス (*isu*)
4	イフ (*ifu*)	イス (*isu*)
5	イク (*iku*)	イス (*isu*)
6	イプク (*ipuku*)	イス (*isu*)
7	イク (*iku*)	イス (*isu*)
8	イクゥ (*ikwu*)	イス (*isu*)
9	イク (*iku*)	イス (*isu*)
10	イクゥ (*ikwu*)	イス (*isu*)
11	イク (*iku*)	イス (*isu*)
12	ィユク (*iyuku*)	インス (*insu*)
13	イクズ (*ikuzu*)	イス (*isu*)
14	イク (*iku*)	イス (*isu*)
15	ユツゥ (*yutswu*)	リス (*risu*)
16	イプゥ (*ipuu*)	イス (*isu*)
17	イクゥン (*ikwun*)	イス (*isu*)

Table 37. 'The moon': all seventeen students' transcriptions.	
Site	Kugai
Form	tskssu
1	ツンクス (*tsunkusu*)
2	ツクス (*tsukusu*)
3	ツクス (*tsukusu*)
4	ツクスゥ (*tsukuswu*)
5	ッチャスゥ (*tsutyaswu*)
6	ツクス (*tsukusu*)
7	ツゥクス (*tswukusu*)
8	ツゥクスゥ (*tswukuswu*)
9	ツクス (*tsukusu*)
10	ツクツクスゥ (*tsukutsukuswu*)
11	(no answer)
12	ックスゥ (*tsukuswu*)
13	ツクスォ (*tsukuswo*)
14	ツクス (*tsukusu*)
15	ツゥクスゥ (*tswukuswu*)
16	ツツス (*tsutsusu*)
17	ツクス (*tsukusu*)

Table 38. How each of the seventeen students transcribed the Kugai sounds corresponding to *ki.				
	'liver'	'fog'	'the moon'	'breath'
	Word-initial		Word-final	
1	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クズ (*kuzu*)
2	ツ (*tsu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	ツ (*tsu*)
3	プス (*pusu*)	プス (*pusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	ップゥ (*tsupwu*)
4	プス (*pusu*)	プス (*pusu*)	クスゥ (*kuswu*)	フ (*fu*)
5	グ゜ (*ku*)	プス (*pusu*)	スゥ (*swu*)	ク (*ku*)
6	ック (*tsuku*)	プス (*pusu*)	クスッ (*kusutsu*)	プク (*puku*)
7	クゥ (*kwu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	ク (*ku*)
8	ティ (*ti*)	クゥス (*kwusu*)	クスゥ (*kuswu*)	クゥ (*kwu*)
9	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	ク (*ku*)
10	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*u)	クスゥ (*kuswu*)	クゥ (*kwu*)
11	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*u)	(no answer)	ク (*ku*)
12	ク (*ku*)	クスゥ (*kuswu*)	クスゥ (*kuswu*)	ユク (*yuku*)
13	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*u)	クスォ (kuswo)	クズ (*kuzu*)
14	ツ (*tsu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	ク (*ku*)
15	ク (*ku*)	プス (*kusu*)	クスゥ (*kuswu*)	ツゥ (*tswu*)
16	クス (*kusu*)	プス (*pusu*)	ツス (*tsusu*)	プゥ (*pwu*)
17	ク (*ku*)	プス (*pusu*)	クス (*kusu*)	クゥン (*kwun*)

Table 39. Kugai sounds corresponding to *ki: whether the friction noise was transcribed				
	'liver'	'fog'	'the moon'	'breath'
Yes	13	17	16	6
No	4	0	1	11

(affricates are also regarded as containing fricativity).

a vowel accompanied by a friction noise is used for that from Bora. Interestingly, nearly all of the high school students, too, used 'クス' (*kusu*) or something similar for the recording from Kugai; if we include answers beginning with 'プ' (*pu*), all answers can be considered to be of the same kind. As the students were asked to use kana, it is unclear how they perceived the vowel following the s, but compared to the recording from Bora, it is likely that their attention was aimed mostly at the strength of the friction sound. While there was only one student who expressly wrote a small 'ウ' (*u*) at the end of the word for the Kugai recording, the number of instances of *kana* such as 'ウ' and 'ツ' (*tsu*) is higher for the recording from Bora, and there were also transcriptions such as 'スゥ' [7]. Possibly, these students, while hearing a friction

[7] A small 'ウ' is frequently used in Miyako to indicate rounded vowels in contrast to central vowels (e.g. 'がんずぅ' (*ganzuu* 'healthy')). In

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noise, did get the impression that the word did not simply end after the consonant. This is all the more interesting when considered in the connection with the joint survey documentation.

Next, we will consider the words for 'the moon' and 'breath', in which the sounds corresponding to *ki* appear in the second syllable. Although we have chosen recordings from the two sites of Kugai and Kurima for 'breath', we have chosen only a recording from Kugai for 'the moon'.

There are recordings of two informants from Kurima for 'breath'; of the two, we have used the one with the weaker plosive (see Table 36 on the previous page). The high school students did not perceive the plosive portion of this pronunciation, all of them using ' ス ' in their answers.

The reason we have used so many recordings from Kugai in this survey is that we were especially interested in how friction noises would be perceived. An overview of the transcriptions given for the recordings of the four words from Kugai is given in Table 38 on the previous page. The use of ' ス ', ' ツ ', and the like seems to be a reflection of the strong friction noises in the recordings from Kugai, which is especially clear for 'fog' and 'the moon'. While the perception of these sounds appears to be influenced by aspects such as their position in the word and the pitch accent, and the sample size is too small to draw any conclusions, it is likely that the high school students perceived them as an independent consonant. We hope to be able to pursue this point further, also in light of the correlation with the documentation by the researchers.

3.2.3 'Person', 'daytime', 'lightning': responses to sounds corresponding to *hi*

Next, we will consider sounds that correspond to *hi*. For the word for 'person', we used recordings from the two sites of Kugai and Irabu (see Table 40). Although the Irabu and Kugai recordings are transcribed the same way in the documentation of the joint survey, the friction noise in that from Kugai sounds much sharper when the sound recordings are compared. When ' ピ ' (*pi*) and ' プ ' (*pu*) are taken together, the friction noise that follows *p-* was reflected well in the high school students' transcriptions of the Kugai recording; there is only a single exception, in which ' ツ ' (*tsu*) was used. Either ' ト ゥ ' (*tu*) or ' ト ' (*to*) was used for the second half of the word in the majority of the answers. For the recording from Irabu, on the other hand, answers were more diverse: seven students used ' ツ ' for the first half of the word, eight students used ' ピ ', ' プ ',

Table 40. 'Person':all seventeen students' transcriptions.		
Site	Kugai	Irabu
Form	pstu	pstu
1	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プスト (*pusutu*)
2	ピツ (*pitsu*)	ピツ (*pitsu*)
3	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	プスタ (*pusuta*)
4	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プストゥ (*pusutu*)
5	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	ピトゥ (*pitu*)
6	プスト (*pusuto*)	ツトゥ (*tsutu*)
7	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	トゥク (*tuku*)
8	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	ツトゥ (*tsutu*)
9	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	ツテ (*tsute*)
10	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)
11	ピトゥ (*pitu*)	(no answer)
12	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	ピュストゥ (*pyusutu*)
13	プスト (*pusuto*)	プスト (*pusuto*)
14	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	ツトゥ (*tsutu*)
15	ピトゥ (*pitu*)	(no answer)
16	ピウス (*piusu*)	ツタ (*tsuta*)
17	ツウトッ (*tswutots*)	ツトゥ (*tsutu*)

and the like, and one student used ' ト '. Moreover, there was a variety of transcriptions for the second half of the word, as well: in addition to the ten students who used either ' ト ' or ' トゥ ', some students used *kana* such as ' テ ' (*te*) or ' タ ' (*ta*). Incidentally, when looking at the transcriptions of the second half of the word, a small ' ウ ' (u) was added at

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the case of a central vowel, ' ス ', ' ズ ' (*zu*), and the like are used without ' ウ '.

Table 41. 'Person': transcriptions of the beginning of the word.

	ピス (*pisu*)	プス (*pusu*)	ピツ (*pitsu*)	ツ (*tsu*)	No answer
Kugai	5	8	1	1	0
Irabu	2	4	1	6	2

Table 43. Whether the friction noises in the Kugai sounds corresponding to *hi were transcribed.

	'person'	'daytime'	'elderly person'	'lightning'	No. of answers
a	○	○	○	○	7
b	○	○	○	×	5
c	×	○	×	○	2
d	○	○	×	×	1
e	×	○	○	×	1
f	×	○	×	×	1

Table 42. How each of the seventeen students transcribed the Kugai sounds corresponding to *hi.

	Word-initial		Word-final	
	'person'	'daytime'	'elderly person'	'lightning'
Form	pstu	psïma	uipstu	m:napskaz
1	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウミプトゥス (*umiputusu*)	ンナプカズ (*nnapukazu*)
2	ピツ (*pitsu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウイピトゥ (*uipitu*)	ンーナツカズ (*nnatsukazu*)
3	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウリピスト (*uripisuto*)	ンナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)
4	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウィッピストゥ (*wippisutu*)	ンーナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)
5	ピstトゥ (*pisutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウイプストゥ (*uipusutu*)	ンーナプゥカズ (*nnapwukazu*)
6	プstト (*pusuto*)	プsマ (*pusuma*)	ウィプスト (wipusuto)	ンーナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)
7	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウミプストゥ (*umipusutu*)	ンナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)
8	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	ピスィマ (*pisima*)	ウィピストゥ (*wipisutu*)	ンナピカズ (*nnapikazu*)
9	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プsマ (*pusuma*)	ウィプスト (*wipusuto*)	ンナプツカズ (*nnaputsukazu*)
10	ピストゥ (*pisutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウィピストゥ (*wipisutu*)	ンーナス プカァズ (*nnasupukaazu*)
11	ピトゥ (*pitu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウミピトュ (*umipityu*)	ンーナプツカァ (*nnaputsukaazu*)
12	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウィピストゥ (*uipisutu*)	ンーナプゥカズ (*nnapwukazu*)
13	プスト (*pusuto*)	プsマ (*pusuma*)	ウミプスト (*umipusuto*)	ンーナプスカズ (*nnapusukazu*)
14	プストゥ (*pusutu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウイプゥト (*uipwuto*)	ウンナツカズ (*unnatsukazu*)
15	ピトゥ (*pitu*)	プスゥマ (*puswuma*)	ウイピトゥ (*uipitu*)	ンナピカヅ (*nnapika(d)zu*)
16	ピゥス (*piusu*)	プスマ (*pusuma*)	ウグィクス (*ugwikusu*)	ンナプクスカズ (*nnapukusukazu*)
17	ツゥトッ (*tswutotsu*)	ピスマ (*pisuma*)	ウウィップスト (*uwippusuto*)	ンナッピカズ (*nnappikazu*)

the end by twelve out of the seventeen students for the recording from Kugai, as well as by eight students for that from Irabu, regardless of the diversity in transcriptions for the latter; it can be surmised from this that the students perceived the rounded vowel u clearly.

Other words containing sounds that correspond to *hi are the words for 'daytime', 'elderly person', and 'lightning'. An overview of the transcriptions given for the recordings from Kugai, in which the friction noises are particularly marked, is given in Table 42. Close to half of the students gave transcriptions containing what appear to be reflections of the friction noises for the recordings of all four words (seven students; see 'a' in Table 43). Although the variety in 'c' and below seems to be idiosyncratic, the fact that there were five students

among whose transcriptions that of the word for 'lightning' was the only one to lack a reflection of the friction noise, as seen in 'b', may be due to some kind of difference in its phonetic environment.

3.2.4 Consonant perception

In the previous section, the initial syllabic m given in the joint survey documentation for the word for 'lightning' was transcribed using ' ン ' (*n*) by all the students. An overview of the students' transcriptions of recordings of words for 'everyone' (partly 'all together') from the three sites we selected are given in Table 44 on the next page. ' ム ' (*mu*)

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Table 44. 'Everyone': all seventeen students' transcriptions.			
Site	Kugai	Irabu	Miyaguni
	'everyone'	'everyone'	'all together'
Form	m:na	m:na	m̩ʔnaɕi
1	ウムンナ (umunna)	ンナ (nna)	プンーナシ (punnashi)
2	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ピーンナシ (pīnnashi)
3	ンッナ (ntsuna)	ンナ (nna)	ピッナシ (pitsunashi)
4	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	インナシィ (innashii)
5	ンーナ (nna)	ンーナ (nna)	ンーナシ (nnashi)
6	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンーナシ (nnashi)
7	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ピンナシ (pinnashi)
8	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンナシ (nnashi)
9	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンナシ (nnashi)
10	ンーナッ (nnatsu)	ンナァ (nnaa)	ンーナシ (nnashi)
11	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンーナシイ (nnashii)
12	ンーナッ (nnatsu)	ンナァ (nnaa)	ンーナシュ (nnashu)
13	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンーナシ (nnashi)
14	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンーナシ (nnashi)
15	ンーナ (nna)	ンナ (nna)	ンーナシ (nnashi)
16	ンナァ (nnaa)	ンナ (nna)	インナシ (innashi)
17	ンーナシ (nnashi)	ンナ (nna)	ンーナシ (nnashi)

Table 45.'Sea': all seventeen students' transcriptions.	
Site	Bora
Form	im
1	イン (in)
2	イン (in)
3	イン (in)
4	イヌ (inu)
5	イム (imu)
6	イン (in)
7	イン (in)
8	イン (in)
9	イン (in)
10	イッ (itsu)
11	イン (in)
12	ンユ (n'yu)
13	イム (imu)
14	イン (in)
15	ビュ (byu)
16	イン (in)
17	イン (in)

was only used in one transcription of the recording of the word for 'everyone' from Kugai; ' ン ' was used in all the other answers for the two sites of Irabu and Kugai. In the case of the recording from Miyaguni, there is an audible interruption in the form of a glottal closure; it is difficult to identify any particular reaction to this, but compared to the transcriptions of the Irabu and Kugai recordings, the students can be seen to have come up with a variety of ways to describe the first part of the word. The fact that four students began their answers with *p-* may indicate that they perceived the bilabial *m* as a voiceless stop due to a reinforced articulation caused by the interruption in the form of the glottal closure following it. Answers such as ' ピッナシ ' (*piʔnashi*) could be seen as providing evidence for this. As it is possible that the younger generation in the Miyakojima area is able perceive this *m* accurately but cannot think of a way to transcribe it other than to use ' ン ' as in Standard Japanese, it is unclear how they actually perceived the sound. The results for the word for 'sea' (only a recording from Bora was used) were mostly the same in this regard.

In the above, we have reported on the results regarding words containing sounds that appear to correspond to *ri, *ki, or *hi, as well as syllabic m. While we have also obtained data regarding the perception of the voiced consonant *g-* followed by a central vowel, as well as of sounds that appear to correspond to *i, the answers were considerably more diverse than those reported here for *ki and *hi, apparently indicating that these sounds were more difficult for the high school students to perceive accurately. For example, the students used a variety of word-initial consonants, the overall shape of the words becoming quite far removed from the recordings, and they inserted ' イ ' (*i*) before consonants even in cases where there was a distinct friction noise, as in the recordings from Kugai; there were therefore some striking tendencies that were not observed in the case of voiceless consonants.

The degree of comprehension was on the whole extremely low; the only words for which meanings were given were those for 'head' (two correct answers), 'sugar cane' (two correct answers), 'you' (four correct answers), 'person'

(including 'elderly person'; five correct answers), and 'everyone/all together' (four correct answers). There was only one case in which a student gave the correct meaning of a word for all the recordings from multiple sites: one student gave the correct meaning for the word for 'head' for each of the used recordings.

3.2.5 Speech perception results for the sentence items

In the discussion regarding Survey 1, we mentioned how the Miyakojima City high school students, at least, performed better than expected in transcribing the sentence items, which we had thought would be more difficult to perceive accurately; in Survey 2, too, the transcriptions of the sentence items matched the sound recordings more closely than expected. Setting aside whether the answers were correct, it especially catches the eye that meanings were given for the sentences more often than was the case with the word items. We thought that we might be able to examine the degree of comprehension regarding the predicates of the sentences if we managed to get the students

Table 46. 'Sugar cane': all seventeen students' transcriptions for all three sites.			
Site	Kugai	Bora	Irabu
Form	buːgᶻï	bʊːgᶻɿ ～ bʊːʣɿ	bʊːʣɿ
1	ウーズ (*uuzu*)	プーグ (*puugu*)	ブーズ (*buuzu*)
2	ウージ (*uuji*)	ブーク (*buuku*)	ブーズ (*buuzu*)
3	ウォーイズン (*wooizun*)	ドゥーク (*duuku*)	プーッグ (*puutsugu*)
4	ウージン (*uujin*)	ドゥーグ (*duuguu*)	ブーブゥ (*buubwu*)
5	ウーズ (*uuzu*)	ウークヌ (*uukunu*)	ヴーズゥ (*vuuzwu*)
6	ウィズン (*wizun*)	ドプーク (*dopuuku*)	プーグズ (*puuguzu*)
7	ウーイズ (*uuizu*)	ドゥーグ (*duugu*)	ブーグ (*bwuugu*)
8	ヴーズ (*vuuzu*)	ドゥーグウッ (*duugwutsu*)	プーズ (*pwuuzu*)
9	ウーィズ (*uuizu*)	ドゥーク (*duuku*)	ブーグズ (*buuguzu*)
10	ボーイズ (*bōizu*)	ブーク (*buuku*)	ブゥグズ (*bwuguzu*)
11	ウーイズ (*uuizu*)	ドゥーグ (*duugu*)	ブーグ (*buugu*)
12	ウゥズ (*wuzu*)	プーンクゥ (*puunkwu*)	プーングズゥ (*puunguzwu*)
13	ウーズ (*uuzu*)	ブーグズ (*buuguzu*)	ブーグズ (*buuguzu*)
14	ウーズ (*uuzu*)	ドゥーグ (*duugu*)	ブーズ (*buuzu*)
15	(no answer)	ドゥムク (*dumuku*)	ドゥーワ (*duuwa*)
16	ウグイズゥ (*uguizwu*)	ドゥーグ (*duugugu*)	ウーズ (*uuzu*)
17	ウゥーズ (*wūzu*)	ブーグ (*buugu*)	ブーグズ (*buuguzu*)

to give meanings for more sentences to begin with, by intentionally choosing sentence items containing familiar words that might be easy to understand quickly even for the younger generation, such as words for 'high school student', '(school) uniform', 'principal', and 'tea'. Below, we give the answers for two of the items for which particularly many students gave meanings.

Although the students' transcriptions of the predicates are quite varied, one gets the sense from the above that the students were quite eager to comprehend the semantic content of the sentences, taking the associations 'uniform—put on' and 'tea—drink' as a starting point, even if their phonetic forms were difficult to perceive accurately. It can be assumed that the younger generation of the Miyakojima area, at least, also does this naturally in their interactions with the older generation, which still actively uses the dialects. If only the parts corresponding to 'to put on' and 'to drink' had been played back for the students, semantic comprehension would perhaps have been lower, as it was for the other word items. They grasped the gist of the sentences, not only in regard to the predicates, but also including particles and adverbs such as that for 'now'; the younger generation can be surmised to encounter these kinds of elements in their interactions with the older generation, as well.

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Table 47. 'High school students wear uniforms'(Bora): all seventeen students' transcriptions.			
Form	koːkoːɕeija ɕeiɟﬞkuːdu kˢɿ:	Meaning given	Transcription of 'kˢɿ:'
1	コーコセイーヤ　セイフクヲド　プスー (*kookoseiiya seifuku(w)odo pusuu*)	'The high school students are wearing	プスー (*pusuu*)
2	コウコウセイヤ　セイフクヲトオ　ツー (*koukouseiya seifuku(w)otoo tsuu*)	'The high school students are wearing	ツー (*tsuu*)
3	コウコウセイヤ　セイフクトゥ　プスー (*koukouseiya seifukutu pusuu*)	(no answer)	プスー (*pusuu*)
4	コウコウセイヤ　セイフクオトゥ　クスゥー (*koukouseiya seifukuotu kuswuu*)	(no answer)	クスゥー (*kuswuu*)
5	コウコウセイヤ　セイフクヲドゥ　キヌゥ (*koukouseiya seifuku(w)odu kinwu*)	'The high school students are wearing uniforms.	キヌゥ (*kinwu*)
6	コーコーセイヤ　シェイフクゥナ　ツー (*kookooseiya sheifukwuna tsuu*)	'High school students, put on uniforms.'	ツー (*tsuu*)
7	コーコーセイ　ヤ　セーフクヲトゥー　ツヅ (*kookoosei ya seefuku(w)otuu tsu(d)zu*)	'High school students wear uniforms.'	ツヅ (*tsu(d)zu*)
8	コーコーセイヤー　セイフクヲトゥー　ツユー (*kookooseiyā seifuku(w)otuu tsuyuu*)	'High school students wear uniforms.'	ツユー (*tsuyuu*)
9	コーコーセーヤ　セイフクードゥプスー (*kookooseeya seifukuudupusuu*)	(no answer)	プスー (*pusuu*)
10	(no answer)	(no answer)	(no answer)
11	コウコウセイヤー　セイフクヲドゥー、クスー (*koukouseiyā seifuku(w)oduu, kusuu*)	'High school students wear uniforms.'	クスー (*kusuu*)
12	ホゥホゥセイヤァー　シェイフクゥトゥ　クスゥー (*houhouseiyā sheifukwutu kuswuu*)	'High school students wear uniforms.'	クスゥー (*kuswuu*)
13	コウコウセイヤ　セイフクヲドゥ　クスー (koukouseiya seifuku(w)odu kus*uu*)	(no answer)	クスー (kus*uu*)
14	コウコウセイヤ　セイフクヲトゥ　ピスゥー (*koukouseiya seifuku(w)otu piswuu*)	'High school students wear uniforms.'	ピスゥー (*piswuu*)
15	コウコウセイヤセイフクヲトクスー (*koukouseiyaseifuku(w)otokusuu*)	'High school students wear uniforms.'	クスー (*kusuu*)
16	コーコーセイヤー　セイフク　トゥオ　スー (*kookooseiyaa seifuku tuo s uu*)	(no answer)	スー (*suu*)
17	コーコーセイヤセイフクトゥプスウ (*kookooseiyaseifukutupusuu*)	(no answer)	プスウ (*pusuu*)

4 Conclusion

Among the dialects of the Ryukyu Islands, those of the Miyakojima area are considered to have been relatively well preserved. The perception of them as unusual among the dialects of Okinawa Prefecture is also well established. It has also become clear in our surveys that the younger generation of Miyakojima themselves, too, have an awareness of the unusual character of their local dialects. Nevertheless, the results of these surveys do seem to indicate that there are many issues to be overcome in passing on their phonological systems. The fact that high school students can get a sense of what a sentence means on the basis of, for example, some of the elements within it and the context, even if their ability to perceive the individual sounds accurately is lacking, would seem to be due their daily experiences in interacting with, for example, their grandparents.

In this way, close interaction between the younger and older generations would seem to be an important factor to consider in regard to the passing on of these dialects. In the 2011 high school survey, we asked the students whether they lived together with their grandparents; the results are given in Table 49 on the next page. Although there is a large regional difference between Miyakojima and Irabujima, an average of more than thirty percent live with their

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Table 48. 'I just drank tea' ('tea-TOPIC just.now to.drink-PAST'; Uruka, Bora): all seventeen students' transcriptions			
Form	tʃaːja nnamadu numtaʳɨ	Meaning given	Transcription of 'numtaʳɨ'
1	チャーヤ　ンナマズヌンタン (*chaaya nnamazununtan*)	(no answer)	ヌンタン (*nuntan*)
2	チャーヤ、ンナマド　ノンター (*chaaya, nnamado nontaa*)	'That person was drinking until now.'	ノンター (*nontaa*)
3	チャーヤ　ナマズヌンタル (*chaaya namazununtaru*)	(no answer)	ヌンタル (*nuntaru*)
4	チャーヤンナマドゥ　ヌンタ (*chaayannamadu nunta*)	(no answer)	ヌンタ (*nunta*)
5	チャーヤ　イツフトゥ　アスピタァ *(*chaaya itsufutu asupitaa*)	(no answer)	アスピタァ *(*asupitaa*)
6	キャーヤ　ナマデ　ヌンタル (*kyaaya namade nuntaru*)	'The tea is lukewarm!'	ヌンタル (*nuntaru*)
7	チャーヤ　ンナマドゥ　ヌンタウ (*chaaya nnamadu nuntau*)	(no answer)	ヌンタウ (*nuntau*)
8	チャー　ヤンナンマドゥ　ヌンタウ (*chaa yannanmadu nuntau*)	'I was drinking tea until now.'	ヌンタウ (*nuntau*)
9	チャーヤ　ンナマドゥ　ヌントゥン (*chaaya nnamadu nuntun*)	(no answer)	ヌントゥン (*nuntun*)
10	(no answer)	'You were drinking liquor until now, or something?'	(no answer)
11	チャーヤ、ンナマドゥ ヌンタウ (*chaaya, nnamadu nuntau*)	'Now…'(now)	ヌンタゥ (*nuntau*)
12	チャーァアヤ　ナマド　ヌゥンタゥン (*chaaaaya namado nwuntaun*)	(no answer)	ヌゥンタゥン (*nwuntaun*)
13	チャーヤ　ンナマドゥ　ヌンタヴ (*chaaya nnamadu nuntau*)	'I was drinking tea until now.'	ヌンタヴ (*nuntau*)
14	チャーヤ　ンナマドゥー　ヌーター (*chaaya nnamaduu nuutaa*)	'I was drinking tea until now.'	ヌーター (*nuutaa*)
15	チャーヤンナマドゥヌンタ (*chaayannamadununta*)	'I was drinking tea until now.'	ヌンタ (nunta)
16	チャーヤ　ナマズ　ヌンタン (*chaaya namazu nuntan*)	(no answer)	ヌンタン (*nuntan*)
17	チャーヤナマドゥヌンタウ (*chaayanamadununtau*)	(no answer)	ヌンタウ (*nuntau*)

(the answer marked with '*' appears to have been mixed up with that for another item)

grandparents, which means that there are still plenty of opportunities for contact. According to the high school students, the dialects are still used widely by the generation of their grandparents, but the use of Standard Japanese or what could be called 'intermediate dialects' is more widespread in the generation of their parents. They say that while their parents understand the dialects spoken by their grandparents and are able to use them as well, they hardly use the dialects when speaking to their children. On the Miyako islands, too, core families are becoming increasingly prevalent; especially in urbanized areas such as Hirara, collective housing in the form of apartment buildings and the like has been increasing, as well, causing family configurations to change swiftly. We may still be hopeful in regard to the passing on of the dialects if an interest in their phonological systems can be cultivated while the younger generation is still able to grasp the gist of

Table 49. Whether the students lived together with their grandparents					
High school	Do not live together	Live close by	Live together	Used to live together	No answer etc.
A (Miyako)	71.43%	1.79%	16.07%	3.57%	7.14%
B (Irabu)	46.67%	3.33%	46.67%	3.33%	0.00%
Mean	59.05%	2.56%	31.37%	3.45%	4.65%

(the survey was conducted in November 2011 with 130 participants; no distinction was made between paternal and maternal grandparents).

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what is said using them. It is also for this reason that an orthography that is suitable for general use is needed.

In these surveys, we have attempted to utilize the raw sound recordings of the older generation obtained in the joint survey. As a result, the recordings were not of the best possible quality; on the other hand, one could say that they approached the daily environment of the younger generation closely. Against this background, the fact that they could make distinctions between regional variants based on the recordings and tried to come up with their own transcriptions leads us to conclude that their interest in the dialects has itself not waned, and that given the right policies, the passing on of these dialects may still be possible.

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Ogawa, Shinji. 2011. 'Kore kara no Ryūkyūgo ni Hitsuyō na Hyōkihō wa Dono Yō na Mono ka?' Nihongo no *Kenkyū (Studies in the Japanese Language)*, 7(4):99–111.

Additional samples: distribution maps of some charactaristic sounds
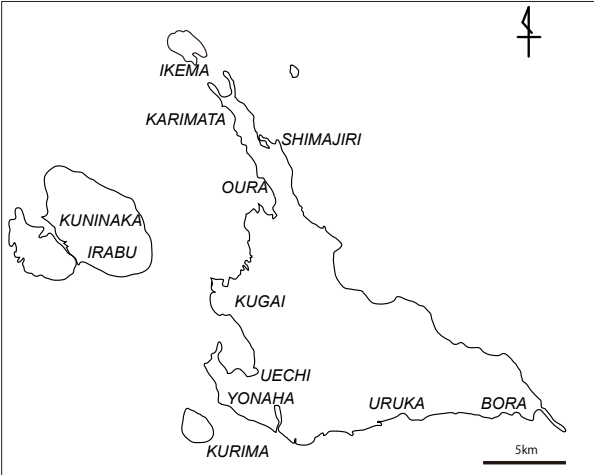
Figure 1. Vocabulary module reseach sites

Ikema	Uechi	Kuninaka
Karimata	Yonaha	Irabu
Shimajiri	Kurima	
Oura	Uruka	
Kugai	Bora	
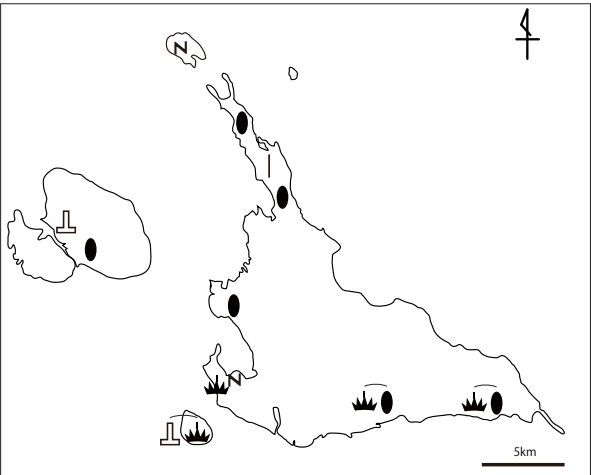
Figure 2. 'Head'

♔	Friction noise	KANAMAZ
⬤	No friction noise	KANAMAI
⬩	Syllabic consonant	KANAMAL
∣	Different word form	
N	No data	
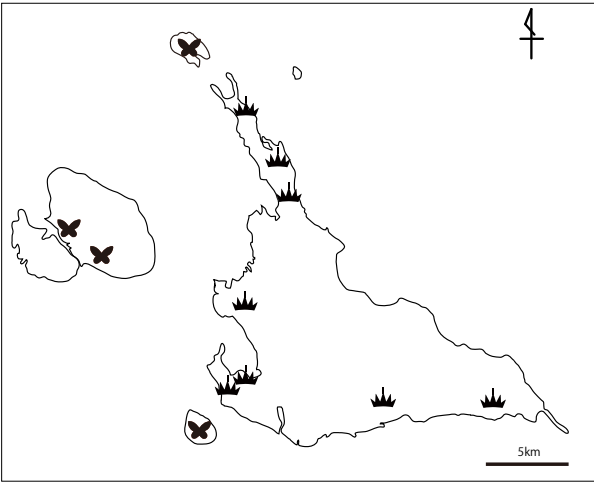
Figure 3. 'Liver (heart)'

Figure 4. 'Fog'

♔	Friction noise	KSIMU
✖	Affricate	CIMU

♔	Friction noise	KSI:
✖	No friction noise	KIRI
⬤	Syllabic consonant	CI:
N	No data	

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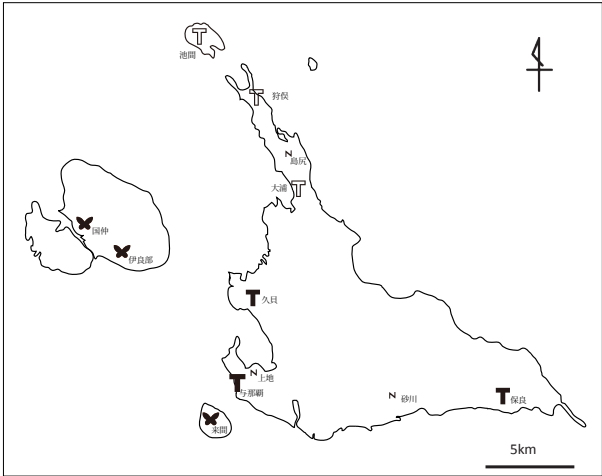
Figure 5. 'Breath'.

T	Frikcion noise	IKSI
T̄	No friction noise	IKI
🦋	Affricate	ICI
N	No data	
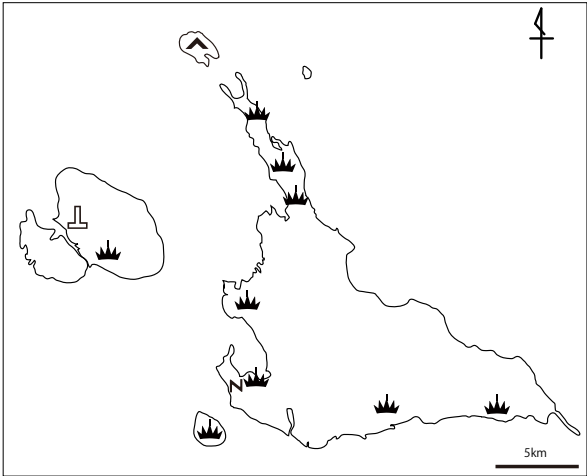
Figure 6. 'Daytime'

👑	Frikcion noise	PSIMA
●	No friction noise	PI:MA
⊥	Syllabic consonants	PILMA
∧	HI:MA	
N	No data	
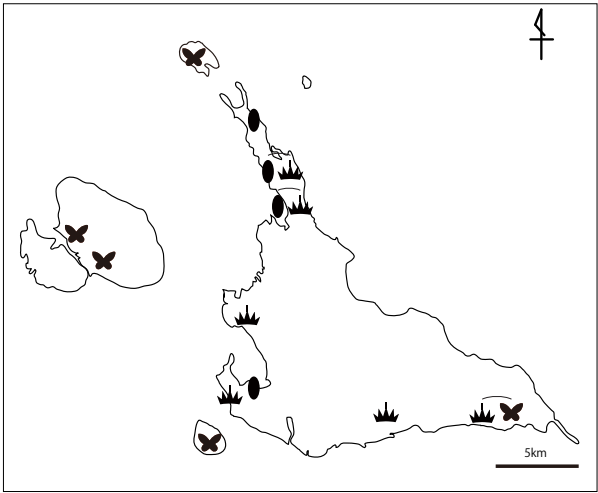
Figure 7. 'Sugar cane'..

👑	Frikcion noise	BU:GZI
●	No friction noise	BU:GI
🦋	Affricate	BU:DZI
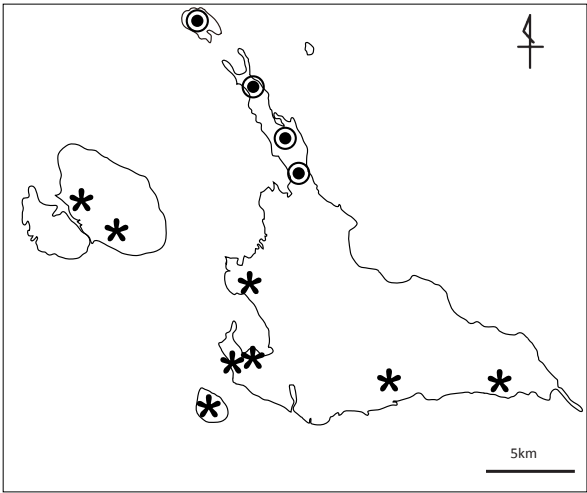
Figure 8. 'Sea'

✳	IM
⊙	IN

5. Research Data

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Regarding Notation and Transcription

Nobuko KIBE

1   Basic transcription policy

The survey data of the 'Basic vocabulary *a*', 'Basic vocabulary *b*', and 'Grammar' modules of the 2011 Miyako dialect survey are given in this chapter. The reader is referred to Chapter 2, 'Survey Overview', for the contents and survey methods of each of these modules. In this section, I will explain the method used for transcribing the survey data. The transcription policy is as follows.

(1)   Word forms are transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet. There is, however, a variety of views regarding the interpretation of the sounds of the Miyako dialects. Consequently, there is also a variety of transcription methods. We have chosen not to adopt a single standard in this report, opting instead to present the data using the transcription with which the researchers working at each site have reported them.

(2)   Accent is not transcribed, with the exception of the Karimata area data of the 'Basic vocabulary *b*' module, in which accent markings are included as reported by the researchers. In these data, the locus of rising pitch is indicated with '[' and that of falling pitch with ']'.

(3)   In cases where a single speaker gave multiple word forms, these are given together separated by '/'. In cases where the pronunciation of a single speaker fluctuated, the different pronunciations are given connected with '～'. In cases where different speakers gave different word forms, these are given separated by '//', and an uppercase letter indicating the speaker is added after each in brackets '[ ]'. For example, [A] and [B] indicate utterances by Ms. Kawamitsu and Ms. Tamashiro, respectively, in the case of data recorded at Kurima. In cases where a speaker reported a regional difference, the names of the regions are given in brackets '[ ]', as well. Examples of this are '[Bora]' and '[Aragusuku]'.

(4)   In cases where the pronunciation of a grammar item fluctuated or multiple word forms were given for it, the pronunciations or word forms in question are given enclosed in braces '{ }'. For example, 'N-155B-2: Ikema: kjuːja {teŋkinu / suɾanu} baikaiba tubimunumai tubaɴ (today-TOPIC weather-SUBJECT to.be.bad-because plane-TOPIC to.fly-NEGATIVE)' indicates that the two word forms *teŋkinu* and *suɾanu* were given for 'weather-SUBJECT'. In cases where multiple complete sentences were given, these are

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given separated by '‖'. For example, 'N-155B-2: Kurima: kʲuːja tintsɿnu baz̥kaɾiba ç̥iko:kʲa: tubaŋ ‖ kʲuːja ʋaːtstsɿnu janakaɾiba ç̥iko:kʲa: tubaŋ' indicates that two sentences were given for 'today-TOPIC weather-SUBJECT to.be.bad-because plane-TOPIC to.fly-NEGATIVE'.

(5) Other information regarding word forms is given in parentheses '( )', while related forms are introduced by '＜cf.＞'.

(6) '[new]' and '[old]' indicate new and old word forms, while [elicitated] indicates that the word form in question was elicited after suggestion by a researcher.

2   Differences in transcription among researchers

As indicated in (1) above, there is a variety of views regarding the interpretation and transcription of the sounds of the Miyako dialects. We have chosen not to adopt a single standard in this report, opting instead to give the transcription with which the researchers working at each site have reported the data without change. What is known as the 'central vowel', too, is transcribed using the symbol with which each group of researchers has reported the data. When the transcription of this 'central vowel' differs among survey sites, therefore, this difference does not necessarily imply a regional difference in pronunciation. It may, after all, also be the case that an identical pronunciation is interpreted differently phonologically by different researchers. Furthermore, speakers and researchers differ for the first, middle, and last subsets of the grammar items, as indicated in Chapter 2, 'Survey Overview'. Consequently, there are cases where the transcription of this 'central vowel' differs among the first, middle, and last subsets. In these cases, too, the difference in transcription does not necessarily imply a difference in pronunciation among speakers, as it may also result from a difference in phonological interpretation among researchers. The reader is asked to keep this in mind when using this report. The symbol used for this 'central vowel' by each of the groups of researchers is given in Table 1.

Table 1. Different symbols for what is called the 'central vowel'.

Module	Site	Researchers	Symbol
Basic vocabulary *a*	Ikema	Lawrence, Ogino, Hirako, Aoi	ï
	Karimata	Lawrence, Nakazawa	ï
	Shimajiri	Shirata, Pellard	ɿ
	Ōura	Hayashi, Takemura	ɿ
	Kugai	Lawrence, Nakahara, Kawase, Kubozono	ï
	Yonaha	Shirata, Ogawa	ɿ
	Uechi	Nitta, Inoue, Kawase	ɨ

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	Kurima	Lawrence, Hirako	ï
	Uruka	Karimata, Kibe, Hirayama, Takemura	ɿ
	Bora	Shirata, Tokunaga, Pellard	ɿ
	Irabu	Pellard, Takemura	ɿ
	Kuninaka	Nitta, Nakazawa	ɨ
Basic vocabulary *b*	Ikema	Nitta, Hirayama, Matsuura, Kawase	ɿ
	Karimata	Nakajima, Takeda	ɨ
	Shimajiri	Shimoji, Hayashi	ɿ
	Ōura	Hirako, Kubozono	ɿ
	Nobaru	Nohara, Tokunaga, Matayoshi, Hirayama	ɿ
	Bora	Nitta, Hirako, Nakazawa	ɿ
	Irabu	Kibe, H. Nakama, Toyama	ɿ
	Kuninaka	Morooka, Tokunaga	ɨ
Grammar (first)	Ikema	Nohara, Nakahara, Davis, Utsumi	ï
Grammar (last)	Ikema	Matayoshi, Yamada, Shirata, Toyama	ɿ
Grammar (first)	Karimata	Nakahara, Matsumoto	ï
(middle)	Karimata	K. Nakama, Davis, Utsumi	ɿ
Grammar (first)	Kugai	Nohara, Hayashi, H. Nakama, Matsumoto	ɿ
Grammar (first)	Yonaha	Shimoji	ɿ
(middle)	Yonaha	Hayashi	ɿ
Grammar (first)	Kurima	Karimata, Utsumi, Davis	ɿ
(middle)	Kurima	Kaneda, Inoue, Takeda	ɿ
Grammar (first)	Miyaguni	Kaneda, Takeda	ï/ɿ/ɨ
(middle)	Miyaguni	Takubo, Nakajima	ɨ
Grammar (first)	Uruka	K. Nakama, Inoue, Ogino	ɿ
(middle)	Uruka	Nishioka, Utsumi, Davis	ɨ
Grammar (first)	Bora	Karimata, Toyama	ɿ
(middle)	Bora	Shimoji, Morooka	ɿ
(last)	Bora	Karimata, Kaneda, Yamada, Morooka	ɿ
Grammar (last)	Kuninaka	Nakajima	ɿ

Representative examples of the above, taken from 'Basic vocabulary *a*' and Basic vocabulary *b*', are given in Table 2. As regards the grammar items, the researchers' intials have been provided in the rightmost column of the 'Miyako Dialect Grammar Items: Data' section. The reader is referred to Table 1 above for the corresponding names.

Table 2. Words containing what is called the 'central vowel'.

