THE HACHIJŌ LANGUAGE OF JAPAN:
PHONOLOGY AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

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Dedicated to my two grandfathers, who valued education.

James E. ‘Jack’ Iannucci (1914–1991)

Frank A. Ventrola (1910–1979)
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Abstract

Hachijōjima is a small Pacific island belonging to Japan and governed within the capital district of Tokyo. The language traditionally spoken on Hachijōjima, while clearly a member of the Japonic family, is significantly different from varieties of Japanese spoken, not only on the main islands of Japan, but also on the other six nearby Izu Islands with which it is conventionally grouped for geographic purposes. Although spoken in a very small region by a community that has probably never in history exceeded 10,000 speakers, eight dialects of this language have been identified. There are many elements of its grammar that resemble no other variety of Japanese, and its lexis is sufficiently different to have caused some scholars to declare it to be of "unknown origin". Despite the lexical mystery, it is best known for grammatical similarities to the ancient dialects of Eastern Japan, as found recorded in eighth century CE poetry, and is generally agreed to be descended, at least in part, from those dialects. Like many rural, minority languages, it has no written tradition, and is usually written down in katakana or roman letters. While its differences have attracted a certain amount of attention to the Hachijō language since before the modernization of Japan in 1868, the amount of linguistic work done on it to date is modest (and virtually none published in any language other than Japanese). And though there is still much to be learned about it, the reality is that it is severely endangered, with few remaining fluent speakers, all of advanced age; children no longer grow up speaking it at home. Furthermore, there is little indication of interest on the part of younger islanders in their ancestral speech, and so its extinction is all but assured. In this dissertation, I attempt to advance the state of Hachijō scholarship in the areas of phonology and historical development by offering a phonemic analysis, a dialectological comparison of some basic Hachijō vocabulary with that of other regions
around Japan, and an attempt at historical subgrouping of six of its own local dialects. I also offer a consideration of its status with respect to the national language, arguing based on facts of grammar and lexis that it is best considered a distinct, closely related language rather than a dialect of Japanese.
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<td><strong>SJ</strong></td>
<td>Standard Japanese</td>
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<td><strong>OJ</strong></td>
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<td>Infinitive (<em>ren’yōkei</em>)</td>
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<td>Mitsune village/dialect</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>OK</strong></td>
<td>Ōkagō village/dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KT</strong></td>
<td>Kashitate village/dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NN</strong></td>
<td>Nakanogō village/dialect</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SY</strong></td>
<td>Sueyoshi village/dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TO</strong></td>
<td>Toriuchi village/dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UT</strong></td>
<td>Utsuki village/dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AO</strong></td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 About this dissertation

My goal in this dissertation is to make a significant contribution to knowledge of the historical language of Hachijōjima, Japan, focusing particularly on its phonology and historical development as a member of the Japonic family. Following is a summary of the contents:

Chapter 1, Introduction I present general information on the Hachijō language, the history and geography of its place of use, its current status and vitality as a living medium of communication, and its history of scholarship.

Chapter 2, Phonology I offer an analysis of the phonemics, phonotactics, and syllable structure of Hachijō.

Chapter 3, Hachijō in the Japonic family By comparison of Hachijō vocabulary to dialect data from various dialects of Japanese, including languages/dialects of the Ryūkyū Islands, I place Hachijō in historical context within the Japonic family.

Chapter 4, Subgrouping the dialects of Hachijō I attempt a subgrouping of the dialects of the Hachijō language itself, using the techniques of the linguistic Comparative Method, to partially reconstruct the history of dialect development on Hachijōjima.
Chapter 5, Dialect or language? I briefly consider attempts at answering this perennial question scientifically, and construct an objective argument, based on grammatical features, that intelligibility between speakers of traditional Hachijō and of modern standard Japanese is highly questionable, and that therefore Hachijō is best considered a distinct language in its own right as a member of the Japonic family.

Chapter 6, Conclusions and future work in which I give my conclusions and discuss directions for future research.

Note that in the main body of the text, I render Japanese names in the order traditionally preferred in Japan, family name/surname first, followed by given name. I use macrons to indicate long vowels (ō, ū) in romanized Japanese words and names with the exception only of the major cities “Tokyo” and “Osaka”, for no compelling reason beyond the existing familiarity of English readers with their nonmacronized forms.