Basic vocabulary *a*

Consonant	p	p,b	p,b	m	m
Number	a155	a169	a016	a087	a104
Site	'daytime'	'to be cold (to the touch)'	'beard; mustache/ hair'	'meat (of sea urchins and the like)'	'garlic chive'
Ikema	hi:ma	higuɾumunu	higi	mi:	mi:na
Karimata	psm̥a	bzguɯ	bzgɯ ~ bzgï ~ bïgï	mï:	mïzza
Shimajiri	pˢɭnaχa / pˢɭma	bᶻɭguɾu	bᶻɭgi	miᶻɭ	miᶻɭna
Ōura	pˢɭma	bᶻɭguɾukaŋ	pˢɭgi ~ pɭgi	miɭ	miɭna
Kugai	psïma	psïgurumunu	psgi	kaʣaᵗsanumiz	mizza
Yonaha	pˢɭma	pˢɭguɾʊ:nʊ	pᶻɭgi	mᶻɭ:	mᶻɭ:na
Uechi	pˢima	pˢisa ~ pᵉisa	pᵉigi	mi:	miʑla ~ milna
Kurima	pssïma	pzguɾo:	psgi	mï:	mï:na
Uruka	pˢɭ:ma	pṣguɾu:pṣguɾu	psgi ~ pˢɭ̥gi	mẓ:	nʲiɾa / mizna ~ miɭna
Bora	pˢɭ:ma	pˢɭguɾʊ:nʊ	pˢɭgi	mᶻɭ:	sɭʊna ~ sɭʊna
Irabu	pˢɭ:ma	pˢɭguɾumunu	pˢɭgi / fʊ̥tsɭpˢɭgi	miɭ	nubiɭ
Kuninaka	pʰɨɭ:ma	pʰɨguɾumunu	pʰɨgi	mi:	mɨl̩na

Consonant	s	s	s	s	ts,s
Number	a003	a007	a008	a014	a032
Site	'comb'	'lip'	'tongue'	'gum (of the teeth)'	'knee'
Ikema	fʊ̥çi	fʊ̥tsï	çta	haʣïsï	sïgusï
Karimata	fʊ̥sï = fʷsï	sïba	ṣta	pʰabasï	tsïgasï / pʰïʣa
Shimajiri	ssɭ	ᶻɭba	ᶻɭda	pʰabas(ɭ)	tugusɭ ~ tugasɭ
Ōura	s: ~ sɭ:	NR	ɭda ~ ᶻɭda	pʰa:nuni:	sugasɭ
Kugai	fsï	sïba	sïda	pʰasï ~ pʰḁsï	tsïgusï
Yonaha	fˢɭʊ	sᶻɭba	sᶻɭda	pazɭsɭ	tsɭgʊsɭ
Uechi	fu (or 'ff'?)	sïba	sïda	pḁsi:si	tsïgusi
Kurima	fʊ̥sï	sïba	sïda	pʰasï:sï	tsïgusï
Uruka	fṣ ~ fsɭ ~ fʊsɭ	sb̥a ~ spa	sɭda ~ sɭda	pabasɭ ~ pabas	tsgusɭ ~ tsɭgusɭ
Bora	fʊ̥sɭ	sɭba	sɭda	pʰapasɭ ~ pʰab̥asɭ	tsɭgʊsɭ
Irabu	fʊ̥sɭ	sɭba	sta	pʰḁsɭ:sɭ	tsɭgusɭ
Kuninaka	fsu	sïbaɣa	sɨ̥ta (or 'sta'?)	—	tsɨgusɨ

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Consonant	s	s	s	s	ʣ,z
Number	a078	a076	a122	a185	a002
Site	'bird's nest'	'meat (pork and the like)'	'sash; belt'	'village'	'head hair'
Ikema	tuinusï:	sï:sï	su̥ku: ~ sï̥ku:	mmariʣima	ki:
Karimata	sï:	sï:sï	sïpʰuguɯ	sïma	karaʣï
Shimajiri	ssʅ	ɕi:sʅ	safugᶻʅ ~ sapugᶻʅ	sʅma	kʰaraʣʅ
Ōura	sʅ:	sʅ:sʅ	subagʅ	sʅma	kʰaraʣʅ
Kugai	ssï	ɕi:sï	sïpugz	sïma	kʰara^dzï
Yonaha	tʊ:nʊssʅ	sʅ:sʅ	sˢʅpʊgᶻʅ	NR	kʰara^dz
Uechi	tul̪ no si	si:si	supɯgɯ (or 'supɨgɨ'?)	NR	karaʣi
Kurima	tʰul̪nussï	sï:sï	sïpuʣï	bantaʣima	kʰaraʣï
Uruka	sʅ̥: ~ sʅ:	ɕi:s ~ ɕi:sʅ	ṣpugz	ṣma ~ ṣm̥a	karaʣʅ ~ kʰḁraʣʅ
Bora	sʅ:	sʅ:sʅ	spʊ^dzʅ	sʅma	kʰaraʣʅ
Irabu	sʅ:	sʅ:sʅ	sʅkubᶻʅ	sʅma	kʰaraʣʅ
Kuninaka	sɨ:	sɨ:sɨ	su̥ku̥bᶻɨ ~ su̥ku̥bɨ	muɾa	karaʣi

Consonant	ʣ	ʣ	ʣ	ʣ	ʣ,g,b
Number	a023	a024	a049	a067	a123
Site	'elbow'	'wound'	'wife'	'earthworm'	'collar'
Ikema	hiʣi	ndaɾi	tuʣï	ʣïmi:ʣï	tsïnnufuʣï
Karimata	piʣï	NR	tuʣï	mï:miʣï	fuguɯ
Shimajiri	piʣʅ	kʰiʣʅ	tʰuʣʅ	mi:miʣʅ	fugᶻʅ
Ōura	pʰiʣʅ	kʰiʣʅ	tʰu^dzʅ	mi:ma^dzʅ	fugʅ
Kugai	pʰiʣï	kʰiʣï	tʰuʣï	mi:mi^dzï	kˢïnnufugz
Yonaha	pʰiʣʅ	kʰiʣʅ	tʰʊʣᶻʅ	mi:mi^dzʅ	fʊgᶻʅ
Uechi	piʣɨ	kiʣɨ	midum ~ miðum	mimiʣɨ	fuguɯ (or 'fugɨ'?)
Kurima	piʣï	NR	midumu	mi:miʣï	fuʣï
Uruka	pi̥ʣʅ ~ piʣʅ	ki̥ʣʅ ~ kiʣʅ	tuʣʅ	minʣʅ	eɾi
Bora	pʰi^dzʅ	kʰi^dzʅ	tʰʊʣʅ	mimʣʅ	fʊgʅ ~ fʊʣʅ
Irabu	pʰiʣʅ	kʰiʣʅ	tʰuʣʅ	mimiʣʅ	kʰubᶻʅ
Kuninaka	pʰiʣɨ	kʰiʣɨ	tu̥ʣɨ	ʣɨmiʣɨ	fuʣɨ

Consonant	ʥ	ʥ,g	ʥ,g	ʥ,g	ʥ,g
Number	a127	a091	a118	a116	a033
Site	'water'	'sugar cane'	'nail; spike; peg'	'saw'	'leg'
Ikema	miʥï	bu:ʥï	kanifuʥï	nukuʥï	haʥï
Karimata	mi(ᵈ)zï	bu:gï	fugï ~ fuguɯ	nukagï	pʰaguɯ
Shimajiri	miʥɲ	bu:gɲ ~ bu:gᶻɲ	fugᶻɲ	nukagᶻɲ	pʰagɲ ~ pʰagᶻɲ
Ōura	miʥɲ	bu:gɲ ~ bu:gᶻɲ	kʰanifugɲ	nukagᶻɲ	pʰagɲ ~ pʰagᶻɲ
Kugai	miʥï	bu:gᶻï	kʰanifugz / fugz	nukugz	pʰaʥï
Yonaha	miᵈzɲ	bu:gᶻɲ	fʊgᶻɲ	nʊkʊgᶻɲ	pʰagᶻɲ
Uechi	miʥɨ	bu:gɨ	fugɨ	nukugɨ ~ nufugɨ	pagɨ
Kurima	miʥï	bu:ʥï	fuʥï / kʰanfuʥï	nukuʥï	pʰaʥï
Uruka	miʥɲ	bu:gz̩	fgz̩	nukugz̩	pagz̩
Bora	miᵈzɲ	bʊ:gᶻɲ ~ bʊ:ʥɲ	fʊgᶻɲ	nʊkʊgᶻɲ	pʰaᵈzɲ ~ pʰagᶻɲ
Irabu	miᵈzɲ	bu:ʥɲ	fuʥɲ	nukʰaʥɲ:	pʰaʥɲ
Kuninaka	miʥɨ	bṵ:ʥɨ	kanifuʥɨ / fuʥɨ	nṵkṵʥɨ	pazɨ (or 'paz'?)

Consonant	ʥ,g,b,ts	ʥ,g,b	ts	ts	ts
Number	a010	a122	a006	a025	a031
Site	'yawn'	'sash; belt'	'mouth'	'blood'	'mother's milk; breast'
Ikema	afuʥï	su̥ku: ~ sï̥ku:	fu̥tsï	akatsï	tsï:
Karimata	afu	sïpʰuguɯ	fu̥tsï	ha:tsï	tzï:
Shimajiri	afkᶻɲ ~ afksɲ	safugᶻɲ ~ sapugᶻɲ	ftsɲ	aχatsɲ	tssɲ
Ōura	NR	subagɲ	fu̥tsɲ	ha:tsɲ	tsɲ
Kugai	afugᶻï	sïpugz	ftsï	akatsï	tsï·
Yonaha	afʊkᶻɲ	sˢɲpʊgᶻɲ	fʊ̥tsɲ	akʰatsɲ	tsɲ:
Uechi	akubi	supɯgɯ (or 'supɨgɨ'?)	fu̥tsɨ	aχḁtsɨ ~ akḁtsɨ	tsɨ
Kurima	afuʥï	sïpuʥï	ftsï	akatsï // aᵏxatsï	tsï // tssï
Uruka	akubi ~ aku̥bi	sp̩ugz̩	f̩ts ~ f̩tsɲ	akḁtsɲ ~ akḁtsɲ	tsɲ:
Bora	afʊtsɲ	spʊᵈzɲ	fʊ̥tsɲ	akʰḁtsɲ	tssɲ
Irabu	akuʊ	sɲkubᶻɲ	fʊ̥tsɲ	axḁtsɲ ~ ahatsɲ	tsɲ:
Kuninaka	afu̥tsɨ (or 'aftsɨ'?)	su̥ku̥bᶻɨ ~ su̥ku̥bɨ	fu̥tsɨ (or 'ftsɨ'?)	akˣḁtsɨ	tsɨ

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Consonant	ts,s	ts	ts	ts	ts
Number	a032	a073	a125	a142	a150
Site	'knee'	'horn (of an animal)'	'fire'	'the moon; month'	'road; path; way'
Ikema	sïgusï	nnu	umatsï	tsïtsï	ntsï
Karimata	tsïgasï / pʰïʥa	tsn̥u	u̥matsï	tskssu	ntsï
Shimajiri	tugusɿ ~ tugasɿ	tsɿnu	mmatsɿ	tskɿ ~ tskˢɿ	ntsɿ
Ōura	sugasɿ	tsɿnu	mmo:tsɿ	tskɿ	ntsɿ
Kugai	tsïgusï	tsïnu	umutsï	tskssu	mtsï
Yonaha	tsɿgʊsɿ	tsɿnʊ	ʊmatsɿ	tsɿkˢɿ / tsɿkˢɿnʊjʊ:	mtsɿ
Uechi	tsigusɨ	tsinu	u̥matsɨ	tsi̥kiju·	m̩tsɨ
Kurima	tsïgusï	tsïnu	umatsï	tsïtsï // tsïtsïnuju:	mtsï
Uruka	tsgusɿ ~ tsɿgusɿ	tsnu ~ tsɿnu	umats ~ umatsɿ	tsks̩	m̩ts ~ m̩tsɿ
Bora	tsɿgʊsɿ	tsɿnʊ	mmatsɿ	tskɿ	mtsɿ
Irabu	tsɿgusɿ	tsɿnu ~ tsɿno	umatsɿ	tstsu ~ tsttsu (?)	mtsɿ
Kuninaka	tsigusɨ	tsinu̥	u̥matsɨ	tsi̥ttu̥	n̩tsɨ

Consonant	ts	ts	k,ts	k,ts	k,ts
Number	a153	a115	a009	a030	a121
Site	'dew'	'common garcinia (tree)'	'breath'	'liver'/'heart'	'clothing; kimono'
Ikema	tsï:	kutsïgi	iki	tsïmu ('liver')	tsïŋ
Karimata	tsïju	pʰu̥kagagi:	ikɯ	kˢïmu	kˢïŋ
Shimajiri	tɕiʊ	kʰu̥pagᶻɿgi:	–	kˢɿmu	kˢɿŋ
Ōura	tsɿv	pʰukagi	ikɿ	kˢɿmu	kˢɿŋ / fuku ('clothing')
Kugai	tsïv	pʰukaʥgi:	iksï	kˢᶻïmu	kˢïŋ
Yonaha	tsˢɿʊ	pʰu̥kʊgi:	–	kˢɿmu / basanaɿ	kˢɿŋ / kˢɿmʊnʊ
Uechi	NR	pu̥kukugi	–	kᶜimu ~ kɨmu	kiŋ
Kurima	tɕuf	pukutsïgi:	iᵗsï // itsï	tsïmu	tsïŋ
Uruka	tsʋ ~ tsɿ̥ʋ	pu̥ku̥kuki:~ pu̥kukugi	–	ksmu ~ kˢɿmu	ks̩n
Bora	tsʊv ~ tsɿʋ	fu̥kʊkɿgi: [new]	ikˢɿ	kˢɿmʊ	kˢɿŋ
Irabu	tsɿv	kuputsɿgi	itsɿ	tsɿmuʊtsɿ ('heart') / tsɿmu ('liver')	tˢɿŋ
Kuninaka	tu̥ʋ	pu̥kutsigi·	itsɨ	tsimu	tsiŋ

Consonant	k, ʦ	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Number	a163	a081	a092	a001	a012
Site	'yesterday'	'fish'	'sickle; scythe'	'head'	'jaw; chin'
Ikema	nnu	zzu ~ ʥu	zzaɾa ~ ᵈzaɾa	kanamai	utugai
Karimata	ksn̥u	ïzu	ïzaɾa	kanamaɯ ~ kʰanamaï / aha	utugaɯ ~ tugaï
Shimajiri	kˢɿnu	zzu	zzaɾa	aχa	agu
Ōura	kˢɿnu	ɿzu	ᶻɿzaɾa	kʰanamaɿ	utuguɿ
Kugai	ksïnu	zzu	zzaɾa	kʰanamazⁱ	staguz
Yonaha	kˢɿnʊ	zzu ~ ɿzu	zzaɾa	kʰanamaᶻɿ	stʰʊgaᶻɿ
Uechi	kˢɨnu	ⁱzzu	ⁱzzaɾa	kanamaʓe	agu
Kurima	ʦïno	zzṳ	zzaɾa	kʰanamaɭ // xʰanamaz	sʷtugaɭ
Uruka	kṣnu:	zzu	zzaɾa	kʰa̠namaẓ ~ kʰḁnamaɿ	agu
Bora	kˢɿnʊ:	zzʊ ~ ɿzʊ	zzaɾa	kʰanamaᶻɿ ~ kʰanamaɿ	agʊ / ʊtʊgaɿ ~ ʊtʊgaʥɿ
Irabu	ʦɿnu:	ᶻɿzu	ɿzaɾa	kʰanamaɿ ('ɿ' sometimes sounds like 'l')	agu / utugaɿ
Kuninaka	ʦɨnṳ	(ⁱ)zzu:	ⁱzzaɾa	kanamaɭ	ṳtṳgaɪ

Consonant	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Number	a057	a066	a077	a082	a099
Site	'niece'	'ant'	'bird'	'scale (of an animal)'	'rice'
Ikema	mʲu:i	akai	tui	ʦï:ʥï / i:ki	mai
Karimata	mʲu:ï	ha:ɯ	tuɯ	ï:ki	maɯ
Shimajiri	mju:ᶻɿ	aχaᶻɿ	tʰuᶻɿ	–	maɿ ~ maᶻɿ
Ōura	mʲu:ɿ	ha:ɿ ~ xa:ɿ	tʰuɿ	–	maɿ
Kugai	mʲu:z	aka̠:ẓ	tʰuz	izki	namamaz / maz
Yonaha	mʲu:ᶻɿ ('nephew'/ 'niece')	aka:ᶻɿ	tʊᶻɿ	–	maᶻɿ
Uechi	mjuəᶻ / mjuəffa	akˣɑ:ɭ	tou	–	mal
Kurima	mʲu:ï ~ mʲu:z	akaɭ // akaz	tʰuz	izki	maz // maɭ
Uruka	mʲu:z	aẓgaɾa	tuẓ	–	maẓ ~ maɿ
Bora	mʲʊ:ɿ ~ mʲʊ:ᶻɿ	aᶻɿgaɾa // akʰa:ᶻɿ	tʰʊɿ	ɿᶻ:ki	maᶻɿ
Irabu	mʲu:ᶻɿ	aha:ɿ	tʰuᶻɿ ~ tʰuɿ	iᶻɿkja	maɿ
Kuninaka	mju:ɭ ~ mju:ɭᶻ	aka:ɭ	tṳɭ	iɭki	maɭ

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Consonant	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Number	a100	a103	a112	a120	a126
Site	'(wooden) bowl'	'garlic'	'fruit; nut'	'needle; pin'	'ash'
Ikema	makai	hi:	mi:	hai	kaɾahai
Karimata	ma:ɯ	pˢï:	n:ta	pʰaɯ	kaɾapaɯ
Shimajiri	maχaɳ ~ maχaᶻɳ	pʰiᶻɳ	miᶻɳ / naᶻɳ	piᶻɳ	kaɾapaᶻɳ
Ōura	makaɳ	pʰiɳ	naɳ	piɳ	kʰaɾapaɳ
Kugai	makʰazï	pʰiz	naz	piz	kʰaɾapʰaz / pʰaz(ï)
Yonaha	makʰaᶻɳ	pʰiᶻɳ	ki:nunaᶻɳ	pʰiᶻɳ	kʰaɾapaᶻɳ
Uechi	makˣal	pʰil / pʰiltɕ̥ikina	naᶻ ~ naɮ ~ naɯ	pʰiᶻ ~ pʰiʎ ~ pʰiɯ̆	kaɾapʰaʎ ~ kaɾapʰaᶻ
Kurima	makaɭ // makaz	piz	(ki:nu) naẓ	pʰiz	kaɾabaɭ // kaɾabaz
Uruka	makaẓ ~ [sic.]	piẓ ~ pi̥ẓ	naẓ	pʰi̥ẓ	kaɾapaẓ
Bora	makaᶻɳ	pʰiᶻɳ	naᶻɳ	pʰjaᶻɳ	kʰaɾapaɳ ~ kʰaɾapaᶻɳ
Irabu	maxaɳ ~ mahaɳ	pʰiɳ	naɳ	pʰaɳ	kʰaɾa paɳ
Kuninaka	makaɭ	pʰiɭ	naɭ	paɭ	kaɾapaɭ

Consonant	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
Number	a139	a143	a145	a148	a137
Site	'light'	'the east'	'the west'	'(the) left (side)'	'lightning'
Ikema	çi̥kai	agai	i:	çidai	kannai
Karimata	pskaɯ	a:ɯ	nisï	bïdaɯ ~ bzdaɯ	nnapskaɯ
Shimajiri	pskaᶻɳ	aʁaɳ	iᶻɳ	bᶻɳdaᶻɳ	nnapskaᶻɳ
Ōura	pskaɳ	(agaɳ ~) a:ɳ	iɳ / nisɳ	bᶻɳdaɳ	nnapsɳkaɳ / kʰannaɳ ('thunder')
Kugai	pskaz	aḡaz	iᶻ	pzdaz	m:napskaz
Yonaha	pˢɳkaᶻɳ	agaᶻɳ	iᶻɳ	pˢɳdaᶻɳ	nnapˢɳkaᶻɳ
Uechi	pˤkal	aɣal	l: (or 'ʎ:'?)	pɨdal ~ pɨda	m̥napˢɣal (the 'l' is dorsal)
Kurima	pskaɭ	agaɭ // agaz	iɭ // iz	pʰïdaɭ // psdaz	nnabïkaɭ // nnapskaɭ
Uruka	pṣkaẓ	agaẓ	z:	pṣdaẓ ~ pṣdaɳ	nnapṣkaẓ
Bora	pskaɳ	agaɳ	iᶻɳ	pˢɳdaɳ ~ pˢɳdaᶻɳ	nnapskaᶻɳ
Irabu	pˢkaɳ	aˤaɳ	iᶻɳ	pʰidiɳ	mnapskaɳ
Kuninaka	pɨ̥kaɭ	agaɭ	iɭ	pˢɨdaɭ	m̥nabɨkaɭ

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Basic vocabulary *b*

Consonant	p		p	b	g,z,ʥ
Number	b013		b047	b111	b010
Site	'tendon'		'daytime; noon'	'paper'	'lower leg'/'foot'
Ikema	haiʦ		hi:ma ('noon')	kabi:	hazɿ ('part of the leg from the knee down')
Karimata	pˢɨkɨbaü		pˢɨma	kabɨ	pagɨ
Shimajiri	pʰaɕiʥɿ		pssuma ~ pɿsuma	kabᶻɿ	kaɾasɿɲi
Ōura	pskipaɿ		pˢɿ:ma	kabᶻɿ	pagɿ
Nobaru	psɿkɿpaɿ (careful pronunciation) ~ psɿkupaɿ (normal pronunciation)		pɿɾu	kabᶻɿ	pagɿ ('foot')
Bora	pˢkl̥paḻ ~ pˢkᶻpaḻ ~ pˢkl̥paḻᶻ		pᵗsɨ:ma	kabl̥ᶻ	pagɯ
Irabu	paz̞ʦɿ:		pˢɿ:ma	kabz	paz
Kuninaka	palʦɨ:		pɨlma	kabɨ:	paʥɨ

Consonant	g,z	s	s	s	s
Number	b081	b012	b049	b052	b061
Site	'cereal (specif. wheat, barley, rye & oats)'	'shoulder'	'star; celestial body'	'island'	'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)'
Ikema	muzɿ	katamuɕi:	hoɕi	ɕima	uɕɿ
Karimata	mugɨ	katamusɨ	psɨ	ɕima / sɨma	usɨ / ɯsɨ
Shimajiri	mugz ~ mugɿ	ibiɾa / kʰḁta	psɿ ~ pu̥sɿ	sɿma	usɿ
Ōura	mugᶻɿ	katamusu	psɿ	sɿma	usɿ
Nobaru	mugᶻɿ (weak friction)	kḁtamusɿ̥ ~ kḁtamusɿ / kḁta	pu̥sɿ	sɿma	usɿ
Bora	mgl̥ᶻ	kʰata	psɨ ~ psɨ̥	sɨma	ussɨ
Irabu	nuz̞	kḁtamuɾasɿ	puṣ ~ pu̥ṣ	ṣma	usɿ
Kuninaka	mugi	katamusu̥	pu̥sɨ	sɨma	usɨ

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Consonant	s	ts	ts	ts	ts
Number	b136	b076	b021	b022	b024
Site	'down; below; under; bottom'	'sago palm'	'three (things)'	'four (things)'	'six (things)'
Ikema	ɕi̥ta / ɕi̥ta:ɾa	ttɕu:tsɿ	mi:tsɿ	ju:tsɿ	m:tsɿ
Karimata	sɨta:ɾa	sɨsudʑɯ / stɨtsɯ / ssudʑɯ	mi:tsɨ / mi:tsɯ	ju:tsɨ / ju:tsɯ̥	n:tsɨ / n:tsu
Shimajiri	sta	NR	mi:tsɿ	ju:tsɿ	n:tsɿ
Ōura	sta:ɾa	–	mi:tsɿ	ju:tsɿ	nntsɿ
Nobaru	sɿta / sɿta:ɾa	sutitsɿ	mi:tsɿ	ju:tsɿ	m:tsɿ
Bora	si̥ta	ʃukʰatsi̥	mi:tsɨ	ju:tsɨ	mmtsɨ
Irabu	s̩ta:ɾa	sditsɿ	mi:tsɿ	ju:tsɿ	m̩:tsɿ
Kuninaka	sɨta:ɾa	so̥tetsɨ	mi:tsɨ	ju:tsɨ	m:tsɨ

Consonant	ts	Ø
Number	b033	b101
Site	'five (people)'	'medicine'
Ikema	itsunuçi̥tu	fu̥sui
Karimata	itsɨ̥nuɸtu / ʔitsɨnupɯ̥tu	ɸsɯɨ / ɸusujɯ
Shimajiri	itsɿ nu ttu	ssuɿ
Ōura	itsɿnupstu	fsui / ssui
Nobaru	itsɿnupstu	fu̥su:ᶻɿ
Bora	guniŋ	fsɨ:z ~ fsɨl̥ᶻ
Irabu	itsɿnu pstu	fs̩z̩
Kuninaka	itsunupˢɨtu	ɸusul

Furthermore, the transcription used for *ni* in such words as 'a162: ja:ni (next year)', 'a172: funi (boat; ship)', 'b070: ni: (root)', 'b074: tani (seed)', 'b083: funʲu: (mandarin orange)', and 'b116: ni: (load; cargo)' also differs among researchers. The three transcriptions *ni*, *ɲi*, and *nʲi* are used for it; rather than implying different pronunciations, this difference appears to reflect a difference in phonological interpretation among the researchers. The transcriptions used by each of the groups of researchers are given in Table 3.

Table 3. Different transcriptions for *ni* in such words as 'jaːni (next year)'.

Basic vocabulary *a*

Site	Researchers	Transcription	a162	a172
			'next year'	'boat; ship'
Ikema	Lawrence, Ogino, Hirako, Aoi	ni	jaːni	funi
Karimata	Lawrence, Nakazawa	ni	jaːni	funi
Shimajiri	Shirata, Pellard	ni	jaːni	funi
Ōura	Hayashi, Takemura	ni	jaːni	funi
Kugai	Lawrence, Nakahara, Kawase, Kubozono	ni	jaːni	funi
Yonaha	Shirata, Ogawa	ni	jaːni	fʊni
Uechi	Nitta, Inoue, Kawase	nʲi	jaːnʲi	funʲi
Kurima	Lawrence, Hirako	ni	jaːni	funi
Uruka	Karimata, Kibe, Hirayama, Takemura	nʲi	jaːnʲi	ɸu̥nʲi
Bora	Shirata, Tokunaga, Pellard	ni	jaːni	fʊni
Irabu	Pellard, Takemura	ni	jaini	funi
Kuninaka	Nitta, Nakazawa	ni	jaːni	funi

Basic vocabulary *b*

Site	Researchers	Transcription	b070	b074	b083	b116
			'root'	'seed'	'mandarin orange'	'load; cargo'
Ikema	Nitta, Hirayama, Matsuura, Kawase	ni	niː	tani	funʲuː	niː
Karimata	Nakajima, Takeda	ni	nibal̥	tani	ɸnin̥ / ɸniɯ / ɸnʲɯ	niː
Shimajiri	Shimoji, Hayashi	ɲi	ɲiː	taɲi	fɯnŋ	ɲimuts̩
Ōura	Hirako, Kubozono	ni	niː	tani	funiᶻŋ	niː
Nobaru	Nohara, Tokunaga, Matayoshi, Hirayama	ni	niː	sani	funi̥ŋ	niː
Bora	Nitta, Hirako, Nakazawa	ni	niː	tʰani	funil̥ᶻ	niː
Irabu	Kibe, H. Nakama, Toyama	nʲi	nʲiː	tanʲi	f(u)nʲiz	nʲiː
Kuninaka	Morooka, Tokunaga	nʲi/ni	niː	tani	ɸunʲiu	niː

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Grammar

Module	Site	Researchers	Transcription
Grammar (first)	Ikema	Nohara, Nakahara, Davis, Utsumi	ɲi
Grammar (last)	Ikema	Matayoshi, Yamada, Shirata, Toyama	nʲi
Grammar (first)	Karimata	Nakahara, Matsumoto	ɲi
(middle)	Karimata	K. Nakama, Davis, Utsumi	ni
Grammar (first)	Kugai	Nohara, Hayashi, H. Nakama, Matsumoto	ni
Grammar (first)	Yonaha	Shimoji	ni
(middle)	Yonaha	Hayashi	nʲi
Grammar (first)	Kurima	Karimata, Utsumi, Davis	nʲi
(middle)	Kurima	Kaneda, Inoue, Takeda	ni
Grammar (first)	Miyaguni	Kaneda, Takeda	ni
(middle)	Miyaguni	Takubo, Nakajima	ni
Grammar (first)	Uruka	K. Nakama, Inoue, Ogino	ni
(middle)	Uruka	Nishioka, Utsumi, Davis	ni
Grammar (first)	Bora	Karimata, Toyama	nʲi
(middle)	Bora	Shimoji, Morooka	nʲi
(last)	Bora	Karimata, Kaneda, Yamada, Morooka	nʲi
Grammar (last)	Kuninaka	Nakajima	ni

Basic Vocabulary A

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a001	'head'	kanamai	kaɳamaɯ ~ kʰanamaï / aha ('ɯ' is pronounced far towards the back; 'ï' is frictionless.)	aχa
a002	'head hair'	aka ('body hair') / kiː	karaʥï	kʰaraʣɿ
a003	'comb'	fu̥ɕi (not 'fɕi')	fu̥sï = fʷsï	ssɿ
a004	'forehead'	ftai ('t' unaspirated)	ftai	−
a005	'tear(drop)'	nada	nada	−
a006	'mouth'	fu̥tsï	fu̥tsï	ftsɿ
a007	'lip'	fu̥tsï	sïba (waːsïba 'upper lip'; s̩tasïba 'lower lip')	ⁿba
a008	'tongue'	ɕta	s̩ta (staːra 'down; below; under; bottom')	ⁿda
a009	'breath'	iki	ikɯ	−
a010	'yawn'	afuʥï	afu	afkⁿɿ ~ afkˢɿ
a011	'voice'	kui	kʰui	−
a012	'chin'	utugai	utugaɯ ~ utugaï	agu
a013	'jaw; jawbone'	utugaibuni (kamatsï 'cheek')	kamaɡida	agubuni (kʰamatsɿ 'cheek')
a014	'gum (of the teeth)'	haʥïsï	pʰabasï (pʰaː 'tooth')	pʰabasɿ (pʰaː 'tooth')
a015	'neck'	fuʥï / nudu	nubai	nubai
a016	'beard; mustache/hair'	higi	bzgɯ ~ bzgï ~ bïgï	bⁿgi

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a001	kʰanamaʔ	kʰanamazï	kʰanamaˀ
a002	kʰaɾadʑ	kʰaɾaᵈzï	kʰaɾaᵈz
a003	sː ~ sɿː	fsï ('f' is unrounded)	fˀʊ
a004	fu̥tai ~ ftai	ftai	−
a005	nada	nada / miːnada	−
a006	fu̥tsɿ	ftsï	fʊ̥tsɿ
a007	NR	sïba	sˀba
a008	ʔda ~ ˀda	sïda	sˀda
a009	ikʔ / ikssu ('breath-ACCUSATIVE')	ikˢï	−
a010	NR	afugˀï	afʊkˀ
a011	−	kui	−
a012	utuguʔ (kʰujuʔ 'gill')	staguz ('t' is unaspirated)	stʰʊgaˀ
a013	NR (kʰamatsɿ 'cheek')	agubuni (kʰamats 'cheek')	kʰamatsɿ
a014	pʰaːnuniː	pʰasï ~ pʰḁsï	pazɿsɿ
a015	nubaʔ (nudu 'throat')	nubui / nudu (nudufugz 'back of the neck')	nʊbʊi / fʊgˀ ('back of the neck')
a016	pˀgi ~ pʔgi	psgi (also 'body hair')	pˀgi

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a001	kanamaʑe	kʰanamaɭ [A] // xʰanamaz̪ [B]	kʰa̰namaz̪ ~ kʰanamaɭ
a002	karadz̩	kʰaradz̩	karadz̩ ~ kʰa̰radz̩
a003	fu (or 'ff'?)	fu̥sï	fs̩ ~ fs̩ ~ fʊs̩ ('ʊ' is a labiodental approximant that functions as a vowel; '◌' signifies that the sound in question begins voiceless.)
a004	–	fte̥·	–
a005	–	nada	–
a006	fu̥ʦɨ	fʦï	fʦ ~ fʦɭ
a007	sɨba (ofʦɨba 'large mouth')	sïba	sb̥a ~ spa
a008	sɨda	sïda	sɭda ~ sɭda (or 'ṣda')
a009	–	iᵗsï [A] // itsï [B]	–
a010	akubi	afudz̩ï	akubi ~ aku̥bi
a011	–	kui	–
a012	aɡu	sʷtuɡaɭ (not 'sʷtuɡaz'; kʰamaʦ 'cheek')	aɡu
a013	kamaʦɨ ('jaw') / aɡubuni ('jawbone')	kʰamaɡida(buni)	kʰamaɡita ~ ka̰maɡita
a014	pa̰sɨ·sɨ (pa· 'tooth')	pʰasï·sï	pabasɭ ~ pabas
a015	nubuɕi	nubui / nudu	nubu̥i
a016	pˤɨɡi	psɡi (also 'body hair')	psɡi ~ pˤɭɡi

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a001	kʰanamaʔˠ ~ kʰanamaˠ	kʰanamaˠ ('ˠ' sometimes sounds like 'l'; this also holds for the other vocabulary items that include this sound.)
a002	kʰaɾadʑˠ	kʰaɾadʑˠ
a003	fʊ̨ˠ	fʊ̨ˠ ('ʊ̨' is not as rounded as 'u'; it also differs from 'ˠ')
a004	fʊ̨tai	fʊ̨tai
a005	nada	nada
a006	fʊ̨tsˠ	fʊ̨tsˠ
a007	sˠba	sˠba
a008	sˠda	sta
a009	ikˠ	itsˠ
a010	afʊtsˠ	akuʊ
a011	kʰʊi	kʰui
a012	agʊ / ʊtʊgaˠ ~ ʊtʊgadʑˠ	agu / utugaˠ
a013	agʊ / kʰamatsˠ ('cheek')	pʰagita (tʰaaˤkamadʑˠ 'cheek')
a014	pʰapasˠ ~ pʰab̥asˠ	pʰąsˠːˠ
a015	nʊbʊi	nudu / nubui
a016	pˠgi	pˠgi / fʊtsˠpˠgi

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a017	'arm'	tiː (kaina 'wrist')	kaina	udʑi (ibiɾa 'shoulder')
a018	'strength'	taja	taja	tskaɾa ~ tsˑkaɾa / tʰaja
a019	'armpit'	jakata	bagïda	baksta
a020	'finger; toe'	ujubi	u̥ibi	uibi
a021	'hand; arm'	tiː	tiː	−
a022	'fist'	NR	NR	tɕifuŋ
a023	'elbow'	hidʑi	pidʑï	pidʑˑ
a024	'wound'	ndaɾi	NR	kʰidʑˑ
a025	'blood'	akatsï	haːtsï (haːmunu 'to be red')	aχatsˑ
a026	'pus'	ŋːku	nːku	−
a027	'to be itchy'	kaumunu	koːgaŋ / pas̩kʰoːmunu (in the case of a light itch)	−
a028	'bone'	huni	pʰuni	pʰuni
a029	'belly'	bata	bada	−
a030	'liver'/'heart'	tsïmu ('liver'; fuː 'one of the internal organs')	ksïmu	ksˑmu
a031	'mother's milk; breast'	tsïː	tzïː	tssˑ
a032	'knee'	sïgusï	tsïgasï / pʰïdʑa	tugusˑ ~ tugasˑ
a033	'leg'	hadʑï	pʰagɯ / kaɾasuni ('lower leg')	pʰagˑ ~ pʰagʑˑ
a034	'foot'	stabija ('foot')	pssa	pssabʑˑʑa / pssa ('sole')

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No.	Ōura	Kugai	Yonaha
a017	udi	tʰiː / udi (kʰaina 'shoulder ache')	kʰaina
a018	tʰaja	tskaɾa / tʰaja	tsŋkaɾa / tʰaja
a019	baksta	bakˢïdana	bakˢɿda
a020	wiːbi	ujabi	uibi
a021	–	tʰiː	–
a022	NR	tsïftsïm	tʰiʊtsɿm
a023	pʰidʑɿ	pʰidʑï	pʰidʑɿ
a024	kʰidʑɿ	kʰidʑï	jummai / kʰidʑɿ (nibuta 'swelling; boil')
a025	haːtsɿ	akatsï	akʰa̰tsɿ
a026	–	mːku	–
a027	–	kʰoːmunu	–
a028	pʰuni	pʰuni	puni
a029	–	batʰa	–
a030	kˢɿmu	kˢᶻïmu	kˢŋmu/basanaɿ
a031	tsɿ	tsï·	tsɿː
a032	sugasɿ	tsïgusï	tsɿgʊsɿ
a033	pʰagɿ ~ pʰagᶻɿ	pʰadʑï	pʰagᶻɿ
a034	pssa	psa	pˢɿsa / pˢɿsafʊgᶻɿ ('ankle')

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a017	udi / kaina ('forearm') / ti ː ('hand')	ude / kʰaina ('forearm')	kaina
a018	tsɨkaɾa / taja (tajamunu 'to be strong')	taja	taja
a019	bakɨʒa (or 'bakɨða'?)	bakˢɨda [old] / bitta [new]	baks̩da
a020	uibi	u.ibi	ujubi ~ ujub̩i
a021	–	tʰiː	–
a022	tiːsɨm	tivtsïm	tsɿdznfʋm̩ ~ tsɿdznfʋm̩
a023	pidʑɨ	pidʑï	pi̥dzn ~ pidzn
a024	kidʑɨ	NR	ki̥dzn ~ kidzn
a025	aχa̙tsɨ ~ aka̙tsɨ	akatsï [A] // aᵏxatsï [B]	aka̙tsɿ ~ aka̙tsɿ
a026	–	mːku	–
a027	–	koʔokoː	–
a028	puni	pʰuni	pu̥ni ~ pʰuni
a029	–	bata	–
a030	kᶜɨmu ~ kɨmu	tsïmu	ksmu ~ kˢɿmu
a031	tsɨ	tsï [A] // tssï [B]	tsɿː
a032	tsɨgusɨ	tsïgusï	tsgusɿ ~ tsɿgusɿ
a033	pagɨ	pʰadʑï	pagz̩
a034	pᶜɨdʑa / pi̥sa	pʰadʑïbzza	ps̩sa ~ ps̩sa̩

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a017	ʊdi / kʰaina ('back of the arm where it connects to the shoulder')	kʰaina
a018	tʰaja	tʰaja (tʰuːmunu 'to be strong')
a019	bakˢˀda [Bora] // bitta [Aragusuku]	batta
a020	ʊibi	uibi ~ oibi
a021	tiː / ʊdifʊdʐ̩ ('wrist')	tʰiː
a022	tʰiʊʦ̩m ~ tʰiʊʦ̩m	tʰivʦ̩m
a023	pʰiᵈʐ̩ (pʰiʦʊ ~ pʰiᵈʐʊ 'elbow')	pʰidʑ̩
a024	kʰiᵈʐ̩	kʰidʑ̩
a025	akʰḁʦ̩	axḁʦ̩ ~ ahaʦ̩ / ahamunu ('to be red')
a026	mːkʊ (nʊbʊta 'swelling; boil')	umku
a027	kʰaʊkaʊ	kʰoːmunu
a028	pʰʊni ~ pʊni	pʰuni
a029	bḁta	bata
a030	kˢˀmʊ	ʦ̩muʊʦ̩ ('heart') / ʦ̩ŋmu ('liver')
a031	ʦ̩ / ʦ̩ssʊ ('mother' s.milk/breast-ACCUSATIVE')	ʦ̩ː
a032	ʦ̩gʊʦ̩	ʦ̩guʦ̩
a033	pʰaᵈʐ̩ ~ pʰagʐ̩	pʰadʑ̩
a034	pssa / kʰaɾaʦ̩ni ('lower leg')	pssafʊ̥ʦ̩

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a035	'lower leg'	kuvva	kuʋʋa	kuvva ~ kuʋʋa
a036	'ankle'	amambuni	amambuni	–
a037	'body'	duː	duː	–
a038	'anus'	tɕiːnuŋ	tɕibiɾuŋ	tɕibuɾuŋ
a039	'(break) wind'	hiː	pˢïː	–
a040	'testicle'	tani / fuɡui	tʰani / fuɡaɯ (The whole is referred to as 'fuɡazdani ~ fuɡɯdani'; the penis as 'maɾa')	–
a041	'I; me'	baː	ban (banoːba: 'I-TOPIC')	baŋ
a042	'we; us'	banti	banta	bantɕi
a043	'you'	vva	ʋva ('v' is weak.)	vva
a044	'you (plural)'	vvaduː	ʋataː	vvatɕi
a045	'uncle'	budʑa ('uncle') / uja ~ uibituuja ('one's senior') (buba ('aunt') / haːmma ('one's senior'))	budʑa (buba 'aunt'; ɕuː 'elderly man')	buda / budasa (budaɡaː 'youngest uncle' / upuzza 'eldest uncle' / buba ~ bubama 'aunt')
a046	'uncle (plural)'	–	budʑata	budata
a047	'father'	zza ~ ᵈza	uja / ïza (rare)	–
a048	'mother'	mma	anna	–

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No.	Ōura	Kugai	Yonaha
a035	NR	kuvva (strong friction)	kʰʊːʋa
a036	–	amambuni	–
a037	–	duː	–
a038	tɕiburuŋ	tɕibinum	tɕibinʊm
a039	–	pʰiː	–
a040	–	tʰani (maɾa 'penis')	–
a041	baŋ / baː ('I-GENITIVE') / baja ('I-TOPIC')	baŋ	baŋ
a042	baɡaː / baɡaː ('I-PLURAL-GENITIVE')	banta	bantaː
a043	ʊʋa	vva	ʊʋa
a044	ʊda ~ uda	vvata	ʊʋataː
a045	budʑa	budʑa	bʊdʑa
a046	budʑaːta	budʑataː	bʊdʑatʰaː
a047	–	aːza	–
a048	–	ani̠	–

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a035	–	kuvva	ku̥v̥va ~ ku̥ʋʋa
a036	–	amambuni	–
a037	–	duː	–
a038	tɕibinum	tɕibinum	tɕi̥binum̩
a039	–	pʰiː	–
a040	–	tʰani / fuɡuɭ ~ fuɡuz	tʰan� ~ tan̥ᵈi / fʊɡuᶻ꜔ (not frequently used)
a041	du̥ (long vowel?) / ban	baŋ	baŋ
a042	bantaː (duːθaː / dʑaɾaːka 'companions; peers')	bantaː	bantʰa
a043	vva	vva	vva (The stricture is such that it almost sounds like 'vba'.)
a044	vvataː	vvataː	vvataja
a045	butɕaɡama (also 'budʑaɡama'?)	budʑa / budʑasa	budʑa ~ buᵈza
a046	butɕaɡamataː (also 'budʑaɡamataː'?)	budʑataː / budʑasataː	budʑataː ~ buᵈzataː
a047	–	uja	–
a048	–	anna	–

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a035	kʊvva / mʊmʊtaˀ ('thigh')	kʰuvva
a036	amambuni	amambuni
a037	dʊː	upʰuduː
a038	tɕi̥birʊm	tɕibinum
a039	pʰiː	pʰiː
a040	tʰani (of humans) / fʊɡʊ̥ɳ	fuɡu(ᶻ)ɳ
a041	b̥aŋ / b̥aja ('I-ᴛᴏᴘɪᴄ')	aŋ
a042	b̥antaː / b̥antaːja ('I-ᴘʟᴜʀᴀʟ-ᴛᴏᴘɪᴄ') / b̥antaɡa ('I-ᴘʟᴜʀᴀʟ-ɢᴇɴɪᴛɪᴠᴇ')	duːɡadʑiːna / duːdʑiːnaː / duː
a043	vva ~ ʊva	jaː
a044	ʊvataː / ʊvataːja ('you-ᴘʟᴜʀᴀʟ-ᴛᴏᴘɪᴄ')	iti
a045	b̥ʊʥa / b̥ʊʥaɡama / sʊʥa ('elder brother')	buʥa
a046	b̥ʊʥata	buʥati
a047	zza (only used by the elderly)	ʊja
a048	anna (mma 'grandmother')	anna

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a049	'wife'	tudʑï	tudʑï	tʰudʑn̩
a050	'to be beautiful'	aparagi (aparagimiduŋ 'beautiful woman')	apʰaragi	–
a051	'husband'	butu	budu	butu
a052	'husband and wife'	tudʑïbutu	miːtur̥a	mjuːtu / mjuːtara
a053	'child; offspring'	ffa	ffa	faː / mmaga ('grandchild')
a055	'child; minor'	jarabi	jarabi	–
a054	'to be born'	mmarigamatadoː ('to appear to be about to be born')	ffoː nas̩gumuta ('to be likely to give birth to a child')	mmariᶻn̩ / mmarigumata ('to ought to be born')
a056	'elderly person'	uibitu	uipstu	–
a057	'niece'	mʲuːi	mʲuːï̥	mjuːᶻn̩
a058	'man; male'	bikiduŋ	bigiduŋ	bikiduŋ
a059	'woman; female'	miduŋ	miduŋ	miduŋ
a060	'person; human being'	pʰi̥tu ~ çtu ~ çto	pstu	ttu
a061	'everyone; everything'	mːnanai ('all together')	nːna	nːna
a062	'mosquito'	kadʑaŋ	gaᵈzaŋ	gadaŋ

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No.	Ōura	Kugai	Yonaha
a049	tʰuᵈzꞁ	tʰuʥï	tʰʊʣ˞ꞁ
a050	–	kʰagimunu (of flowers) / aparagi (of people)	–
a051	butu	butʰu / bikir ͥa [old]	bʊtʰʊ
a052	mjuːtu	tʰuʥïbutu / mʲuːtʰu	mʲʊːtʰʊ / mʲʊːtʊra
a053	faː	ffa	ffa
a055	jarabi	jarabi [new]	–
a054	mmari	mmari	mmariː
a056	–	uipstu	–
a057	mʲuːꞁ	mʲuːz	mʲuːˀꞁ ('nephew/niece') / bikimʲuːˀꞁ ('nephew') / midʊmʊmʲuːˀꞁ ('niece')
a058	bikiduŋ	bikidum	bikidʊmʊ
a059	miduŋ	midum	midʊmʊ
a060	pstu	pstu	pˀ̩tʰu
a061	nːna	mːna	mːna
a062	gaᵈzaŋ / gaᵈzammu ('mosquito-ACCUSATIVE')	gaʥam	gaʥam

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a049	midum ~ miðum ('woman; wife'; 'tuʥi' is a word from Okinawa Island.)	midumu (not 'tʰuʥɨ')	tuʥn̩
a050	–	kʰagi (of flowers) / apʰaɾagi (of women)	–
a051	bikidum ~ bikiʥum	bikidumu (not 'butu')	butʰu
a052	mjuːtu̥	mʲuːtu	mjuːtʰu
a053	ffa	ffa / ffaːma	ffḁ
a055	jaɾabi	jaɾabi	jaɾabi
a054	naɕuː	naɕi(-du) / ffoː-du nas ('to give birth to a child')	m̩maɾin̩
a056	–	uipstu	–
a057	mjuəᶻ / mjuəffa (a combination of the words for 'niece' and 'child' in which 'z' is elided)	mʲuːï ~ mʲuːz	mʲuːz
a058	bikidum	bikidumu	bikidum̩ ~ biki̥dum̩
a059	midum ~ miᵈðum	midumu	midum̩
a060	pi̥su	pstu	pstu̥ ~ pstu̥
a061	m̩ːna	muz̩tu ('z̩' signifies the sound 'z' with creaky voice.) / mːna	mːna
a062	gaʥam	gaʥam	gaʥam̩

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a049	tʰʊʥ	tʰuʥ
a050	apʰaɾagi	apʰaɾagimunu
a051	b̥ʊtʰʊ	butu
a052	mʲʊːtʊɾa	mʲuːtuɾa
a053	ffa	ffa
a055	jaɾabi	jaɾabi
a054	mmaɾi	mmaɾi
a056	ʊipstʊ	uipstu ~ oipstu
a057	mʲʊːɾ ~ mʲʊːˀɾ	mʲuːˀɾ
a058	bikidʊm	bikidum
a059	midʊm	midum
a060	pstʊ	pstu
a061	mːna	mːna
a062	gaᵈzam	gaʥam

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a063	'spider'	kumo	kuː	kʰuma
a064	'spiderweb'	kumonujaː	ku·ɡasï̠	kʰumanussʔ
a065	'butterfly'	tɕoːtɕoː	tɕoːtɕoː	tɕoːtɕoː
a066	'ant'	akai	haːɯ	aχaˀ
a067	'earthworm'	dʑïmiːdʑï	mïːmidʑï	miːmidʑʔ
a068	'snail'	haɾunna	nːna	nna / pʰaɾinna (small species)
a069	'cat'	maju	maju	–
a070	'mouse; rat'	jumunu	jamunu	jamunu
a071	'horse'	nuːma	nuːma	nuːma
a072	'billy goat'	bikihindʑa / hindʑa ('goat') / miːhindʑa ('nanny goat')	biɡipindʑa / pindʑa ('goat') / miːbindʑa ('nanny goat')	–
a073	'horn (of an animal)'	nnu	tsn̥u ('n̥' signifies that this sound begins voiceless.)	tsʔnu
a074	'tail'	dʑuː	dʑuː	duː
a075	'pig'	waː	waː	ʋaː
a076	'meat (pork and the like)'	sïːsï	mïː / sïːsï ('lean meat')	ɕiːsʔ
a077	'bird'	tui	tuɯ	tʰuˀ
a078	'bird's nest'	tuinusï / tuinujaː	sïː	ssʔ
a079	'egg'	tunuka	tunuɡa	tʰunaʁa

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No.	Ōura	Kugai	Yonaha
a063	kʰumu	kʰuv	kʰʊː ~ kʰʊʊ (also 'kombu; kelp')
a064	kʰumunusʅː	kʰuvnukʰaːpaz / kʰuvnuɡa ʥapaɾaɕi	kʰʊːnʊssʅ
a065	NR	tɕoːtɕoː	NR
a066	haːʅ ~ xaːʅ	aka̱ːz̧ ('k̠' signifies the sound 'k' pronounced towards the back)	akaːʅ
a067	miːmaᵈzʅ	miːmiᵈzï	miːmiᵈzʅ
a068	nna ~ nːna	mːna	nna / pʰiɕinna ('turban snail')
a069	maju	maju	–
a070	jumunu	jumunu	jʊmʊnʊ / ʊjaʥa
a071	numa	nuːma	nʊːma
a072	–	bikipʰinʥa / pʰinʥa ('goat') / miːpʰinʥa ('nanny goat')	–
a073	tsʅnu	tsïnu	tsʅnʊ
a074	ʥuː	ʥuː	ʥʊː
a075	waː (usʅ 'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)')	vaː	ʊaː
a076	sʅːsʅ ('lean meat')	miz (collective) / ɕiːsï (for the separate parts)	sʅːsʅ
a077	tʰuʅ	tʰuz	tʊᶻʅ
a078	sʅː	ssï	tʊːnʊssʅ
a079	tʰunaka	tunak̠ʰa	tʰʊnaka

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a063	kumo (Standard Japanese)	jaːbaɾigaŋ	jamakuʋ ~ jamakuʋ̥
a064	kuːɡasɨ (kḁsɨ 'thread; string')	jaːbaɾi / jaːbaɾigannussï	NR
a065	tɕoːtɕo (Standard Japanese)	tɕoːtɕo	tɕoːtɕoː
a066	akˣɑːɭ	akaɭ [A] // akaz [B]	azɡaɾa
a067	mimidʑɨ	miːmidʑï	mindʑŋ̩
a068	m̩ːna	m̩ːna	nna
a069	–	maju	–
a070	jumunu	jumuna [A] // jumudʑa [B]	jumuɾḁ
a071	nuːma	nuːma	nuːmḁ
a072	–	bikipʰindʑa / pʰindʑa ('goat') / miːpʰindʑa ('nanny goat')	tsnu ~ tsŋ̩nu
a073	tsɨnu	tsïnu	tsnu ~ tsŋ̩nu
a074	dʑuː	dʑuː	dʑuː
a075	waː	waː	ʋaː
a076	sɨːsɨ ('lean meat') / avva ('fatty meat')	sïːsï	ɕiːs ~ ɕiːsŋ̩
a077	tou	tʰuz	tuz̩
a078	sɨ / tuɭ no sɨ ('bird's nest')	tʰuɭnussï	sŋ̩ː ~ sŋː
a079	tunaka	tʰunuka	tun̥aka

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a063	kʰʊʊ ~ kʰʊv / kʰʊvvʊ ~ kʰʊʊvʊ ('spider-ACCUSATIVE')	NR
a064	kʰʊvnʊɿː	NR
a065	pʰabiɿ (large black species)	ʨoːʨoː
a066	aᶻŋaɾa [Bora] // akʰaːʔɿ [Aragusuku]	ahaːɿ
a067	mimʥɿ	mimiʥɿ
a068	nna / maːnna (small species) / paɾinna (rare)	ʦɿnami
a069	majʊ	maju
a070	jʊmʊɾʊ	jumunu
a071	nʊːma	nuːma
a072	b̥ikipinʥa	bikipinʥa / pʰinʥa ('goat')
a073	ʦɿnʊ	ʦɿnu ~ ʦɿno
a074	ʥʊː	ᵈzuː
a075	ʊaː ~ waː(?)	waː
a076	ɿːɿ	ɿːɿ
a077	tʰʊɿ	tʰuᶻɿ ~ tʰuɿ
a078	ɿː	ɿː
a079	tʰʊnaka	kʰuːga

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a080	'pigeon; dove'	hatu	pʰatu	–
a081	'fish'	zzu ~ ʣu	ïzu	zzu
a082	'scale (of an animal)'	ʦïːʣï / iːki	ïːki	–
a083	'turtle; tortoise'	kami	kami	–
a084	'crab'	kaŋ (makugaŋ 'coconut crab')	kaŋ	kʰaŋ
a085	'shellfish'	nna	pɕɕinna ('turban snail'; nː na '(land) snail')	piɕinna ('turban snail') / tʰaχanna
a086	'sea urchin (Hemicentrotus pulcherrimus)'	uŋ / kaʣïʦï	juːŋ / kaʣïkï / bïgïjuːŋ ~ bzgïjuːŋ / kaʣïkïjuːuŋ	uŋ / aχauŋ
a087	'meat (of sea urchins and the like)'	miː	mïː	miᶻʔ
a088	'salt'	maːsu	maːsu	–
a089	'to be salty'	su̥kaɾamunu	su̥kuɾaŋ ('kaɾaŋ' refers to the taste of pepper)	–
a090	'sugar'	sata	sata (aᵈzïmaŋ 'to be sweet')	–
a091	'sugar cane'	buːʣï	buːgï	buːgʔ ~ buːgᶻʔ
a092	'sickle; scythe'	zzaɾa ~ ᵈzaɾa (juːʦï 'ax; hatchet')	ïzaɾa	zzaɾa

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a080	–	mːbatu (pʰa̠tu 'swallow')	–
a081	ˀzu	zzu	zzu ~ ˀzu
a082	–	izki	–
a083	–	kʰami	–
a084	kʰaŋ	kʰaŋ	kʰaŋ
a085	butaɾa	kaigaɾa (mːna '(land) snail')	kʰaˀ
a086	kʰa̠tsˀ	kadzaˤsa	uŋ (sea urchins in general) / kʰadznkˢˀ ('Hemicentrotus pulcherrimus')
a087	miˀ	kadzaˤsanumiz	mˀˀː
a088	–	maːsu	–
a089	–	sukaɾasukaɾa	–
a090	–	sata (adzïmamunu 'to be sweet')	–
a091	buːgˀ ~ buːgˀˀ	buːgˀï	buːgˀˀ
a092	ˀzaɾa	zzaɾa	zzaɾa

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a080	–	pʰatu / mːbatu ('rufous turtle dove') / aubatu ('white-bellied green pigeon')	–
a081	ⁱzzu	zzu̥	zzu
a082	–	izki (also 'dandruff')	–
a083	–	kʰame	–
a084	kˣaŋ (an aspirated 'k'?)	kaŋ	kḁŋ
a085	m̩na ~ m̩ːna	asaɭ ~ asaz ('mːna' refers to a species of shellfish.)	NR
a086	ɑkχoːŋ	uŋ ('akauŋ', 'ffuuŋ', and 'boːʥïuŋ' refer to specific species.)	uŋ
a087	mɨː	mïː	mz̩ː
a088	–	maːsu	–
a089	–	su̥kuɾa	–
a090	–	sḁta (azïmaː ~ azïma 'to be sweet')	–
a091	buːgɨ	buːʥï	buːgz̩
a092	ⁱzzaɾa	zzaɾa	zzaɾa

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a080	mːbatʊ ~ mːbḁtʊ	pʰḁtu
a081	zzʊ ~ ɿzʊ	ˀzu
a082	ɿᶻːki	iˀkja
a083	kʰami	kʰaːmi
a084	kʰaŋ	kʰaŋ
a085	NR / pɕɕinna ('turban snail')	pɕɕima / mna / nigoː ('giant clam')
a086	kʰadzɿksʔ / akʰaʊŋ (inedible species)	ohouŋ / kʰaᵈzɿʦɿ
a087	mᶻːˀ	miˀ
a088	maːsʊ (ʊpʊ̥sʊ 'tide')	maːsu
a089	sʊ̥kaɾa(mʊnʊ)	sukaɾamunu
a090	sata ~ sḁta (adzɿmaː 'to be sweet')	sata
a091	bʊːgᶻˀ ~ bʊːdzɿ	buːdzɿ
a092	zzaɾa	ˀzaɾa

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a093	'to eat'	faifiiɾu ('to.eat to.give-IMPERATIVE')	fai ('ŋkegisamadʑi' to one's superiors)	fau
a094	'food'	faimunu	faumunu	faumunu
a095	'oil'	avva	aʊva	–
a096	'rice porridge'	juː	NR	juv
a097	'cooked rice'	munu ('cooked rice'; iː / maii 'rice ball')	mïsmaɯ	mannuᶻʔ ('rice ball') / nːnuᶻʔ ('potato ball')
a098	'miso; fermented soybean paste'	nsu	nsu	nsu
a099	'rice'	mai	maɯ	maʔ ~ maᶻʔ
a100	'(wooden) bowl'	makai	maːɯ	maχaʔ ~ maχaᶻʔ
a101	'tea bowl; rice bowl'	tɕabaŋ	tɕabaŋ	–
a102	'to throw away (tea)/to spill'	augiː / ɕtiɾu ~ stiɾu	stiɾu ('to.throw.away-IMPERATIVE')	aʊgiᶻʔ / itatɕiʔ
a103	'garlic'	hiː	pˢïː	pʰiᶻʔ
a104	'garlic chive'	miːna	mïzza	miᶻʔna
a105	'bud; sprout'	miː	bakamiː / pʰa̰tsi̥ki ('germination')	–
a106	'oriental melon'	ui ('watermelon') / ŋgʲaui ('cucumber') / gauɾa ('bitter melon')	uɯ (goːra 'bitter melon')	–

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No.	Ōura	Kugai	Yonaha
a093	foː	foˑ	foː
a094	foːmunu	foːmunu	foːmʊnʊ
a095	–	avva	–
a096	juʊ	juv	jʊː
a097	NR	maz (nnaz 'rice ball')	NR (maᶻŋnuᶻŋ 'rice ball')
a098	nʦu	msu	mʦʊ
a099	maʔ (ssumaʔ 'white rice')	namamaz / maz	maᶻŋ
a100	makaʔ	makʰazï	makʰaᶻŋ
a101	–	ʨʰabaŋ	–
a102	oːgiʔ / skjaːʔ ('to make a mess of'?)	stiɾu ('to.throw.away-IMPERATIVE')	oːgi / itʰa̤ti ~ itχti
a103	pʰiʔ	pʰiz	pʰiᶻŋ (also 'needle; pin')
a104	miʔna	mizza	mᶻŋːna
a105	–	miː	–
a106	–	uzgama (goːɾa 'bitter melon')	–

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a093	foː	ŋkjaɡisamatɕi ('to.eat-IMPERATIVE'; to one's superiors) / feː ('to.eat-IMPERATIVE'; to one's inferiors)	fau ~ faʊ
a094	faˈmunu	fo̞ːmunu	faumunu
a095	–	avva	–
a096	juv / ʥuːɕʷi ('rice soup')	juv	juv̩
a097	NR / ɡohaŋ (Standard Japanese)	maz (zz [old], nnaɾi [new] 'rice ball/potato ball')	('maz̩ zː' is not used.)
a098	m̩su	mːsu [A] // mːso [B]	m̩su ~ m̩su̥
a099	mal	maz [A] // maɭ [B]	maz̩ ~ maʔ
a100	makˣal	makaɭ [A] // makaz [B]	makaz̩ ~ [sic.]
a101	–	ʨabaŋ	–
a102	sɨtɨɾu / sɨtɨɾuŋ	stiz	jaz̩ ~ stiz̩
a103	pʰil / pʰilʨiki̥na	piz (apparently not 'piɭ')	piz̩ ~ piz̥̩
a104	miʑla ~ milna	mïːna	nʲiɾa / miz̩na ~ miʔna
a105	–	miː	–
a106	–	uz (ɡoːɾa 'bitter melon')	–

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a093	faʊ / faːdi ('to.eat-HORTATIVE')	foː / fai ('to.eat-IMPERATIVE')
a094	faʊmʊnʊ	faʔmunu
a095	avva ~ aʊva	avva
a096	jʊv ~ jʊʊ	dʑuːɕa
a097	ᶻʔ: / nigᶻʔ ('rice ball')	maʔnuʔᶻː / um
a098	mtsʊ	msu
a099	maᶻʔ	maʔ
a100	makaᶻʔ	maxaʔ ~ mahaʔ
a101	tɕabaŋ	tɕabaŋ
a102	itati̥	waːgiɳ / itakiɳ
a103	pʰiᶻʔ	pʰiɳ
a104	sʔʊna ~ sʔʊna (mʔzna 'spring onion')	nubiʔ (sʔmna 'spring onion')
a105	miː	bahabuɾa / miː
a106	ʊᶻʔ	uᶻʔ

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a107	'field (cultivated)'	hai	pʰa̰tagi / pʰaɾi	pʰataki ('pʰaɾi' is not frequently used.)
a108	'field (not cultivated)'	nuː	nuː	nuːnaχa / nuː / abaɾinuː (abaɾibaɾi 'field lying waste')
a109	'night-scented lily; giant upright elephant ear'	bibiːɡassa	biuɡassa ~ bʲuːɡassa	bjuːɡassa
a110	'tree'	kiː	kiː	kiː
a111	'branch'	juda	ida (not 'juda')	juda
a112	'fruit; nut'	miː	nːta	miᶻˀ / naᶻˀ
a113	'grass'	fṵsa (= 'fʷsa')	fṵsa / jufsa (for livestock)	ssa
a114	'to plant'	ibiː fiːɾu ('to.plant to.give-IMPERATIVE')	ibiɾu ('to.plant-IMPERATIVE')	–
a115	'common garcinia (tree)'	kutsïgi ('k' is unaspirated and non-pharyngeal.)	pʰṵkaɡaɡiː	kʰṵpaɡᶻˀgiː
a116	'saw'	nukudʑï	nukaɡḭ̈	nukaɡᶻˀ
a117	'board; plank; plate; sheet'	tana	ita	ita
a118	'nail; spike; peg'	kanifudʑï	fuɡḭ̈ ~ fuɡɯ	fuɡᶻˀ
a119	'carpenter'	sajafu	sajafu	sajafʊ
a120	'needle; pin'	hai	pʰaɯ	piᶻˀ
a121	'clothing; kimono'	tsïŋ	kˢïŋ	kˢˀŋ
a122	'sash; belt'	sṵkuː ~ sḭ̈kuː	sïpʰuɡɯ	safuɡᶻˀ ~ sapuɡᶻˀ
a123	'collar'	tsïnnufudʑï	fuɡɯ	fuɡᶻˀ
a124	'mirror'	kaɡaŋ	kʰaɡaŋ	kʰaʁaŋ
a125	'fire'	umatsï	ṵmatsï	mmatsɿ

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a107	pʰatagi / pʰaɾi	pʰaɾi	pʰaɾi
a108	nuː	nuː	nʊː ('field lying waste')
a109	biʊ (biʊgasa ~ bjuːgasa 'night-scented lily leaf')	bivgasa	biʊgassa
a110	kʰiː	ki·	kiː
a111	ida	juda	jʊda
a112	naʔ	naz	kiːnunaᶻʔ
a113	ssa	fsa	fsa
a114	−	ibiɾu ('to.plant-IMPERATIVE')	−
a115	pʰukagi	pʰukadʑgiː	pʰʊku̥giː
a116	nukagᶻʔ	nukugz	nʊkʊgᶻʔ
a117	ita	itsa	NR
a118	kʰanifugʔ	kʰanifugz / fugz	fʊgᶻʔ
a119	sajafu	sajafu	sajafʊ
a120	piʔ	piz	pʰiᶻʔ
a121	kˢʔŋ / fuku ('clothing')	kˢïŋ	kˢʔŋ / kˢmʊnʊ
a122	subagʔ	sïpugz	sˢʔp̥ʊgᶻʔ
a123	fugʔ	kˢïnnufugz	fʊgᶻʔ
a124	kʰagaŋ / kʰagammu ('mirror-ACCUSATIVE')	kʰagam	kʰagam
a125	mmoːtsʔ	umutsï	ʊmatsʔ

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a107	pʰaɾi	pʰaɾi	paɾi ~ paɾi̥
a108	nu:	tʰusaɾi ('land covered in grass') / nu: (used for a kind of grass)	nu:
a109	bivɡassa	biv (bivɡassa 'night-scented lily leaf')	bivɡassa
a110	ki:	ki:	ki: ~ ki̥:
a111	juda	ida	juda
a112	naᶻ ~ naʣ ~ naɯ	(ki:nu) naz̩	naz̩
a113	fu̥sa	fsa	fs̩a
a114	–	–	–
a115	pu̥kukuɡi ('ɡ' is not palatalized.)	pukutsïɡi: (also 'buŋɡi:'?)	pu̥ku̥kuki: ~ pu̥kukuɡi̥
a116	nukuɡɨ ~ nufuɡɨ	nukuʣï	nukuɡz̩
a117	jufa ~ jukˣa (kabejukˣa 'wall board')	itɕa	itʰa̩ ~ itsa
a118	fuɡɨ	fuʣï / kʰanfuʣï	fɡz̩
a119	sajafu	sajafu	sajafʊ̥ ~ sajafʊ
a120	pʰiᶻ ~ pʰiʎ ~ pʰiɯ̆ (also 'garlic')	pʰiz (tsïnnubiz 'sewing; needlework')	pʰi̥z̩
a121	kɨŋ	tsïŋ	ks̩n
a122	supɯɡɯ (or 'supɨɡɨ'?)	sïpuʣï	spuɡz̩
a123	fuɡɯ (or 'fuɡɨ'?)	fuʣï	eɾi
a124	kaɡam̩	kaɡam	kaɡam̩
a125	u̥matsɨ	umatsï / pˢï [old]	umats ~ umatsɿ

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a107	pʰaɾi	pʰataki / pʰaɾu
a108	nʊː	nuː
a109	biʊgasa	biʊgassa
a110	kʰiː	kʰiː
a111	jʊda	ida
a112	naˀn	naˀ
a113	fʊ̥sa	fu̥sa
a114	ibi / ibiɾʊ (imperative form?)	ibiˀ
a115	fu̥kʊkŋgiː [new]	kuputsˀgi
a116	nʊkʊgˀn	nukʰadzɿː
a117	itsa [Bora] // ita [Aragusuku]	itsa
a118	fʊgˀn	fudzɿ
a119	sajafʊ	sajafu
a120	pʰjaˀn	pʰaˀ
a121	kˤŋ	tˤŋ
a122	spʊᵈzɿ	sˀkubˀn
a123	fʊgˀ ~ fʊdzɿ	kʰubˀn
a124	kʰagam	kʰaaˤm
a125	mmatsɿ	umatsɿ

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a126	'ash'	kaɾahai	kaɾapaɯ	kaɾapaˀɭ
a127	'water'	midʑï	mi(ᵈ)zï	midʑɭ
a128	'to become wet'	mmi(j)ui ('to.become.wet-STATIVE')	mmi-	mːmi
a129	'wind'	kʰadi	kʰadʑi	kʰadʑi
a130	'whirlwind; tornado'	amaunau	inoː	amainoː
a131	'earthquake'	nai	naɯ	nai
a132	'cloud'	m̥mu (amimmu 'rain cloud')	fumu	fuma (tɕiŋ 'sky')
a133	'rain'	ami	ami	−
a134	'rainbow'	NR	oːnatsï (also 'Japanese rat snake')	NR
a135	'color; hue'	iɾu ~ iɾo	iɾu	−
a136	'to be blue'	aumunu	oː	aukaŋ (ffu 'to be black'; aχa 'to be red')
a137	'lightning'	kannai	nnapskaɯ	nnapskaˀɭ
a138	'to be dazzling; to be glaring (of light)'	miɸu̥taimunu ~ miᵖɸu̥taimunu	mipadaːsïmunu	miːputɕikaŋ
a139	'light'	çi̥kai	pskaɯ	pskaˀɭ
a140	'shade'	kagi	kagi	kʰagi
a141	'the sun'	tida	tida	tɕida
a142	'the moon; month'	tsïtsï (çi̥totsïtsï 'one month')	tskssu	tskɭ ~ tskˀɭ (ŋgitaˀtskɭ 'next month'; kˀɭtskɭ 'last month')

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a126	kʰaɾapaʔ	kʰaɾapʰaz / pʰaz(ï)	kʰaɾapaᶻʔ
a127	miʣʔ / mittsu ('water-ACCUSATIVE')	miʣï	miᵈzʔ
a128	mmiʔ / mminjaːŋ ('to have become wet')	mmi	mmiː
a129	kʰaʣi	kʰaʣi	kʰaʣi (also 'fire')
a130	amainoː	ama.inoː	amainoː
a131	nai	nai	nai
a132	kʰumu	fumu	fʊm
a133	–	ami	–
a134	timpaʊ ~ timpau (pau 'snake')	tʰimbav	timpaʊ ~ timpaʊ
a135	–	iɾu	–
a136	oːoː / oːmunu / oːkaŋ	oː	oːnʊ
a137	nnapsʔkaʔ / kʰannaʔ ('thunder')	mːnapskaz	nnapˢʔkaᶻʔ
a138	mipudasʔmunu	makˢïːmaks	mipʰʊ̥taᶻʔnʊ
a139	pskaʔ	pskaz	pˢʔkḁkaᶻʔ
a140	kʰagi	kʰagi	kʰagi
a141	tʰida	tʰida	tʰida
a142	tskʔ	tskssu	tsʔkˢʔ / tsʔkˢʔnʊjʊː

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a126	kaɾapʰaʎ ~ kaɾapʰaᶻ	kaɾabaɭ [A] // kaɾabaz [B]	kaɾapaz̩
a127	midʑɨ	midʑï	midʑɲ
a128	m̩midu ~ m̩miðu	mmiː(duː)	m̩mi
a129	kadʑi	kʰadʑi	kadʑi
a130	amainoŭ	ama.inoː	amainau
a131	nai	nai	nai
a132	kumu / fumu [elicited]	fumu	ɸu̥mu
a133	–	ami	–
a134	timbaʊ (paʊ 'snake')	nidʑi ('timbav' is obsolete.)	timbḁʊ ~ timpaʊ
a135	–	iɾu	–
a136	'oː'? (oːdiŋ 'blue sky'; oː umi 'blue sea')	au / auiɾu	au ~ aʊ
a137	m̩napˢɣal ('l' is dorsal.)	nnabïkaɭ [A] // nnapskaɭ [B]	nnaps̩kaz̩
a138	miptɯᶻ/ miptɬ	miːpu̥tiɭ [A] // miːpu̥tiz [B]	mipu̥tɯ
a139	pˤkal	pskaɭ	ps̩kaz̩
a140	kagi̱ (The final sound is somewhat central.)	kagi	ka̱gi ~ kagi
a141	tʲida (pˢɨmu '(in the) sunlight')	tida	ti̱da ~ tida
a142	tsi̱kɨjuˑ	tsïtsï [A] // tsïtsïnujuː [B]	tsks̩

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a126	kʰaɾapaʔ ~ kʰaɾapaˀʔ	kʰaɾa paʔ
a127	miᵈzʔ	miᵈzʔ
a128	mmiː	mniː / niːŋ ('to have become wet') / mnuddo ('to.become.wet-EMPHATIC')
a129	kʰaᵈʑi	kʰadʑi
a130	amainoː	amainoː
a131	nai	nai
a132	fʊmʊ	fumu
a133	ami	ami
a134	tʰimbaʊ ~ tʰimbaʊ (pav ~ paʊ 'snake')	tʰimbav (pʰav 'snake')
a135	iɾʊ	iɾu
a136	aʊaʊ / aʊkaː	oː / oːiɾo / oːhɾiba / oːhaʔ
a137	nnapskaˀʔ	mnapskaʔ
a138	mipʊtʊʔ / mipʊtʊːʔ ~ mipʊtʊʔ	miːpʰutiʔ / miːpʰutiʔmunu
a139	pskaʔ	pˢkaʔ
a140	kʰagi	kʰaːgi
a141	pssʊma	tʰida
a142	tskʔ	tstsu ~ tstsu (?) (tʰatatstʔ 'next month')

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a143	'the east'	aɡai	aːɯ / aːɡadʑi ('east wind')	aʁaɿ
a144	'the north'	niɕi	ui / uiɡadʑi ('north wind')	ui
a145	'the west'	iː	nisï / niskadʑi ('west wind')	iᶻɿ
a146	'the south'	haibaɾa	pʰai / pʰaiɡadʑi ('south wind')	pʰai
a147	'(the) right (side)'	miɡi	ŋɡɯ	ŋɡᶻɿ
a148	'(the) left (side)'	çidai	bïdaɯ ~ bzdaɯ	bᶻdaᶻɿ
a149	'(in) front (of); forward'	mai (tibi 'behind; backward')	mafkʲa (tɕibi 'behind; backward')	−
a150	'road; path; way'	ntsï	ntsï	ntsɿ
a151	'peak; ridge'	mmi	mmi	mmi
a152	'fog'	NR	NR	kˢɿː
a153	'dew'	tsïː	tsïju	tɕiʊ
a154	'morning'	çi̥tumuti	stumuti	stumatɕi
a155	'daytime'	hiːma	psm̥a	pˢɿnaχa / pˢɿma
a156	'evening'	jusaɾabi	jusaɾabi	−
a157	'night'	junaka	juːnaː	juːᶻɿ
a158	'now'	nnama	nnama	nnama
a159	'today'	kʲuː	kjuː	kʰjuː

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a143	(agaˀ ~) aːˀ	agˉaz ('gˉ' signifies the sound 'g' pronounced towards the back) / agˉazkʰadʑi ('east wind')	agaᶻˀ
a144	tʰuɾanpaː / niːnupaː	nisï ~ nsï / uinagi / nsïkʰadʑi ('north wind')	nisˀ
a145	iˀ / nisˀ	iᶻ / iᶻkʰadʑi ('west wind')	iᶻˀ
a146	mmanupaː / pʰai	pʰai / pʰaikʰadʑi ('south wind')	pai
a147	nːgˀ	ŋgz	ŋgᶻˀ
a148	bᶻˀdaˀ	pzdaz	pˢˀdaᶻˀ
a149	–	mai (tɕibi 'behind; backward')	–
a150	ntsˀ	mtsï	mtsˀ
a151	mmi	mmi	mmi
a152	kʰaːvva	ksï	kˢˀː
a153	tsˀv	tsïv	tsˀʊ
a154	stumuti	s̩tumuti	sˀtʰʊmʊti
a155	pˢˀma	psïma	pˢˀm̥a
a156	–	jusaɾabi	–
a157	juːˀ	junʲaːŋ	jʊː / jʊnai
a158	nnama	nnama	nnama
a159	kʰʲuː	kju·	kʰʲʊː

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a143	aɣal	agal̩ [A] // agaz [B]	agaz̩
a144	ninupa / nisɨ	nisï	nisʔ ~ nis
a145	lː (or 'ʌːʔ)	il̩ [A] // iz [B]	z̩ː
a146	pʰai	pʰai	pʰai
a147	ŋgɨ	nʣï	ŋgz̩
a148	pɨdal ~ pɨda	pʰïdal̩ [A] // psdaz [B]	ps̩daz̩ ~ ps̩daʔ
a149	–	mai	–
a150	m̩ʦɨ	m̩ʦï	m̩ʦ ~ m̩ʦʔ
a151	m̩mɨ (↔ 'su̥ku')	mːni	m̩mi
a152	kᶜɨ·u̥ri	NR	ks̩ː
a153	NR	ʨuf	ʦʊ̩ ~ ʦʔʊ̩
a154	sɨtu̥muti (asamunu 'breakfast')	stumuti	stumuti̥ ~ stumuti
a155	psɨma (aɕi 'lunch'; sanakḁ 'ten o'clock snack')	pssïma	pˢʔːma
a156	jusaɾabi (jul ~ juʌ 'dinner')	jusaɾabi	–
a157	junaka	juneː	junai
a158	n̩nama	nnama	n̩nama
a159	kjuː	kʲuː	kjuː ~ kju̥ː

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a143	agaꞁ	aˤaꞁ
a144	nisˑ ~ nisꞇ	ui
a145	iˀꞁ	iˀꞁ
a146	pʰai	pʰai
a147	ŋgˀꞁ	miːʦꞁ
a148	pˢdaꞁ ~ pˢdaˀꞁ	pʰidiꞁ
a149	mai	maukiː (ʨibi 'behind; backward')
a150	mʦꞁ	mʦꞁ
a151	mmi	mni
a152	kˢꞁː	kʰiɾi
a153	ʦʊv ~ ʦꞁʊ	ʦꞁv
a154	sˑtʊmʊti	stumuti
a155	pˢꞁːma	pˢꞁːma
a156	jʊsaɾabi	jusaɾabi
a157	jʊnai / jʊːꞁ 'dinner'	juˀnaˀꞁ
a158	nnama	nnami
a159	kʰʲʊː	kʰjuː

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a160	'tomorrow'	atɕa	atsa	ata
a161	'the day after tomorrow'	mmʲa miːka	asadi	astɕi
a162	'next year'	jaːni	jaːni	jaːni
a163	'yesterday'	nnu	ksn̩u	kˢnu
a164	'last year'	kudʑu	kudʑu	kʰudu
a165	'a long time ago'	ŋkʲaːŋ	ikjaːŋ	ŋkjaːŋ
a166	'summer'	–	natsï	–
a167	'to be warm'	nfumunu	fumuɾaŋ	nufkaŋ
a168	'to be cold (of the weather)'	ɕɕimunu	pɕimunu	piɕikaŋ
a169	'to be cold (to the touch)'	higuɾumunu	bzguɯ	bˀŋguɾu
a170	'sea'	iŋ	iŋ	iŋ
a171	'to become muddy; to become cloudy'	muɡaiɾiː duːi ('to.become.muddy-STATIVE')	muɡaɾi	janavvi / muɡaiɾi
a172	'boat; ship'	funi	funi	funi
a173	'coral reef'	piɕi	uɾubuni ('things growing in the sea'; pɕɕi 'shoal')	piɕi
a174	'sand'	nnaɡu	nnaɡu	nnaɡu
a175	'to go; to leave'	haitti (*shite* -continuative)	pʰʲaːɾi	ikˢ / piˀˀ
a176	'to be fast'	hʲaːmunu (not 'ç')	pʰʲaːmunu	pjaːmunu
a177	'earth; the ground'	nta ~ mta ('m' pronounced as 'm͡n')	nta	nta

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a160	aʦa	attsa (also 'geta; Japanese clog')	aʦa
a161	asatti	asati	asa̤tʰi
a162	jaːni	jaːni	jaːni
a163	kˢ˙nu	ksïnu	kˢ˙n̥ʊ
a164	kʰuᵈzu	kuʣu	kʰʊʣʊ
a165	ŋkʲaːŋ	ŋkjaːŋ	ŋkʲaːŋ
a166	−	naʦï	−
a167	nufkaŋ / aʦ˙kaŋ	ŋko.ŋku	nʊˀnʊ ('to be lukewarm'?)
a168	pɕɕikaŋ	pɕimunu	pʰiɕiːnʊ
a169	bˀguɾukaŋ	psïguɾumunu	pˢ˙gʊɾʊːnʊ
a170	iŋ / immu ('sea-ACCUSATIVE')	im	im
a171	muɡʲaːɾi	ŋguvju· (of the sea) / muɡ jaz (of water in a glass)	−
a172	funi	funi	fʊni
a173	pɕɕi	jamoːɾa (pɕɕi 'shoal')	ɕiː / pʰi̥ɕi
a174	nnaɡu	m·naɡu	nnaɡʊː
a175	pʰiɾinʲaːŋ ('to have gone')	pʰiɾi ('to.go-IMPERATIVE') / pʰizdus ('to.go-EMPHATIC')	pʰi̥ˀ
a176	pʰʲaːkaŋ	pʰjaːmunu	pʰʲaːnu
a177	nta	m̩ta	mtʰa

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a160	aɕa / atɕ	atɕa	atsḁ
a161	asa̤ti	asate	asa̤ti
a162	jaːnʲi	jaːni	jaːnʲi
a163	kˢɨnu	tsïno	ksn̩uː
a164	kudʑu	kʰudʑu	ku̥dʑu
a165	ŋ̩kjaːŋ	ŋkjaːŋ	ŋ̩kjaːŋ
a166	–	natsï	–
a167	atɕɨsa / nufsa [elicited]	nuffuː / nuffuːu nuffuː	nuɸu̥ː ~ nuɸu̥ / nuɸu̥ːnuɸu̥ (reduplicated adjective)
a168	pˢɨsa	pɕimunu	pi̥ɕiːpi̥ɕi
a169	pˢɨsa ~ pᶻɨsa	pzguɾoː	psguɾuːpsguɾu
a170	im̩	im	im̩
a171	mugailʲ ~ mugaiʎ	mugʲaːɾi ('to.become.muddy-STATIVE')	nʲiguɾi / cf. mugaiɾi (of river water and seawater that is mixed together)
a172	funʲi	funi	ɸu̥nʲi
a173	pɕi̥ ~ pɕi	pɕi	pi̥ɕi
a174	m̩nagu (ku 'powder')	mːnagu	n̩nagu
a175	ɨkˢɨ / kˢɨ / paᶻ ~ palᶻ	pʰiɾi ('to.go-IMPERATIVE')	pi̥ᶻ ~ pi̥ᶻʔ
a176	pjaːmunu	pjaːmunu	pjaːmunu
a177	m̩ta ~ m̩tḁ (isɨ 'stone')	mta	m̩ta

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No.	Bora	Irabu
a160	atsa	atsa
a161	asatti	asatti
a162	jaːni	jaini
a163	kˢnʊː	tsɿnuː
a164	kʰʊʤʊ	kʰudu
a165	ŋkʲaːŋ	mkiːŋ
a166	natsɿ	natsɿ
a167	nʊfʊːnʊ	nufumunu
a168	pɛɕiːpɛɕi ~ piɕiːpiɕi	pɛɕimunu
a169	pˢgʊɾʊːnʊ	pˢguɾumunu
a170	im	im
a171	mʊgaˀ / mʊgaɾi (continuative form)	mugaˀ
a172	fʊni	funi
a173	pɛɕi ~ piɕi	pɛɕi
a174	nnagʊː	mnagu
a175	pʰiˀ	pʰiˀ / pʰiɾi ('to.go-IMPERATIVE')
a176	pʰʲaːmʊnʊ / pʰʲa̰ːpʰja	pʲaːmunu
a177	mta	mta

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
a178	'yard; garden'	minaka	aːɾa / minaː	–
a179	'house'	jaː	jaː	–
a180	'dust'	ɸu̥ki	pʰu̥ki	–
a181	'to be dirty'	ɕi̥ɕana	ɕɕanaŋ	ɕɕana
a182	'door'	jadu	jadu	–
a183	'gate'	muŋ / ʣau	ʣoː	dau (paᶻɴfʦɿ 'entrance')
a184	'front'	maukʲaː	taŋkaː / maukjaː ('house in front')	mafkjaː (ŋkaᶻɿ 'opposite side')
a185	'village'	mmaɾiʣ̈ïma	sïma	sɿma
a186	'grave; tomb'	haka	pḁka	paχa
a187	'there (distal)'	kama	kama	kama
a188	'there (medial)'	uma	uma (also 'here')	–
a189	'to be absent; to be nonexistent'	nʲaːŋ	nʲaːŋ	–

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No.	Ōura	Kugai	Yonaha
a178	–	minaka	–
a179	jaː	jaː	–
a180	–	pʰu̥ki / jaːbuki ('ball of dust')	–
a181	ɕɕana / sputaʔ	ɕɕana	ɕɕanaːnu
a182	–	jadu	–
a183	ʣoːfutsʔ ('entrance')	tsïmbu (for the whole structure) / ʣoː (for the space between the gateposts)	ʣoː
a184	mai (maibaɾa 'house in front'; ɕɕibaɾa 'house behind')	mafi̥kʲa ~ mafi̥ḵʲa	maʊkʰʲaː
a185	sʔma	buɾaku ('sïma' refers to the whole of Miyakojima.)	NR
a186	pʰaka	pʰḁka	pʰaka
a187	kʰama	kʰama	kʰama
a188	NR (ui 'that (medial)')	uma (kuma 'here')	–
a189	–	nʲaːŋ	–

No.	Uechi	Kurima	Uruka
a178	–	minaka	–
a179	–	jaː	–
a180	–	pʰu̥ki	–
a181	ɕːana / ɕːanamunu	ɕɕana	jaɾimunu
a182	–	jadu	–
a183	dʒoˑ	dʑoː	dʑau
a184	mafkjaː (ɕiːbaɾa 'behind; backward')	moːtʰu / moːtʰumai / maibaɾa	mavkjaː ~ maʊkjaː
a185	NR	bantadʑïma	s̩ma ~ sm̩ḁ
a186	pḁka	pḁka	pḁka
a187	kama	kama	kʰḁmaː
a188	kuma ('uma' is not used.) / amakuma ('here and there')	uma (kuma 'here')	–
a189	–	nʲaːŋ	–

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a178	minaka	minaha
a179	jaː	jaː
a180	pʰʊ̥ki / mtabʊki ('soil dust')	gumi / pʰuki
a181	ɕɕana	ɕɕanamunu
a182	jadʊ	jadu
a183	ʥoː [Bora] // ʥaʊ [Aragusuku]	ʥoːvʦ̩
a184	maʊkʲaː / maibaɾa ('house in front')	maʊkjaː
a185	sʅma	sʅma
a186	pʰḁka	pʰaː ~ pʰa̤ː
a187	kʰama	kʰama ~ kʰamaː
a188	ʊma (kʰʊma 'here')	umahama ('here and there')
a189	nʲaːŋ	noːmai niːŋ ('what-too to.be.absent'; 'There is nothing.')