1.1.1 My approach to the language/dialect problem

The language traditionally spoken on the island of Hachijōjima is typically considered to be a dialect of Japanese, and although the structural and lexical similarities are obvious, it is in many respects quite different from most Japanese dialects spoken on the main islands. I will refer to it as Hachijō, with the implication that it is a distinct language from Japanese, in part for the sake of brevity. However, I will sometimes call it “language” and sometimes “dialect” as rhetorical needs seem to require. Although the question of relationship based on linguistic criteria is still undecided, my own feeling is that it is appropriate to consider it as a distinct language, and I argue to this effect later in the dissertation.
In a separate sense, I treat Hachijō as a unitary language as much as possible, bringing its internal
dialectal differences into focus as necessary, but do not allow Hachijō’s own overall character to get
lost in the weeds of local differences. Lexical data used herein are taken from a variety of sources, old
and modern, such as Asanuma (1999), Yamada (2010), Mase (1961), Tamura (1928), Ōta ([18??]1928),
Hoshina (1900), Kondō ([1855]1964), and others, and I do not usually cite the source of particular
words, and may not mention which dialect they belong to (if not common to all), unless there is some
reason to do so.

1.2 Geography and History

Hachijōjima is a small island in the Pacific Ocean, 178
miles due south of metropolitan Tokyo, Japan, within
which it is governed in modern times as a “town” (machi).
It is usually considered to be one of the islands of the
Izu archipelago, although it is separated from the others
(and from the mainland) by Kuroshio (lit. “black tide”,
a.k.a. “Japan Current”), a powerful ocean current. Due
to serious navigational difficulties presented by this current, the island has historically been fairly iso-
lated from mainland culture. This fact helps to explain its use as a place of exile during the feudal pe-
riod of the Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868), both for common criminals and for sociopolitically elite
exiles, as a successful escape back to the mainland was considered unlikely. Hachijōjima is a rather
small island, roughly 9 miles along the long axis, and less than 5 miles wide. Archaeological evidence
reveals that the island has been inhabited for thousands of years, probably continuously, starting at
least as early as the time of the Neolithic Jōmon culture (Oda 1992:413, Naumann 2000:50,54), however, the prehistoric and protohistoric movements of proto-Japonic-speaking migrants from the Northeast Asian continent, generally considered as the progenitors of the modern Japanese people, are not at all well-known (Hanihara 1991).

The island’s modern population is divided mostly among five settlements, usually called “villages”. There are two that are larger and sit close to sea-level (and thus often referred to as “downhill”), in between the twin volcanoes that form the island geologically; the other three are referred to as “uphill” villages: smaller, and higher on the slopes of the Eastern-most volcano. Each of the five has its own dialect, these dialects showing surprising lexical and phonological differences considering their geographical proximity, a situation not dissimilar to what, for example, Friedrich (1971) found in the Tarascan community in Mexico. Hachijōjima is accompanied by a much smaller uninhabited island, Hachijō-kojima, that lies about 5 miles off its west coast. The smaller island once supported very few inhabitants in two villages; all of what handful were left there by the 1960s decided to abandon it and moved to the larger island in 1969. The two Hachijō-kojima villages, Toriuchi and Utsuki, of course, had their own dialects, distinct from each other and from the main island dialects. Finally, the island of Aogashima, which lies 44 miles farther south from Hachijōjima, although geographically and politically separate, is the third place where Hachijō language was traditionally spoken, and again with a peculiar dialect. The villages of Hachijōjima island proper, along with the two-letter codes that I will use to refer to them:
• Mitsune (MI), downhill
• Ōkagō (OK), downhill
• Kashitate (KT), uphill
• Nakanogō (NN), uphill
• Sueyoshi (SY), uphill

Also,

• Utsuki (UT), a village on the now-abandoned Hachijō-kojima
• Toriuchi (TO), a village on the now-abandoned Hachijō-kojima
• Aogashima (AO), a separate, smaller, and more remote volcanic island

1.3 The Language

Scholars generally agree that Hachijō shows clear signs of being a descendent of Eastern Old Japanese (EOJ), the ancient speech of the Kantō region broadly surrounding modern-day Tokyo, extending almost to Nagoya in the west, and at least through modern Ibaraki Prefecture in the east, e.g., Tachibana and Tōjō (1934:45), Hattori (1968), Ōshima (1975:52), Kaneda (2011:154), Kupchik (2016) (while Tachibana (1936), writing specifically about the origins of this language, oddly does not mention it). EOJ is attested primarily by a few hundred poems in the eighth century CE poetry anthology, 万葉集 Man’yōshū, although many of these only partially exhibit Eastern features. The compilers of this anthology are thought to have been speakers of the more prestigious Central dialects used in the seats of power, who perhaps were motivated by prescriptive attitudes to modify the wording of poems containing
what they must have seen as the incorrect or undignified usage of yokels (Freelingsv 2010:151). The Eastern dialects were all but wiped out in the expansion of the Central speech of Nara and Kyōto throughout the country, leaving only a small handful of lexical, grammatical, and prosodic substrate features remaining today in the Kantō dialects, which include the modern standard language of Tokyo (Kupchik 2011).