Basic Vocabulary B

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b001	'eye'	meː	[mi / [miː	miː
b002	'tooth'	haː	[pa	pʰaː
b003	'nail'	ʦume (possibly Standard Japanese)	ʦɯ[me (unaspirated)	ʦɿmi
b004	'nose'	hana	pana ('pa[na' when pronounced slowly)	pʰana
b005	'navel'	m̩ːbusu	[m̩ːbu	m̩ːbu
b006	'chest'	m̩miuʦu	miɸ[ʦu (or 'miɸu[ʦɯ')	mmɿ
b007	'face'	mihana	mipa[na	mipana
b008	'ear'	min	[miɴ	miŋ
b009	'skin'	kaː (also of trees, fruit, and the like)	[kaː	kaː
b010	'lower leg'/ 'foot'	hazɿ ('lower leg'; mumu 'thigh')	pa[gɨ	karaɾɯɲi
b011	'hip; buttock'	ʨiːnun / ʦɿːnun	ʨi[bidaɭ ('ʨibida' when pronounced slowly)	ʨibitaʔ ~ ʨibitaᶻʔ
b012	'shoulder'	katamuɕiː	ka[tamusɨ ('ka[tamusɨ' when pronounced slowly)	ibiɾa / kʰa̯ta (There is awareness that 'kʰa̯ta' is Standard Japanese.)
b013	'tendon'	haiʦ	pˢɨ[kɨbaü ('pɨ[kɨbai' when pronounced slowly)	pʰaɕidʑɿ
b014	'eyebrow'	maju	[maju (or 'ma[ju')	maju
b015	'sweat'	aɕi	a[ɕi	aɕi
b016	'nosebleed'	hanaʨi	pa[naʦɯ ([mbana 'mucus')	pʰanaʦɿ̩ʦɿ
b017	'drool'	judai	ju[daɭ ('judaɨ' when pronounced slowly)	judaʔ ~ judaᶻʔ

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No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b001	miː	miː	miː
b002	paː	paː	pʰaː
b003	tsˑmi	tsˑmi	tsɨmi
b004	pana	pana	pʰana
b005	mːbu	mbu / mbusu	mːbu
b006	mni	mmiʊtsˑ	mnigu: ('mn' with double articulation?)
b007	nipana	mipana	mipʰana
b008	miŋ	mim	mim
b009	kaː	kaː (of hands)	kʰa
b010	pagˑ	pagˑ ('foot'; kaɾasuni 'lower leg')	pagɯ / tsɨgusɨ ('knee') / mumu(ni) ('thigh') / psaː bza ('foot') / amaŋguː buni ('ankle')
b011	tɕibitai	tɕibiguː / also 'tɕibitaˑ'	tɕibiɾuŋ
b012	katamusu	kḁtamusˑ ~ kḁtamusˑ / kḁ ta	kʰata
b013	pskipaˑ	psˑkˑpaˑ (careful pronunciation) ~ psˑkupaˑ (normal pronunciation)	pˢklpal̥ ~ pˢkᶻpal̥ ~ pˢklpal̥ z
b014	maju	maju	maju
b015	aɕɕi	aɕi	aɕi
b016	panatsˑ	panatsˑsˑ	pandal̥ᶻ
b017	–	judaᶻˑ (strong friction)	judal̥

No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b001	miː	miː
b002	paː	paː
b003	tsˤmi	tsɨmi
b004	pana ~ pan̪a	pana
b005	mːbusu	mːbu
b006	mniutsˤ	mmiʊtsɨ
b007	mipana ~ miɸana	mipana
b008	mim̩	mim
b009	kaː	kʰaː
b010	paz / tsˤgˤsˤ ('knee') / kaɾasunʲi ('lower leg')	padzɨ
b011	tɕibitaz̩	tɕibital
b012	kḁtamuɾasˤ	katamusu̥
b013	paz̩tsˤː	paltsɨː
b014	miːnu maju	matsɨgi
b015	aɕi	aɕi
b016	panatsˤː	panatsɨ
b017	judaz̩ ~ judaˤ	judal

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b018	'tattoo'	NR	NR ('[iredʑɯmi' in 'grandmother's day')	sɿntsɿkɿ ~ sɿntsɿks (The response was that it is 'probably' this form.)
b019	'one (thing)'	ɕiːtsɿ	p[tiːtsɯ (Or 'pɯ[titsɯ', although the vowel after 'p' is almost inaudible.)	ttuːtsɿ
b020	'two (things)'	ftaːtsɿ	ɸ[taːtsɯ (The vowel after 'ɸ' is almost inaudible.)	ftaːtsɿ
b021	'three (things)'	miːtsɿ	[miːtsɨ (Or '[miːtsɯ'; there is fluctuation between 'ɯ ~ ɨ'.)	miːtsɿ
b022	'four (things)'	juːtsɿ	juː[tsɨ (or 'juːtsɯ̥')	juːtsɿ
b023	'five (things)'	itsɿtsɿ	[itsɯ̥tsɯ (or '[itsɯ̥tsu')	itsɿ̥tsɿ
b024	'six (things)'	mːtsɿ	[nːtsɨ (or 'nːtsu')	nːtsɿ
b025	'seven (things)'	nanatsɿ	na[natsɯ (or 'nanatsu')	nanatsɿ
b026	'eight (things)'	jaːtsɿ	[jaːtsɯ (or 'jaːtsu')	jaːtsɿ
b027	'nine (things)'	ku̥kunutsɿ (The initial 'k' has a weak release.)	ku̥[kunu]tsɯ (Or 'kukunu tsu', although only 'nu' is clearly rounded.)	ku̥kunutsɿ
b028	'ten (things)'	tuː	toⱶː	tuː
b029	'one (person)'	taukaː	[taɸkʲaː	tʰafkjaː
b030	'two (people)'	hu̥taːi	ɸ[taːl̩ / ɸtaːɯ	ftaːɿ
b031	'three (people)'	n̩tɕaːi	n̩[tsaːl̩	mitaːɿ

No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b018	–	pi˞ʂŋ̊k˞ʰ	pʰidzɨkʰɯ
b019	pʰitiːtsɿ	pˁŋ̊tiːtsɿ	pstiːtsɨ
b020	ɸu̥taːtsɿ	futaːtsɿ	ftaːtsɨ
b021	miːtsɿ	miːtsɿ̥	miːtsɨ
b022	juːtsɿ	juːtsɿ	juːtsɨ
b023	itstsɿ	itsŋ̊tsɿ	itsi̥tsɨ
b024	nntsɿ	mːtsɿ	mmtsɨ
b025	nanatsɿ	nanatsɿ	nanatsɨ
b026	jaːtsɿ	jaːtsɿ	jaːtsɨ
b027	kukunu̥tsɿ	ku̥kunutsɿ	kukunu̥tsɨ
b028	tʰuː	tuː	tʰu
b029	tavkʲaː ('v' has somewhat weak friction.)	taʊkjaː	taʊkʲaː
b030	ɸutaːˀˠɿ ('ˠɿ' has weak friction; it is an apical vowel.)	fu̥taːˀˠɿ (strong friction)	ftaːl̥ᶻ
b031	mitsʲaːˀˠɿ ('ˠɿ' has weak friction.)	mitsaːˀˠɿ	mitɕaːl̥

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No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b018	paztsʅʦʅ	paldʑumi
b019	piɲʦʅ	pitiʨɨ
b020	f̥taːʦ	ɸu̥taːʨɨ
b021	miːʦʅ	miːʨɨ
b022	juːʦʅ	juːʨɨ
b023	iʦʅʦʅ ~ iʦuʦʅ	iʨi̥ʨɨ
b024	m̩ːʦʅ	m̩ːʨɨ
b025	nanaʦʅ	nanaʨɨ
b026	jaːʦʅ	jaːʨɨ
b027	kukunuʦʅ	ko̥ko̥no̥ʦɨ
b028	tuː	tu̥ː
b029	taʊkiː	taʊkjaː
b030	ftaːz̩	ɸutaːl
b031	mitaːz̩	mˢɨtaːl

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b032	'four (people)'	jutaːi	ju[taːɯ	jutaːɿ
b033	'five (people)'	iʦunuçi̥tu	[iʦɨnuɸtu (or ʔiʦɨnupɯ̥ [tu')	iʦɿ nu ttu
b034	'six (people)'	mujunuçi̥tu	mu[inuɸtu ('ɸ' sounds close to 'p'.)	muju nu ttu
b035	'seven (people)'	nananuçi̥tu	na[na]nuɸtu	nana nu ttu
b036	'eight (people)'	jaːnuçi̥tu	[jaːnuɸtu	jaː nu ttu
b037	'nine (people)'	kununuçi̥tu / kukununuçi̥ tu	ko[konu]nuɸtu	ku̥kunu nu ttu
b038	'ten (people)'	tuːnuçi̥tu	[tuːnuɸtu	tuː nu ttu
b039	'how much'	ikassagaː ('how.much-INTERROGATIVE'; of prices)	[no]np[saː (Or 'nonnupsa ː'; the final particle 'saː' should have been separated but was not. The form in isolation is probably 'nonpů'; question words were apparently difficult to elicit in isolation.)	{nau ~ nou} nu pssa ('How much is this?')
b040	'when'	iʦɿgaː ('when-INTERROGATIVE')	nanʥi ni / iʦɯ nu ('ni' and 'nu' are final particles; they should have been separated but were not. Question words were apparently difficult to elicit in isolation.)	iʦɿ̥
b041	'who'	taɾugaː / taɾuga ('who-INTERROGATIVE')	ta[ɾuː	tʰḁɾu

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No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b032	juta:ˀ	juta:ˀ	juta:l̩
b033	itsɿnupstu	itsɿnupstu	ɡuniŋ
b034	mʊinupstu	mujunupstu	ɾukuniŋ
b035	nananupstu	nananupstu	nananiŋ
b036	ja:nupstu	ja:nupstu	hatɕiniŋ
b037	kukunupstu	ku̥kunupstu	kuniŋ
b038	tu:nupstu	tu:nupstu	dʑu:niŋ
b039	no:nu psaɡa	no: nu pusa ɡa ('how.much-INTERROGATIVE') / also 'iska' ('how much')	isḁka
b040	itsɿ ɡa	itsɿ / itsɿ ɡa kɿ̥sɿɡa ('When will you come?')	itsɨ
b041	taɾu ɡa	to:ɡa ɡa kɿ̥sɿɡumatarja: ('Who will come?')	tʰaʊ

No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b032	juta:ẓ̩	juta:l
b033	itʂɿnu pstu	itsunupˢɨtu
b034	mujunu pstu	mujunupˢɨtu
b035	nananu pstu	nananupˢɨtu
b036	ja:nu pstu	ja:nupˢɨtu
b037	kukununu pstu	ko̥ko̥no̥nopˢɨtu
b038	tu:nu pstu	tu̥:nopˢɨtu
b039	is̩kiga ('how.much-INTERROGATIVE')	kuɾja: ikassa ɡa ('How much is this?')
b040	itsɿ	itsi̥du ɸu:ɡa ('When will you come'; 'ts' becomes 's' depending on the phonetic environment.)
b041	taɾuga ('who-INTERROGATIVE')	ʋʋa taɾu ɡa: ('Who are you?')

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b042	'where'	idʑanuçi̥tu ('where-GENITIVE person')	n̩[dʑai / n̩[dʑan̩ / n̩[dʑa	nda
b043	'which'	idiɡa ('which-INTERROGATIVE')	n̩[dʑaga du / n̩[dʑiga du ('du' is a final particle; it should have been separated but was not. Question words were apparently difficult to elicit in isolation.)	ndʑi
b044	'why'	naujahiːɡa ('why-INTERROGATIVE')	no[sun]tɕi du / noː[sun]tɕi [du] ('du' is a final particle; it should have been separated but was not. Question words were apparently difficult to elicit in isolation.)	noui ~ naui
b045	'what'	nauɡa ('what-INTERROGATIVE')	[noː	nou ~ nau
b046	'how many'	ifutsu (uvaga tussa ifutsuga 'you-GENITIVE age-TOPIC how.many-INTERROGATIVE')	[iɸtsɯ	iftsʅ
b047	'daytime; noon'	hiːma ('noon'; junaka 'middle of the night')	pˢɨ[ma ('pˢɯ[ma' when pronounced slowly)	pssuma ~ pʅsuma
b048	'rice paddy'	taː (no form corresponding to Standard Japanese 'tanbo')	[taː / ɸa̠[ta]ɡɨ / pa̠[taɡɨ	taː
b049	'star; celestial body'	hoɕi	p[sɨ ('puː[sɨ' when pronounced slowly)	psʅ ~ puṣʅ

No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b042	nᵈza ga	ndza / ndzaŋ kairʲaː ('where to') / ndʑaŋga ('at what place')	ṇdʑa
b043	nᵈʑi ga	ndʑi / ndʑinuga zoːkaɾjaː ('Which is best?')	ṇdʑi
b044	noː sttiga	{noːtɕiga / noːtiga} nakjuːɾja ('Why are you crying?')	naoṭiː
b045	uɾe noːga	noː / noːju ga pu̥skaɾjaː ('What do you want?')	naoṇu ~ noːnu
b046	ifts̩ ga	ifuts̩ ga kaːtɕa ('How many will you buy?')	ifu̥ts̩
b047	pˢˀːma	pıɾu	pᵗsɨːma / stumuti ('morning') / junai ('night')
b048	ta	taː (pari 'field (cultivated)')	tʰaː
b049	psˀ	pu̥sˀ	psɨ ~ ps̩

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No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b042	n(ᵈ)za	idaŋ kai ɡaː ('Where will you go?')
b043	ndʑi	idʑiŋkai du̥ aɸudʑi ɡaː ('Which will you choose?')
b044	noːsti̥ːɡa	naʊtɕiː du namaɡami ɡaː ('Why are you late?')
b045	noː	naʊ judu aɕuː ɡa ('What are you doing?')
b046	if(u)tsɿ	iɸutsɨ du al ɡaː ('How many are there?')
b047	pˢɿːma	pɨlma
b048	taː	ta
b049	pus̩ ~ pu̥s̩	pu̥sɨ

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b050	'road; path; way'	n̩t͡s	n[t͡sɨ / nː[t͡sɯ	nt͡sʔ
b051	'mountain'	jama	ja[ma (saː[ma 'slope')	jama ('place with trees')
b052	'island'	ɕima	ɕi[ma / sɨ[ma (It was pronounced centrally in free conversation.)	sʔma
b053	'shore; beach'	hida	bɨ[d͡za / pa[ma	pʰama
b054	'flower'	hana	pa[na	pʰana
b055	'bubble; foam'	awa	a[wa	awa (Standard Japanese?)
b056	'hole'	ana	a[na	ana
b057	'sky'	soɾa (Standard Japanese?)	ti[ɴ (d͡zɨː 'ground')	t͡ɕin
b058	'squid'	ika	i[ka	ikʰa
b059	'shrimp; prawn; lobster'	ibi	e[bi	ʔbʔgan ~ ʔbᶻʔgan ('Japanese spiny lobster') / saʔ ~ saᶻʔ ('small shrimp')
b060	'feather; wing'	hani	pa[ni	pʰaɲi
b061	'cattle (i.e. cow or bull)'	uɕ (ussʔkaːdi ~ ussukaːdi 'to raise cattle')	u[sɨ / ɯ[sɨ	usʔ
b062	'fly (insect)'	hai	pai / paɯ	paz ~ paʔ
b063	'dog'	in	i[n̩ (also transcribable as 'iɴ')	iŋ
b064	'octopus'	taku	tᴴḁ[ko̥ / taᴴ[ku̥	tʰḁku
b065	'flea'	nun	[nun̩	nuŋ
b066	'crow; raven'	ɡaɾasa	ɡa[ɾasɯ / ɡa[ɾa]sa	ɡaɾasa
b607	'sparrow'	ffʰaduɾa	[utt͡sa	maɕa
b068	'leaf'	haː	kiːnu[paː	paː

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No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b050	nʦ˥	mʦ˥	m̥ʦɨ
b051	mmi	jama	jama
b052	sˀma	sˀma	sɨma
b053	pama	pama	pʰama
b054	pana	pana	pʰana
b055	saɸuŋ	aʋa ~ awa // abuku	aːʦɨʋ ~ aːʦɨβ
b056	abu·	aːna	aːna
b057	tiŋ	tin ~ tiŋ	tiŋ
b058	ika	ikʲa	ikʲa
b059	saᶻˀ	saᶻˀ (weak friction)	i̥bz / pʰaʋ ('snake')
b060	pani	pani	pʰani
b061	usˀ	usˀ	ussɨ
b062	paᶻˀ	paᶻˀ (weak friction)	paz ~ paɨz
b063	iŋ	in ~ iŋ	iŋ
b064	takʰu	tḁku	tḁku
b065	nuŋ	num	num
b066	gaːɾ(ɾ)sa	gaɾasa	karasɨ ~ gaɾasɨ / gaɾasa
b607	padɯi	maɕa	pʰadu̥ɾa
b068	ki·nupaː ('tree-GENITIVE leaf')	paː	kiː nu pʰa ('tree-GENITIVE leaf') / upu ni nu pʰa ('daikon.radish-GENITIVE leaf')

No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b050	m͡tsɿ	m͡tsɨ
b051	jama	jama
b052	s̩ma	sɨma
b053	pama	pama
b054	pana	pana
b055	abuku	awa
b056	ana	ɸuɡuŋ
b057	tim̩	soɾa
b058	ikʲa	ika
b059	sazɿ (shrimp/lobsters in general) / ɿbzɡaŋ (large species)	ebi
b060	pani	pani
b061	usɿ	usɨ
b062	pazɿ	paᶻɨ
b063	in (im 'sea')	in
b064	tḁku	tʰḁko
b065	num̩	num
b066	ɡaɾasa	ɡaɾasɨ
b607	f(u)saduɾʲa mat͡ɕa	ffadoɾja
b068	paː	paː

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b069	'ear (of a cereal plant)'	huː	[puː / [maɯnupuː ~ maɭnupuː ('rice ear')	puː
b070	'root'	niː	niba[l̩	ɲiː
b071	'bamboo'	taki	ta[ke	tʰa̱ki
b072	'pine'	matsɿ	ma[tsɯ	matsɿkiː
b073	'straw (of cereal plants)'	NR	ba[ɾa	baɾa
b074	'seed'	tani (also 'fruit seed')	ta[ni]	taɲi
b075	'Chinese fan palm'	kuba	ku[ba	kuba
b076	'sago palm'	ttɕuːtsɿ	sɨ[su]dʑɯ / s[tɨ]tsɯ / s[su]dʑɯ	NR
b077	'treetop; sugar cane tip'	nai	su[ɾa (buː]gɯnusɯ[ɾa)	suɾa
b078	'greens'	naːʑu / naːʑuː	[paːdʑuː ('leaf vegetable'; suː 'vegetable')	NR / (suː 'vegetable')
b079	'sake; alcoholic beverage (in general)'	saki	sa[ʰki]	sa̱ki
b080	'bean; pea'	mami	ma[me	mami
b081	'cereal (specif. wheat, barley, rye & oats)'	muzɿ	mu[gɨ	mugz ~ mugɿ
b082	'rice cake'	mutɕiː	mu[tsɨ	mutsɿ
b083	'mandarin orange'	funʲuː	ɸni[n̩ / ɸni[ɯ / ɸ[nʲɯ	fɯnɿ

No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b069	pʰuː	puː	aː nu pʰuː ('foxtail.millet-GENITIVE ear')
b070	niː	niː	niː
b071	taki	tḁki	tḁki
b072	matsɿki	matsɿ	matsɨgiː
b073	baɾa	waɾa / baɾa	baɾa
b074	tani	sani (sanʲuː makɿ 'seed-ACCUSATIVE to.sow') / sanimunu	tʰani
b075	kuba	kuba	kuba
b076	–	sutitsɿ	ʃukʰatsɿ̥
b077	sɿːɾa nu pa / sɿˑɾa	suɾapana	(buːzɿn̥u 'sugar.cane-GENITIVE') baɾam
b078	naˑzuː	naː	naː
b079	saki	saki	saki
b080	mami	mami	mami
b081	mugᶻɿ	mugᶻɿ (weak friction)	mgl̥ᶻ
b082	mutsɿ̥	mutsɿ	m̥tsɨ
b083	funiᶻɿ ('ɿ' has weak friction.)	funiɿ (weak friction)	funil̥ᶻ

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No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b069	puː	puː (accompanied by a slight bilabial trill)
b070	nʲiː	niː
b071	tḁki	tʰḁke
b072	matsɿgi	matsɨgiː
b073	gaɾa	gisɨ̥tsɿ
b074	tanʲi	tani
b075	kuba	kuba
b076	sditsɿ	so̥tetsɨ
b077	buːzɲu sɹa	kiːnu suɾa ('tree-GENITIVE tip')
b078	naː / suː ('vegetable')	paː
b079	sḁki	sake
b080	mami	mami
b081	nuz̩	mugi
b082	mutsɿː	mutsɨ
b083	f(u)nʲiz	ɸunʲiu

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b084	'sponge gourd'	nabʲaːɾa	na[bʲaːɾa	nabjaːɾa
b085	'parent'	uja (uza 'father'; m̩ma 'mother')	oja ('father') / ɯ[dzaɯ [ma ('father and mother') / ojafa: ('parent and child')	ujammaːsa
b086	'cousin'	itɕu̥fu	i[tsu̥ɸu	itu̥fɯ
b087	'older brother'	suza ('eldest son') / uzagama ('youngest son') / nakasuza ('sons between the eldest and the youngest')	a[dza	suda / adza
b088	'older sister'	haːni ('eldest daughter') / ʊbaɡama ('youngest daughter') / aniɡama ('next youngest daughter') / ʊbaɡama ('youngest daughter'; the first sound is a labiodental approximant, not a vowel.)	[aŋ]ga	anga
b089	'sibling'	utuza (male as well as female)	NR / [kʲoː]dai (?)	kʲoːdai
b090	'relative; kin'	utuza ('itɕumu' on festive occasions)	u[ja]ku	utʰada
b091	'bowl; (flower) pot'	hatɕi	NR / ha[tɕi	NR
b092	'jar'	kami	ka[mi / mi[dzɯgami	kʰami
b093	'spatula'	hiɾa	pi[ɾa	piɾa
b094	'umbrella; parasol; bamboo hat'	sana	sa[na / mi[nokas̩a = ku[baːsa	sana

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No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b084	nabʲoːɾa	nabjaːɾa	nabʲaːɾa
b085	ⁿdza mma (first 'm' of 'mma' with double articulation of 'm' and 'n')	uja (uja 'father'; anna 'mother')	zzamma / uja ('father') / anna ('mother')
b086	itsɿɸu	itsɿ̥fu	itsɨfu
b087	azzaː	attʂa	sɨ(ᵈ)za / attʂa
b088	aŋga	aŋga	aŋga
b089	–	kjoːdai	kʲoːdai (Standard Japanese?)
b090	uɴdʑa	utsutʂa	ututtʂa
b091	patsɿ (odʑiŋ 'meal tray'?)	hatɕi // pḁtsɿ	pḁtsɨ
b092	kami	kami	kʰami
b093	piɾa	piɾa	pʰiɾa
b094	sana	sana	sana

No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b084	nabʲaːɾa	nabjaːɾa
b085	uja	uja / uja anna
b086	iʦfu	itʰo̥ko
b087	a(ᵈ)za	ada
b088	ani	ani
b089	kʲoːdai / bikitu (ᵈ)zaɾa / miːtu (ᵈ)zaɾa	kʲoːdai
b090	ujaku	utuda
b091	pḁʦ(ɿ)	pʰḁʦɿ
b092	kami	kami
b093	piɾa	piɾa
b094	sana / kubaːsa ('fan palm hat')	sana

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b095	'thread; string'	itu	[i]ʦu	itu
b096	'cord (esp. the thong of a geta)'	buː / atʨa nu buː ('geta-GENITIVE thong')	[buː / pa[nabuː	buː
b097	'handle; grip; haft'	juɾu	[ʔɨ]ː	iː
b098	'net; mesh'	an	[ʔaɴ	aŋ
b099	'tub; bucket'	taɾu	NR / ta[ɾɯ	kubaʣɨː
b100	'pillow'	maffa	maɸ[ɸa	maffa
b101	'medicine'	fu̥sui (Visually, it does not appear to be labiodental to a high degree; the contact is weak. Perhaps it is 'hu̥sui'.)	ɸ[sɯɨ / ɸusujɯ	ssuɴ / ssuɴzu ~ ssuzzu (fu̥sui 'medicine-ACCUSATIVE')
b102	'ax; hatchet'	juʦɿ	na[ta (apparently 'ax; hatchet'; confirmed by showing a drawing made on the spot)	juksɿ
b103	'sickle; scythe'	zzaɾa (The first 'z' begins with a low degree of fricativity.)	ɯ[za]ɾa	zzaɾa
b104	'hoe'	ffaʦɿ	[ɸɸaʦɯ	ffaʦɿ̥
b105	'colander'	sauki	[soːgi	baːki (deep type) / soːki (shallow type)

No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b095	itu	itu / kaɕi ('weaving thread')	nuʑʑuː ~ nuzjuː
b096	buː	buː	pʰanabuː ('geta-GENITIVE thong')
b097	iː	iː	ʔiˑ
b098	aŋ	am	am
b099	taɡu ('g' has somewhat weak closure.)	uːki / taɡu (carried on top of the head to transport water)	tʰaɾu
b100	maffa	maffa	maffa
b101	fsui / ssui	fu̥suːˀ	fsɨːz ~ fsɨl̥ᶻ
b102	jukkᶻˀ	juːkᶻˀ	juks
b103	zzaɾa	nzaɾa	zzaɾa ~ ɹzaɾa
b104	ffaʦˀ	ffaʦ̩ ('f' is weak.)	ffaʦɨ
b105	–	soːki / baːki	sau̥ki

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No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b095	itu	ito
b096	buː	buː (As the opening between the lips is very narrow, it is sometimes accompanied by a slight trill.)
b097	iː	jiː
b098	am̩	am
b099	uːki / taɾai ('washtub')	NR / 'uːki' is not used.
b100	maf(ʋ)ɾa	maɸɸa
b101	f̩s̩z̩	ɸusul
b102	buːnu	ono
b103	zzaɾa	lzaɾa
b104	ffaʦɿ	ɸɸaʦɨ
b105	soːki / baːki	soːki

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b106	'spade; shovel'	NR (There were no cattle.)	NR ('sɯ[ki; a picture was shown but there was no response. The men would know it; it is used with horses.)	ski
b107	'iron pot; kettle'	haɡama	pa[ɡama (o[kama 'cooking stove')	ukama
b108	'rice paddle'	kina	miɯ̥ski[na (miɯ̥[sɯ 'rice paddle'; ki[na 'ladle')	kina
b109	'cane; walking stick; wand'	diːɡiː	gu[ɕan	guɕaŋ
b110	(missing)			
b111	'paper'	kabiː	ka[bɨ (without an 's'-sound)	kabᶻn̩
b112	'(thick) rope'	n̥na: / n̥na	ʦɯ̥[na	ʦn̩na
b113	'(tobacco) pipe'	t'iː ('ttiː'?)	kˢɨ[sɨɯ	kiɕin̩
b114	'name'	namai	[naː	naː
b115	'sail; canvas'	huː	[puː	puː
b116	'load; cargo'	niː	[niː	ɲimuʦn̩
b117	'metal'	kani	ka[ni	kaɲi
b118	'money'	din	ʥi[n̩	ʥiŋ
b119	'sound; noise'	NR (The form obtained was '…nu narijuʔ' ('…-NOMINATIVE to.sound'))	u[tu	NR / (oto)
b120	'song'	aːɡu	[aː]ɡu	aːɡu
b121	'bridge'	NR (There were no bridges; sambaɕi 'pier'.)	ha[ɕi	pʰasɿ

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No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b106	maːjama	maːjama (for digging up slightly) / sŋ̩ki	s(ɯ̥)ki / jama
b107	ukama	paɡama	ʔukama
b108	kʰina	miskai	kina
b109	–	ɡuɕaŋ	ɡuɕaŋ
b110			
b111	kabᶾʔ	kabᶾʔ	kabḷᶻ (kabituḷᶻ 'kite'; combination of the words for 'paper' and 'bird')
b112	tsʔna	tsʔna	tsɨna
b113	kiɕiᶾʔ ('ᶾʔ' has weak friction.)	kiɕiᶾʔ	kʰiɕiːḷᶻ
b114	naː	naː ('name'; duːga naː 'one's own name')	naː
b115	puː	puː	(funi nu) puː
b116	niː	niː	niː
b117	kani	kani	kʰani
b118	dʑiŋ	dʑiŋ	dʑiŋ
b119	kannaᶾʔ ('thunder')	utu	naḷᶻ
b120	aːɡu(ː)	aːɡu	aːɡu
b121	pasʔ	pḁsʔ	NR

No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b106	su̥ki	sɨki
b107	ukama / ukuma	ukama
b108	kina	kina
b109	guɕaŋ	guɕan
b110		
b111	kabz	kabɨː
b112	tsna	tsɨna
b113	ttɕ(ˀ)z	tɕil
b114	naː	naː
b115	puː	puː (accompanied by a slight bilabial trill)
b116	nʲiː	niː
b117	kani	
b118	dʑiŋ	dʑiŋ
b119	naːz̩	utu
b120	ajagu ~ ajago	aːgu
b121	pasz ~ pasˤˀː	pʰa̰sɨː

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b122	'stone'	iɕi	i[sɯ ('[issadʑari' when there are many)	isˢ
b123	'feces'	ɸu̥su	ɸ[sɯ ('ɸɯ[sɯ' when pronounced slowly)	ssu
b124	'grain (of something); particle'	NR	dü:[dʑɯ¨ / dʑü:[dʑü (ma ɯdudʑu 'grain of rice'; sekkendʑudʑu 'lump of soap')	tsˢbu
b125	'life'	n̩nutsˢ	ɯ[nutsɯ	nnutsˢ
b126	'pig shed; lavatory'	wa:nuɕɕi	[tu:wa / [tu̥ːwa / wa:nuja	wa: nu ja:
b127	'illness'	jamijuˢ (verb)	ja[mi]ɯ / jamijɯ (A noun was difficult to elicit.)	jaŋ
b128	'pillar; post; column'	hala ('l' is perhaps pronounced somewhat behind the alveolar ridge; hassa 'mast'.)	pa[ɾa	paɾa
b129	'imitation'	ma:bi	mʲa:[bi	ɲa:bi
b130	'lie; untruth'	bakuɾau / bakuɾo: ('l' instead of 'ɾ'?)	da[ɾa]ɸu	daɾaxa
b131	'smell; scent'	kadʑa	ka[dʑa / ka[basɯ̥kan̩	kʰada
b132	'(the) front'	a:gi ('(the) front'; ɕita, ɕ ita:ɾa '(the) back')	[ma:sɨma (kaisɨma '(the) back')	a:ɾa
b133	'outside'	aɾa	[a:]ɾa	a:ɾa / puka [elicited]

No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b122	isʔ	isʔ	isɨ
b123	ssu	fu̥su	fsu
b124	gumadani	sʔʣʔ	NR
b125	nnuʦʔ	nnuʦʔ	nnuʦɨ
b126	waː nu jaː / ɸuˀʔ ('ʔ' has weak friction)	waːnu jaː (It is not used for 'lavatory'; 'fuːʔ' is used for that.)	NR
b127	jaŋ / bʲoᵈza	jam	jam
b128	paɾa	paɾa	paɾa ~ para
b129	naːbi	naːbi	naːbi
b130	daɾaɸu̥	janaʣai / damasai (nominalization of 'to.deceive-PASSIVE') / also 'daɾaka'	daɾaka
b131	kadʥza	kadʑa	kʰadʑ(ʲ)a
b132	waːbi	umuti	maːsma / kaisma ('(the) back', only of clothes; 'waːbi' and 'si̥ta' for the front and reverse sides of paper)
b133	pʰuka	pu̥ka // aːra	aɾaː

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No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b122	isɿ	isɨ
b123	ɸu̥su	ɸu̥sɨ
b124	tsubu	tsɨbu
b125	nnutsɿ	nnutsɨ
b126	waːnu jaː / NR ('lavatory')	ɸu̥sɨ mal tsubu (apparently not what was intended to be elicited)
b127	jam̩	jam
b128	paɾa	paɾa
b129	maːbi	maːbi
b130	skas̩ / daɾafu	taɾaɸu
b131	kadʑa	kusamunu / kabasumunu ('bad smell' / 'good smell')
b132	umuti	mae̯ (tɕibi '(the) back')
b133	aɾiː	pu̥ka

No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b134	'inside'	naka ('middle; inside')	naː ('middle; inside'; [jaː na]ː 'inside the house')	naxa ~ naka ('x' in spontaneous utterance)
b135	'up; above; over; top'	aːgi	[waːgu	waːgi
b136	'down; below; under; bottom'	ɕi̥ta / ɕi̥taːɾa	sɨ[taːɾa	sta ('sːta' when pronounced slowly)
b137	'too; also (particle)'	ha[na]mai ('nose-too') / ha[na]mai ('flower-too')	–	–
b138	'a little'	hiːʦagama	[piːŋ]kaː	pittagaː
b139	'more'	m̥m̩ʲahi	–	–
b140	'much; many'	haːsa	u[poː]sa	–
b141	'small'	imiimi	i[miŋ]kaː / i[miŋ]ga	imikaŋ
b142	'large'	gabaː	u[ɸoːbi / u[ᵖɸoːbi	uːgatakaŋ
b143	'low; short (of height)'	ssabana / ssamunu ('munu' adjectival?)	–	–
b144	'the same'	junusui / junuɕɕi ('same age'; ɕɕi 'age')	–	–
b145	'short (of length)'	maːku	–	–
b146	'round; spherical'	maːku / maːɾa	–	–
b147	'that (medial pronoun)'	ui (scope of usage unclear; kaːma 'far away')	–	–
b148	'thing'	munu	–	–

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No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b134	naka	naka / uʦɿ	(jaː) naka
b135	waːbi	waːbi / waːgu	waːbi
b136	staːɾa	sɿ̥ta / sɿtaːɾa	sɿ̥ta
b137	–	–	–
b138	pitʨaː	ipiːʔttagama	ipitʨa ~ ipiːʨa / ipiːttʨagama
b139	–	–	–
b140	–	–	–
b141	imitʨa (imisɿma / imizɿma 'small island')	imiːtta	imiːmi / imimunu (imiːmi nu munu 'small thing'; 'imiːmi munu' is not used frequently.)
b142	upujaɾabi ('large child'; upoːupu 'very large')	upoːupu	upuːpu / upumunu (upuːpu nu munu 'large thing')
b143	–	–	–
b144	–	–	–
b145	–	–	–
b146	–	–	–
b147	–	–	–
b148	–	–	–

No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b134	naka ('middle; inside')	naka
b135	waːɾa	ʋaːɾa
b136	s̩taːɾa	sɨtaːɾa
b137	−	
b138	joː tʲaːi (ffiɾu)	ipiːta ɡama
b139	−	
b140	−	
b141	imiːimi	imimunu ɡama
b142	upoːup ~ opoːup	opo.opu (The vowel fluctuates between 'u ~ o'.)
b143	−	
b144	−	
b145	−	
b146	−	
b147	−	
b148	−	

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No.	Item	Ikema	Karimata	Shimajiri
b149	'to give (honorific)'	fiːsama	ɸiːsamai	fiːsamaʔ
b150	'to lend'	karasʔ	–	–

No.	Ōura	Nobaru	Bora
b149	fiː(ʔ) ('ʔ' has weak friction.)	fiː ('to give') / fiːsamaʔ ('to give (honorific)')	fiːsamal̥ᶻ (honorific) / fiː
b150	–	–	–

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No.	Irabu	Kuninaka
b149	ffiz	fi：samatal ('to.give(honorific)-PAST')
b150	–	

Grammar Data

N-155B-1	Standard Japanese	*hato-mo taka-mo tobu.* pigeon-too hawk-too to.fly 'Pigeons and hawks both fly.'	Researchers
N-155B-1	Ikema	ffjaduɾamai ('sparrow-too') takaɾmai tubi (/h/ fluctuates between 'h ~ ɸ ~ f' in this dialect. There were several repeated utterances and hesitations by the speakers, so the researchers' data also vary; in this report, the sound is uniformly transcribed as 'f'.)	N,N,D,U
N-155B-1	Karimata	pʰa̰tu mai tʰa̰kamai tubi	N,M
N-155B-1	Kugai	mːbatumai ta̰kamai tubˀ	N,H,N,M
N-155B-1	Yonaha	tuˀja tubansuɡa mbataː tubˀdu sˀ ('Birds don't fly, but pigeons do.')	S
N-155B-1	Kurima	pa̰tumeː ta̰kameː {tubz̦ / tubz̦du} sˀː ta̰kanudu tubz̦	K,U,D
N-155B-1	Miyaguni	{tuzmai/tuˀmai} ta̰kamai butuki̥	K,T
N-155B-1	Uruka	m̥batumai takamai tuviːdu uˀ	N,I,O
N-155B-1	Bora	mbatumai takamai tubz̦	K,T
N-155B-2	Standard Japanese	*kyoo-wa tenki-ga warui-kara hikooki-wa toba-nai.* today-TOPIC weather-NOMINATIVE to.be.bad-because plane-TOPIC to.fly-NEGATIVE 'Planes won't fly today, because the weather is bad.'	
N-155B-2	Ikema	kjuːja {teŋkinu / suɾanu} baikaiba tubimunumai tubaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-155B-2	Karimata	kjuːja {teŋkinu / ɰaːʦĩkinu} ɰasi̥kaɾiba çikoːkija tubampaˀĩ	N,M
N-155B-2	Kugai	kʲuːja ʋaːʦˀkˀnu {baskaːba / basˀkaːba} hikoːkjaː tubaŋ	N,H,N,M
N-155B-2	Yonaha	kʲuːja waːʦˀkˀnu baˀkaɾiba çikoːkʲaː tubaɴ	S
N-155B-2	Kurima	kʲuːja tintsˀnu bazkaɾiba çikoːkʲaː tubaŋ ‖ kʲuːja ʋaːʦtsˀnu janakaɾiba çikoːkʲaː tubaŋ	K,U,D
N-155B-2	Miyaguni	kjuːja tiŋki {bazkaiba / baˀkaiba} hi̥koːkʲaː ituŋ	K,T
N-155B-2	Uruka	kʲuːja waːˀskˀ baˀkaɾiba çikoːkʲaː tubaŋ	N,I,O
N-155B-2	Bora	kʲuːja waːʦkˀnu baz̦kaɾiba çi̥koːkja tubaŋ	K,T
N-155B-3	Standard Japanese	*kaze-de booshi-ga ton-da.* wind-INSTRUMENTAL hat-NOMINATIVE to.fly-PAST 'My hat was blown away by the wind.'	
N-155B-3	Ikema	kadiçiː kavvimunumai tubahaɾiɲaːɴ	N,N,D,U
N-155B-3	Karimata	kadz̦i ndu boːɕinu {tubiuˀĩ / tubjuː}	N,M
N-155B-3	Kugai	kadz̦iɕidu boːɕinu tubinʲaˀŋ (The existence of 'tubˀtaː' was not confirmed.)	N,H,N,M
N-155B-3	Yonaha	kˀnaː çikoːkʲaː {tubˀdu sˀtaː / tubˀtaː} ('Planes flew yesterday.')	S