The primary evidence adduced for the conclusion that Hachijō descends from EOJ is morphophonological: the most salient similarities are found in the nonpast attributive (rentaikei) suffixes of the verb and adjective. While the nonpast attributive forms of verbs in SJ end universally in -u (consistent with the WOJ literature), cognate forms in HJ and EOJ end in -o. While the nonpast attributive forms of native (i.e., non-Sino-Japanese) adjectives in SJ end universally in -i, cognate forms in HJ and EOJ end in -ke.¹ These two morphological phenomena are essentially the only points of comparison between EOJ and HJ offered by most authors, including Tachibana and Tōjō (1934), Hattori (1968), and Ōshima (1975). Kaneda (2011) adds to this evidence two more pieces of morphophonology: -Caro and namo. The -Caro inflection (in which C refers to the final consonant of a strong or consonant verb stem) is the fusion of a verb stem with auxiliary aru ‘to be/exist’ to create a form with stative or progressive semantics.

Although the details are beyond the scope of this section, the equivalent expression in WOJ appears

¹Note that the -i of modern adjectives is a reflex of earlier -ki, in which the /k/ has been lost. It appears from these facts that the Japanese vowels are raised relative to the EOJ/HJ vowels, however, if this reflects a historical phonological process, it is one that occurred long enough ago to be beyond our ability to theorize about it.
as -Ceru. It is only in the EOJ poems that we find -Caro. Two things to note are the characteristic -u/-o variation in WOJ/EOJ attributive verb endings, and the -e/-a- variation in the penultimate syllable. It is this penultimate -a- whose reflex is found in the corresponding Hachijō forms. Kaneda further demonstrates the historical relation between EOJ suppositional particle namo (cf. WOJ ramu) and the modern HJ suppositional suffix -no:wa. Finally, he examines one lexical similarity in some detail, but leaves it unclear whether his failure to list many more lexical reflexes of EOJ in HJ is because there are almost no others, or because there are too many, and his goal for the chapter did not include such a list. At least we can point to one other, HJ tego ‘third daughter’, whose etymology is investigated by Kupchik (2016).

1.3.1 The status of Hachijō

According to Yamada (2010:2), after television arrived on the island in 1961, the death spiral of the island speech began in earnest. By his anecdote, the faculty of the island middle schools made a decision at one point to start encouraging all the students to use the standard Tokyo dialect at school, the rationale being ostensibly that those finishing their education at a younger age and going to the mainland to seek employment were having difficulty because of their use of island dialect, perhaps because of discrimination, or because of difficulty communicating in the dialect of the capital, or both. The teachers were allegedly “dumbfounded” at how the kids, having already been well primed by watching TV for a few years, adapted with great enthusiasm, virtually overnight. But, must it not have been the case that the medium of instruction, especially in textbooks, and for kokugo classes (Japanese language and literature, i.e., corresponding to what is called “English” or “language arts” in US schools), was standard Tokyo Japanese? Although Yamada does say that everyone used to speak dialect at school, he may have been referring to informal interactions, and so the leap to full-time
Tokyo dialect across the board is likely not as abrupt as it sounds, for those who had been educated in the standard dialect for seven or eight years.

In 2009, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) added Hachijō to its list of endangered languages in Japan, along with Ainu and the Ryūkyūan languages, categorizing it as “definitely endangered” (UNESCO 2009). This made a big splash on the island, brought greater attention to the situation of the island speech, and spurred the islanders to begin taking steps to preserve it.

Kaneda (2011:153) claimed that the Hachijō language is being “suitably maintained” in the three smaller so-called “uphill” villages, among the middle-aged generation and older; further, that in the larger “downhill” villages of Mitsune and Ōkagō (with slightly greater access to the outside world) the language has been essentially lost to the middle-aged generation, but is maintained by the elderly generation (also Kaneda 2012:120). Among “young people”, dialect use is close to zero. While Prof. Kaneda is probably the world’s leading academic authority on this language, and I am loathe to question his judgement, my admittedly brief and limited experience on the island nevertheless makes it difficult to believe that, as late as 2012, Hachijō was in such strong shape. To be fair, he does say that the number of speakers should be on the order of a few hundred. This is consistent with my limited observation, so perhaps it depends on one’s definition of “suitably maintained”. What I have seen is a language that would, on the UNESCO endangerment scale, rate at best a severely endangered status, and that it is more likely fast approaching critically endangered, described as “The youngest speakers are in the great-grandparental generation, and the language is not used for everyday interactions. These older people often remember only part of the language but do not use it, since there may not be anyone to speak with” (emphasis in original) (UNESCO 2003:8). The next step is extinction.
Hachijō is arguably not quite at the critical stage yet, but my impression, based on my experiences in Hachijōjima in addition to what is published, is that it is moving inexorably toward this stage. One of my consultants, although her mind is generally quite sharp, often has difficulty remembering how to say things in the island dialect. Another consultant in her early 70s told me that she very specifically did not speak the dialect to her children, or encourage them to learn it, because of her knowledge of the way islanders were discriminated against in mainland Japan. According to Hachijō Town Planning and Finance Division (2016), the population of Hachijōjima as of that year includes roughly 2,900 people age 65 or older. UNESCO made the rough estimate apparently based on no evidence that all 8,000-some people on the island could speak the local language (UNESCO 2009, Heinrich 2012:1), but this has not been the case for a long time. I believe there are many semi-speakers among the few thousand elderly. The number of truly fluent speakers must number in the low hundreds.

Since at least 2009, the Hachijō Town Education Committee has been engaged in various efforts to encourage the transmission of the island speech from the elders who know it to younger people, particularly children. (Motegi & Hayashi, p.c.) The following is a partial list:

- All elementary and middle schools are now giving classes in the language. Additionally, teachers are doing training in the summers to learn, and improve their teaching of the language. Each village teaches its own dialect! From a revitalization perspective, this seems less than ideal, but perhaps it is unavoidable.

- Cards for playing the game *karuta* (apparently learned from the Portuguese centuries ago) were produced. The cards consist of two decks, one featuring only (very attractive) artwork, and the other with dialect phrases printed on both sides, giving differing forms for the five main island
dialects. The artwork cards and language cards must be matched up according to the rules of the game. From 2011 to 2014, an annual karuta tournament was held.

- “Island Word of the Week” program was initiated by the Education Committee, to encourage vocabulary building.

- A theater troupe was established, made up mostly of dialect-speaking elders, to put on traditional plays. Professional acting coaches were brought to the island to teach them.

There is little evidence that these activities are making much difference with children, unfortunately (i.e., really increasing interest in their heritage language). It may be that these efforts will help to avoid the Hachijō language being entirely forgotten in the foreseeable future, but they are unlikely to lead to its revitalization. Perhaps the focus on teaching it in schools holds the best hope, but at present the number of hours of instruction is very small, and the will on the part of local government (and parents) to continue this program and strengthen it long-term will make or break it. The language seems destined to become, sadly, a kind of cultural museum piece. Linguistic diversity is a tough sell almost anywhere, but particularly in a culture like Japan’s, that highly values conformity, and maintains a tacit ideology of the Japanese people as making up one, homogeneous nation, speaking a single language. Still, because of the high level of education and general worldliness of the Japanese populace as a whole, I have seen evidence of a recognition of the value of linguistic diversity with respect to their many and highly divergent regional dialects.

1.4 The history of Hachijō language scholarship

Quite a bit has been written on this language, but it would be a stretch to call it “extensive” by most standards, particularly from the standpoint of linguistic coverage. Much of the earliest work, starting
during feudal times, as might be expected, tends to be word lists, or simple grammatical description and comparisons to mainland forms, although some dialogues are included among them.

1.4.1 Prior to the Meiji Restoration of 1868

The Meiji Restoration is the name given to the end of the feudal period in Japanese history, and the beginning of modern times.² I will use the term “premodern” to refer specifically to the time before 1868, “modern” therefore being the time since. There are four premodern sources that I know of, and have used in this work, containing information about the Hachijō language: 一話一言 Ichïwa Ichigôn (Ôta [18??]1928), 園翁交語 En’ô Kôgo (Takahashi [1802]2012, cf. also Yoshimachi 1951), 八丈の寝覚草 Yatake no Nezamegusa (Kakusô [1848]1985), and 八丈実記 Hachijô Jikki (Kondô [1855]1964).

En’ô Kôgo (1802) is a miscellaneous collection of essays, including a Hachijō wordlist of roughly 200 entries. Yatake no Nezamegusa (1848) is a similar, fairly short collection of various writings about the island history and culture, written by one of the exiles. It also contains two short samples of running prose claimed to be in Hachijō language: a love letter by a woman having a secret affair, carelessly dropped on the ground and allegedly found by the author, and a dialogue of an argument between an old married couple. During the mid-19th century, Kondô Tomizô (1805-1887), a man exiled for committing a mass murder, wrote an extremely detailed treatise on many aspects of the island and its life: geography, culture, politics, language, economy, education, etc. Hachijô Jikki (The True Record of Hachijô), was completed around 1855. In addition to extensive word lists, it features a dialogue between a father and guests coming to celebrate his daughter’s coming of age. Kondô also copied material from other works, including Yatake no Nezamegusa, into his book.