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N-155B-3	Kurima	kaʥinu ʦʅːkaɾibadu boːɕimeː tubi ‖ kaʥinu {ʦuːkaɾibadu / ʦuːkaɾibadʊ} boːɕimeː {tubz̩taz̩ / tubz̩taˀ}	K,U,D
N-155B-3	Miyaguni	kazindu boːsinu {tubipiː/tubasaɾiɾjaː}	K,T
N-155B-3	Uruka	kaʥiɕidu boːɕinu tuvˀtaˀ	N,I,O
N-155B-3	Bora	kaʥiɕiː boːɕinu tubz̩taː	K,T
N-155B-4	Standard Japanese	*oyadori-ga tonde, koori-ga ton-da.* parent.bird-NOMINATIVE to.fly, little.bird-NOMINATIVE to.fly-PAST 'The parent bird flew away, after which the little bird flew away.'	
N-155B-4	Ikema	mmaduinu tubi ffaduinu tubiui	N,N,D,U
N-155B-4	Karimata	mmaduɾinu tubidu ffaːduïnu du bjuː	N,M
N-155B-4	Kugai	mmaduˀnu tubibadu ffaduˀmai tubˀ (*Shite*-continuative 'tubis̩' was not obtained.)	N,H,N,M
N-155B-4	Yonaha	mmaduˀnu tubitti ffaduˀmai {tubˀtaː/ tubˀtaɴ} (Perhaps 'tubˀtaɴ' instead of 'tubˀtaɴ'.)	S
N-155B-4	Kurima	mmaduz̩nu tubittidu ffaduzza {tubz̩taz̩ / tubz̩taˀ}	K,U,D
N-155B-4	Miyaguni	mmaduzdu tubiː ibiːnu tuzɡamanu tubipiɾijaː	K,T
N-155B-4	Uruka	ujaduˀnu tuvitti(du) ffaduˀnu tubˀtaˀ	N,I,O
N-155B-4	Bora	mmaduˀnu tubitʨi ffaduˀnu tubz̩taː	K,T
N-155B-5	Standard Japanese	*soko-kara tonde mi-ro.* there-ABLATIVE to.jump to.see-IMPERATIVE 'Try jumping from there.'	
N-155B-5	Ikema	umakaɾa tubi miːɾu	N,N,D,U
N-155B-5	Karimata	umaːɾa tubi miːru	N,M
N-155B-5	Kugai	umakaɾa tubi miːɾu	N,H,N,M
N-155B-5	Yonaha	umakaɾa tubi miːʃɾu	S
N-155B-5	Kurima	umakaɾa tubi miːɾʊ	K,U,D
N-155B-5	Miyaguni	umakaɾa tu̥bimiɾu	K,T
N-155B-5	Uruka	umakaɾa tuvi miːɾu	N,I,O
N-155B-5	Bora	umakaɾa tubi miːɾu	K,T
N-156B-1	Standard Japanese	*minna-de fune-o kogu.* everyone-INSTRUMENTAL boat-ACCUSATIVE to.row 'We all row the boat together.'	
N-156B-1	Ikema	nnaçi fuɲuː kuɡi	N,N,D,U
N-156B-1	Karimata	nːnaɕi fuɲiu kuɡi	N,M
N-156B-1	Kugai	mːnaɕiː funʲuː kuɡˀ	N,H,N,M
N-156B-1	Yonaha	mːnaɕiː funʲiu kuɡˀ ('iu' in 'funʲiu' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	S

N-156B-1	Kurima	haːɾiːnu fn̩ʲuːbaː muẓtuɕiːdu kudzɿ / <cf> muẓtuɕi fn̩ʲuː kuɡe ('All row the boat together.' (imperative))	K,U,D
N-156B-1	Miyaguni	m̩ːnasi fn̩iu kuɡi	K,T
N-156B-1	Uruka	m̩ːnaɕiː {funiju / funʲuː} {kuɡuˀ / kuɡuˀ}	N,I,O
N-156B-1	Bora	m̩ːnaɕi fʊn̩ʲuː kuɡẓ	K,T
N-156B-2	Standard Japanese	*daremo fune-o koga-nai.* anyone boat-ACCUSATIVE to.row-NEGATIVE 'No one rows the boat.'	
N-156B-2	Ikema	{tarumai / n̩ːna} {fuɲaː kuɡaɴ / fuɲuːba kuɡadẓaːɴ}	N,N,D,U
N-156B-2	Karimata	taɾumai fuɲi(ː)ba kuɡaɴ	N,M
N-156B-2	Kugai	taːmai funʲuːba kuɡaŋ	N,H,N,M
N-156B-2	Yonaha	toːmai funʲiubaː kuɡaɴ	S
N-156B-2	Kurima	toːmeː fn̩ʲuːbaː kuɡaŋ	K,U,D
N-156B-2	Miyaguni	toːmai fn̩iubaː kuɡaŋ	K,T
N-156B-2	Uruka	taɾuːmai funʲuː kuɡaŋ̍	N,I,O
N-156B-2	Bora	taːmai fʊn̩ʲuːbaː kuɡaŋ̍	K,T
N-156B-3	Standard Japanese	*mukashi-wa yoku fune-o koi-da.* long.ago-TOPIC often boat-ACCUSATIVE to.row-PAST 'Back in the day, I often rowed the boat.'	
N-156B-3	Ikema	ŋkjaːnna juːdu fuɲuːba kuɡitai	N,N,D,U
N-156B-3	Karimata	ŋkjaːnna juːdu fuɲuːba kuːdaï	N,M
N-156B-3	Kugai	ŋkʲaːnna juːdu funʲuː kuɡˀtaː	N,H,N,M
N-156B-3	Yonaha	ŋkʲaːnna juːdu funʲiubaː kuɡˀtaː	S
N-156B-3	Kurima	ŋkʲaːnna fn̩ʲuːbaː juːdu kudztaˀ	K,U,D
N-156B-3	Miyaguni	ŋkjaːnna uɾusi̥ku fn̩iubaː kuɡiuta	K,T
N-156B-3	Uruka	ŋkʲaːnna juːdu funʲuː kuɡˀtaˀ	N,I,O
N-156B-3	Bora	ŋkʲanna jaudu fn̩ʲuː kuɡztaː	K,T
N-156B-4	Standard Japanese	*fune-o koide, sonoato yasum-e.* boat-ACCUSATIVE to.row, after.that to.rest-IMPERATIVE 'Row the boat; then, take a rest.'	
N-156B-4	Ikema	fuɲaː kuɡittikaɾa jukui	N,N,D,U
N-156B-4	Karimata	fuɲuː kuɡidu atuɲi jukoːdai	N,M
N-156B-4	Kugai	funʲuː kuɡittikaɾa jukui	N,H,N,M
N-156B-4	Yonaha	funʲaː kuɡittiː uɾiɡa atuɴ jukui (funʲaː 'boat-TOPIC')	S
N-156B-4	Kurima	fn̩ʲuː kuɡitti unu atụːbaː jukui	K,U,D
N-156B-4	Miyaguni	fn̩ia {kuɡicci / kuɡiccjaː} unuatoː buɡaɾikaiba jukui	K,T
N-156B-4	Uruka	funʲuː kuɡittikaɾa jukui	N,I,O
N-156B-4	Bora	fn̩ʲaː kuɡittɕi unu atuŋ jukui	K,T

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N-156B-5	Standard Japanese	*hitori-de fune-o koide ki-ta.* one.person-INSTRUMENTAL boat-ACCUSATIVE to.row to.come-PAST 'I rowed the boat by myself.'	
N-156B-5	Ikema	{taʊkaːçiː / tavkaːçiː} fuɲaː {kuɡiːfiːɾu ('to.row to.give-IMPERATIVE') / kuɡittai ('to.row-PAST')}	N,N,D,U
N-156B-5	Karimata	taʊkjaːɕidu fuɲuː kuɡikiɕi	N,M
N-156B-5	Kugai	taɸkʲaːɕidu funʲuː kuɡikˀn̩taː	N,H,N,M
N-156B-5	Yonaha	tɔʊkʲaːɕiːdu funʲaː kuɡn̩du sn̩taː (funʲaː 'boat-TOPIC')	S
N-156B-5	Kurima	{taɸkʲaːɕiːdu / taɸkʲaːɕiːdʊ} fnʲuː kuɡitstan	K,U,D
N-156B-5	Miyaguni	taʊkjaːsidu fniu kuɡikstaː	K,T
N-156B-5	Uruka	tavkʲaːɕidu {funiju / funʲuː} {kuɡikˀstan / kuɡzikˀstan}	N,I,O
N-156B-5	Bora	taʊkʲaːɕidu fn̩ʲuː kuɡikstaː	K,T
N-157-1	Standard Japanese	*mainichi umi-e iku.* every.day sea-ALLATIVE to.go 'I go to the sea every day.'	
N-157-1	Ikema	juiçiː iŋkai ifu	N,N,D,U
N-157-1	Karimata	maiɲitsï iŋɡai ifu	N,M
N-157-1	Kugai	mainitsn̩ imkai ikˀn̩	N,H,N,M
N-157-1	Yonaha	mainʲitsn̩du imkai ikˀn̩ (Also pronounced 'maːinʲitsn̩du' when emphasized.)	S
N-157-1	Kurima	maiːnʲits imkeːdu {its / itsn̩}	K,U,D
N-157-1	Miyaguni	maiːnicï imkai ikʒɡamata	K,T
N-157-1	Uruka	{itsn̩ːmai / mainitsn̩} im̩kai {ikˀn̩ / iksn̩s}	N,I,O
N-157-1	Bora	maiːnʲitsn̩ im̩kai {iks̩ / piz̩}	K,T
N-157-2	Standard Japanese	*chichi-wa tenki-ga warui-kara umi-e-wa ika-nai.* father-TOPIC weather-NOMINATIVE to.be.bad-because sea-ALLATIVE-TOPIC to.go-NEGATIVE 'My father won't go to the sea, because the weather is bad.'	
N-157-2	Ikema	(otoːɰa) kjuːja teŋkinu baikaiba iŋkaija ikaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-157-2	Karimata	ujaː ɰaːtsïkinu basïkaɾiba iŋɡaija ikaɴ	N,M
N-157-2	Kugai	ʔn̩zaː ʋaːtsn̩kˀn̩ javviːdu imkaija ikaŋ (When asked about how 'aːdʑa' was used for 'father' in the case of N-165-3, the speaker changed 'ʔn̩zaː' into 'aːdʑaː'.)	N,H,N,M
N-157-2	Yonaha	ʋjaʃː waːtsn̩kˀn̩nu baʔn̩kaɾibadu imkaija ikaɴ	S
N-157-2	Kurima	ujaː ʋaːtstsn̩ŋnu baz̩kaɾiba imkeːja ikaŋ	K,U,D
N-157-2	Miyaguni	ujaː {ciŋkzɡa / ciŋkn̩ɡa} bazkaiba imkaija ikazjaŋ	K,T
N-157-2	Uruka	ujaː waːˡskˀn̩nu baʔn̩kaɾiba im̩kaija ikaŋ	N,I,O
N-157-2	Bora	ujaː waːtsk̩ˀn̩nu bazkaɾiba im̩kaija ikaŋ	K,T

N-157-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo-mo umi-e it-ta.* yesterday-too sea-ALLATIVE to.go-PAST 'I went to the sea yesterday, too.'	
N-157-3	Ikema	fu̜nuː iŋkai ifu̜tai	N,N,D,U
N-157-3	Karimata	kinumaidu iŋɡai {ifu̜tai / iftai}	N,M
N-157-3	Kugai	kʔnumai imkai pi̥ˑtaː	N,H,N,M
N-157-3	Yonaha	kʔnumaidu imkai ikʔ̍taː	S
N-157-3	Kurima	tsnumeː ʋaːtstsʔ̍nu baʑkaɾiba imkeː itstaʔ ‖ tsnoː ʋaːtstsʔ̍nu baʑkaɾibadʊ imkeː itstaʔ	K,U,D
N-157-3	Miyaguni	kïnuːmai imkai ikstaː	K,T
N-157-3	Uruka	ᵏsʔnuːmai imkai {iksʔtaʔ / ikstaː} (The pronunciation of 'ks' approaches double articulation; this also holds for the rest of the data.)	N,I,O
N-157-3	Bora	ʦʔnuːmai imkai {iksta̤ː / piʑ̍taː}	K,T
N-157-4	Standard Japanese	*umi-e itte, oyoide ki-ta.* sea-ALLATIVE to.go, to.swim to.come-PAST 'I went to the sea to swim.'	
N-157-4	Ikema	iɲɲi ikiː uːɡittai	N,N,D,U
N-157-4	Karimata	iŋɡai ikidu uiɡi {fu̜tai / ftai}	N,M
N-157-4	Kugai	imkai ikiːdu uːɡi kʔ̍taː (The *shite*-continuative was not obtained.)	N,H,N,M
N-157-4	Yonaha	im ikidu ʋ ːɡitti kʔ̍ʔ ('ikidu' is an *ari*-continuative. When asked the speaker also accepted 'im ikittiː ʋːɡidu kʔ̍ʔ', but this sentence was not uttered by the speaker.)	S
N-157-4	Kurima	imkeː {ikiːdu / ikittidʊ} uːɡi ʦtaʔ	K,U,D
N-157-4	Miyaguni	{imkai / immikidu} iki̥ccie̥ uːɡʒːtaː	K,T
N-157-4	Uruka	im̍kai ikitti uːɡi {ksʔtaː / kstaʔ}	N,I,O
N-157-4	Bora	im̍kai iki̥tʦidu uːɡi ksta̤ː	K,T
N-157-5	Standard Japanese	*umi-e-wa hitori-de itte ko-i.* sea-ALLATIVE-TOPIC one.person-INSTRUMENTAL to.go to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go to the sea alone.'	
N-157-5	Ikema	iŋkaija {taʋkaː / taʋkaː} {ikiː / iki̥ː kuː} ('ʋ' is a back (centralized) close (towards close-mid) vowel; 'ʋ' is a labiodental approximant.)	N,N,D,U
N-157-5	Karimata	iŋɡaija taʋkjaːɕi iki kuː	N,M
N-157-5	Kugai	imkai taɸkeːɕiː iki kuː	N,H,N,M
N-157-5	Yonaha	imkaija taʋkʲaːɕiː {ikitti kuː / iki fuɡ ʲaːnna} ('ikitti' is a *shite*-continuative; 'iki' in 'iki fuɡ ʲaː nna' ('to.go to.give-NEGATIVE-INTERROGATIVE') is an *ari*-continuative.)	S

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N-157-5	Kurima	imkeːja taɟkʲaːɕiː {ikiṭti kuː / ikiḳkuː}	K,U,D
N-157-5	Miyaguni	imkaija taʊkja: iki̥ kuː	K,T
N-157-5	Uruka	imkaija tavk̟ʲaːɕiː ikikuː	N,I,O
N-157-5	Bora	im̥kaija taʊkʲaːɕi iki̥ kuː	K,T
N-158-1	Standard Japanese	*kyoo-wa chichi-ga uchi-ni kuru.* today-TOPIC father-NOMINATIVE house-LOCATIVE to.come 'Today, my father will come to my house.'	
N-158-1	Ikema	kjuːja ᶻïzaɡadu jaːŋkai fuː	N,N,D,U
N-158-1	Karimata	kjuːja ujaːdu jaːju ffu	N,M
N-158-1	Kugai	kʲuːja ˀzanudu jaːŋkai {kˀ̩sˀ̩ / ksː}	N,H,N,M
N-158-1	Yonaha	kʲuːja ʊjaɡadu jaːŋkai kˀ̩sˀ̩	S
N-158-1	Kurima	kʲuːja ujaɡadu jaːŋkeː mmʲaꜝ / mmʲaꜝ (Honorific for 'to come'.) <cf> dusnudu jaːŋkeː ʦsꜝ ('My friend will come to my house.')	K,U,D
N-158-1	Miyaguni	kjuːja ujaɡadu jaːŋkai kïː	K,T
N-158-1	Uruka	kʲuːja ujaɡadu jaːŋkai {ksꜝ / ksˀꜝ} (The honorific for 'to come' is 'm̩mʲaˀꜝ'.)	N,I,O
N-158-1	Bora	kʲuːja ujaɡadu jaːŋkai kˀꜝ	K,T
N-158-2	Standard Japanese	*kyoo-wa haha-wa ko-nai.* today-TOPIC mother-TOPIC to.come-NEGATIVE 'Today, my mother won't come.'	
N-158-2	Ikema	kjuːja mmaɡadu kuːɴ	N,N,D,U
N-158-2	Karimata	kjuːja annaː {kuːɴ / fuːɴ}	N,M
N-158-2	Kugai	kʲuːja aneː kuːŋ	N,H,N,M
N-158-2	Yonaha	kʲuːja annaː kuːɴ	S
N-158-2	Kurima	kʲuːja annaː kuːŋ̩	K,U,D
N-158-2	Miyaguni	kjuːja annaː kuːŋ	K,T
N-158-2	Uruka	kʲuːja an̩naː kuːŋ̩	N,I,O
N-158-2	Bora	kʲuːja annaː kuːŋ̩	K,T
N-158-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo chichi-ga uchi-ni ki-ta.* yesterday father-NOMINATIVE house-LOCATIVE to.come-PAST 'My father came to my house, yesterday.'	
N-158-3	Ikema	{fu̩nuː/n̩nuː} ᶻïzaɡa jaːŋkai {ttai / tʼai}	N,N,D,U
N-158-3	Karimata	kinudu uja: jai kiɕi	N,M
N-158-3	Kugai	kˀnoː ˀzanudu jaːŋkai kˀ̩taː	N,H,N,M
N-158-3	Yonaha	kˀna: ʊjaɡadu {jaːŋkeː / jaːŋkai} kˀ̩sˀ̩taː	S
N-158-3	Kurima	ʦnoː ujaɡadu jaːŋkeː mmʲaꜝtaꜝ (Honorific for 'came'.) / {ʦstaꜝ / ʦtaꜝ} (Non-honorific for 'came'.)	K,U,D
N-158-3	Miyaguni	kïnuːdu ujaɡa jaːŋkai kïːtaː	K,T

N-158-3	Uruka	ksˀnuː ujaː jaːŋkai {ksˀtaː / ksˀtaˀŋ}	N,I,O
N-158-3	Bora	ʦˀnuː ujaɡadu jaːŋkai kṣtaː	K,T
N-158-4	Standard Japanese	*kocchi-e kite, uchi-ni modot-ta.* this.way-ALLATIVE to.come, house-LOCATIVE to.return-PAST 'I came over here and returned home.'	
N-158-4	Ikema	kumattikaɾa jaːŋkai muduitai	N,N,D,U
N-158-4	Karimata	umai {kiɕidu / kiɕiɕidu} jai muduta	N,M
N-158-4	Kugai	kumaŋkai {kˀŋɕittikaɾa / kiɕittikaɾa} jaːŋkai piṭaː	N,H,N,M
N-158-4	Yonaha	kumaŋkai kˀŋɕiṭṭidu jaːŋkai piːtaː	S
N-158-4	Kurima	kumaŋkeː ʨiɕiṭṭidu jaːŋkeː {piˀtaˀ / piˀztaˀ}	K,U,D
N-158-4	Miyaguni	kumaŋkai kiṣiccidu jaːŋkai muduˀtaː	K,T
N-158-4	Uruka	kumaŋkai kiɕiṭṭidu jaːŋkai muduɾi piˀztaˀŋ ('to.return to.go-PAST')	N,I,O
N-158-4	Bora	kumaŋkai kiɕiṭʨidu jaːŋkai piẓtaː	K,T
N-158-5	Standard Japanese	*kocchi-e hayaku ko-i.* this.way-ALLATIVE to.be.early to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Quickly come over here.'	
N-158-5	Ikema	kumaŋkai hajamaɾi kuː	N,N,D,U
N-158-5	Karimata	umai haːɾi kuː	N,M
N-158-5	Kugai	umaŋkai peːpeːti kuː	N,H,N,M
N-158-5	Yonaha	kumaŋkai pʲaːkai kuː	S
N-158-5	Kurima	kumaŋkeː pʲaːkaɾi kuː	K,U,D
N-158-5	Miyaguni	kumaŋkai pjaːpjaː ku̥ː	K,T
N-158-5	Uruka	kumaŋkai pʲaːpʲaːti kuː	N,I,O
N-158-5	Bora	kumaŋkai pʲaːkaɾi kuː	K,T
N-158-5	Standard Japanese	*kocchi-e kite mi-ro.* this.way-ALLATIVE to.come to.see-IMPERATIVE 'Try coming over here.'	
N-158-5	Ikema	umatti miːɾu	N,N,D,U
N-158-5	Karimata	{umai / umaːi} kiɕi miːɾu	N,M
N-158-5	Kugai	umaŋkai {kˀŋɕi / kiɕi} miːɾu	N,H,N,M
N-158-5	Yonaha	kumaŋkai kˀŋɕi miːʃɾu	S
N-158-5	Kurima	kumaŋkeː {ʨiɕimiːɾʊ / ʨiɕimiːɾo}	K,U,D
N-158-5	Miyaguni	kumaŋkai kiṣi miɾu	K,T
N-158-5	Uruka	kumaŋkai {kiɕi / kiɕi} miːɾu	N,I,O
N-158-5	Bora	kumaŋkai kiɕi miːɾu	K,T
N-159-1	Standard Japanese	*nigatsu-wa yoku ame-ga furu.* February-TOPIC often rain-NOMINATIVE to.fall 'In February, it rains often.'	

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N-159-1	Ikema	{fuːʥïʦïnna / fuːʥïʦïnda} juːdu {aminu / amjaː} fuː	N,N,D,U
N-159-1	Karimata	ɲiɡaʦunna juːdu aminu {ffu/fuː}	N,M
N-159-1	Kugai	niɡatʦa juːdu aminu fuʔ	N,H,N,M
N-159-1	Yonaha	nʲiɡatʦa juːdu aminu ffi̥	S
N-159-1	Kurima	nʲiɡaʦ̩ŋna aminudu juː ffʊ̩	K,U,D
N-159-1	Miyaguni	niɡacunna unusi̥ksu aminu fuʔ	K,T
N-159-1	Uruka	niɡatʦa juːdu aminu fuʔ	N,I,O
N-159-1	Bora	nʲiɡatʦaː juːdu aminu fʊz̩	K,T
N-159-2	Standard Japanese	*kinoo-wa ame-ga fura-nai.* tomorrow-TOPIC rain-TOPIC to.fall-NEGATIVE 'It won't rain, tomorrow.'	
N-159-2	Ikema	aʦaː amjaː ffaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-159-2	Karimata	aʦaː amjaː ffaɴ	N,M
N-159-2	Kugai	aʦaː ameː furaŋ	N,H,N,M
N-159-2	Yonaha	aʦuː amʲaː ffaɴ (Perhaps 'aʦuː' is the zero-case form for 'tomorrow'.)	S
N-159-2	Kurima	aʦaː amʲaː ffaŋ	K,U,D
N-159-2	Miyaguni	acʲaː amjaː ffaŋ	K,T
N-159-2	Uruka	aʦaː amʲaː ffaŋ̩	N,I,O
N-159-2	Bora	ataː amʲaː ffaŋ̩	K,T
N-159-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo-wa ame-ga fut-ta.* yesterday-TOPIC rain-NOMINATIVE to.fall-PAST 'Yesterday, it rained.'	
N-159-3	Ikema	nnuː amjaː fuːtai	N,N,D,U
N-159-3	Karimata	kinoː aminudu {ffi / fuɕi}	N,M
N-159-3	Kugai	kʔnoː aminudu fuʔtaː	N,H,N,M
N-159-3	Yonaha	kʔnaː aminudu ffu̥ttaː	S
N-159-3	Kurima	ʦʔnoː aminudu ffi̥taʔ	K,U,D
N-159-3	Miyaguni	kïnuːja aminudu fuztaː	K,T
N-159-3	Uruka	ksʔnuːja aminudu {fʔtaʔ / fʔtaː}	N,I,O
N-159-3	Bora	ʦʔnuːja aminudu fʊz̩taː	K,T
N-159-4	Standard Japanese	*ooame-ga futte, hideri-ga tuzui-teiru.* heavy.rain-NOMINATIVE to.fall, drought-NOMINATIVE to.continue-PROGRESSIVE 'After the heavy rain, there has continued to be a drought.'	
N-159-4	Ikema	ɡabaː aminu ffiː ntanu ('earth-NOMINATIVE') kaːkijui ('to.dry.up-STATIVE')	N,N,D,U
N-159-4	Karimata	upu aminudu fiɕite pjaːinu ʦïʥïkiːjuɴ	N,M

N-159-4	Kugai	{abˀza'ami / abˀzaːmi} furiːdu pʲaˀnu ʦɿʣɿkʲuː (The apostrophe signifies a hiatus.)	N,H,N,M
N-159-4	Yonaha	upu aminudu ffitti pʲaˀnu ʦuzukiu ('iu' in 'ʦuzukiu' is an ambiguous diphthong; it can also be interpreted as 'ʦuzukʲuː'.)	S
N-159-4	Kurima	upuaminu ffiṭṭidʊ pʲaːrinu ʨuːkaˀ <cf> pʲaːrinu {ʦɿ̥ʣɿkʲuː / ʦɿʣɿkʲuː} ('the sunshine is strong')	K,U,D
N-159-4	Miyaguni	up.aminu ficcidu waːcɨ̥kinu cuzukiu	K,T
N-159-4	Uruka	upuː aminu ffitti(du) atoː pʲaˀ ʦʣɿki uz ('there has continued to be a drought')	N,I,O
N-159-4	Bora	upuaminu ffiʨidu pʲaːrinu ʦɿʣɿkʲuː	K,T
N-159-5	Standard Japanese	*ima ame-ga fut-teiru.* now rain-NOMINATIVE to.fall-PROGRESSIVE 'It's raining now.'	
N-159-5	Ikema	nːnama aminu ffjuːui	N,N,D,U
N-159-5	Karimata	nnamaː aminudu {fjuː / ffjuː}	N,M
N-159-5	Kugai	nnamaː aminudu furʲuː	N,H,N,M
N-159-5	Yonaha	nnamadu aminu ffiuː ('iu' in 'ffiuː' is an ambiguous diphthong; it can also be interpreted as 'ffʲuː'.)	S
N-159-5	Kurima	n̩namaː aminudu {ffʲuːˀ / ffʲuːˀ}	K,U,D
N-159-5	Miyaguni	nnama aminu fjuː	K,T
N-159-5	Uruka	namaː aminudu {ffiuˀ / fʲuːˀ}	N,I,O
N-159-5	Bora	n̩namadu aminu ffʲuː	K,T
N-159-5	Standard Japanese	*ame-ga futte ki-ta.* rain-NOMINATIVE to.fall to.come-PAST 'It has started raining.'	
N-159-5	Ikema	aminu ffiː fuːdoː	N,N,D,U
N-159-5	Karimata	aminudu ffi kiɕi	N,M
N-159-5	Kugai	aminudu furi {kˀɿ̥ː / ksː}	N,H,N,M
N-159-5	Yonaha	aminudu ffi kɿˀ	S
N-159-5	Kurima	aminudu ffi̥ ʨiɕuːˀ ('to.fall to.come-STATIVE')	K,U,D
N-159-5	Miyaguni	aminudu ffikʒ	K,T
N-159-5	Uruka	aminudu ffi ksɿː	N,I,O
N-159-5	Bora	aminu ffiː kˀɿː	K,T
N-160-1	Standard Japanese	*minna koko-de oriru.* everyone here-LOCATIVE to.get.off 'Everyone gets off here.'	
N-160-1	Ikema	nːnanai umakara uriru	N,N,D,U

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N-160-1	Karimata	nːna umandu uɾiui (uɾipaˀï 'to.get.off-EPISTEMIC'; uɾaɕi 'to.drop.off-IMPERATIVE')	N,M
N-160-1	Kugai	mːna umaŋ uɾiˀ	N,H,N,M
N-160-1	Yonaha	mːna kumaɴ uɾiɾu (Perhaps 'uɾiɾu' is an imperative.)	S
N-160-1	Kurima	muːztu kumaŋkeː uɾiˀ ‖ muːˀɪtʊ kumaŋkeː uɾiˀ	K,U,D
N-160-1	Miyaguni	mːna {kumau / kumaŋkai} uɾiɾu	K,T
N-160-1	Uruka	mˌna kuman uɾittɕaː ('to.get.off-EMPHATIC' (intentional); an assertive form was not obtained.)	N,I,O
N-160-1	Bora	mˌna umaṇdu uɾi	K,T
N-160-2	Standard Japanese	*watashi-wa koko-de-wa ori-nai.* I-TOPIC here-LOCATIVE-TOPIC to.get.off-NEGATIVE 'I don't get off here.'	
N-160-2	Ikema	baː umanna uɾidʑaːɴ	N,N,D,U
N-160-2	Karimata	baː umanna uɾidaɾaɴ (Perhaps 'to.get.off-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE'.)	N,M
N-160-2	Kugai	bajaː umanna uɾiŋ	N,H,N,M
N-160-2	Yonaha	bajaː kumanna {uɾudʲaɴ / uˀdʑaɴ}	S
N-160-2	Kurima	abaː kumaŋkeː {uɾuŋ / uɾɯŋ / uɾudʑaːŋ}	K,U,D
N-160-2	Miyaguni	bajaː kumaŋkaija uɾuzjaːŋ	K,T
N-160-2	Uruka	bajaː kumaṇna ʊru {ɾʲaŋ̩ / dʲaŋ̩}	N,I,O
N-160-2	Bora	bajaː umaṇna uɾuŋ̩	K,T
N-160-3	Standard Japanese	*koko-de basu-o ori-ta.* here-LOCATIVE bus-ACCUSATIVE to.get.off-PAST 'I got off the bus here.'	
N-160-3	Ikema	umandu basukaɾa uɾitai	N,N,D,U
N-160-3	Karimata	uma uɾidu bassudu uɾitai (The nature of 'uɾi' in 'uɾidu' is uncertain.)	N,M
N-160-3	Kugai	umandu basː uɾitaː	N,H,N,M
N-160-3	Yonaha	kumandu {bassu / basukaɾa} uɾitaː (basukaɾa 'bus-ABLATIVE')	S
N-160-3	Kurima	kumaŋkeːdu bassa {uɾitaz̩ / uɾitaŋ}	K,U,D
N-160-3	Miyaguni	kumaŋkaidu {bassu / basu̥kaɾa} uɾitaː	K,T
N-160-3	Uruka	kumaṇdu bassuː {uɾitaː/uɾitaˀ}	N,I,O
N-160-3	Bora	umaṇdu basṣu uɾitaː	K,T
N-160-4	Standard Japanese	*basu-o orite, denwa kake-ro.* bus-ACCUSATIVE to.get.off, telephone to.put.on-IMPERATIVE 'Get off the bus and make a call.'	
N-160-4	Ikema	basukaɾa uɾiː denɰau jaːŋkai kakiɾu	N,N,D,U
N-160-4	Karimata	bassu uɾiɕiti deˀ̃ɰau aɕi kuː	N,M
N-160-4	Kugai	bas uɾitti demŋʊo kạkiɾu	N,H,N,M
N-160-4	Yonaha	basu̥pa uɾitti demŋʊɔː kakiɾu	S

N-160-4	Kurima	baskara uɾittidu demŋʋao kạkiɾu	K,U,D
N-160-4	Miyaguni	basu̥kaɾa uɾitte̥ deũwau kạkiɾu	K,T
N-160-4	Uruka	bassu uɾitti demu̥wauba: kạkiɾu	N,I,O
N-160-4	Bora	basa: uɾittɕi demŋʋau kạkiɾu	K,T
N-160-5	Standard Japanese	*imooto-ga basu-kara orite ki-ta.* younger.sister-NOMINATIVE bus-ABLATIVE to.get.off to.come-PAST 'My sister came out of the bus.'	
N-160-5	Ikema	uttunu midunnu basukaɾa uɾittɕu:i	N,N,D,U
N-160-5	Karimata	utudunudu basukaɾa uɾi kiɕi	N,M
N-160-5	Kugai	ututunudu bas: uɾi ks:	N,H,N,M
N-160-5	Yonaha	bunaʔnudu basu̥kaɾa uɾi kŋsŋ	S
N-160-5	Kurima	utu̥tu̥nudu baskaɾa uɾi {tɕtaʔ / tɕsṭaʔ}	K,U,D
N-160-5	Miyaguni	utu̥tu basu̥kaɾa uɾi kị̈ta:	K,T
N-160-5	Uruka	aŋ̣gaga ('older.sister-NOMINATIVE') basu̥kaɾa {uɾiksṭaʔ / uɾiksɿtaʔ}	N,I,O
N-160-5	Bora	utu̥tunudu baskaɾa uɾi ksṭa:	K,T
N-161-1	Standard Japanese	*saru-mo ki-kara ochiru.* monkey-too tree-ABLATIVE to.fall 'Even monkeys fall from trees./Even the best sometimes make mistakes.'	
N-161-1	Ikema	saɾumai ki:kaɾa uti:jui	N,N,D,U
N-161-1	Karimata	saɾumai ki:gaɾadu {utidu / utɕi}	N,M
N-161-1	Kugai	saɾumai ki:kaɾa utiʔ	N,H,N,M
N-161-1	Yonaha	itɕu:maidu ki:kaɾa uti: ('They always fall from the trees (because the branches are weak).')	S
N-161-1	Kurima	saɾume: ki:kaɾa {utidus / utidusŋ̣} ('to.fall-EMPHATIC to.do') <cf> antɕi: itadzɿɾaɕu:ka: umakaɾa uti̥mdo: ('Being mischievous like that you'll fall down from there!')	K,U,D
N-161-1	Miyaguni	saɾumai ki:kaɾa uci	K,T
N-161-1	Uruka	saɾu:mai ki:kaɾa utidu {sɿ: / sɿʔ} (Apparently unnatural with 'utiʔ'. 'sɿ:' is sometimes accompanied by some slight friction.)	N,I,O
N-161-1	Bora	saɾumai ki:kaɾa utɕi	K,T
N-161-2	Standard Japanese	*ki-o yurashi-temo mi(mikan)-wa ochi-nai.* tree-ACCUSATIVE to.shake-even.when fruit(mandarin.orange)-TOPIC to.fall-NEGATIVE 'No mandarins fall from the tree, even when you shake it.'	
N-161-2	Ikema	ki: juɾugaɕimmai ki:nunaija dzï:ŋkaija utiɴ	N,N,D,U
N-161-2	Karimata	ki:ju juɾugaɕɕa:mai n:ta: utiɴ	N,M
N-161-2	Kugai	ki:ju juɾaɕi:mmai naʔza utiŋ	N,H,N,M
N-161-2	Yonaha	ki:ju juɾugaɕa:mai funʲizza utuɴ	S
N-161-2	Kurima	ki:ju juɾugaɕa:me: mikanna utu̥ŋ	K,U,D

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N-161-2	Miyaguni	kiːu juɾuɡasibam mikanna utuŋ	K,T
N-161-2	Uruka	kiːju ujukasabaŋ nazᶻᵃ utuŋ̩	N,I,O
N-161-2	Bora	kiːju jaɾasaːmai nazza utuŋ̩	K,T
N-161-3	Standard Japanese	*ani-ga ki-kara ochi-ta.* older.brother-NOMINATIVE tree-ABLATIVE to.fall-PAST 'My brother fell from the tree.'	
N-161-3	Ikema	sudzanu kiːkaɾa sandzaɾi ɲaːɴ (kaːɾanu utitai 'A roof tile fell down.')	N,N,D,U
N-161-3	Karimata	addzaː ('older.brother-TOPIC') kiːɡaɾa uti ‖ addzandu ('older.brother-NOMINATIVE') kiːɡaɾa utɕi	N,M
N-161-3	Kugai	sudzanudu kiːkaɾa utitaː	N,H,N,M
N-161-3	Yonaha	azaɡadu kiːkaɾa utitaː	S
N-161-3	Kurima	adzaŋadu kiːkaɾa {uti̥ / utiː / uti̥taz̩}	K,U,D
N-161-3	Miyaguni	azʲaɡa kiːkaɾa uci̥taː	K,T
N-161-3	Uruka	azaɡadu kiːkaɾa {utitaˀ / utitaː}	N,I,O
N-161-3	Bora	adzaɡadu kiːkaɾa utɕi̥taː	K,T
N-161-4	Standard Japanese	*ani-wa ki-kara ochite, ima-wa byooin-ni iru.* older.brother-TOPIC tree-ABLATIVE to.fall, now-TOPIC hospital-LOCATIVE to.be 'My brother fell from the tree and is now in the hospital.'	
N-161-4	Ikema	sudzaga kiːkaɾa sandzaɾiːti nnama iɕanujaːn uɾiui	N,N,D,U
N-161-4	Karimata	addza kiːɡaɾa utidu nnama bjoːindu uˀï	N,M
N-161-4	Kugai	sudzaː kiːkaɾa uti̥tidu nnamaː bʲoːiŋ uː	N,H,N,M
N-161-4	Yonaha	azaː kiːkaɾa utɕittidu nnamaː bʲoːiɴ· uꞋ (The friction noise of 'ꞋꞋ' in 'uꞋ' is weak.)	S
N-161-4	Kurima	adzaŋadu kiːkaɾa uti̥tti pḁtɕu jamaɕitti bʲoːiŋkeː piztaꞋ	K,U,D
N-161-4	Miyaguni	azaː kiːkaɾa ucĭccidu nnamaː bjoːindu uː	K,T
N-161-4	Uruka	azaː kiːkaɾa utittidu namaː bʲoːiŋ̩ uꞋ	N,I,O
N-161-4	Bora	adzaː kiːkaɾa utɕittɕidu nnamaː bʲoːin uː	K,T
N-161-5	Standard Japanese	*ame-wa ten-kara ochite kuru.* rain-TOPIC sky-ABLATIVE to.fall to.come 'Rain falls from the sky.'	
N-161-5	Ikema	ami tiŋkaɾa utiː fuː	N,N,D,U
N-161-5	Karimata	amjaː tiŋɡaɾadu utɕiː kuː	N,M
N-161-5	Kugai	ameː tiŋkaɾadu uti ks̩	N,H,N,M
N-161-5	Yonaha	amʲaa tiŋkaɾadu uti kʳs̩	S
N-161-5	Kurima	amʲaː {tiŋkaɾadu / tiŋkaɾadʊ} {ffi̥tss̩ / utitss̩}	K,U,D
N-161-5	Miyaguni	amjaː ciŋkaɾa uci̥kuː	K,T

N-161-5	Uruka	amʲaː təŋkaɾadu utiksʔ	N,I,O
N-161-5	Bora	amʲaː ʨiŋkaɾadu uʨi kʔː	K,T
N-162-1	Standard Japanese	*saru-ga kinomi-o otosu.* monkey-NOMINATIVE nut-ACCUSATIVE to.drop 'A monkey drops nuts from the tree.'	
N-162-1	Ikema	saɾu kiːnunai utaçiːjui	N,N,D,U
N-162-1	Karimata	saɾunudu kiːnu nːtau {utasïː / utas}	N,M
N-162-1	Kugai	saɾunudu kiːnu naʔzubaː utasŋ	N,H,N,M
N-162-1	Yonaha	saɾunudu kiːnu nazzu utusŋ	S
N-162-1	Kurima	saɾunudu kiːŋkeː nuːɾiː iki ('tree-LOCATIVE to.climb to.go') kiːnu {nazzu / nazzʊ} utu̥sʔ	K,U,D
N-162-1	Miyaguni	saɾuɡa kiːnu nazzu utu̥su	K,T
N-162-1	Uruka	saɾua kiːnu {nazʔɯ / nazʔu} utusʔ	N,I,O
N-162-1	Bora	saɾunudu kiːnu nazzu {utu̥s / utusʔ}	K,T
N-162-2	Standard Japanese	*kono saru-wa kinomi-o otosa-nai.* this monkey-TOPIC nut-ACCUSATIVE to.drop-NEGATIVE 'This monkey doesn't drop nuts.'	
N-162-2	Ikema	kunu saɾuː kiːnunaijuːba utahaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-162-2	Karimata	kunu {saɾoː / saɾʷo} kiːnu nːtau utasaɴ	N,M
N-162-2	Kugai	kunu saɾoː kiːnu naʔzubaː utasaŋ	N,H,N,M
N-162-2	Yonaha	kunu saɾaː kiːnu naʔubaː utusaɴ	S
N-162-2	Kurima	kuɾu saɾoː kiːnu nazzubaː utu̥saŋ	K,U,D
N-162-2	Miyaguni	kunu saɾoː kiːnu miːuba utu̥saŋ	K,T
N-162-2	Uruka	kunu saɾua kiːnu nazʔba utusaŋ	N,I,O
N-162-2	Bora	kunu saɾaː kiːnu nazzubaː utusaŋ	K,T
N-162-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo ido-ni ishi-o otoshi-ta.* yesterday well-LOCATIVE stone-ACCUSATIVE to.drop-PAST 'I dropped a stone into the well yesterday.'	
N-162-3	Ikema	nnu kaːŋkai issï utaɕitai	N,N,D,U
N-162-3	Karimata	kinuːndu kaːi issu utaɕitai	N,M
N-162-3	Kugai	kʔnuː kaːŋkai issu utastaː	N,H,N,M
N-162-3	Yonaha	kʔnuːdu issu kaːŋkai utusʔtaː ('yesterday stone-ACCUSATIVE well-LOCATIVE to.drop-PAST')	S
N-162-3	Kurima	ʦnoː issudu kaːŋkeː {utu̥staz̩ / utu̥staʔ}	K,U,D
N-162-3	Miyaguni	kunu kaːŋkai issu utu̥staː	K,T
N-162-3	Uruka	ksʔnuː kaːŋ̍kai issuː {utu̥s̩taʔ / utu̥s̩ta·}	N,I,O
N-162-3	Bora	ʦʔnuːdu ʦʔːɡʲaːŋkai issu utu̥staː	K,T