²So named because the emperor was restored as the de facto head of state with the abdication of the last shôgun, and the new era given the name Meiji.


### 1.4.2 After the Meiji Restoration of 1868

In 1878, two Englishmen stationed in Japan, Dickins and Satow (the latter was indeed a white European, not Japanese), made a trip to the island and published their detailed observations in English, including a section on the dialect that comprises almost one-third of the article (Dickins and Satow 1878:464–77). They do not mention how long their visit lasted, but it is likely to have been fairly short, probably not more than a few weeks. The content of Dickins and Satow’s description is not much more than a compendium of lexical and morphological oddities that caught their attention, plus a dialogue copied from an unnamed document that cannot but be *Hachijō Jikki*, although strangely they do not refer to it or its now-famous author by name. Their observations are valuable, however, because they were apparently highly fluent in the Tokyo dialect of the day, familiar with other major dialects such as that of Kyoto, and furthermore educated in the ancient classics of Japanese literature, which allows them to make numerous cogent comments on historical linguistics and etymology.

Precisely at the turn of the 20th century, Hoshina Kō’ichi, a young language scholar, wrote a five-part series on the Hachijō dialect in the inaugural volume of a Japanese linguistics journal that could be called the first modern linguistic investigation of Hachijō (Hoshina 1900, Kaneda 2000).

During most of the 20th century, a number of scholars have published on this language, although little of broad scope, and often in collections on general Japanese dialectology: Tamura (1928), Tachibana and Tōjō (1934), Tachibana (1936), Iitoyo (1959), Mase (1961), Hirayama (1965), Hattori (1968), Ōshima (1975), Aoyagi (1980), Takayama (2014), among others. The focus of such works was generally the sort of linguistic differences with standard Japanese that are immediately apparent: lexicon, pronunciation of obvious cognates, and the verbal and adjectival morphology mentioned above. However, there are two noteworthy exceptions to this generalization. The first is the book-
length survey done in 1950 by the National Language Research Institute (NLRI 1950), known today as 国立国語研究所, the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (NINJAL). The main purpose of the survey was sociolinguistic in nature, with the goal of discovering how much standard Tokyo Japanese was being used on the island compared to local dialect, and what were the factors contributing to the use of one or the other. It also contains quite a bit of general linguistic information on the language and its village dialects, as well as extensive bibliographic annotation, and is an extremely thorough and detailed piece of work.

Secondly, in recent years, the name of Kaneda Akihiro of Chiba University stands out in Hachijō studies. Kaneda has done extensive fieldwork, starting in the late 1980s, and has published the majority of what has been published specifically about Hachijō since that time. This includes papers (mostly in Japanese) and books, both academic (Kaneda 2001a,b, Kaneda and Holda 2005, Kaneda 2012) and for the lay public (Kaneda 2002, 2011). Kaneda’s most comprehensive academic work on the language is Kaneda 2001a, a thick volume that focuses on verbal morphology and semantics, a fruitful area for theoretical linguistic research. Nevertheless, in spite of the high quality of some of this earlier work, the best of which is somewhat narrowly focused (the NINJAL study on sociolinguistic issues and Kaneda mostly on morphosyntax and semantics), there is still a great deal to be learned about this language, not least in phonology and historical/comparative linguistics, two areas that I address in this dissertation.

1.5 My research trips to the island

In the spring of 2014, I went to Hachijōjima to make contacts, begin to gather information and resources, and do preliminary research. The trip was basically a success. By some method that I no
longer entirely recall (perhaps just web surfing), I found a small inn in the uphill village of Nakanogō (NN) that seemed like a good place to stay. I called the lady innkeeper and made a reservation. This elderly lady turned out to be Mrs. Fukuda Eiko (known locally as Eikōba “Auntie Eiko”), a dialect speaker who has acted as consultant on numerous occasions for linguists, including for the Dr. Kaneda already mentioned.

During my few days there, I spent some time talking with Eikōba. I asked her general questions about the island and its language. One thing that I was interested in, because of what I had already learned through research done to fulfill an earlier degree requirement, is the dialect differentiation between places like Nakanogō (NN) and Kashitate (KT), which are close enough to walk between fairly easily. She told me that in earlier times, there was little contact between the villages because they were mostly self-sufficient, and the villagers felt no strong need for trade or other interaction even with those nearby.

Downhill in the town of Ōkagō (OK), there is a museum of island history and culture, in which I spent a few hours. I was particularly interested, naturally, in the display cases containing written materials. With some polite persistence, I was able to break through the staff’s obvious reluctance to open the cases and let me see the contents. Only one of the books contained within seemed like it might hold something of interest to me. The book was titled 八丈記 Hachijōki (The Chronicle of Hachijō). It was pretty clear the book is written in mainland Japanese, not Hachijō dialect, but I thought it was likely to have even a few worthwhile bits of linguistic information, and was worth getting a copy of. I guessed (so far, correctly) that I would not be able to find this text anywhere else. They did not have a photocopier, and even if they had I doubt they would have let me use it, but I did have my camera, and I asked for permission to photograph the pages of the book, which they allowed. I have since created a PDF out of those photos, and the content turns out to be a travelogue of a visit
not just to Hachijōjima but to other of the Izu Islands. Sadly, it contains nothing of linguistic interest (making quite a contrast with Dickins and Satow 1878), except perhaps the author’s indication that he found communication particularly difficult with the women of the island, an observation repeated by the Englishmen.

Near the end of my time on the island, I made the acquaintance of Mr. Hayashi, who is an influential member of the island’s education committee, an organization that seems to have tremendous power over anything cultural (including linguistic). He was not overly welcoming, but he did seem friendly and willing to help me. He drove me around a bit to a bookstore and to the local newspaper office. At the bookstore, I bought the karuta cards mentioned above, and used them as a source of lexical data.

At the local newspaper, Nankai Times, I was offered the chance to buy a locally-published book containing photographic reproductions of old documents related to Hachijōjima, side-by-side with the content printed in modern type, and some commentary (Takahashi [1802]2012). I was given to think that there might be a trove of linguistically interesting information here, but it turned out to be of minimal use, the main content being two 19th century documents written in contemporary mainland Japanese, the longer of which is En’ō Kōgo, introduced above.

I undertook a second research trip to Hachijōjima in the spring of 2017. On this trip I met some new people, including Mr. Motegi of the Education Committee, and two more consultants, Mrs. Sasamoto of Kashitate (KT) village, and Mr. Okiyama of Sueyoshi (SY) village. I took the opportunity to sit with my three consultants (also Eikōba of NN, in addition to the two just mentioned), to make recordings, and confirm a number of vocabulary items. Because the three consultants represented the dialects of the three different uphill villages, I was able to obtain some comparative data. Nevertheless, this dissertation is based primarily on published material and does not rely on the results of the small
amount of fieldwork that I did. Considering the current state of endangerment of the language and
the degree to which SJ has dominated the linguistic life of the island for so many decades, I never felt
confident that I could get from current speakers reliable enough renditions of Hachijō as it was before
the heavy influence from the mainland came, or that I would be able to distinguish older forms from
those influenced by borrowing.
Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1 Introduction

It might seem odd for a student writing well over 100 years since the earliest modern linguistic literature was produced on this language, to be presenting a new phonemic analysis of it. Perhaps more so because the obvious phonetic and phonological similarities to standard Japanese would lead one to think that the phonemics were straightforward enough to have been easily dispensed with by this time. The reality is, however, that there is no one standard, universally agreed-upon phonemic analysis even of Japanese yet, in spite of what would appear to be the relative simplicity of its phonology. There are a number of different places where phonologists may reasonably disagree about the correct way to organize the sounds of the language. One general approach that is strongly favored among native speaking Japanese linguists is one in which phonemic structure aligns closely with kana orthography. The phonemic analyses offered for Hachijō so far are of this type (Mase 1961, Kaneda 2001a, Takayama 2014). Although the two kana syllabaries (once characters are analyzed into C, V, and G(lide) components) come somewhat close to being phonemic representations of Japanese (and Hachijō), they are far from exact. Analyses of Japanese phonemics which do not constrain themselves to mirror orthography, but which consider the speech sounds individually without theoretical preconception, include those of Akamatsu (2000) and Vance (2008). It is an analysis in the same spirit that I offer for Hachijō.
There is only one source that I have found with a title that includes the word 音韻 on’in (the usual translation of English ‘phonology’), that is, Hachijōjima hōgen no on’in bunseki (A phonological analysis of Hachijōjima dialect) (Mase 1961). Mase does an admirable job of listening to the speakers he is interviewing, discerning fine detail in their articulation of consonants and vowels, and producing narrow transcriptions, but when it comes to arriving at a phonemic analysis of what he has collected, he, like all of his countrymen who have worked on this language (at least on phonological aspects of it), sadly remains a prisoner of the orthography of his mother tongue. This orthographic bias is shown most clearly by his presentation of a two-dimensional table of the “moraic system” of the language, which lays out in rows and columns all the possible moras (p. 44). The bias is shown not only in the assignment of segments to phonemes based on forms of kana representation, but also in a strong tendency to discuss phonology by making reference to whole moras more than to individual segments.