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N-162-4	Standard Japanese	*booshi-o otoshite, tori-ni it-ta.* hat-ACCUSATIVE to.drop, to.get-DATIVE to.go-PAST 'I dropped my hat and went to get it.'	
N-162-4	Ikema	kavvimunu ʥïːŋkai utaçi tuiɡa ikitai	N,N,D,U
N-162-4	Karimata	boːɕiu utaɕidu tuiɡa iki	N,M
N-162-4	Kugai	boːɕuː utaɕiʮidu tuˀŋga ikˀŋtaː	N,H,N,M
N-162-4	Yonaha	boːɕaː utuɕittidu tuˀŋga ikˀŋtaː (Perhaps 'boːɕaː' corresponds to 'hat-TOPIC'.)	S
N-162-4	Kurima	boːɕuː utuɕiʮidʊ tuzɡa {ikʲuːtaz / ikʲuːtaˀ}	K,U,D
N-162-4	Miyaguni	boːsju utuɕiʮtˢi tuˀŋga ikˀŋtaː	K,T
N-162-4	Uruka	boːɕuː utuɕitti tuˀŋga ikˀŋtaˀ	N,I,O
N-162-4	Bora	boːɕuː utuɕiʮʦidu tuzɡa ikʲuːtaː ('to.go-STATIVE-PAST')	K,T
N-162-5	Standard Japanese	*ki-ni nobotte mi-o otoshite ku-re.* tree-LOCATIVE to.climb fruit-ACCUSATIVE to.drop to.give-IMPERATIVE 'Climb the tree and drop some fruit.'	
N-162-5	Ikema	kiːnu hanaŋkai nuːɾiː naimunun utaçi fiːɾu	N,N,D,U
N-162-5	Karimata	kiːŋgai nuːɾi nːtau utaɕi {fiːɾu / fiɾu}	N,M
N-162-5	Kugai	kiːŋkai nuːɾi ikiː naˀzu u taɕi fiːɾu	N,H,N,M
N-162-5	Yonaha	kiːŋkai nuːɾiː nazzu utuɕi ffiɾu	S
N-162-5	Kurima	kiːn narʲuːz̩ mikannu tuɾi utuɕi̥ fiːɾu ('Get the mandarin that has grown on the tree and drop it.') ‖ kiːn nuːɾi iki utuɕi̥ fiːɾu ('Go climb the tree and drop it.')	K,U,D
N-162-5	Miyaguni	kiːŋkai nuːɾicci nazzu utuɕi fiːɾu	K,T
N-162-5	Uruka	kiːŋ̩kai nuːɾitti {nazˀ / nazˀŋkai} utuɕi ffiɾu	N,I,O
N-162-5	Bora	kiːn nuːɾiː nazz̩u utuɕi̥ fiːɾu	K,T
N-163-1	Standard Japanese	*uma-mo hito-o keru.* horse-too person-ACCUSATIVE to.kick 'Horses kick people, too.'	
N-163-1	Ikema	nuːmamai {fiʮu / ɸiʮu} uba kiː tausu	N,N,D,U
N-163-1	Karimata	nuːmamai pˢïtuudu kiː	N,M
N-163-1	Kugai	nuːmamai pstuː kiˀ	N,H,N,M
N-163-1	Yonaha	nuːmaːmai pˀŋtuːʮu {kˀŋːdusu / kiˀ}	S
N-163-1	Kurima	nuːmameː psʈuːdu {kiz̩ / kiˀ}	K,U,D
N-163-1	Miyaguni	nuːmamai {pïʈubaː / pïʈuː} kiz	K,T
N-163-1	Uruka	nuːmamai pstuːbaː {kiˀ / kiˀdu sˀ} (Apparently unnatural with 'utiˀ' [*translator's note:* 'kiˀˀ'?]. 'sɿː' [*translator's note:* 'sˀ'?] is sometimes accompanied by some slight friction.)	N,I,O
N-163-1	Bora	nuːmamai psʈuː kiz̩	K,T

N-163-2	Standard Japanese	*otonashii uma-wa hito-o kera-nai.* to.be.quiet horse-TOPIC person-ACCUSATIVE to.kick-NEGATIVE 'Gentle horses don't kick people.'	
N-163-2	Ikema	manai nuːmaː fi̥tu uba kiɾaN	N,N,D,U
N-163-2	Karimata	nuːmaː psï̥tuuba kiɾaN	N,M
N-163-2	Kugai	nukaːnukanu nuːmaː pstuːbaː kiɾaŋ	N,H,N,M
N-163-2	Yonaha	nukaːnu nuːmaː pn̥tuːba kiɾaN	S
N-163-2	Kurima	nukaːnu nuːmaː ps̩tubaː kiɾaŋ	K,U,D
N-163-2	Miyaguni	nukaːnukanu nuːmaː {pï̥tubaː / pïtuba} kiɾaŋ	K,T
N-163-2	Uruka	nukaːnukanu nuːmaː pʰn̥tuːbaː {kʌsaŋ / kʌsaŋ}	N,I,O
N-163-2	Bora	manaiːmanainu nuːmaː ps̩tuː kiɾaŋ	K,T
N-163-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo ano uma-wa hito-o ket-ta.* yesterday that horse-TOPIC person-ACCUSATIVE to.kick-PAST 'That horse kicked someone, yesterday.'	
N-163-3	Ikema	nnuː kanu nuːmaː kiːtai	N,N,D,U
N-163-3	Karimata	kinoː kanu nuːmaː psï̥tuudu kiɾi (Perhaps 'pstu ~ psï̥tu' instead of 'psï̥tu'.)	N,M
N-163-3	Kugai	kʌnuː kanu nuːmaː pstuːdu {kiʔn̥taː / kiʔn̥taː}	N,H,N,M
N-163-3	Yonaha	kʌnaː kanu nuːmaː pn̥tuːdu kiʔn̥taː (kʌnaː 'yesterday-TOPIC')	S
N-163-3	Kurima	ʦnudu kanu nuːmaː pstuː {kiʐ̩taz / kiʐ̩taʔ}	K,U,D
N-163-3	Miyaguni	kïnuː kanu nuːmaː pï̥tuː kiʐtaː	K,T
N-163-3	Uruka	ksnuː kanu nuːmaː ps̩tuː kʌtaʔ	N,I,O
N-163-3	Bora	ʦ̩nuːja kanu nuːmaː ps̩tu kiʐ̩taː	K,T
N-163-4	Standard Japanese	*aruji-o kette, nigesat-ta.* master-ACCUSATIVE to.kick, to.run.off-PAST 'It kicked its master and ran off.'	
N-163-4	Ikema	nussu kiɾiː çiŋgiː haɾiːɲaːN	N,N,D,U
N-163-4	Karimata	nussï̥du kiɾicɕiti piŋgitai	N,M
N-163-4	Kugai	nussu kiɾitidu piŋgi pi̥taː	N,H,N,M
N-163-4	Yonaha	aɾuʑiba kiɾittidu piŋgi piːtaː	S
N-163-4	Kurima	nuːmanu nussudu kiɾittidu ‖ nussu kiɾittidʊ piŋgi piʐ̩taʔ ('The horse kicked its master and ran off.')	K,U,D
N-163-4	Miyaguni	aɾuzzadu kʒɾi piŋgasi piɾasï̥taː	K,T
N-163-4	Uruka	nussʌː kiɾittidu piŋgitaː	N,I,O
N-163-4	Bora	nus̩su kiɾitʨi piŋgi piʐ̩taː	K,T
N-163-5	Standard Japanese	*sono booru-o koko-ni kette ku-re.* that ball-ACCUSATIVE here-LOCATIVE to.kick to.give-IMPERATIVE 'Kick that ball this way.'	
N-163-5	Ikema	unu maːiju kumaŋkai kiɾiː fiːɾu	N,N,D,U

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N-163-5	Karimata	unu boːɾu umai kiɾi fiːɾu	N,M
N-163-5	Kugai	unu {boːruː / boːru'o} umaŋkai kiɾi fiːɾu ('boːru'o' is not dialectal.)	N,H,N,M
N-163-5	Yonaha	unu maːʔu kumaŋkai kiɾi fiɾu	S
N-163-5	Kurima	unu maːzzʊ ('ball-ACCUSATIVE') kiɾi fiːɾʊ ‖ kumaŋke kiɾi jaɾaɕe ('to.kick to.give-IMPERATIVE') <cf> vvaɡa kiɾe ('You kick it.' (imperative))	K,U,D
N-163-5	Miyaguni	unu maːzzu kumaŋkai kiɾi fiːɾu	K,T
N-163-5	Uruka	unu boːruː kumaŋkai kiɾi jaɾaɕi	N,I,O
N-163-5	Bora	unu boːɾuː kumaŋkai kiɾi fiːɾu	K,T
N-163B-1	Standard Japanese	*chichi-ga mainichi gomi-o suteru.* father-NOMINATIVE every.day garbage-ACCUSATIVE to.discard 'My father throws away garbage every day.'	
N-163B-1	Ikema	{ʑïzaɡa / zzaɡa} mainiʦi ɡumiubaː sïtiː	N,N,D,U
N-163B-1	Karimata	ujaː mainiʦï ɡomiu {sïti/sïtidu} (sïtiui 'to.discard-PROGRESSIVE')	N,M
N-163B-1	Kugai	ʔzanudu mainiʦɿ ɡumʲuː stiʔ	N,H,N,M
N-163B-1	Yonaha	ujaɡa maiːnʲiʦɿ ɡumiu sutiʔ	S
N-163B-1	Kurima	ujaŋadʊ ɡʊmʲuːbaː mainʲiʦɿ {stiʔ/stiz}	K,U,D
N-163B-1	Miyaguni	ujaɡadu maiːnicï ɡumiu sïɕiu	K,T
N-163B-1	Uruka	ujaɡadu mainʔʦɿ ɡumʲuː sti	N,I,O
N-163B-1	Bora	ujaɡadu mainʲiʦɿ ɡumʲuːbaː sʈɕi	K,T
N-163B-2	Standard Japanese	*sobo-wa furui kimono-mo sute-nai.* grandmother-TOPIC to.be.old kimono-too to.discard-NEGATIVE 'My grandmother doesn't even throw away her old kimonos.'	
N-163B-2	Ikema	obaːja jaɾi dʑïm (nuʔ) mai sïtiɴ	N,N,D,U
N-163B-2	Karimata	obaːja jaɾi kïnnuba sïʈiɴ	N,M
N-163B-2	Kugai	aːmaː fuʔkʔnnumai sʔʈiŋ	N,H,N,M
N-163B-2	Yonaha	mmaː fuɾuːnu kʔnnumai sutuɴ	S
N-163B-2	Kurima	paːmmaː fʊ̥ɾumiː ʦnnumeː stuŋ	K,U,D
N-163B-2	Miyaguni	mmaː fzːfznu kïnnumai sïʈuŋ	K,T
N-163B-2	Uruka	m̩maː fuʔfuʔnu ksn̩numai sʈuŋ	N,I,O
N-163B-2	Bora	mmaː fz̩ːfz̩nu ʦʔnn̩umai sʈuŋ	K,T
N-163B-3	Standard Japanese	*furui doogu-wa ototoi sute-ta.* to.be.old tool-TOPIC day.before.yesterday to.discard-PAST 'I threw away my old tools the day before yesterday.'	
N-163B-3	Ikema	jaɾi daʊɡu miːkanai sïtiɴ	N,N,D,U
N-163B-3	Karimata	jaɾi dovva bututuʑïdu sïʈi	N,M
N-163B-3	Kugai	fuʔ doːʊʊbaː bututuʔdu sʔʈitaː	N,H,N,M
N-163B-3	Yonaha	fuɾuːnu doːɡʔubaː bututuʔdu suʈitaː	S

N-163B-3	Kurima	fu̥ɾufu̥ŋariːnu t͡skaːɾuŋ doːvvaː ('to.be.old to.become-PAST to.use-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE tool-TOPIC') {t͡snudu stitaʔ / buttuzu̥du {sti̥taz̩ / sti̥taʔ}}	K,U,D
N-163B-3	Miyaguni	{fz̩ːfz̩nu / fiˑˑfinu} doːɡubaː butu̥tuʔdu sŋtitaː	K,T
N-163B-3	Uruka	fuʔfuʔnu doːʋ̩baː bututuʔ {sti̥taʔ / stitaː}	N,I,O
N-163B-3	Bora	fz̩ːfz̩nu daːvvubaː butu̥tuz s̩t͡ɕitaː	K,T
N-163B-4	Standard Japanese	*furui mono-wa sutete, atarashii mono-o ka-e.* to.be.old thing-TOPIC to.discard, to.be.new thing-ACCUSATIVE to.buy-IMPERATIVE 'Throw away your old things and buy new ones.'	
N-163B-4	Ikema	jaɾi munuba sïˑti̥ː miː munu kai	N,N,D,U
N-163B-4	Karimata	jaɾi munuba sïˑti̥ɕiti mːmiː munuː kai	N,M
N-163B-4	Kugai	fuʔmunuba sŋ̩ti̥ti meːʔmunuːba kai	N,H,N,M
N-163B-4	Yonaha	fuɾuːnu munuːbaː sutitti aɾaːnu munuː kai	S
N-163B-4	Kurima	f̩ɾumunuːbaː sti̥tti aɾamunuː keː	K,U,D
N-163B-4	Miyaguni	{fz̩ːfz̩nu / fiˑˑfinu} munuːbaː sï̥t͡ɕïccï kaɡiːnu munuː kai	K,T
N-163B-4	Uruka	fuʔfuʔnu munuubaː stitti mʔːmʔːnu munuː kai	N,I,O
N-163B-4	Bora	fz̩munuːbaː s̩t͡ɕitt͡ɕi mʲaːmʲaːnu munuː kai	K,T
N-163B-5	Standard Japanese	*gomi-o soko-ni sutete ku-re.* garbage-ACCUSATIVE there-LOCATIVE to.discard to.give-IMPERATIVE 'Throw away the garbage over there.'	
N-163B-5	Ikema	janamunubaː kumaŋkai sï̥ti̥ː kuː ('to.discard to.come-IMPERATIVE') ‖ sï̥ti̥ɾu ('to.discard-IMPERATIVE')	N,N,D,U
N-163B-5	Karimata	ɡumjuːba umai sïˑti̥ fiːɾu	N,M
N-163B-5	Kugai	ɡumjuː umaŋkai sŋ̩ti̥ fiːɾu	N,H,N,M
N-163B-5	Yonaha	ɡumiu umaŋkai su̥ti fiɾu	S
N-163B-5	Kurima	ɡumʲuːbaː umaŋkeː stifiːɾo <cf> stiɾo 'to.discard-IMPERATIVE'	K,U,D
N-163B-5	Miyaguni	ɡumiu umaŋkai {sïˑti̥ɾu / sïˑt͡sˢi fiːɾu}	K,T
N-163B-5	Uruka	ɡumiubaː umaŋ̩ sŋti ffiɾu	N,I,O
N-163B-5	Bora	ɡumʲuː umaŋkai st͡ɕi fiːɾu	K,T
N-164-1	Standard Japanese	*nagai ki-no eda-o kiru.* to.be.long tree-GENITIVE branch-ACCUSATIVE to.cut 'I cut the branches of tall trees.'	
N-164-1	Ikema	kiːnu judau kiɾi	N,N,D,U
N-164-1	Karimata	naɡa kiːnu idau kiɾi	N,M
N-164-1	Kugai	naɡaːnaɡanu kiːnu judoː kiɕi	N,H,N,M
N-164-1	Yonaha	naɡaːnu kiːnu judoːdu kŋ̩sŋ̩ (The zero-case form for 'branch' is 'juda'.)	S

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N-164-1	Kurima	naɡaːnu kiːnu idoːbaː ʦiɕe ('to.cut-IMPERATIVE') ‖ baŋa ʦsade ('I-NOMINATIVE to.cut-VOLITIONAL') ‖ bamˌmeː ʦs̩tu s̩to ('I-too to.cut-EMPHATIC to.do-EMPHATIC') ‖ kanu pstunudu {ʦs̩ / ʦsˀ̩ } ('that person-NOMINATIVE to.cut')	K,U,D
N-164-1	Miyaguni	naɡaːnu kiːnu itau̯ kï̥si	K,T
N-164-1	Uruka	naɡaːnaɡanu kiːnu judau ksˀ	N,I,O
N-164-1	Bora	naɡaːnaɡanu kiːnu judau kˀː	K,T
N-164-2	Standard Japanese	*yoru-ni-wa tsume-o kira-nai.* night-LOCATIVE-TOPIC nail-ACCUSATIVE to.cut-NEGATIVE 'I don't cut my nails at night.'	
N-164-2	Ikema	junakaː ʦïmjuba kiɾaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-164-2	Karimata	juːnanna ʦïmiuba kï̥saɴ	N,M
N-164-2	Kugai	juneːnna ʦïmiːbaː kˀ̩saŋ	N,H,N,M
N-164-2	Yonaha	junainna ʦumiuba kˀsaɴ	S
N-164-2	Kurima	juneːja ('night-TOPIC') ʦmjuːbaː ʦsaŋ	K,U,D
N-164-2	Miyaguni	junainna cumiu̯baː kï̥saŋ	K,T
N-164-2	Uruka	junaija ffaffunariːkaɾaja ʦ̩ɳmijubaː {kˀ̩saŋ / kˀsaŋ}	N,I,O
N-164-2	Bora	junainna ʦˀmjuːbaː kṣsaŋ	K,T
N-164-3	Standard Japanese	*watashi-ga gajimaru-wa kit-ta.* I-NOMINATIVE banyan.tree-TOPIC to.cut-PAST 'I did cut down a banyan tree.'	
N-164-3	Ikema	baɡadu ɡadʑimaɾunu kiːja kiɾitaidoː	N,N,D,U
N-164-3	Karimata	baːdu ɡadʑimaɾudu kiːsï̥ta	N,M
N-164-3	Kugai	baːdu ɡadzamaɡiːjubaː kˀ̩taː	N,H,N,M
N-164-3	Yonaha	baɡadu ɡaˀzmaɡiːuba kˀ̩ɳtaː	S
N-164-3	Kurima	baɡadu ɡadʑimaɾukiːju {ʦs̩taˀ / ʦs̩taz}	K,U,D
N-164-3	Miyaguni	baɡa ɡazimaɾubaː kï̥taː	K,T
N-164-3	Uruka	baɡadu ɡadʑimaɾubaː {kstaˀ / ksˀːtaˀ}	N,I,O
N-164-3	Bora	baɡadu ɡadzˀmaɡiːjubaː ksṣtaː	K,T
N-164-4	Standard Japanese	*sono nagai kami-wa kitte, oiwai-ni i-ke-yo.* that to.be.long hair-TOPIC to.cut, celebration-DATIVE to.go-IMPERATIVE-EMPHATIC 'Cut your long hair and go celebrate!'	
N-164-4	Ikema	kunu naɡai kaɾadʑï (ba?) kiɾiː juːïŋkai ikijaː	N,N,D,U
N-164-4	Karimata	unu naɡa kaɾatʦuba kiɕiɕiti joːiŋai ikijo	N,M
N-164-4	Kugai	unu naɡaɡaɾadzˀba kiɕitti joːˀfoːɡa iki	N,H,N,M
N-164-4	Yonaha	unu naɡa kaɾazzuba kˀ̩ɕitti jɔːˀŋkai iki	S
N-164-4	Kurima	naɡakaɾaᵈdzubaː {ffaɕitti / ʦiɕitti} joːˀŋkeːja iki	K,U,D

N-164-4	Miyaguni	unu naɡaːnu kaɾazziubaː kĭs̩ĭtte̥ joːˀŋkaija ikˢi	K,T
N-164-4	Uruka	unu naɡaːnaɡanu kaɾattɕˀba: {kiɕɕiti / kiɕɕiti} joːˀŋkai(ja) iki jo:	N,I,O
N-164-4	Bora	unu naɡakaɾadʑuba: kiɕittɕi ja:z̩ŋkai piɾijo	K,T
N-164-5	**Standard Japanese**	*kono himo-o mittsu-ni kitte ku-re-nai-ka.* this string-ACCUSATIVE three-DATIVE to.cut to.give-IMPERATIVE-NEGATIVE-INTERROGATIVE 'Could you cut this string into three parts?'	
N-164-5	Ikema	kunu boː ('stick-ACCUSATIVE') mi:tsïŋkai kiɾiː fiː samati (The nature of 'ti' in 'samati' is uncertain.)	N,N,D,U
N-164-5	Karimata	unu na:ju ('cord-ACCUSATIVE') mi:tsïŋgai kiɕi fi:ɾu	N,M
N-164-5	Kugai	kunu himo: mi:tsˀŋkai kiɕi fi:dʑa:nna	N,H,N,M
N-164-5	Yonaha	kunu tsuno: mi:tsunʲkai kˀɕi fuɾʲa:nna (tsuno: 'rope-ACCUSATIVE')	S
N-164-5	Kurima	unu bu:juba: mi:tsˀŋke: tɕiɕifi:ɾu	K,U,D
N-164-5	Miyaguni	kunu cïnau mi:cuŋkai kĭs̩ï fu:zjanna	K,T
N-164-5	Uruka	kunu tsˀnauba: mi:tsˀŋkai {kiɕi / kiɕi} ffiɾʲanna	N,I,O
N-164-5	Bora	unu bu:juba: mi:tsŋkai kiɕi fi:ɾu	K,T
N-165-1	**Standard Japanese**	*tori-ga nige-nai-yoo (ryoo)ashi-o sibaru.* chicken-NOMINATIVE to.escape-NEGATIVE-so.that (both)leg(s)-ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up 'I tie up the chicken's legs so it won't escape.'	
N-165-1	Ikema	mja:tuiju çiŋɡiɲoːn sïmai	N,N,D,U
N-165-1	Karimata	tuinu piŋɡiɲoːm paɡïju sïmaɾi	N,M
N-165-1	Kugai	tuˀnu piŋɡiŋ joːŋ futapaɡˀzu sˀmaˀ	N,H,N,M
N-165-1	Yonaha	tuˀnu piŋɡunʲ joːɴ paɡˀu sˀmaˀ	S
N-165-1	Kurima	tuˀnu piŋɡuɴ joːndu pattɕu sˌmaɾʲuːts(ˀ) ‖ kaɾiɡadu pattɕuba: samaˀ ('he-NOMINATIVE leg-ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up')	K,U,D
N-165-1	Miyaguni	mmaduˀɡa piŋɡiɾaɾuŋ ftapaɡu fuzzˌiukiba	K,T
N-165-1	Uruka	tuˀnu piŋɡuŋjoŋ fˌtapaɡˀdu sˀmaɾi	N,I,O
N-165-1	Bora	tuzˌnu piŋɡuŋ joːŋ padʑuː {sˌmaz̩ / fˌtɕ}	K,T
N-165-2	**Standard Japanese**	*ashi-mo hane-mo sibara-nai.* leg-too wing-too to.tie.up-NEGATIVE 'I tie up neither its legs nor its wings.'	
N-165-2	Ikema	hazïmai haɲimai ɕimaɾaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-165-2	Karimata	paɡju:mai panju:mai sïmaɾaɴ	N,M
N-165-2	Kugai	paɡˀmai panʲu:mai sˀmaɾaŋ	N,H,N,M
N-165-2	Yonaha	paɡˀumai panʲiumai sˀmaɾaɴ	S
N-165-2	Kurima	pattɕume: panʲu:me: {smaɾaŋ / sˀmaɾaŋ}	K,U,D
N-165-2	Miyaguni	paɡïˀmai paniumai fuzzjaŋ	K,T
N-165-2	Uruka	paɡˀmai paniumai sˀmaraŋ	N,I,O

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N-165-2	Bora	padzɿmai panʲuːmai {s̩marɑŋ / fɿttaŋ}	K,T
N-165-3	Standard Japanese	*chichi-ga tori-o shibat-ta.* father-NOMINATIVE chicken-ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up-PAST 'My father tied up the chicken.'	
N-165-3	Ikema	zzaɡa mjaːtuiju ɕɿmaɾitai	N,N,D,U
N-165-3	Karimata	ujaːdu tuˀɿ {sɿmaɾiː / sɿmaida (Perhaps 'sɿmaidai'.)}	N,M
N-165-3	Kugai	aːdzaɡadu tuˀɿzu sɿmaˀtaː	N,H,N,M
N-165-3	Yonaha	ujaɡadu tuzzu sɿmaˀtaː	S
N-165-3	Kurima	ujaŋadu tuzzu {sɿmaˀtaˀ / smaztaˀ}	K,U,D
N-165-3	Miyaguni	ujaɡa tuzzu {fuztaː / fɿztaː}	K,T
N-165-3	Uruka	ujaɡadu tuˀba sɿmaˀtaˀ	N,I,O
N-165-3	Bora	ujaɡadu tuzzu {smazta / fɿt͡sta}	K,T
N-165-4	Standard Japanese	*tori-o shibatte, kago-ni ire-te-ne.* chicken-ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up, cage-LOCATIVE to.put.in-IMPERATIVE-EMPHATIC 'Tie up the chicken and put it into the cage.'	
N-165-4	Ikema	mjaːtui sɿmaɾiː hakunu nakaŋkai iɾiɲaː	N,N,D,U
N-165-4	Karimata	tuˀɿ sɿmaɾiː pʰakuŋɡai ('box-LOCATIVE') idzi uki	N,M
N-165-4	Kugai	tuˀɿzu sɿmaɾitti kaɡuŋkai ˀzzi fiːɾu	N,H,N,M
N-165-4	Yonaha	tuzzu sɿmaitti kaɡuŋkai ˀzi fiɾu	S
N-165-4	Kurima	tuzzu {smaɾi kaɡuŋke zzitaˀ / smaɾitti kaɡuŋke zziɾo}	K,U,D
N-165-4	Miyaguni	tuzzu sɿmaɾi kaɡuŋkai zzi fiːɾu	K,T
N-165-4	Uruka	tuzˀ ɕimaɾitti kaɡoŋkai {izɿɾujo / idzɿɾujoː}	N,I,O
N-165-4	Bora	tuzzu {smaɾittɕi / fɿt͡͡sittɕi} kaɡuŋkai {zzɿɾu / izɿɾu}	K,T
N-165-5	Standard Japanese	*omae-ga tori-o shibatte ku-re.* you-NOMINATIVE chicken-ACCUSATIVE to.tie.up to.give-IMPERATIVE 'You tie up the chicken.' (imperative)	
N-165-5	Ikema	vvaɡa tuijuba sɿmaɾiː fiːɾu	N,N,D,U
N-165-5	Karimata	vva tuᶻɿ (Perhaps 'tuᶻɿuba'.) sɿmaɾi uki	N,M
N-165-5	Kugai	vvaɡa tuˀɿzu sɿmaɾi fiːɾu	N,H,N,M
N-165-5	Yonaha	vvaɡa tuzzu sɿmaɾi fiɾu	S
N-165-5	Kurima	vvaŋa tuzzubaː {smaɾi / sɿmaɾi} fiːɾo ‖ vvaŋa smaɾe ('you-NOMINATIVE to.tie.up-IMPERATIVE')	K,U,D
N-165-5	Miyaguni	vvaɡa tuzzu sɿmaɾi fiːɾu	K,T
N-165-5	Uruka	vv̩aɡa tuˀba sɿmaɾi ffiɾu	N,I,O
N-165-5	Bora	vvaɡa tuzz̩uba {smaɾi / fɿtɕiː} fiːɾu	K,T
N-166-1	Standard Japanese	*mainichi imo-o horu.* every.day sweet.potato-ACCUSATIVE to.dig 'I dig up sweet potatoes every day.'	

N-166-1	Ikema	kjuː ('today') kaːju ('well-ACCUSATIVE') fuɾadi	N,N,D,U
N-166-1	Karimata	abuː {ᵖɸɿ / ᵖɸː}	N,D,U
N-166-1	Yonaha	NR / 'always here-ACCUSATIVE to.dig' itsɯːmeː kumaudu puzɿ	H
N-166-1	Kurima	mainˀʦɿ mmu̥ puˀ ('today') ('ï' and 'ɿ' are uniformly transcribed as 'ɿ'.)	K,I,T
N-166-1	Miyaguni	mainiʦɨ m̥mo̥ {poz̠ka / poḷka}	T,N
N-166-1	Uruka	mainiʦɨ kaːu ('well-ACCUSATIVE') puzɨ ‖ iʦɨːmai ('always') puɾiuᶻɨ ('to.dig-PROGRESSIVE')	N,U,D
N-166-1	Bora	maiːnʲiʦɿ aːbuːdu puzɿ̩ (aːbu 'hole')	S,M
N-166-2	Standard Japanese	*hahaoya-wa kyoo-wa imo-o hora-nai.* mother-TOPIC today-TOPIC sweet.potato-ACCUSATIVE to.dig-NEGATIVE 'Mother won't dig up sweet potatoes today.'	
N-166-2	Ikema	kjuːja kaːjuba fuɾadʑaːɴ	N,N,D,U
N-166-2	Karimata	{abuba / abußa} ᵖɸuɾaŋ	N,D,U
N-166-2	Yonaha	NR / 'here-LOCATIVE-TOPIC hole-TOPIC to.dig-NEGATIVE' kumanna anoːba puran	H
N-166-2	Kurima	anna kʲuːja mmuba pɾaŋ	K,I,T
N-166-2	Miyaguni	anna kʲuːja m̥mo̥ poɾan	T,N
N-166-2	Uruka	annaː kjuːja {kaːu/kaːuba} puɾaŋ	N,U,D
N-166-2	Bora	annaː kʲuːja mmuba puɾaɴ ('puzɿ̩taː' can also be interpreted as 'puzɿ̩taˀ'.)	S,M
N-166-3	Standard Japanese	*mukashi ido-o hot-ta.* long.ago well-ACCUSATIVE to.dig-PAST 'I dug a well a long time ago.'	
N-166-3	Ikema	ŋkjaːŋ kaːju fuitai	N,N,D,U
N-166-3	Karimata	abuba puɾidə (The vowel in 'də' sounds further to the front than [u].)	N,D,U
N-166-3	Yonaha	NR / 'dog-NOMINATIVE hole-ACCUSATIVE to.dig-PAST' innudu ano ː puztaː	H
N-166-3	Kurima	ŋkaːnna kaːjudu puztaˀ	K,I,T
N-166-3	Miyaguni	ŋkʲaːŋ kaːju poz̠taː	T,N
N-166-3	Uruka	ŋkjaːnna ('long.ago-TOPIC') kaːudu puᶻɨtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-166-3	Bora	ŋkʲaːɴ kaːju puzɿ̩taː	S,M
N-166-4	Standard Japanese	*ana-o hotte yasum-e.* hole-ACCUSATIVE to.dig, to.rest-IMPERATIVE 'Dig a hole and take a rest.'	
N-166-4	Ikema	anaː fuɾiː jukui	N,N,D,U
N-166-4	Karimata	aboː puɾiɕi̥ti jukui	N,D,U

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N-166-4	Yonaha	NR / 'hole-ACCUSATIVE to.dig-after to.rest-IMPERATIVE' anaː puɾitti jukui	H
N-166-4	Kurima	anaː puɾi jukeː	K,I,T
N-166-4	Miyaguni	anaɯ poɾittɕi jukui	T,N
N-166-4	Uruka	anau puɾitti jukui	N,U,D
N-166-4	Bora	aːnau puɾittɕi jukui	S,M
N-166-5	Standard Japanese	*asoko-no jimen-o hotte ko-i.* over.there-GENITIVE ground-ACCUSATIVE to.dig to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Dig up the ground over there.'	
N-166-5	Ikema	kamanu dʑïː fuɾiː ku	N,N,D,U
N-166-5	Karimata	anu abu puɾi (*Ari*-continuative used as imperative.)	N,D,U
N-166-5	Yonaha	NR / 'over.there-ACCUSATIVE to.dig to.come-IMPERATIVE' kamau puɾi kuː	H
N-166-5	Kurima	kamanu zz puɾikuː	K,I,T
N-166-5	Miyaguni	kamano dʑɨzoo poɾi koː	T,N
N-166-5	Uruka	kamanu dʑɨːu puɾi kuː	N,U,D
N-166-5	Bora	kamaːnu dʑʌːju {puɾittɕi kuː / puɾi fiːɾu} ('puɾittɕi' is a *shite*-continuative; 'puɾi' in 'puɾi fiːɾu' is an *ari*-continuative.)	S,M
N-167-1	Standard Japanese	*niwa-ni nimotsu-o dasu.* yard-LOCATIVE luggage-ACCUSATIVE to.put.out 'I put my things in the yard.'	
N-167-1	Ikema	minakaŋkai jaːnu ('house-GENITIVE') dauvu ('tool-ACCUSATIVE') idaɕi	N,N,D,U
N-167-1	Karimata	aːɾaŋkai {muɕi / məɕi} ki	N,D,U
N-167-1	Yonaha	minakankeː nimuttsubaː idasʔ	H
N-167-1	Kurima	minakaŋkeː nimuttɕu idaɕeː ('k' is pronounced quite towards the back and easily misheard as 'h'.)	K,I,T
N-167-1	Miyaguni	niwaŋkai {nimottsu / nimottsʲu} idaɕi ('minaka' ('front yard') is also used.)	T,N
N-167-1	Uruka	minakaŋkai niːju idasɨ	N,U,D
N-167-1	Bora	uɾuːba utu̥tunudu idasʔ̥ ('My (younger) brother will put that out.')	S,M
N-167-2	Standard Japanese	*ame-o toki-ni-wa soto-ni-wa nimotsu-o dasa-nai.* rain-GENITIVE time-LOCATIVE-TOPIC outside-LOCATIVE-TOPIC luggage-ACCUSATIVE to.put.out-NEGATIVE 'When it's raining, I don't put my things outside.'	
N-167-2	Ikema	aminu tukjanna minakaŋkai ('yard-LOCATIVE') idanaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-167-2	Karimata	NR / nimutsba idasṇa ('to.put.out-NEGATIVE.IMPERATIVE'; a simple negative was not obtained.)	N,D,U

N-167-2	Yonaha	amifuunu tukjanna nimuttsuba aɾaːnkeː idasan	H
N-167-2	Kurima	ami fɨnna pu̥kaŋkɛ {idasaŋ (third person) / idasadʲaːŋ (first person)} ('eɛ' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-167-2	Miyaguni	ameno tʰo̥kʲaːnna pukaŋkai nimotʦɯ idasadza̝ːŋ	T,N
N-167-2	Uruka	aminu tukjaːnna pukaŋkaija niːjuba idasaŋ	N,U,D
N-167-2	Bora	aminu tu̥kʲaːnna aɾaːŋkaija attauba idasaɴ (atta 'geta')	S,M
N-167-3	Standard Japanese	*tomodachi-ga nimotsu-o soto-ni dashi-ta.* friend-NOMINATIVE luggage-ACCUSATIVE outside-LOCATIVE to.put.out-PAST 'I put my friend's things outside.'	
N-167-3	Ikema	dusïnu davvu idaɕitai	N,N,D,U
N-167-3	Karimata	ᵏsnudu nimuʦ̩ŋuba: aːɾaŋkai idaɕi̥	N,D,U
N-167-3	Yonaha	dusɔnu nimuttsu aɾaːnkeː idasɔtaː	H
N-167-3	Kurima	dusunudu nimutʦu pu̥kaŋkeː idastaɔ	K,I,T
N-167-3	Miyaguni	dosɯnodo/dosɯno nimotʦu pukaŋkai {idaɕita / idasɨta}	T,N
N-167-3	Uruka	dusɨnudu niːju pukaŋkai idasɨtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-167-3	Bora	dusɔnudu issu aɾaːŋkai idasu̥taː (iss 'chair')	S,M
N-167-4	Standard Japanese	*nimotsu-o soto-ni dashite, sore-kara kaer-e.* luggage-ACCUSATIVE outside-LOCATIVE to.put.out, that-ABLATIVE to.return.home-IMPERATIVE 'Put your things outside; then, go home.'	
N-167-4	Ikema	minakaŋkai davvu idaɕikaɾa jaːŋkai ('house-ALLATIVE') iki ('to.go-IMPERATIVE')	N,N,D,U
N-167-4	Karimata	aːɾaŋk'ai idaɕite {jukui ('to.rest-IMPERATIVE') / ŋ̩giɾu ('to.return.home-IMPERATIVE')}	N,D,U
N-167-4	Yonaha	nimuttsu aɾaːnkeː idasitti piɾi	H
N-167-4	Kurima	nimutʦu hu̥kaŋkeɛ idasi̥ti piɾe ('eɛ' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-167-4	Miyaguni	nimotʦu pukaŋkai idaɕitɕi kaɾa pʰiɾi	T,N
N-167-4	Uruka	niːju pukaŋkai idaʃi̥tti uŋkaɾa piɾi	N,U,D
N-167-4	Bora	issu aɾaːŋkai idaɕitɕi nnamakaɾa piɾi (iss 'chair')	S,M
N-167-5	Standard Japanese	*hayaku nimotsu-o dashite ko-i.* to.be.early luggage-ACCUSATIVE to.put.out to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Quickly go put your things outside.'	
N-167-5	Ikema	hajamaɾitiː nimutʦï idaçiː kuː	N,N,D,U
N-167-5	Karimata	isɡi idaɕi kuː	N,D,U
N-167-5	Yonaha	pjaːkaɾiti nimuttsu idasitti kuu (A *shite*-continuative was obtained, but not an *ari*-continuative.)	H
N-167-5	Kurima	pʲaːkaɾi nimutʦu idasi̥ ku̥ː (The first 'k' is pronounced quite towards the back and easily misheard as 'h'.)	K,I,T

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N-167-5	Miyaguni	pʲaːpʲaːʨi nimotʦu idaɕiʨi kuː	T,N
N-167-5	Uruka	pjaːpjaːti niːju {idaʃi / idaʃitti} kuː	N,U,D
N-167-5	Bora	pʲaːpʲaːʨi issu idaɕiː kuː (iss 'chair')	S,M
N-168-1	Standard Japanese	*otooto-wa itsumo nimotsu-o hitori-de motsu.* younger.brother-TOPIC always luggage-ACCUSATIVE one.person-INSTRUMENTAL to.carry 'My brother always carries his things by himself.'	
N-168-1	Ikema	utuɡamaː iʦïmai tavkaːçiː mutiː fu	N,N,D,U
N-168-1	Karimata	mainiʦ {tafkˀʲaː / tafɡʲaː} ɕidu nimoʦuba muʦ̩	N,D,U
N-168-1	Yonaha	ututaː itsɯːmeː nimuttsu taukeːsiː muʦɭ	H
N-168-1	Kurima	utu̥tua iʦumeː nimuttɕuba tafkʲaːsidu muʦu ('ua' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-168-1	Miyaguni	oˢtʰu̥tʰoo iʦɭʔmai {tavkʲaːɕi / taukʲaːɕi} nimoʦu mo̥ʦɨ	T,N
N-168-1	Uruka	uʦu̥toː iʦɨːmai niːju taʊkjaːʃi muʧuːˀɨ ('to.carry-STATIVE'; muʦɨ 'to.carry')	N,U,D
N-168-1	Bora	utu̥tʰaː iʦɭːmai issuba toːkʲaːɕiːdu muʦ̩ɭ (iss 'chair')	S,M
N-168-2	Standard Japanese	*sobo-wa nimotsu-o mota-nai.* grandmother-TOPIC luggage-ACCUSATIVE to.carry-NEGATIVE 'My grandmother doesn't carry anything.'	
N-168-2	Ikema	haː mmaː niːjuba mutɕaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-168-2	Karimata	NR / niːba muʦna ('to.carry-NEGATIVE.IMPERATIVE'; a simple negative was not obtained.)	N,D,U
N-168-2	Yonaha	mmaː nimuttsubaː mutan	H
N-168-2	Kurima	paːmma nimuttɕuba {muʦuna / muʦɕaɲ}	K,I,T
N-168-2	Miyaguni	m̩maː {nimoʦu / nimoʦʲu} mo̥tadʑaːŋ	T,N
N-168-2	Uruka	mmaː {niːjuba / niːju} mutadʑaːŋ ('mutaŋ' is used in other villages; mutadi 'to.carry-VOLITIONAL'; mutatʧaː 'I will carry it.')	N,U,D
N-168-2	Bora	mmaː kabannuba mutaɴ (kaban 'bag')	S,M
N-168-3	Standard Japanese	*sofu-ga mushiro-o mot-ta.* grandfather-NOMINATIVE straw.mat-ACCUSATIVE to.carry-PAST 'My grandfather carried the straw mat.'	
N-168-3	Ikema	ujaɡa mussuuba muttai	N,N,D,U
N-168-3	Karimata	{ɕuːɡado / ɕuːɡadu} mussoːbaːdə muʦ̩	N,D,U
N-168-3	Yonaha	sjuːɡa mussuu muʦɭtaː	H
N-168-3	Kurima	ɕuːɡa mussuː muʦɕiuɭ	K,I,T
N-168-3	Miyaguni	ɕuːja mussuː mo̥ʦi̥taː	T,N
N-168-3	Uruka	{ʃuːɡa / ʃuːɡadu} mussuː muʦɨtaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-168-3	Bora	ɕuːɡadu mussuʃu muʦ̩ɭta(ː)	S,M

N-168-4	Standard Japanese	*chichi-ga sake motte, haha-ga tabemono-o motsu.* father-NOMINATIVE liquor to.carry, mother-NOMINATIVE food-ACCUSATIVE to.carry 'My father carries the liquor; my mother carries the food.'	
N-168-4	Ikema	uzaɡa saki mutiː mmaː faimunu muttai	N,N,D,U
N-168-4	Karimata	ɕuːɡadu ('grandfather-NOMINATIVE') {ɕa̧kiba / ɕakeba} mutɕiː usaijubaː obaːɡa ('grandmother-NOMINATIVE') mutɕi	N,D,U
N-168-4	Yonaha	ujaɡa sakjuː mutɕitti annaɡa foːmunuu mutsɿtaː	H
N-168-4	Kurima	ujaɡa sa̧kʲuː mutsɿː annaɡa toːmunuː mutsɿ	K,I,T
N-168-4	Miyaguni	ojaa sa̧kʰeo̞ motsɯ annaa {ɸoomono / ɸoumono} motsɯ	T,N
N-168-4	Uruka	ujaː sa̧kjuː {mutʃitti / mutsɨ} annaː faumunuː mutsɨ	N,U,D
N-168-4	Bora	ujaɡa sa̧kiu mutɕittɕi annaɡa faʊ munuʃu mutsɿ ('faʊ' can also be interpreted as 'fɔː'.)	S,M
N-168-5	Standard Japanese	*hayaku sake-o motte ko-i.* to.be.early liquor-ACCUSATIVE to.carry to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Quickly bring the liquor.'	
N-168-5	Ikema	hajamaɾiː sakjuː mutiː kuː	N,N,D,U
N-168-5	Karimata	pʲaːɾiti ɕa̧ki mutɕi {k'uː / ɡuː}	N,D,U
N-168-5	Yonaha	pjaːkaɾiti sakjuː mutɕi kuː	H
N-168-5	Kurima	pʲaːŋkaɾi sa̧kʲuː mutɕi ku̧ː	K,I,T
N-168-5	Miyaguni	pʲaːpʲaːtɕi sa̧kʰeu motɕi kuː	T,N
N-168-5	Uruka	pjaːpjaːti sa̧kjuː mutʃi kuː	N,U,D
N-168-5	Bora	pʲaːpʲaːtɕi sa̧kiu mutɕi kuː	S,M
N-169-1	Standard Japanese	*Taroo-wa itsumo tabako-o kau.* Taro-TOPIC always tobacco-ACCUSATIVE to.buy 'Taro always buys tobacco.'	
N-169-1	Ikema	taɾoːja itsɿmai tabukuː kau	N,N,D,U
N-169-1	Karimata	baː ('I-TOPIC') issɿmai tabakudu koː ('ɿ' in 'issɿmai' begins frictionless.)	N,D,U
N-169-1	Yonaha	taroːja itsɯːmeː tabakoː koː	H
N-169-1	Kurima	taɾoːja itsume: tabu̧kuːdu koː	K,I,T
N-169-1	Miyaguni	taɾooja itsɿʔɯmai tabu̧kʰuo̞ kau	T,N
N-169-1	Uruka	taɾoːja itsɨːmai {tabakoː / tabaku̧ːdu} {kau / kaiuʑɨ ('to.buy-PROGRESSIVE')}	N,U,D
N-169-1	Bora	taɾoːja itsɿːmai tabakoudu kʰaʊ	S,M
N-169-2	Standard Japanese	*daremo imo-o kawa-nai.* anyone sweet.potato-ACCUSATIVE to.buy-NEGATIVE 'No one buys sweet potatoes.'	
N-169-2	Ikema	taɾumai nːnuba kaːɴ	N,N,D,U
N-169-2	Karimata	taʊmai m̥muba kaːŋ	N,D,U

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N-169-2	Yonaha	toːmeː mːmuba kaːn	H
N-169-2	Kurima	ʔtoːmeː mmuba kaːŋ	K,I,T
N-169-2	Miyaguni	toʔomai m̥mo kaːn	T,N
N-169-2	Uruka	toːmai mːuba kaːŋ	N,U,D
N-169-2	Bora	taʊmai mːba kʰaːɴ	S,M
N-169-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo sakana-o kat-ta.* yesterday fish-ACCUSATIVE to.buy-PAST 'I bought some fish, yesterday.'	
N-169-3	Ikema	nnu zzː kautai	N,N,D,U
N-169-3	Karimata	ksnoː ʔzˤʔnudu kai (The first 'ʔ' in 'ʔzˤʔ' starts frictionless.)	N,D,U
N-169-3	Yonaha	ksnaː zzuu koːtaː	H
N-169-3	Kurima	ʦʔnu zːbaː koːtaʔ	K,I,T
N-169-3	Miyaguni	kɨnoo zzuː kautaː	T,N
N-169-3	Uruka	ksɨnuː ɨzu kautaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-169-3	Bora	ʦʔn̥uː ʔzuʃu kaʊta(ː) ('ʔzu' is also pronounced 'zzu'.)	S,M
N-169-4	Standard Japanese	*watashi-ga sakana-o katte, tomodachi-wa niku-o kat-ta.* I-NOMINATIVE fish-ACCUSATIVE to.buy, friend-TOPIC meat-ACCUSATIVE to.buy-PAST 'I bought the fish; my friend bought the meat.'	
N-169-4	Ikema	baɡa ˀï̈ː kai dusïja butaniku kaʊtai	N,N,D,U
N-169-4	Karimata	baː ʔzˤʔ kai dussa {mˤʔːdu / məːdu} kai (The friction of 'mˤʔː' is weak; 'məː' is frictionless.)	N,D,U
N-169-4	Yonaha	baɡa zzuu kaitti dussa nikuu koːtaː	H
N-169-4	Kurima	abaː zzuːkai dussa nikuːdu koːtaʔ	K,I,T
N-169-4	Miyaguni	{baɡa / baja} zzuː kau do̥ssa niku kautaː	T,N
N-169-4	Uruka	baja ɨzuu {kautaˀɨ / kau / kaittidu} dussa nikuː kautaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-169-4	Bora	bajaː ʔzuː kaitʨi(du) dussa ʊaːju kaʊta(ː) (ʊaː 'pig/pork')	S,M
N-169-5	Standard Japanese	*abura-o katte ko-i.* oil-ACCUSATIVE to.buy to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go buy some oil.'	
N-169-5	Ikema	avvau kaikuː	N,N,D,U
N-169-5	Karimata	ɕḁkʲuː ('liquor-ACCUSATIVE') kai kʼuː	N,D,U
N-169-5	Yonaha	avvoː keː kuː	H
N-169-5	Kurima	avva kai kuː	K,I,T
N-169-5	Miyaguni	avvao̥ kʰai kuː	T,N
N-169-5	Uruka	aʊʊau kai kuː ('ʊ' is a weak labiodental.)	N,U,D
N-169-5	Bora	avvau kai kuː	S,M
N-170-1	Standard Japanese	*mainichi yasai-o uru.* every.day vegetable-ACCUSATIVE to.sell 'I sell vegetables every day.'	