Kaneda (2001a:15) (whose primary goal is not phonology) presents a very similar table, and as with Mase’s, it seems that we are intended to read the letters making up the syllables in the table as phonemic symbols, but there are no conventional delimiters (//, []), and plenty of ambiguity among phonemically-, phonetically-, and orthographically-inspired representations. As late as the present decade, Takayama (2014:3), whose primary goal is historical/comparative, focusing on nonshort vowels, once again misses out on the opportunity to do an orthographically unbiased phonemic analysis, but borrows the mora tables and phonemic inventories from Kaneda (2002) of Mitsune (MI) dialect and from Hirayama (1965) of Nakanogō (NN) dialect (actually due to Mase 1961), taking these at face value.

Before diving into details, let me remind the reader of my overarching approach in this dissertation, mentioned above, of treating Hachijō as much as possible as a unified language, rather than as
a cluster of rather significantly differing dialects, interesting though the differences are. Accordingly, while a single phonemic inventory is ideal, the possibility that the dialects have slightly differing phonologies and inventories will be accounted for. Although it might not be necessary, strictly speaking, in choosing words for minimal pairs, I prefer words that are intrinsic, which is to say, words that I am reasonably certain are of old vintage in Hachijō, and not borrowed from the mainland during the modern era (1868–), although often this is difficult to determine.

2.1.1 Theoretical considerations regarding phonological contrast

Even from the early days of development of the Phonemic Principle, despite what we might learn in undergraduate phonology classes, it was recognized that there are not only three possible relationships when comparing two speech sounds found in a language, contrast, allophony, and free variation. In fact, there are probably almost as many different kinds of intermediate phonological relationships (Hall 2013) as there are languages in the world. Intermediate phonological relationship refers to a situation in which two phones are not obviously in either solid contrast, complementary distribution, or free variation. It may be the case that two phones are mostly in complementary distribution, although there exist a small number of minimal pairs. Or it may be that there are many minimal pairs showing contrastive opposition in almost all contexts, but in only one narrow context, they vary freely. There is a wide spectrum of possibilities. Goldsmith (1995:10–11) has suggested one possible gradient model of this spectrum.

One way to understand the essence of phonemic opposition in a linguistic system is that it boils down to unpredictability (Hall 2013:219). This unpredictability is the reason why the presentation of minimal pairs is considered probably the most important method for demonstrating contrast; if one can take two words out of context and present to a native speaker the shared template of these words
with the position of difference obscured or omitted (easiest in writing, of course, where possible),
even the native speaker cannot predict what word it is. The English speaker cannot say, without
context, whether “_at” is “cat”, “bat”, “sat”, “fat”, “mat”, etc. Unpredictability manifests information
in its mathematical sense (Shannon and Weaver 1949). But predictability can be partial. Hall (p. 216)
lists the many different terms that have been used over the years by many authors to describe this
situation, including “semi-phonemic”, “quasi-phonemic”, “partial contrast”, and many others. The
most popular seems to be “marginal contrast” or “marginal phoneme”. I will embrace these ideas
about phonological relationships in my analysis of Hachijō. Sometimes when there are no minimal
pairs for a given pair of phones, I will nevertheless argue for contrast; conversely, I will not take for
granted that the mere existence of a minimal pair or two proves the existence of a phonemic contrast.

2.1.2 Notation

I present what looks like romanized orthography as phonetic transcription, mainly because these
data are in fact romanized (and slightly phoneticized) forms of words given in katakana in various
published sources, like Kondō ([1855]1964) and Asanuma (1999), and thus greater phonetic detail is
not available. Such detail is not, however, required to satisfy my goals for this dissertation.

I sometimes use the abbreviation “HJ” for Hachijō, either to distinguish from other Japonic vari-
cies, or in the context of Hachijō dialect forms, to indicate that the specific village dialect is unknown
or that several villages share the word. I use the abbreviation “SJ” for Standard Japanese, necessarily
somewhat ambiguous, but generally corresponding to the national language, based on the dialect of
western Tokyo. For SJ words, I use Hepburn romanization, which is different from my transcription
of HJ words; e.g., long consonants in Hepburn are represented by doubled letters (“tt”), whereas for
HJ, I use the mora obstruent phoneme symbol Q followed by the C in question (“Qt”).
Following are the phonetic representations I am using:

[c] is a voiceless lamino-alveolo-palatal fricative (similar to, but not the same as, English “sh” in “ship”), In normal spelling of HJ words, it is spelled “sh”.