N-170-1	Ikema	sɨː ju vvʲjuː	N,N,D,U
N-170-1	Karimata	mainiʦ suːnu paːidu ʋː ('ʋ' is frictionless.)	N,D,U
N-170-1	Yonaha	mainitsʔ jasaiju {ʋːtaː / uːtaː} (It appears to be pronounced with 'ʋː', but 'uː' is also accepted.)	H
N-170-1	Kurima	mainitsʔ suːjudu vː	K,I,T
N-170-1	Miyaguni	maʔinitsɨ suːju {uː / uv} ('v' in 'uv' is weak.)	T,N
N-170-1	Uruka	iʦɨːmai suːju {ʋː / ʋʋu}	N,U,D
N-170-1	Bora	iʦʔːmai suːjudu vvʔ̥	S,M
N-170-2	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa jibun-no buta-o ura-nai.* he-TOPIC self-GENITIVE pig-ACCUSATIVE to.sell-NEGATIVE 'He doesn't sell his pig.'	
N-170-2	Ikema	karaː naɾaɡa ɰaːjubaː vvaɴ	N,N,D,U
N-170-2	Karimata	NR / {karʲaː / kanu} pstoː waiba uʋadaɾaŋ (ɕuːdoː)	N,D,U
N-170-2	Yonaha	karʲaː unaɡaduunu waːjuba {vvan / vvadjaːn}	H
N-170-2	Kurima	karʲaː naɾa waːjuba vvaŋ	K,I,T
N-170-2	Miyaguni	karʲaː doːa waːiba ᵘvaŋ	T,N
N-170-2	Uruka	karʲaː duːnu {ʋaːju / ʋaːuba} ʋʋaŋ	N,U,D
N-170-2	Bora	karʲaː duːɡa ʋaːjubaː vvaɴ	S,M
N-170-3	Standard Japanese	*kyonen yagi-o ut-ta.* last.year goat-ACCUSATIVE to.sell-PAST 'I sold a goat, last year.'	
N-170-3	Ikema	kudzu çindzau vvitai	N,N,D,U
N-170-3	Karimata	{kuᵈᶻʔdu /kᵈᶻʔdu} pinzoː {ʋːdaᵈᶻʔ / ʋʋi / ʋːdaŋ}	N,D,U
N-170-3	Yonaha	kudzaː pinzoːba ʋːdusʔtaː	H
N-170-3	Kurima	kudzu pindzau uːtaʔ ('au' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-170-3	Miyaguni	kudzu pʰindzau {uːtaː / uᵛtaː / uʋtaː}	T,N
N-170-3	Uruka	kudzu pindzau ʋːtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-170-3	Bora	kududu pindau vvita(ː)	S,M
N-170-4	Standard Japanese	*yagi-o utte, buta-o kat-ta.* goat-ACCUSATIVE to.sell, pig-ACCUSATIVE to.buy-PAST 'I sold a goat and bought a pig.'	
N-170-4	Ikema	çindzau vviː ɰaːjuː kaitai	N,N,D,U
N-170-4	Karimata	pinzoː uʋiɕiȶidu waju koːtaᵈᶻʔ (The friction of 'ᵈᶻ' is weak.)	N,D,U
N-170-4	Yonaha	pinzaː vvittidu waːju koːtaː	H
N-170-4	Kurima	pindzao vvitti waːju koːtaʔ ('ao' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-170-4	Miyaguni	pʰindzau uvitʨi waːju kauta:	T,N
N-170-4	Uruka	pindzau ʋittidu ʋaːju kautaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-170-4	Bora	pindau vvitʨidu ʋaːja kaʋtaː	S,M

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N-170-5	Standard Japanese	*sono buta-o utte kudasa-i.* that pig-ACCUSATIVE to.sell to.give(honorific)-IMPERATIVE 'Please sell that pig to me.'	
N-170-5	Ikema	kunu ɰaːju vviː fiː samati	N,N,D,U
N-170-5	Karimata	kanu baːju ʋʋi fiːɾu	N,D,U
N-170-5	Yonaha	unu waːju vvi firu	H
N-170-5	Kurima	unu waːju vvifiːɾu	K,I,T
N-170-5	Miyaguni	unu waːju uvi ɸiiɾu	T,N
N-170-5	Uruka	unu {ʋaːju / ʋaːu} {ʋʋi fiːɾu ('to.sell to.give-IMPERATIVE') / ʋʋadʑaːna ('to.sell to.give-POLITE-NEGATIVE-INTERROGATIVE')}	N,U,D
N-170-5	Bora	unu ʋaːju vvi(ː) ffiːɾu ('ffiːɾu' is also pronounced 'fiːɾu'.)	S,M
N-170B-1	Standard Japanese	*itsumo watashi-wa otooto-ni okashi-o yaru.* always I-TOPIC younger.brother-DATIVE sweets-ACCUSATIVE to.give 'I always give my brother sweets.'	
N-170B-1	Ikema	itsmai baː uttuɴ kaːssu {fiː / fiː ui / fiː jui}	M,Y,S,T
N-170B-1	Karimata	itsɿmai utuduŋgadu kaːs {fɦ / fɦɿ} ('tsɿ' has strong aspiration; the voicing of 'fi' is weak.)	N,D,U
N-170B-1	Yonaha	itsɯːmeː banun ututaː kaːsɿ firu (Possibly 'my (younger) brother gives me sweets' instead.)	H
N-170B-1	Kurima	itsɿmeː abaː utu̥tuŋ koːsuba fiːɿ	K,I,T
N-170B-1	Miyaguni	itsɨʔmai bajaː o̥tʰu̥tu ŋ koosu ɸiː (The word for 'sweets' is pronounced 'koosɯ' in isolation.)	T,N
N-170B-1	Uruka	itsɨːmai bajaː {ututuŋkai / utsu̥tuŋkai} koːsɨ {ffiuᶻɨ / ffjuᶻɨ}	N,U,D
N-170B-1	Bora	itsɿːmai bajaː utu̥tuŋkaidu kaːssu ffiː	S,M
N-170B-2	Standard Japanese	*otooto-wa ani-ni okashi-o yara-nai.* younger.brother-TOPIC older.brother-DATIVE sweets-ACCUSATIVE to.give-NEGATIVE 'The younger brother doesn't give sweets to the older brother.'	
N-170B-2	Ikema	uttuː sudʑanna kaːssubaː fiːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-170B-2	Karimata	NR / baː azaṇna kaːsᵇba fiːdaɾaŋ ('to.give-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE')	N,D,U
N-170B-2	Yonaha	ututaː adzankeː kaːsɿ fudjaːn ('to.give-NEGATIVE' is here a negative intentional; a simple negative was not obtained.)	H
N-170B-2	Kurima	utu̥toa {azanna / suzanna} koːsubaː fuːŋ ('oa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-170B-2	Miyaguni	o̥tʰu̥too adzan koosuba ɸuːŋ	T,N
N-170B-2	Uruka	utsu̥toː azaŋkai koːssu ffudʑaŋ	N,U,D
N-170B-2	Bora	utu̥tʰa sudaŋkaija kaːssuba fuːɴ ('s' in 'suda' is pronounced somewhat forcefully; also 'ɕuda'.)	S,M

N-170B-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo otooto-ni ame-o yat-ta.* yesterday younger.brother-DATIVE candy-ACCUSATIVE to.give-PAST 'I gave my brother some candy, yesterday.'	
N-170B-3	Ikema	ŋnuː uttuɴ amʲuː fiːtai	M,Y,S,T
N-170B-3	Karimata	ksnudu utuduŋ amidʑatoː fiːt'aˀ	N,D,U
N-170B-3	Yonaha	ksnaː ututun amjoː fiːtaː	H
N-170B-3	Kurima	ʦɿnuː utuʈunna amiu fiːtaˀ	K,I,T
N-170B-3	Miyaguni	ksɨnuː otʰuʈuŋ amʲuː ɸiitaː	T,N
N-170B-3	Uruka	ksɨnuː uʦuʈuŋkai amju: ffitaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-170B-3	Bora	ʦɿnuː utuʈuŋkai amʲuː ffiːtaː	S,M
N-170B-4	Standard Japanese	*uma-ni kusa-o yatte, hatake-ni it-ta.* horse-DATIVE grass-ACCUSATIVE to.give, field-LOCATIVE to.go-PAST 'I gave the horse some grass and went to the field.'	
N-170B-4	Ikema	nuːmaɴ fsaː fiː haiŋkai ikitai	M,Y,S,T
N-170B-4	Karimata	nuːmanʈu ifsoː fiːɕiʈi paɾ̃ŋkai {iftaˀ / istaɭ} ('ɾ̃' is frictionless; the friction of 'taˀ' is weak.)	N,D,U
N-170B-4	Yonaha	nuːman fsaː fitti paɾinkeː piːtaː	H
N-170B-4	Kurima	nuːmaŋ fsaː fiːtti paɾiŋkeː piztaˀ	K,I,T
N-170B-4	Miyaguni	nuumaŋ ɸsau ɸittɕi paɾiŋkai iksɨtaː	T,N
N-170B-4	Uruka	nuːmaŋkai fuʂau ffitti paɾiŋkai iksɨtaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-170B-4	Bora	nuːmaŋkai fsau fiːttɕi(du) paɾiŋkai ikɿtaʔ(ː) ('ikɿtaː' can also be interpreted as 'ikɿtaˀ'.)	S,M
N-170B-5	Standard Japanese	*ushi-ni kusa-o yatte goran.* cow-DATIVE grass-ACCUSATIVE to.give to.see(honorific).IMPERATIVE 'Try giving the cow some grass.'	
N-170B-5	Ikema	{uɕiɴ / usɿɴ} fsau fiː miːɾu	M,Y,S,T
N-170B-5	Karimata	{usɳ / usɿɳ} {isso / ifʂo} fiː kuː ('to.come-IMPERATIVE')	N,D,U
N-170B-5	Yonaha	usɿoː fsoː fiː miːru	H
N-170B-5	Kurima	usüŋ fsoa fiːmiːɾu ('oa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-170B-5	Miyaguni	usɨn ɸsau ɸiː miɾu	T,N
N-170B-5	Uruka	usɨŋkai fuʂau ffi miːɾu	N,U,D
N-170B-5	Bora	usɿŋkai fsau fiː miɾu	S,M
N-171-1	Standard Japanese	*ryooshi-kara sakana-o morau.* fisherman-ABLATIVE fish-ACCUSATIVE to.receive 'I get some fish from the fisherman.'	
N-171-1	Ikema	iĩɕakaɾa zzuː ddʑitai	M,Y,S,T
N-171-1	Karimata	immuɾipstuˀɿːkaɾadu immunu izɿtaˀ	N,D,U
N-171-1	Yonaha	zzusjaːkaɾa zzuu zzitaː	H
N-171-1	Kurima	imʲɕaːkaɾa zː muɾoa ('oa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T

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N-171-1	Miyaguni	imboo kaɾa zzuː moɾautaː	T,N
N-171-1	Uruka	imboːkaɾa {ɨzuu / zzuː / zuu} muɾau <cf> muɾautaɀɨ ('to.receive-PAST') / muɾaːdakanaɾaŋ ('to.receive-OBLIGATIVE')	N,U,D
N-171-1	Bora	iʦɿːmaidu impɿ̥tukaɾa ʔzuu i: (iʦɿːmaidu 'always')	S,M
N-171-2	Standard Japanese	*chiisai kani-wa daremo morawa-nai.* to.be.small crab-TOPIC anyone to.receive-NEGATIVE 'No one takes the small crab.'	
N-171-2	Ikema	imiːimi kannuba: taɾuːmai {ʑʑiɴ / ddʑiɴ}	M,Y,S,T
N-171-2	Karimata	imiːn kanu kammꭒba taɾumai iʑiŋ (The sonority of the first 'i' in 'iʑiŋ' is low.)	N,D,U
N-171-2	Yonaha	imiːnu kannuba: toːmeː zzun	H
N-171-2	Kurima	imiːnu kannuba: toːmeː muɾaŋ	K,I,T
N-171-2	Miyaguni	imiʔinu kʰannuba toʔomai moɾaːŋ	T,N
N-171-2	Uruka	imiːnu kanjuːba toːmai muɾaːŋ	N,U,D
N-171-2	Bora	imiːtʨanu kannuba: taʊmai ju(ː)ɴ ('taʊ' can also be interpreted as 'tɔː'.)	S,M
N-171-3	Standard Japanese	*tonari-no ie-kara daikon-o morat-ta.* next.door-GENITIVE house-ABLATIVE daikon.radish-ACCUSATIVE to.receive-PAST 'I got a daikon radish from my neighbors.'	
N-171-3	Ikema	tunainu jaːkaɾa uɸunjau ddʑitai	M,Y,S,T
N-171-3	Karimata	tananu pstukaɾadu uᵖɸunjuː iʑitaʔ (The sonority of the first 'i' in 'iʑitaʔ' is low.)	N,D,U
N-171-3	Yonaha	tunaʔnu pstukaɾa upunjuː zzitaː	H
N-171-3	Kurima	tunaʔnu jaːkaɾa upniu muroːtaʔ ('k' is pronounced quite towards the back and easily misheard as 'h'.)	K,I,T
N-171-3	Miyaguni	{tunaɀɨ / tunal̥} nu jaːkaɾa upuniu {moɾautaː / moɾootaː}	T,N
N-171-3	Uruka	tunaɀɨnu jaːkaɾa upunjuː {muɾautaɀɨ / muɾoutaɀɨ}	N,U,D
N-171-3	Bora	tuɳaɾunu jaːkaɾa upunjiu iːta	S,M
N-171-4	Standard Japanese	*ookina sakana-o moratte, minna-de wake-ta.* to.be.large fish-ACCUSATIVE to.receive, everyone-INSTRUMENTAL to.divide-PAST 'We got a large fish and divided it among ourselves.'	
N-171-4	Ikema	ɡabaːzzu ddʑiː n̥ːnaçiː bakitai	M,Y,S,T
N-171-4	Karimata	uᵖɸoːbinu iʑidu {m̥ːnaɕi / n̥ːnaɕi} {baɡət'aʔ / baɡədaʔ}	N,D,U
N-171-4	Yonaha	upoːnu zzuu zzitti m̥ːnasiː bakitaː	H
N-171-4	Kurima	upoːnu zː muɾai m̥ːnasi bakit̥aʔ	K,I,T
N-171-4	Miyaguni	upuʔunu ᶻzuː moɾaittɕi m̥ʔnaɕi nakaːɀɨtaː	T,N
N-171-4	Uruka	upuːnu {zzuu / zzuː / ɨzuu} muɾaittidu m̥ːnaŋkai bakitaɀɨ	N,U,D

N-171-4	Bora	upuːupunu ˀzuː iːttɕidu mːnaɕiː bakita(ː)	S,M
N-171-5	Standard Japanese	*sinseki-kara miso-o moratte ki-ta.* relative-ABLATIVE miso-ACCUSATIVE to.receive to.come-PAST 'I got some miso paste from a relative.'	
N-171-5	Ikema	haɾauˀnkaɾa n̩suː ddʑittai	M,Y,S,T
N-171-5	Karimata	ujakiɡaɾadu n̩suː iziftaˀn (The friction of 'ˀn' is weak.)	N,D,U
N-171-5	Yonaha	utudzakaɾa ntsuu zzi kstaː	H
N-171-5	Kurima	utɕudzakaɾa msuː muɾaitsn̩taˀn ('k' is pronounced quite towards the back and easily misheard as 'h'.)	K,I,T
N-171-5	Miyaguni	utɕudʑa kaɾa du m̩su morai {ksɨːtaː / ksɨztaː / ksɨta}	T,N
N-171-5	Uruka	utsɨdʑakaɾa msuː muɾai ksɨːtaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-171-5	Bora	utu̜dakaɾa msu̜ʃu iː kˀnta(ː)	S,M
N-172-1	Standard Japanese	*nodo-ga kawaita-ra mizu-o nomu.* throat-NOMINATIVE to.dry.up-CONDITIONAL water-ACCUSATIVE to.drink 'When I'm thirsty, I drink water.'	
N-172-1	Ikema	nudunu kaːkitiɡaː middʑu {numi / nuN}	M,Y,S,T
N-172-1	Karimata	nudunudu kaɾaːˀidu mitɕi {nuŋtaˀn ('to.drink-PAST') / numaɾi}	N,D,U
N-172-1	Yonaha	ubui nu kaːrakikaː middzu num	H
N-172-1	Kurima	nudu kaːkibaːnna mitɕudu num	K,I,T
N-172-1	Miyaguni	nubuinu kaːkitɕika: middʑu no̜ma: ('middʑɨ' in isolation.)	T,N
N-172-1	Uruka	nudunu kaːrakɨtika: {mitdʑu / mittɕu} num	N,U,D
N-172-1	Bora	nudunudu {kaːrakʲuːtaɾibadu / kaːraki uɾibadu} mizuu num	S,M
N-172-2	Standard Japanese	*watashi-no otto-wa sake-o noma-nai.* I-GENITIVE husband-TOPIC liquor-ACCUSATIVE to.drink-NEGATIVE 'My husband doesn't drink.'	
N-172-2	Ikema	baɡa butuː sa̜kʲuːbaː numaN	M,Y,S,T
N-172-2	Karimata	baː biɡidum̩ma ɕa̜kiubaː numaŋ̍	N,D,U
N-172-2	Yonaha	baɡa bikidumaː sakjuːbaː numan	H
N-172-2	Kurima	baɡa bikidumuu sa̜kʲuːbaː numaŋ	K,I,T
N-172-2	Miyaguni	baɡa bikidumma sakʰiu̜ba no̜maŋ	T,N
N-172-2	Uruka	baɡa butoː sa̜kjuːba numaŋ	N,U,D
N-172-2	Bora	{baɡa / baɣa} bikidumma sa̜kiuba numaN	S,M
N-172-3	Standard Japanese	*ocha-wa sakki non-da.* tea-TOPIC just.now to.drink-PAST 'I just drank tea.'	
N-172-3	Ikema	tɕaːja ki̜sadu nuntai	M,Y,S,T
N-172-3	Karimata	tɕaːjuba main̩du numi (A form like 'nuntaˀn' was not obtained.)	N,D,U
N-172-3	Yonaha	tɕaːjubaː {sadaɾidu/pjaːsidu} numtaː	H

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N-172-3	Kurima	ʨaibaː nnamaɡatadu numutaʔ	K,I,T
N-172-3	Miyaguni	ʨaːja kʲsaʔatu nom̩taː	T,N
N-172-3	Uruka	ʧaːja nnamadu numtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-172-3	Bora	ʨaːjubaː kiᶄaːdu numta	S,M
N-172-4	Standard Japanese	*kusuri-o nonde, hayaku ne-ro.* medicine-ACCUSATIVE to.take, to.be.early to.sleep-IMPERATIVE 'Take some medicine and go to bed early.'	
N-172-4	Ikema	ffʊija numiː {haimaɾi / hajamaɾi} nʲivvi	M,Y,S,T
N-172-4	Karimata	fu̥sꞏdu {numiᶜiti / numiᶜiti} pʲaːᶜi niʋi	N,D,U
N-172-4	Yonaha	fsuᶻꞏzuba numitti pjaːpjaːti nivvi	H
N-172-4	Kurima	fsuzu numitti pʲaːŋkaɾi nivvi	K,I,T
N-172-4	Miyaguni	ɸsuzu nom̩itʨi pʲʲaːpjaːʨi nivvi	T,N
N-172-4	Uruka	{fu̥sɨzzu / fu̥sɨᶻɨzu} numitti pjaːpjaːti nivvi	N,U,D
N-172-4	Bora	fsu̥zzu numitʨi pʲaːpjaːʨi nʲivvi	S,M
N-172-5	Standard Japanese	*kono kusuri-wa amai-kara nonde mi-nasai.* this medicine-TOPIC to.be.sweet-because to.take to.see-IMPERATIVE 'This medicine is sweet, so try taking it.'	
N-172-5	Ikema	kunu ffʊija aznmajaiba numiː miːɾu	M,Y,S,T
N-172-5	Karimata	unu aᶻnmaɳdiba numi miːɾu	N,D,U
N-172-5	Yonaha	unu fsuᶻꞏza adznmaːnu jaɾiba numiː miːɾu	H
N-172-5	Kurima	kunu fsuzza azumakaɾiba numimiːɾu	K,I,T
N-172-5	Miyaguni	kunu ɸsuzza adzɨmaːnu jaiba nom̩imiːɾu	T,N
N-172-5	Uruka	kunu {fu̥sɨzza / fu̥sɨᶻɨza} amakaɾiba numi miɾu	N,U,D
N-172-5	Bora	kunu fsu̥zza azumakaᶉʲa numi miːɾu	S,M
N-172B-1-1	Standard Japanese	*koko-de-wa hechima-o taberu.* here-LOCATIVE-TOPIC sponge.gourd-ACCUSATIVE to.eat 'We eat sponge gourd here.'	
N-172B-1-1	Ikema	kumanna {nabʲaːɾau / nabʲaːɾaʊ} {fau / faʊ} (Both forms with the bilabial fricative 'ɸ' and forms with the labiodental fricative 'f' exist.)	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-1-1	Karimata	fumanʲa nabʲaːɾadu {foː / ɸoː}	N,D,U
N-172B-1-1	Yonaha	kumanna nabjaːɾoː foːdusꞏ (As an answer to 'What do you eat?': satoːdu foː 'We eat sugar.')	H
N-172B-1-1	Kurima	kumanna nabiaɾoa foː ('oa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-172B-1-1	Miyaguni	kumanna nabʲaːɾaob̩a {ɸoodusɨ̥ː / ɸaodosɨ̥ː}	T,N
N-172B-1-1	Uruka	kumaŋ nabjaːɾau fau	N,U,D
N-172B-1-1	Bora	kumanna nabʲaːɾaudu fɔʊ	S,M

N-172B-1-2	Standard Japanese	*hondo-no hito-wa hechima-o tabe-nai.* mainland.Japan-GENITIVE person-TOPIC sponge.gourd-ACCUSATIVE to.eat-NEGATIVE 'Mainland Japanese people don't eat sponge gourd.'	
N-172B-1-2	Ikema	jamatunu çituː nabʲaːɾaubaː faːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-1-2	Karimata	jamatu pstoː nabʲaɾawa {ɸaŋ̩ / faŋ̩}	N,D,U
N-172B-1-2	Yonaha	jamatunu pstaː nabjaɾoːba faːn	H
N-172B-1-2	Kurima	jamatunu pit̪oa nabeaɾoaba faːŋ ('oa' and 'ea' are ambiguous diphthongs.)	K,I,T
N-172B-1-2	Miyaguni	naitɕi psɨto: nabʲaːraob̪a ɸaːŋ	T,N
N-172B-1-2	Uruka	jamatunu psɨtoː nabjaːrauba faːŋ	N,U,D
N-172B-1-2	Bora	jamatu(nu) pɻ̩taː nabʲaːrauba faːɴ	S,M
N-172B-1-3	Standard Japanese	*nigauri-wa kinoo tabe-ta.* bitter.melon-TOPIC yesterday to.eat-PAST 'Yesterday, I ate bitter melon.'	
N-172B-1-3	Ikema	gauɾau nnu {faitai / fautai / faʊtai}	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-1-3	Karimata	goːɾoːba ksṇudu {foːtaˀ / ɸoːtaˀ} (The friction of 'ˀ' is weak.)	N,D,U
N-172B-1-3	Yonaha	goːɾoːbaː ksnudu foːtaː	H
N-172B-1-3	Kurima	goːɾᵒa tsˀnudu foːtaˀ ('ᵒa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-172B-1-3	Miyaguni	gauɾaob̪a ksɨnoːdo ɸoota:	T,N
N-172B-1-3	Uruka	gauɾaː ksɨṇuːdu {foːtaˀɨ / fautaˀɨ}	N,U,D
N-172B-1-3	Bora	gɔʊɾaubaː ksˀnuːdu fɔʊta	S,M
N-172B-1-4	Standard Japanese	*hirugohan-o tabete, ne-ro.* lunch-ACCUSATIVE to.eat, to.sleep-IMPERATIVE 'Have lunch and get some sleep.'	
N-172B-1-4	Ikema	jamatunu çituː nabʲaːɾaubaː faːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-1-4	Karimata	jamatu pstoː nabʲaɾawa {ɸaŋ̩ / faŋ̩}	N,D,U
N-172B-1-4	Yonaha	jamatunu pstaː nabjaɾoːbaː faːn	H
N-172B-1-4	Kurima	jamatunu pit̪oa nabeaɾoaba faːŋ ('oa' and 'ea' are ambiguous diphthongs.)	K,I,T
N-172B-1-4	Miyaguni	naitɕi psɨto: nabʲaːraob̪a ɸaːŋ	T,N
N-172B-1-4	Uruka	jamatunu psɨtoː nabjaːrauba faːŋ	N,U,D
N-172B-1-4	Bora	jamatu(nu) pɻ̩taː nabʲaːrauba faːɴ	S,M
N-172B-1-5	Standard Japanese	*yuugohan-wa tabete ki-ta.* dinner-TOPIC to.eat to.come-PAST 'I've eaten dinner.'	
N-172B-1-5	Ikema	juiju faittai	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-1-5	Karimata	juːˀba faidu kuɕi̥	N,D,U

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N-172B-1-5	Yonaha	juːʔba feːtidu kstaː (Apparently, both 'feːtti' and 'feːti' are possible. The form used in 'feː miːɾu' is the *ari*-continuative.)	H
N-172B-1-5	Kurima	juːzuba faitti tsʔtaʔ	K,I,T
N-172B-1-5	Miyaguni	juzzuba ɸaido̥ ksⁱtaː	T,N
N-172B-1-5	Uruka	juzza faidu ksⁱtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-172B-1-5	Bora	juzza faittɕidu kʔtaː ('faittɕi' is a *shite*-continuative.) <cf> gɔʊɾau fai miːɾu ('Try eating a bitter melon'; 'fai' is an *ari*-continuative.)	S,M
N-172B-2-1	Standard Japanese	*yagi-wa kusa-o kuu.* goat-TOPIC grass-ACCUSATIVE to.eat 'Goats eat grass.'	
N-172B-2-1	Ikema	çindʑaː {fsaudu / fsaʊdu} {fau / faʊ}	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-2-1	Karimata	pin̥zaː {issoːbaː / ifsoːbaː} {ffoːᵈzuɕɴ / ffoːᵈʑɴɕɴ}	N,D,U
N-172B-2-1	Yonaha	pindza fsoːdu foː	H
N-172B-2-1	Kurima	pindʑa fsoːdu foː	K,I,T
N-172B-2-1	Miyaguni	pindʑa ɸsao̥do ɸau	T,N
N-172B-2-1	Uruka	pindʑa fu̥saudu {fou / fau}	N,U,D
N-172B-2-1	Bora	pindaː fsaudu fɔʊ	S,M
N-172B-2-2	Standard Japanese	*yagi-wa kami-o kuɯa-nai.* goat-TOPIC paper-ACCUSATIVE to.eat-NEGATIVE 'Goats don't eat paper.'	
N-172B-2-2	Ikema	çindʑaː kabijubaː {faːɴ / ffaːɴ}	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-2-2	Karimata	Not obtained. Reportedly, the same word is used for eating by animals and eating by humans.	N,D,U
N-172B-2-2	Yonaha	pindzaː kabᶻʔzuba faːn	H
N-172B-2-2	Kurima	pindʑaː kabzba faːŋ	K,I,T
N-172B-2-2	Miyaguni	pindʑaː kʰabɨzo̥ba ɸaːŋ	T,N
N-172B-2-2	Uruka	pindʑaː kabᶻɨzuba faːŋ	N,U,D
N-172B-2-2	Bora	pindaː kabʔuʃba faːɴ	S,M
N-172B-2-3	Standard Japanese	*neko-ga sakana-o kut-ta.* cat-NOMINATIVE fish-ACCUSATIVE to.eat-PAST 'The cat ate the fish.'	
N-172B-2-3	Ikema	majun zzuː {fautai / faʊtai}	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-2-3	Karimata	Not obtained. Reportedly, the same word is used for eating by animals and eating by humans.	N,D,U
N-172B-2-3	Yonaha	majunudu zzuː foːtaː	H
N-172B-2-3	Kurima	majunudu zzːba foːtaʔ	K,I,T

N-172B-2-3	Miyaguni	majuː zzuːba ɸoodosɨː	T,N
N-172B-2-3	Uruka	majunudu {zzuː / ɨzuu} {foutaᶻɨ / fautaᶻɨ}	N,U,D
N-172B-2-3	Bora	majuːnudu ˀzuu fɔʊta ('fɔʊta' can also be interpreted as 'foːta'.)	S,M
N-172B-2-4	Standard Japanese	*sakana-o kutte, sugu-ni nige-ta.* fish-ACCUSATIVE to.eat, right.away-LOCATIVE to.escape-PAST 'It ate the fish and ran off right away.'	
N-172B-2-4	Karimata	Not obtained. Reportedly, the same word is used for eating by animals and eating by humans.	N,D,U
N-172B-2-4	Kurima	zzaː feːttidu pjaːpjaːti piːtaː	K,I,T
N-172B-2-4	Miyaguni	zzː faitte̥ suɡu piŋgitaˀ	T,N
N-172B-2-4	Uruka	zzuː ɸiːdu suɡu {pʰiŋgitaː / ɸiŋgitaː}	N,U,D
N-172B-2-4	Bora	ˀzaː faittɕidu nnama piŋgita (Perhaps 'ˀzaː' corresponds to 'fish-TOPIC'.)	S,M
N-172B-2-5	Standard Japanese	*zenbu kutte shimat-ta.* completely to.eat to.finish-PAST 'It ate it all up.'	
N-172B-2-5	Ikema	n̥nanai fai nʲaːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-172B-2-5	Karimata	Not obtained. Reportedly, the same word is used for eating by animals and eating by humans.	N,D,U
N-172B-2-5	Yonaha	mːnadu foːtaː	H
N-172B-2-5	Kurima	{muːstu / muːˀdu} fainʲaːŋ ('nʲ' is not palatalized as much as 'ɲ'.)	K,I,T
N-172B-2-5	Miyaguni	mˀnado ɸaido̥ {pʰiːtaː / ɸiitaː}	T,N
N-172B-2-5	Uruka	mːnadu {fai njaːŋ / foutaᶻɨ ~ fautaᶻɨ ('to.eat-PAST')}	N,U,D
N-172B-2-5	Bora	mːna fai nʲaːɴ	S,M
N-173-1	Standard Japanese	*kuraku naru-made soto-de asobu.* to.be.dark to.become-TERMINATIVE outside-LOCATIVE to.play 'I play outside until it gets dark.'	
N-173-1	Ikema	ffḁfɨ nai {kʲataːçiː / kitaːçiː} aɾaɴ {aɕibi ui / aɕibʲuːi}	M,Y,S,T
N-173-1	Karimata	faffuː naskʲaːdu ᵖɸukaŋgi asuʋi	N,D,U
N-173-1	Yonaha	ffaːffa naˀkjaːɡamidu minakan appˀtaː	H
N-173-1	Kurima	ffafu naˀkʲa pu̥kaŋ aspi	K,I,T
N-173-1	Miyaguni	ɸɯ̥ˀaɸɸa {naʊkʲaː / nazkʲaː} pʰukaɴ asɯpʲuː	T,N
N-173-1	Uruka	fˀfaːffa naᶻɨkjaːdu pukaŋ asɨpˢɨ	N,U,D
N-173-1	Bora	ffaːffa sukʲaːdu aɾaːɴ asˀpˢˀ ('asˀpˢˀ' can also be interpreted as 'as̩bḁ'.)	S,M

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N-173-2	Standard Japanese	*kuraku nat-ta-ra, daremo asoba-nai.* to.be.dark to.become-PAST-CONDITIONAL, anyone to.play-NEGATIVE 'When it gets dark, no one plays.'	
N-173-2	Ikema	ffaf naiˑtuː taɾumai aɕibaɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-173-2	Karimata	fafu nadigaː {taʊmai / tagumai} asuːbaŋ	N,D,U
N-173-2	Yonaha	ffaːffa nakkaː toːmeː appan	H̩
N-173-2	Kurima	ffafu naꜛkkaː toːmeː aspaŋ	K,I,T
N-173-2	Miyaguni	ɸɯˀaɸɸa naztɕika toˀomai asɨpaŋ	T,N
N-173-2	Uruka	ffːffa naᶻɨtikaː toːmai asɨpaŋ	N,U,D
N-173-2	Bora	ffaːffa naɾɕikaː taʊmai asꜛpʰaɴ ('asꜛpʰaɴ' can also be interpreted as 'asꜛbaɴ'.)	S,M
N-173-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo-wa itoko-to ason-da.* yesterday-TOPIC cousin-COMITATIVE to.play-PAST 'Yesterday, I played with my cousin.'	
N-173-3	Ikema	ŋnuː itɕuftu {aɕibitai / aɕuːtai}	M,Y,S,T
N-173-3	Karimata	ᵏsnoː {itsfsaɾido / itsfsaɾidu} asʊda	N,D,U
N-173-3	Yonaha	ksnaː itsꜛfzjaːna appꜛtaː	H̩
N-173-3	Kurima	tsꜛnuː itɕifuːtuː aspꜛtaꜛ	K,I,T
N-173-3	Miyaguni	kɨnuːja {itsuɸunukʲaːtu / itsuɸutudo} asɨpʰɨtaː	T,N
N-173-3	Uruka	kˢɨnuːja itsɨfutu asɨpˢɨtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-173-3	Bora	kˀꜛnuːja ituɸuꜛtudu asꜛpꜛꜛtaː ('asꜛpꜛꜛtaː' can also be interpreted as 'asꜛbꜛꜛtaː'.)	S,M
N-173-4	Standard Japanese	*gakkoo-de asonde, ie-ni kaet-ta.* school-LOCATIVE to.play, house-LOCATIVE to.return.home-PAST 'I played at school and went home.'	
N-173-4	Ikema	gakkoːɴ aɕibiː jaːŋkai ikitai	M,Y,S,T
N-173-4	Karimata	gakkoːŋgi asꜛbiɕiti jaːŋkai kstaꜛ (The friction of 'ꜛ' is weak.)	N,D,U
N-173-4	Yonaha	gakkoːndu appitti jaːnke ksta ('to.come-PAST' instead of 'to.return.home-PAST'.)	H̩
N-173-4	Kurima	gakkᵘoːŋ aspꜛtti jaːŋke tsꜛꜛtaꜛ ('ᵘo' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-173-4	Miyaguni	gakkoːŋ asɨpittɕidu jaːŋkai kɨtaː	T,N
N-173-4	Uruka	gakkoːŋ asɨpittidu jaŋkai kɨːtaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-173-4	Bora	gakkoːndu asꜛpittɕiː jaːŋkai kꜛtaː ('asꜛpittɕiː' can also be interpreted as 'asꜛbittɕiː'.)	S,M

N-173-5	Standard Japanese	*soto-de asonde ko-i.* outside-LOCATIVE to.play to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go play outside.'	
N-173-5	Ikema	aɾaɴ aɕibiː kuː	M,Y,S,T
N-173-5	Karimata	pukaŋgi asˀbi kuː	N,D,U
N-173-5	Yonaha	aɾaː iki appi kuː	H
N-173-5	Kurima	pu̥kaŋ aspˀ ku̥ː	K,I,T
N-173-5	Miyaguni	pʰu̥kaɴ asɨpi kuː	T,N
N-173-5	Uruka	pukaŋ asɨpi kuː	N,U,D
N-173-5	Bora	aɾaːŋki asˀpiː kuː ('asˀpiː' can also be interpreted as 'asˀbiː'.)	S,M
N-174-1	Standard Japanese	*kono sake-wa sugu-ni you.* this liquor-TOPIC right.away-LOCATIVE to.get.drunk 'This liquor gets you drunk quickly.'	
N-174-1	Ikema	kunu sḁkʲaː suɡu bʲuːi	M,Y,S,T
N-174-1	Karimata	ɕu̥kʲaː piŋkanu maːɕinai bʲuː	N,D,U
N-174-1	Yonaha	kunu sakjaː nnamantidu bjuː	H
N-174-1	Kurima	kunu sḁkʲaː suɡudu bʲuː	K,I,T
N-174-1	Miyaguni	kunu sḁke̥a suɡu bʲuː dusɨː	T,N
N-174-1	Uruka	kunu sḁkjaː sɨɡudu bjuː	N,U,D
N-174-1	Bora	kunu sḁkʲaː suɡudu bʲuː	S,M
N-174-2	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa donnani nonde-mo yowa-nai.* he-TOPIC how.much to.drink-even.when to.get.drunk-NEGATIVE 'No matter how much he drinks, he doesn't get drunk.'	
N-174-2	Ikema	kaɾaː ĩɕiː numammai bʲuːiɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-174-2	Karimata	kanu pstoː uposa numumai {bʲuːiŋ̍ / bijuːiŋ̍}	N,D,U
N-174-2	Yonaha	kanu pstaː noːsi numjaːmeː bjaːn	H
N-174-2	Kurima	kaɾʲaː noːsi numʲaːmeː bʲoːŋ	K,I,T
N-174-2	Miyaguni	kaɾea noʔobaɕi no̥mibam bʲoːŋ	T,N
N-174-2	Uruka	kaɾjaː isḁki numibaŋ bjoːŋ	N,U,D
N-174-2	Bora	kaɾʲaː nabaɕiː numaɕaːmaidu bʲaːɴ (numaɕaːmaidu 'to.drink-CAUSATIVE-even.when')	S,M
N-174-3	Standard Japanese	*ototoi-wa takusan nonde yot-ta.* day.before.yesterday-TOPIC much to.drink to.get.drunk-PAST 'The day before yesterday, I drank a lot and got drunk.'	
N-174-3	Ikema	miːkanainna ippai numiː bʲuːitai	M,Y,S,T
N-174-3	Karimata	putuduˀza upoːsa numidu bʲuːtan	N,D,U
N-174-3	Yonaha	ututuzza masjeː numittidu bjuːtaː	H
N-174-3	Kurima	butu̥tuːza maɕaːŋ numitti bʲuːtan	K,I,T
N-174-3	Miyaguni	butu̥tuzza jaʔudake̥ no̥mittɕido bʲoːtaː	T,N

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N-174-3	Uruka	{buʦutuzza / bututuzza} jaudaki numittidu bjuːtaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-174-3	Bora	bututuꞏza upaːʨi numitʨidu bʲuːtaː ('ututuꞏza' is used for 'day before yesterday' as well, as is 'jamakạsa' for 'much'.)	S,M
N-174-4	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa yotte, kinoo-no koto-o wasure-teiru.* he-TOPIC to.get.drunk, yesterday-GENITIVE thing-ACCUSATIVE to.forget-STATIVE 'He got drunk, so he has forgotten about yesterday.'	
N-174-4	Ikema	miːkanainna ippai numiː bʲuːitai	M,Y,S,T
N-174-4	Karimata	putuduꞏza upoːsa numidu bʲuːtaꞏ	N,D,U
N-174-4	Yonaha	ututuzza masjeː numittidu bjuːtaː	H
N-174-4	Kurima	bututuꞏza maɕaːŋ numitti bʲuːtaꞏ	K,I,T
N-174-4	Miyaguni	butut̪uzza jaˀudakẹ no̞mitʨido bʲoːtaː	T,N
N-174-4	Uruka	{buʦutuzza / bututuzza} jaudaki numittidu bjuːtaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-174-4	Bora	bututuꞏza upaːʨi numitʨidu bʲuːtaː	S,M
N-174-5	Standard Japanese	*sake-o nonde yotte shimat-ta.* liquor-ACCUSATIVE to.drink to.get.drunk to.finish-PAST 'I had a drink and ended up drunk.'	
N-174-5	Ikema	sakʲaː numiː bʲuːi nʲaːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-174-5	Karimata	bʲuːi nʲaːŋ	N,D,U
N-174-5	Yonaha	sakjaː numittidu bjuːi utaː	H
N-174-5	Kurima	sạkʲaː numitti bʲuinʲaːŋ	K,I,T
N-174-5	Miyaguni	sạkʰe̞o nomitʨi (du) bʲoːjo̞ːtaː	T,N
N-174-5	Uruka	sạkju numiːdu bjuːi njaːŋ	N,U,D
N-174-5	Bora	sakʲaː numitʨidu bʲuːi nʲaɴ	S,M
N-175B-1	Standard Japanese	*mainichi kami- arau.* every.day hair-ACCUSATIVE to.wash 'I wash my hair every day.'	
N-175B-1	Ikema	mainiʨi akau aɾau	M,Y,S,T
N-175B-1	Karimata	mainiʦtu kaɾa t ɕɿba aɾoː	N,D,U
N-175B-1	Yonaha	mainitsɿ kaɾaddzu aɾoː	H
N-175B-1	Kurima	mainitsɿ kaɾatʨu aɾoa ('oa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-175B-1	Miyaguni	maˀinitsɨ kaɾaddzo̞ aɾau	T,N
N-175B-1	Uruka	mainitsɨdu kaɾatʦu aɾau	N,U,D
N-175B-1	Bora	itsɿːmaidu kaɾazuu aɾɔʊ	S,M
N-175B-2	Standard Japanese	*sofu-wa mainichi-wa kami-o arawa-nai.* grandfather-TOPIC every.day-TOPIC hair-ACCUSATIVE to.wash-NEGATIVE 'My grandfather doesn't wash his hair every day.'	
N-175B-2	Ikema	ujaː mainiʨi akaubaː aɾaːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-175B-2	Karimata	obaja ɡabamma̩ː kaɾatsɿꞏba mainitsɿ̩ aɾaːŋ̩	N,D,U

N-175B-2	Yonaha	sjuːja mainitsɿ kaɾaddzubaː aɾaːn	H
N-175B-2	Kurima	ɕuːja mainitsɿ kaɾattɕuba aɾaːŋ	K,I,T
N-175B-2	Miyaguni	ɕuːja maʔinittsa kaɾadʑuba aɾaːŋ	T,N
N-175B-2	Uruka	ʃuːja mainittsa kaɾattsuba aɾaːŋ	N,U,D
N-175B-2	Bora	ɕuːja {mainʲittsa / mainʲitsaː} kaɾazuːba aɾaːɴ ('mainʲitsaː' is a newer pronunciation.)	S,M
N-175B-3	Standard Japanese	*te-to ashi-o arat-ta.* hand-COMITATIVE foot-ACCUSATIVE to.wash-PAST 'I washed my hands and feet.'	
N-175B-3	Ikema	tiːtu haddʑu aɾaitai	M,Y,S,T
N-175B-3	Karimata	tiːdu paɡʐudu {aɾoːdan / aɾoːdaɴ}	N,D,U
N-175B-3	Yonaha	tiːtu paɡzzubaː {aɾoː dusɿtaː/aɾoːtaː}	H
N-175B-3	Kurima	tiːtu pazutuː aɾoːtaɿ	K,I,T
N-175B-3	Miyaguni	tɕiːtu paɡɨtu aɾautaː	T,N
N-175B-3	Uruka	tiːtu paɡᶻɨzu aɾautaᶻɨ	N,U,D
N-175B-3	Bora	tɕiːtu pazʐudu aɾɔʊta(ː)	S,M
N-175B-4	Standard Japanese	*te-o aratte, gohan-o tabe-ro.* hand-ACCUSATIVE to.wash, meal-ACCUSATIVE to.eat-IMPERATIVE 'Wash your hands and eat.'	
N-175B-4	Ikema	tiːju aɾaiː munuː fai	M,Y,S,T
N-175B-4	Karimata	tiːja aɾaiɕi̥ti munuː {ɸai / fai}	N,D,U
N-175B-4	Yonaha	tiːbaː aɾeːttidu munuːbaː feː	H
N-175B-4	Kurima	tiː aɾaitti munu feː	K,I,T
N-175B-4	Miyaguni	tɕiːo̥ aɾaittɕi kaɾa monoba ɸai	T,N
N-175B-4	Uruka	tiːju {aɾaitti / aɾaittikaɾa} {mazzu / maᶻɨzu} fai	N,U,D
N-175B-4	Bora	tɕiːju aɾaittɕi munuːba fai	S,M
N-175B-5	Standard Japanese	*kao-mo aratte ko-i.* face-too to.wash to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go wash your face, too.'	
N-175B-5	Ikema	mihanaumai {aɾai / sɿ̥miː / sɯ̥miː} kuː	M,Y,S,T
N-175B-5	Karimata	mipanoː aɾai kuː	N,D,U
N-175B-5	Yonaha	mipanoːmeː aɾeː kuː	H
N-175B-5	Kurima	mipanoa aɾai ku̥ː ('oa' is an ambiguous diphthong.)	K,I,T
N-175B-5	Miyaguni	mipanao̥ {aɾaittɕi / aɾai} ko̥ː	T,N
N-175B-5	Uruka	mipanau aɾai kuː	N,U,D
N-176-1	Standard Japanese	*atsuitoki-wa boosi-o kaburu.* to.be.hot time-TOPIC hat-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on(headwear) 'When it's hot, I put a hat on.'	
N-176-1	Ikema	atsukai tukʲanna {boːɕuː / buːɕuː} {kavvi / kaʊʊi}	M,Y,S,T

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N-176-1	Karimata	atsïkai tu̥kinna boːɕiu kavvi	N,M
N-176-1	Uruka	atsɨkaˀɨ tukjaːna boːʃuː kaʋ	N,U,D
N-176-1	Bora	atsɿːatsɿnu tu̥kʲaːɲna boːɕuː {kaʋ̥ / kaf̥}	K,K,Y,M
N-176-1	Kuninaka	atsɿː tu̥kʲaːɴna boːɕoo kaʋ̥ (According to the speaker, 'ʋ̥' corresponds to the Standard Japanese *kana* for 'u'.)	N
N-176-2	Standard Japanese	*daremo kubagasa-o kabura-nai.* anyone fan.palm.leaf.hat-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on(headwear)-NEGATIVE 'No one puts on a fan palm leaf hat.'	
N-176-2	Ikema	taɾumai kubaɡasaubaː {kavvaɴ / kaʋʋaɴ}	M,Y,S,T
N-176-2	Karimata	taɾumai kasauba kavvaɴ	N,M
N-176-2	Uruka	toːmai kubaɡasauba kaʋʋaŋ	N,U,D
N-176-2	Bora	taːmai kubaɡasaubaː kavᵛaŋ	K,K,Y,M
N-176-2	Kuninaka	taɾɯmai ko̥baɡasao̥ kavᵛaɴ	N
N-176-3	Standard Japanese	*wakai koro-wa kubagasa-o kabut-ta.* to.be.young time.period-TOPIC fan.palm.leaf.hat-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on(headwear)-PAST 'When I was young, I used to put on a fan palm leaf hat.'	
N-176-3	Ikema	bakakaikʲaː kubaɡasaubaː kavvitai	M,Y,S,T
N-176-3	Karimata	bakaː sïkjaːja kasauba kaudai (kavvi utai 'to.put.on(headwear)-STATIVE-PAST')	N,M
N-176-3	Uruka	baxakaˀɨkjaːja kubaɡasauba {kaʋtaˀɨ / kaʋdu} sɨtaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-176-3	Bora	bakaːbakanu tukʲaːɲna kubaɡasau kavᵗaː	K,K,Y,M
N-176-3	Kuninaka	bakʰḁmununu juːɾʲaɴna ko̥baɡasao̥ kaʋtal̥ ('kʰ' is close to 'x', somewhat towards back; when 'l̥' is pronounced the tip of the tongue is visible; the distinction between close 'o' and 'u' is not strict. This also holds for the rest of the data.)	N
N-176-4	Standard Japanese	*kubagasa-o kabutte, zoori-o hai-ta.* fan.palm.leaf.hat-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on(headwear), sandal-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on(footwear)-PAST 'I put on a fan palm leaf hat and sandals.'	
N-176-4	Ikema	kubaɡasaː kavviː sabau mmitai	M,Y,S,T
N-176-4	Karimata	kasau kavvidu saboː {fundai / hundai} (fummi 'to.put.on(footwear)-INTERROGATIVE')	N,M
N-176-4	Uruka	kubaɡasau kaʋʋitti sabau fu̥ntaˀɨ	N,U,D
N-176-4	Bora	kubaɡasau kavᵛittɕi sabau fʊm̥ taː	K,K,Y,M
N-176-4	Kuninaka	kubaɡasao̥ kavviːdu sabao̥ ɸum̥tal̥	N
N-176-5	Standard Japanese	*omae-mo kubagasa-o kabutte mi-ro.* you-too fan.palm.leaf.hat-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on(headwear) to.see-IMPERATIVE 'You try putting on a fan palm leaf hat, too. (imperative)'	
N-176-5	Ikema	vvamai kubaɡasau kavvi miːɾu	M,Y,S,T

N-176-5	Karimata	vvamai kasau kavvi miːɾu	N,M
N-176-5	Uruka	ʊʋamai kubaɡasau kaʋʋi miːɾu	N,U,D
N-176-5	Bora	v̩yamai kubaɡasau kav̩viː miːɾu	K,K,Y,M
N-176-5	Kuninaka	ɯvamai kubaɡasao̞ kavviː miːɾu	N
N-176B-1	Standard Japanese	*yoru-wa to-o tojiru.* night-TOPIC door-ACCUSATIVE to.close 'At night, I close the door.'	
N-176B-1	Ikema	junakaː jaduː ffi	M,Y,S,T
N-176B-1	Karimata	junainna jaduba ɕimiɾu	N,M
N-176B-1	Bora	junainna jaduːdu fʊ̩ː (The labiodental approximant functions like a vowel.)	K,K,Y,M
N-176B-1	Kuninaka	{julʲa / jul̩ʲa} jaduo̞ ɕimidʑi	N
N-176B-2	Standard Japanese	*kyoo-wa atsui-kara to-o toji-nai.* today-TOPIC to.be.hot-because door-ACCUSATIVE to.close-NEGATIVE 'Because it's hot today, I won't close the door.'	
N-176B-2	Ikema	kʲuːja atsukaiba jaduːbaː ffadʑaːɴ (volitional) <cf> kanu çituː itsmai jaduːbaː ffaɴ ('He never closes the door.')	M,Y,S,T
N-176B-2	Karimata	kjuːba atsɨkaɾiba {jaduːba / jaduba ɕimiɴ}	N,M
N-176B-2	Bora	kʲuːja atskaɾiba jaduːbaː ffaŋ̩	K,K,Y,M
N-176B-2	Kuninaka	kʲuːja atsɿkajba jado̞o̞ ɕimiɾu ('to.close-IMPERATIVE')	N
N-176B-3	Standard Japanese	*yuube-wa chichi-ga to-o toji-ta.* last.night-TOPIC father-NOMINATIVE door-ACCUSATIVE to.close-PAST 'Last night, my father closed the door.'	
N-176B-3	Ikema	jubʲaː zzaɡa jaduː ffitai	M,Y,S,T
N-176B-3	Karimata	juːbjaː ujaːdu jaduba ɕimidai	N,M
N-176B-3	Bora	jubʲaː ujaɡadu jaduː fʊ̩ːtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-176B-3	Kuninaka	{juːbeʲaa / jubjaː} ojaɡadu jaduo̞ ɕime̞tal̩	N
N-176B-4	Standard Japanese	*sensee-ga to-o tojite, saki-ni it-ta.* teacher-NOMINATIVE door-ACCUSATIVE to.close, before-LOCATIVE to.go-PAST 'The teacher closed the door and went first.'	
N-176B-4	Ikema	ɕiĩɕiːɡa jaduː ffiː sadaɾiː hatai	M,Y,S,T
N-176B-4	Karimata	ɕiːɕiːɡadu jaduː ɕimi sakiŋ ŋɡi	N,M
N-176B-4	Bora	ɕinɕiːɡadu jaduː ffittɕi satsɿŋ̩ piz̩taː	K,K,Y,M
N-176B-4	Kuninaka	ɕiɴɕiːɡa jado̞o̞ ɕimii sadaɾe̞ː pʲal̩tal̩	N
N-176B-5	Standard Japanese	*omae-ga tojite ko-i.* you-NOMINATIVE to.close to.come-IMPERATIVE 'You go close it.' (imperative)	
N-176B-5	Ikema	vvaɡa ffiː kuː	M,Y,S,T
N-176B-5	Bora	vvaɡa ffi kuː	K,K,Y,M

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N-176B-5	Kuninaka	ᵚvaɡa {ɕimii / ɕimi} ko̞ː	N
N-177-1	Standard Japanese	*otooto-wa hitori-de neru.* younger.brother-TOPIC one.person-INSTRUMENTAL to.sleep 'My brother sleeps alone.'	
N-177-1	Ikema	uttuː {taukaːçiː / taʊkaːçiː} nʲivvi	M,Y,S,T
N-177-1	Bora	utu̞ta̠ː taʊkʲaːdu niv̠	K,K,Y,M
N-177-1	Kuninaka	o̞ttoo taᵛkʲa ː do {nivviɯ / niv̠ijɯ / niv̠ʲɯl̥ } (This was confirmed to be the entire utterance.)	N
N-177-2	Standard Japanese	*imooto-wa hitori-de ne-nai.* younger.sister-TOPIC one.person-INSTRUMENTAL-TOPIC to.sleep-NEGATIVE 'My sister doesn't sleep alone.'	
N-177-2	Ikema	uttuː {taukaːçiːja / taʊkaːçiːja} nʲivvaN	M,Y,S,T
N-177-2	Bora	utu̞ta̠ː taʊkʲaːja niv̠aŋ	K,K,Y,M
N-177-2	Kuninaka	{ottoo / miduNna} taᵛkʲaːdo nivvaN	N
N-177-3	Standard Japanese	*yuube-wa futari-de ne-ta.* last.night-TOPIC two.people-INSTRUMENTAL to.sleep-PAST 'Last night, they slept together.'	
N-177-3	Ikema	juːbʲaː ftaːçiː nʲuːtai	M,Y,S,T
N-177-3	Bora	jubʲaː {ftaːz̠du / ftaŋdu} niʊtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-177-3	Kuninaka	jubeʲaa ɸutaːl̥do̞ nivtal̥	N
N-177-4	Standard Japanese	*kuji-ni nete, hachiji-ni oki-ta.* nine.o'clock-LOCATIVE to.sleep, eight.o'clock-LOCATIVE to.get.up-PAST 'I went to bed at nine and got up at eight.'	
N-177-3	Ikema	kudʑiN nivviː hatɕidʑiN ukitai	M,Y,S,T
N-177-3	Bora	kudʑin nivvittɕidu hatɕidʑin ukitaː	K,K,Y,M
N-177-3	Kuninaka	kudʑiN niv̠ii hatɕidʑiN okital̥	N
N-177-4	Standard Japanese	*kyoo-wa hitori-de nete mi-ro.* today-TOPIC one.person-INSTRUMENTAL to.sleep to.see-IMPERATIVE 'Today, try sleeping alone.'	
N-177-4	Ikema	kʲuːja {taukʲaːçiː / taʊkʲaːçiː} nivvi miːɾu	M,Y,S,T
N-177-4	Bora	kʲuːja taʊkʲaː nivvi miːɾu	K,K,Y,M
N-177-4	Kuninaka	kʲuːja taᵛkʲaː niv̠iː miːɾu	N
N-178-1	Standard Japanese	*sofu-wa mainichi rokuji-ni okiru.* grandfather-TOPIC every.day six.o'clock-LOCATIVE to.get.up 'My grandfather gets up at six every day.'	
N-178-1	Ikema	ujaː mainitɕi ɾukudʑiN ukiː	M,Y,S,T
N-178-1	Bora	ɕuːja mainʲitsʌ ɾokudʑindu uki	K,K,Y,M
N-178-1	Kuninaka	ɕuːja mainitsʌ ɾokudʑiN {okil̥ / okil̥li}	N

N-178-2	Standard Japanese	*otooto-wa mada oki-nai.* younger.brother-TOPIC yet to.get.up-NEGATIVE 'My brother won't wake up yet.'	
N-178-2	Ikema	uttuː nnaːɡʲaː ukiɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-178-2	Bora	utu̥taː n̥nʲada ukuŋ	K,K,Y,M
N-178-2	Kuninaka	o̥ttoo m̥mada okiɴniː	N
N-178-3	Standard Japanese	*chichi-mo rokuji-ni oki-ta.* father-too six.o'clock-LOCATIVE to.get.up-PAST 'My father got up at six, too.'	
N-178-3	Ikema	zzamai ɾukudʑiɴ ukitai	M,Y,S,T
N-178-3	Bora	ujamai ɾokudʑindu uki̥taː	K,K,Y,M
N-178-3	Kuninaka	ojamai ɾokudʑiɴ o̥kital̩	N
N-178-4	Standard Japanese	*hayaku okite, sore-kaa hatake-ni it-ta.* to.be.early to.get.up, that-ABLATIVE field-LOCATIVE to.go-PAST 'I got up early; then, I went to the field.'	
N-178-4	Ikema	çaːçiː ukiː uikaɾa haiŋkai iki̥tai	M,Y,S,T
N-178-4	Bora	pʲaːɕi uki̥ʦidu uikaɾa paɾiŋkai ikstaː	K,K,Y,M
N-178-4	Kuninaka	pʲaːɕiː o̥kii uikaɾa paiɴkai pʲal̩tal̩	N
N-178-5	Standard Japanese	*omae-mo hayaku okite ko-i.* you-too to.be.early to.get.up to.come-IMPERATIVE 'You get up and come early, too.' (imperative)	
N-178-5	Ikema	vvamai çaːçiː ukiː kuː	M,Y,S,T
N-178-5	Bora	vv̥amai pʲaːpʲa ukiː kuː	K,K,Y,M
N-178-5	Kuninaka	ʷvamai pʲaːɕiː okii koː	N
N-179-1	Standard Japanese	*kookoosee-wa seifuku-o kiru.* high.school.student-TOPIC uniform-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on 'High school students wear uniforms.'	
N-179-1	Ikema	koːkoːɕeija ɕeːfkuːdu {ʦɿː / ʦɿi}	M,Y,S,T
N-179-1	Bora	koːkoːɕeija ɕeifkuːdu kˢɿː	K,K,Y,M
N-179-1	Kuninaka	koːkoːsʲejja {sʲei̯ɸukudu / sʲei̯ɸukuu} {ʦɿː / ʦɿːi}	N
N-179-2	Standard Japanese	*sono fuku-wa furui-kara daremo ki-nai.* that clothes-TOPIC to.be.old-because anyone to.put.on-NEGATIVE 'Because those clothes are old, no one puts them on.'	
N-179-2	Ikema	unu fkuː jaɾimunujaiba taɾumai ttɕaɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-179-2	Bora	unu fkaː ɡabakaɾiba taːmai ksṣaŋ	K,K,Y,M
N-179-2	Kuninaka	unu ɸu̥kuu jaɾimunujaiba taɾumai ʔtaɴ	N
N-179-3	Standard Japanese	*sore-wa kinoo ki-ta.* that-TOPIC yesterday to.put.on-PAST 'I put that on yesterday.'	

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N-179-3	Ikema	uɾaː n̩nu ʦɿitai	M,Y,S,T
N-179-3	Bora	unu fkʷaː ('that clothes-TOPIC') ʦɿnuːdu kssɿtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-179-3	Kuninaka	uɾʲaː {ʦɿnuu / ʦɿnu / ʦɿnudu} ʦɿːtaː	N
N-179-4	Standard Japanese	*watashi-wa akai fuku-o kite, imooto-wa aoi fuku-o ki-ta.* I-TOPIC to.be.red clothes-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on, younger.sister-TOPIC to.be.blue clothes-ACCUSATIVE to.put.on-PAST 'I put on red clothes, while my sister put on blue clothes.'	
N-179-4	Ikema	baː akafkuː ttiː uttuː aufkuː {ʦɿitai / ttitai}	M,Y,S,T
N-179-4	Bora	bajaː aka fkʷaː kiɕitʨidu utuʈaː ao fkuːdu ksstaː	K,K,Y,M
N-179-4	Kuninaka	baː akajuː ɸukuu ʨiːdu ottoɴna aojuː ɸukuu ʦɿːtaː	N
N-179-5	Standard Japanese	*omae-mo chotto kite mi-ro.* you-too a.little to.put.on to.see-IMPERATIVE 'You try it on, too.' (imperative)	
N-179-5	Ikema	vvamai çiːʨaɡama ttiː miːɾu	M,Y,S,T
N-179-5	Bora	vvamai piːtta kiɕi miːɾu	K,K,Y,M
N-179-5	Kuninaka	ʷvamai ipiːʨaɡama ʨiː miːɾu	N
N-180-1	Standard Japanese	*soko-ni-wa sensee-ga suwaru.* there-LOCATIVE-TOPIC teacher-NOMINATIVE to.sit.down 'The teacher sits there.'	
N-180-1	Ikema	umaŋna ɕĩɕiːnudu biʑi	M,Y,S,T
N-180-1	Bora	umaŋna ɕinɕiːɡadu bʔː	K,K,Y,M
N-180-1	Kuninaka	omaɴna ɕiɴɕiːɡa {bʔː / biʑi / bʔz}	N
N-180-2	Standard Japanese	*zashiki-ni-wa daremo suwara-nai.* drawing.room-LOCATIVE-TOPIC anyone to.sit.down-NEGATIVE 'No one sits in the drawing room.'	
N-180-2	Ikema	umaŋna ɕĩɕiːnudu biʑi	M,Y,S,T
N-180-2	Bora	ʣask̩ʔn̩na taːmai {bizzaŋ / bzzaŋ}	K,K,Y,M
N-180-2	Kuninaka	omaɴna ɕiɴɕiːɡa {bʔː / biʑi / bʔz}	N
N-180-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo-wa koochoosensee-ga suwat-ta.* yesterday-TOPIC principal-NOMINATIVE to.sit.down-PAST 'Yesterday, the principal sat.'	
N-180-3	Ikema	n̩nuː koːʨoːɕĩɕiːnudu biːtai	M,Y,S,T
N-180-3	Bora	ʦɿnuːja koːʨoːɕinɕiːɡadu {bʔːtaː / bzːtaː}	K,K,Y,M
N-180-3	Kuninaka	ʦɿnuu koːʨoːɕiɴɕiːɡa bʔːtaː	N
N-180-4	Standard Japanese	*sensee-wa suwatte, kodomo-tachi-wa tat-teiru.* teacher-TOPIC to.sit.down, child-PLURAL-TOPIC to.stand.up-STATIVE 'The teacher is sitting, while the children are standing.'	
N-180-4	Ikema	ɕĩɕiːja biʑiː jaɾaimmʲaː tatʨuːi	M,Y,S,T

N-180-4	Bora	ɕinɕiːja bizↄittɕidu ɕiːtaː ta̪tɕuːtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-180-4	Kuninaka	ɕiɴɕiːja bizↄiːdo {jaɾabiɴmʲaa / jaɾabitaa} {tatɕii o̪ta̪l̬ / tatɕio̪ta̪l̬ } (It appears 'i' was only long when uttered slowly.)	N
N-180-5	Standard Japanese	*omae-mo suwatte mi-ro.* you-too to.sit.down to.see-IMPERATIVE 'You try sitting, too.' (imperative)	
N-180-5	Ikema	vvamai bizↄiː miːɾu	M,Y,S,T
N-180-5	Bora	v̩vamai bizↄiː miːɾu	K,K,Y,M
N-180-5	Kuninaka	ᵚvamai bizↄiː miːɾu	N
N-181-1	Standard Japanese	*mainichi terebi-o miru.* every.day television-ACCUSATIVE to.see 'I watch television every day.'	
N-181-1	Ikema	mainitɕi teɾebʲuː miːjui	M,Y,S,T
N-181-1	Bora	maiːnʲitsↄ teɾebʲuːdu miː	K,K,Y,M
N-181-1	Kuninaka	{mainitɕa / mainitɕi} teɾebio / miol̬ <cf> kjuuja teɾebio miːʥi ('I won't watch television today.')	N
N-181-2	Standard Japanese	*chichi-wa yakyuu-wa mi-nai.* father-TOPIC baseball-TOPIC to.see-NEGATIVE 'My father doesn't watch baseball.'	
N-181-2	Ikema	zzaː jakʲuːjubaː miːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-181-2	Bora	ujaː jakʲuːjubaː mʲuːŋ	K,K,Y,M
N-181-2	Kuninaka	ojaː {jakʲuːjubaa / jakʲuːjuba} miːɴ	N
N-181-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo niji-o mi-ta.* yesterday rainbow-ACCUSATIVE to.see-PAST 'I saw a rainbow, yesterday.'	
N-181-2	Ikema	n̩nuː imbauju miːtai	M,Y,S,T
N-181-2	Bora	tsↄnuː tɕimbavvu miːtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-181-2	Kuninaka	tsↄnoo {nidↄio̪ / nidↄoo} miːta̪l̬	N
N-181-4	Standard Japanese	*eega-o mite, ie-ni kaet-ta.* film-ACCUSATIVE to.see, house-LOCATIVE to.return.home-PAST 'I watched a film and went home.'	
N-181-4	Ikema	eiɡau miː jaːŋkai ikitai	M,Y,S,T
N-181-4	Bora	eiɡau miːttɕidu jaːŋkai kↄːtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-181-4	Kuninaka	eːɡaː miːdu jaːɴkai ɴɡital̬	N
N-181-5	Standard Japanese	*shinpaida-kara fune-o mite ko-i.* to.be.worried-because ship-ACCUSATIVE to.see to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go take a look at the ship, because I'm worried.'	
N-181-4	Ikema	ɕibajaiba fnʲuː miː kuː	M,Y,S,T

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N-181-4	Bora	ɕaː jaɾiba fɲʲuː miː kuː	K,K,Y,M
N-181-4	Kuninaka	{ʃuwaː / ɕiwaː} ɕiːduiba ɸunʲuu miː kuː ɕi	N
N-182-1	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa mainichi onaji koto-o iu.* he-TOPIC every.day same thing-ACCUSATIVE to.say 'He says the same things every day.'	
N-182-1	Ikema	kaɾaː mainitɕi junukutuː addʑi	M,Y,S,T
N-182-1	Bora	kaɾʲaː mainʲitsɿ junu munuzz̩u du azɿ	K,K,Y,M
N-182-1	Kuninaka	kaɾeaː mainitsɿ jonoɡoː no kʰo̥toodo alɿ	N
N-182-2	Standard Japanese	*sobo-wa uso-wa iwa-nai.* grandmother-TOPIC lie-TOPIC to.say-NEGATIVE 'My grandmother doesn't lie.'	
N-182-2	Ikema	haːmmaː daɾakaubaː azzaɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-182-2	Bora	m̩maː daɾakuːbaː azzaŋ	K,K,Y,M
N-182-2	Kuninaka	m̩maa daɾaɸuba {azzaɴ / alzaɴ} ('z' is not dental but approaches the alveolar ridge; it seems to be the result of a weakening of the articulation of 'l'.)	N
N-182-3	Standard Japanese	*tomodachi-wa uso-o it-ta.* friend-TOPIC lie-ACCUSATIVE to.say-PAST 'My friend lied.'	
N-182-3	Ikema	dus̩taː daɾakau aitai	M,Y,S,T
N-182-3	Bora	dus̩sa daɾakuːdu azɿtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-182-3	Kuninaka	dosɿ̩sa daɾaɸudu alɿ (This was confirmed to be the entire utterance.)	N
N-182-4	Standard Japanese	*'arigatoo'-to itte, kaet-ta.* 'thank.you'-QUOTATIVE to.say, to.return.home-PAST 'I said "thank you" and went home.'	
N-182-4	Ikema	sdiɡaɸuː tti addʑiː {iki̥tai / hatai}	M,Y,S,T
N-182-4	Bora	pu̥kaɾassa tɕidu azzittɕi piztaː	K,K,Y,M
N-182-4	Kuninaka	pukaɾassa tɕi alzɿii ɴɡital ('l' in 'alzɿii' is weak.)	N
N-182-5	Standard Japanese	*chichi-ni 'yuuhan-da-yo'-to itte ko-i.* father-DATIVE 'dinner-COPULA-EMPHATIC'-QUOTATIVE to.say to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go tell your father it's dinner time.'	
N-182-5	Ikema	zzaŋkai juido: ti addʑiː kuː	M,Y,S,T
N-182-5	Bora	uja ŋ kai juzz̩u fai ː tɕi ('dinner-ACCUSATIVE to.eat-IMPERATIVE-QUOTATIVE') azzaː kuː	K,K,Y,M
N-182-5	Kuninaka	ojaɴkai juːʐ tɕi aᶻzɿaː kuː	N

N-183-1	Standard Japanese	*semi-wa sugu-ni shinu.* cicada-TOPIC right.away-LOCATIVE to.die 'Cicadas die quickly.'	
N-183-1	Ikema	tsɿmʲaː suɡu ɕinʲi	M,Y,S,T
N-183-1	Bora	ɡaːɾaː sɿɡu {sɿŋ̩ / sṇ̩}	K,K,Y,M
N-183-1	Kuninaka	{ɡaːl̩za / ɡaːzza} suɡudu sɿN (The articulation of 'l̩' in '{ɡaːl̩za / ɡaːzza}' is weak; 'z' is not dental but approaches the alveolar ridge.)	N
N-183-2	Standard Japanese	*gokiburi-wa nakanaka shina-nai.* cockroach-TOPIC quite to.die-NEGATIVE 'Cockroaches don't die easily.'	
N-183-2	Ikema	biːjaː nantuɡa ɕinaN	M,Y,S,T
N-183-2	Bora	kuːmujaː namajaskarʲaː {sɿnaŋ / sṇaŋ̩}	K,K,Y,M
N-183-2	Kuninaka	koːmʲaː joːiNna sɿnaN	N
N-183-3	Standard Japanese	*hebi-ga kuruma-ni hika-rete shin-da.* snake-NOMINATIVE car-DATIVE to.run.over-PASSIVE to.die-PAST 'A snake was run over by a car and died.'	
N-183-3	Ikema	haunu kuɾumaN hikaːɕinʲi nʲaːN <cf> majunu sɿntaiba udzɿmitai ('A cat died, so I buried it.')	M,Y,S,T
N-183-3	Bora	paʊnudu kuɾumaŋ faːsaɾiː {sɿn̩taː / sṇtaː}	K,K,Y,M
N-183-3	Kuninaka	{pab / paʊ} nodo̩ kuɾumaN pˀɿkaii sɿNtal̩ ('s' in 'pˀɿ' is not very strong; it is closer to aspiration.)	N
N-183-4	Standard Japanese	*gokiburi-wa shinde, nezumimo shinde-iru.* cockroach-TOPIC to.die, mouse-too to.die-STATIVE 'The cockroach is dead, as is the mouse.'	
N-183-4	Ikema	biːjaː ɕinʲiː jumunumai ɕinʲiːjui	M,Y,S,T
N-183-4	Bora	kuːmujamai sɿnʲittɕidu jumuɾuma sɿnʲuː	K,K,Y,M
N-183-4	Kuninaka	koːmʲa mai sɿnii juːmunu mai sɿniol̩	N
N-183-5	Standard Japanese	*kaeru-mo shinde shimat-ta.* frog-too to.die to.finish-PAST 'The frog has died, too.'	
N-183-5	Ikema	untamai ɕinʲiː nʲaːN	M,Y,S,T
N-183-5	Bora	fnatamai sɿnʲi {piɡaizɿtaː / pizɿtaː}	K,K,Y,M
N-183-5	Kuninaka	uNta mai sɿniː nʲaːN	N
N-184-1	Standard Japanese	*kome-ga takusan aru.* rice-NOMINATIVE much to.be 'I have a lot of rice.'	
N-184-1	Ikema	mainu {ippai / haːsa} aɾiːjui	M,Y,S,T

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N-184-1	Bora	maʔnudu upaːɕi aʔ	K,K,Y,M
N-184-1	Kuninaka	mal̥ nodo opaːsa alʲul̥	N
N-184-3	Standard Japanese	*mukashi koko-ni-wa ido-ga at-ta.* long.ago here-LOCATIVE-TOPIC well-NOMINATIVE to.be-PAST 'There was a well here a long time ago.'	
N-184-3	Ikema	ŋkʲaːndu umanna aɾuːtai	M,Y,S,T
N-184-3	Bora	ŋkʲaːnna kumanna tsɿːgʲaːnudu ataʔ	K,K,Y,M
N-184-3	Kuninaka	NkʲaːNna komaNna kaːnodo atal̥	N
N-184-4	Standard Japanese	*higashi-ni gakkoo-ga atte, nishi-ni koominkan-ga aru.* east-LOCATIVE school-NOMINATIVE to.be, west-LOCATIVE community.center-NOMINATIVE to.be 'There's a school to the east and a community center to the west.'	
N-184-4	Ikema	agaiN gakkoːnu aɾiː nsɿnna koːmiŋkandu aɾiːjui	M,Y,S,T
N-184-4	Bora	agaʔŋ gakkoːja ('school-TOPIC') aɾittɕidu izɿnna bummʲaːnudu ataʔ	K,K,Y,M
N-184-4	Kuninaka	agal̥ Nna gakkoːga aɾii {ilʲiNna / il̥Nna} koːmiNkaN nodo al̥	N
N-184-5	Standard Japanese	*kusuri-ga atte, tasukat-ta.* medicine-NOMINATIVE to.be, to.be.saved-PAST 'I was lucky to have some medicine.'	
N-184-5	Ikema	ffʊinu aɾiː taskaitai	M,Y,S,T
N-184-5	Bora	fsuʔnu aɾiːdu tasɿkaʔtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-184-5	Kuninaka	kusɿul̥ {nu / ga} aɾiido taskaɾiol̥ ('ga' is more natural.)	N
N-185-1	Standard Japanese	*shio-ga nai.* salt-NOMINATIVE to.be.absent 'I don't have any salt.'	
N-185-1	Ikema	maːsunu nʲaːN	M,Y,S,T
N-185-1	Bora	maːsunudu nʲaːŋ̍	K,K,Y,M
N-185-1	Kuninaka	maːso ga nʲaːN	N
N-185-2	Standard Japanese	*satoo-mo nakat-ta.* sugar-too to.be.absent-PAST 'I didn't have any sugar, either'	
N-185-2	Ikema	sḁtamai {nʲaːntaN / nʲaːttaN / nʲaːndaN / nʲaːddaN}	M,Y,S,T
N-185-2	Bora	sḁtamai nʲaːttam̍	K,K,Y,M
N-185-2	Kuninaka	sata mai nʲaːN	N
N-185-3	Standard Japanese	*hoochoo-ga nakute, ki-re-nakat-ta.* kitchen.knife-NOMINATIVE to.not.be, to.cut-POTENTIAL-NEGATIVE-PAST 'I didn't have a kitchen knife, so I couldn't cut it.'	
N-185-3	Ikema	kḁtananu naːda ttɕaddaN	M,Y,S,T
N-185-3	Bora	kḁtananu nʲaːdanaɕidu kidamaɾuttam̍	K,K,Y,M

N-185-3	Kuninaka	kʰa̯tana no nʲaːɴ niba kiɾattaːɴ ('kʰ' is close to 'x', towards back.)	N
N-186-1	Standard Japanese	*wagaya-ni-wa inu-ga iru.* our.house-LOCATIVE-TOPIC dog-NOMINATIVE to.be 'We have a dog.'	
N-186-1	Ikema	bantiɡa jaːnna innu {uɾijui / uɾiːui}	M,Y,S,T
N-186-1	Bora	ban̯taɡa jaːn̯na in̯nudu uz̯	K,K,Y,M
N-186-1	Kuninaka	baɴʨiɡa jaːɴna iɴ nodo̯ o̯l̯	N
N-186-2	Standard Japanese	*tonari-no ie-ni-wa inu-wa i-nai.* next.door-GENITIVE house-LOCATIVE-TOPIC dog-TOPIC to.be-NEGATIVE 'My neighbors don't have a dog.'	
N-186-2	Ikema	tunainu jaːnna inna miːɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-186-2	Bora	tunaʔnu jaːn̯na in̯na uɾaŋ̯	K,K,Y,M
N-186-2	Kuninaka	satono jaːɴna iɴna miiɴ	N
N-186-3	Standard Japanese	*mukashi-wa neko-mo i-ta.* long.ago-TOPIC cat-too to.be-PAST 'Back in the day, we had a cat, too.'	
N-186-3	Ikema	ŋkʲaːnna majumai uɾuːtai	M,Y,S,T
N-186-3	Bora	ŋ̯kʲaːn̯na majumai utaː	K,K,Y,M
N-186-3	Kuninaka	ɴkʲaːɴna maju mai do o̯tal̯	N
N-186-4	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa otooto-ga ite, watashi-wa ani-ga iru.* he-TOPIC younger.brother-NOMINATIVE to.be, I-TOPIC older.brother-NOMINATIVE to.be 'He has a younger brother, while I have an older brother.'	
N-186-4	Ikema	kaɾaː uttunu uɾiː baː sud͡zanu {uɾuːi / uɾijui}	M,Y,S,T
N-186-4	Bora	kain̯na utu̯ta̯ː uɾitʨidu ban̯na suduanudu uz̯	K,K,Y,M
N-186-4	Kuninaka	kaɾeaː ottono oɾe̯ːdo baː {ada / aːda} ɡa o̯l̯	N
N-186-5	Standard Japanese	*koko-ni ite kudasa-i.* here-LOCATIVE to.be to.give(honorific)-IMPERATIVE 'Please stay here.'	
N-186-5	Ikema	umaɴ uɾi {fiː / ffiː} samati	M,Y,S,T
N-186-5	Bora	kumaŋ uɾi fiːɾu	K,K,Y,M
N-186-5	Kuninaka	ko̯maɴ oɾe̯ː ɸiːɾu	N
N-187-1	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa sake-o nomu-to henna koto-o shimasu.* he-TOPIC liquor-ACCUSATIVE to.drink-CONDITIONAL to.be.strange thing-ACCUSATIVE to.do 'When he has had a drink, he acts strangely.'	
N-187-1	Ikema	kaɾaː sa̯kʲuː numutuː çin̯nakutuː {assʌ̯ / aɕɕi}	M,Y,S,T
N-187-1	Bora	kaɾʲaː sa̯kʲuː num̯ʨika̯ː pin̯na ku̯tuːdu sʌː	K,K,Y,M
N-187-1	Kuninaka	kʰaɾeaː sa̯kʰeo̯ nom̯ ʨiɡaa piɴnakʰo̯toodo asʌ (The boundary in 'ea' is ambiguous.)	N

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N-187-2	Standard Japanese	*kare-wa kyoo-wa nanimo shi-nai.* he-TOPIC today-TOPIC anything to.do-NEGATIVE 'He won't do anything today.'	
N-187-2	Ikema	kaɾaː kʲuːja naumai ɸuɴ	M,Y,S,T
N-187-2	Bora	kaɾʲaː kʲuːja naːmai suːŋ̩	K,K,Y,M
N-187-2	Kuninaka	kaɾeaː kʲoːja naɯja tomma {ahoɴ / asoɴ} (The boundary in 'ea' is ambiguous.)	N
N-187-3	Standard Japanese	*kinoo-wa takusan shigoto-o shi-ta.* yesterday-TOPIC much work-ACCUSATIVE to.do-PAST 'Yesterday, I did a lot of work.'	
N-187-3	Ikema	unuː haːsa s̩kamau {asˀtai / aɕitai}	M,Y,S,T
N-187-3	Bora	ʦˀnuːja upaːɕidu sˀgutuː sˀːtaː	K,K,Y,M
N-187-3	Kuninaka	ʦˀnoo {opaːsʲa / opaːsa} sˀgoʈoo {asʲaːl̩ / astaːl̩}	N
N-187-4	Standard Japanese	*takusan shigoto-o shite, asobi-ni it-ta.* much work-ACCUSATIVE to.do, to.play-DATIVE to.go-PAST 'After doing a lot of work, I went and had some fun.'	
N-187-4	Ikema	haːsa s̩kamaː çiː aɕuːɡa ikitai	M,Y,S,T
N-187-4	Bora	upaːɕi skutaː ɕiːtʨidu appsɡa piztaː	K,K,Y,M
N-187-4	Kuninaka	opaːsa sˀgoʈoo ɕiːdo̝ asoʊɡa pʲal̩tal̩	N
N-187-5	Standard Japanese	*yasun-de-naide shigoto-o shi-ro.* to.rest-PROGRESSIVE-NEGATIVE work-ACCUSATIVE to.do-IMPERATIVE 'Don't rest; work.'	
N-187-5	Ikema	jukuːda s̩kamau assu	M,Y,S,T
N-187-5	Bora	jukaːdanaɕiː skutuː ɕiːɾu	K,K,Y,M
N-187-5	Kuninaka	jukuu da sˀgoʈoo asso	N
N-187-6	Standard Japanese	*gakkoo-de benkyooshite ko-i.* school-LOCATIVE to.study to.come-IMPERATIVE 'Go study at school.'	
N-187-6	Ikema	jukuːda s̩kamau assu	M,Y,S,T
N-187-6	Bora	ɡakkoː iki beŋkʲoːju ɕiː kuː	K,K,Y,M
N-187-6	Kuninaka	jukuu da sˀgoʈoo asso	N

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