[kc] is a voiceless lamino-alveolo-palatal affricate (similar to English “ch” in “chip”), In normal spelling of HJ words, it is spelled “ch”.

[c] is a voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate (similar to the “zz” sound in English “pizza”). In normal spelling of HJ words, it is spelled “ts”. And,

[j] is a voiced lamino-alveolo-palatal affricate (similar to English “j” in “judge”). In normal spelling of HJ words, it is spelled “j”.

For convenience in spelling, I use the colon “:” as an indicator of a long vowel, rather than a proper IPA “:" symbol.

2.2 Short vowels

Hachijō being obviously a Japonic language, it hardly seems necessary to justify the mutual phonemic contrast among the five short vowels by enumerating minimal pairs, but I do so for the sake of completeness, and because I have criticized others for lack of attention to detail.

Hachijō has the same short vowel inventory, with the same five qualities, as most if not all dialects of Japanese: /a, i, u, e, o/, as should be made clear by Table 2.1 through Table 2.4.¹

¹I list the vowels in this order, which must seem strange to linguists, because it is the conventional collation order used in dictionaries and when, for example, clarifying a consonant onset to an interlocuter by listing out all of its five short syllables. For those conversant in Japanese, using any other order would cause psychological discomfort.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>abe</td>
<td>'a kind of plant (SJ hachijō kusa ichigo)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>irowa</td>
<td>'to sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>yuNbe</td>
<td>'scab, crust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>hagi</td>
<td>'shin (part of leg)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>are</td>
<td>'1P pronoun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>aNNo</td>
<td>'what kind of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>habira</td>
<td>'a kind of plant (SJ kakuremino)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>hogerowa</td>
<td>'to scatter (vt)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>mija</td>
<td>'the ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>yosarowa</td>
<td>'gather together'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1. Short vowel contrasts with /a/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>'this (SJ kore)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kou</td>
<td>'child-ACC'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ishiya:mo</td>
<td>'a kind of plant (SJ yanagi-ichigo)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>uQchi</td>
<td>'over there (distal)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>mija</td>
<td>'earth, ground'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>'mainland Japan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>shite</td>
<td>'do-SUB'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>iderowa</td>
<td>'to boil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. Short vowel contrasts with /i/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>usaba</td>
<td>'a kind of shark (SJ ubazame)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>gozu</td>
<td>'bits of charcoal used as kindling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>kurowa</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>de:ku</td>
<td>'carpenter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>yamasho</td>
<td>'burnt field (agriculture)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3. Short vowel contrasts with /u/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>ego</td>
<td>'inlet, cove'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>sei</td>
<td>'veggies, side dishes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>kagebuchi</td>
<td>'view from behind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.4. Short vowel contrasts with /e/
Table 2.5. Short and long monophthong same-quality contrasts

| /a/ vs /a:/ | nya 'two bundles’ | nya: 'garden (SJ niwa)’ |
| /a/ vs /a:/ | deyaku ‘telling a story’ | deya:ku ‘carpenter (NN)(SJ daiku)’ |
| /i/ vs /i:/ | nirowa ‘to resemble (SJ niru)’ | ni:rowa ‘be boiled, cooked (SJ nieru)’ |
| /i/ vs /i:/ | kori ‘kimono storage box’ | kori: ‘this-ACC’ |
| /u/ vs /u:/ | zusu ‘not at home (SJ rusu)’ | zusu: ‘cunningly dishonest (SJ zurui)’ |
| /e/ vs /e:/ | kerowa ‘give (SJ kureru)’ | ke:rowa ‘return home (SJ kaeru)’ |
| /e/ vs /e:/ | hetame ‘fool (NN)’ | he:tame ‘skinny cow (NN)’ |
| /e/ vs /e:/ | teko ‘third daughter’ | te:ko ‘drum (SJ taiko)’ |
| /o/ vs /o:/ | murowa ‘to leak’ (SJ moreru) | muro:wa ‘receive (SJ morau)’ |
| /o/ vs /o:/ | kori ‘kimono storage box’ | kori: ‘replacement (SJ kawari)’ |
| /o/ vs /o:/ | boji ‘leg/foot (insulting)’ | bo:ji ‘kitchen work’ |

2.3 Long vowels and diphthongs

The long vowels and diphthongs constitute a particularly interesting and complex aspect of Hachijō phonology and morphophonology. The loss of consonants historically has resulted in many examples of coalescence of formerly noncontiguous vowels into long vowels and diphthongs. /r, s, w/ have been lost easily and consistently, but almost no consonant is sacred (Kaneda 2001a:17). A full accounting of these historical processes is well beyond the scope of this work, and thus I focus on synchronic phonemics.

2.3.1 Long monophthongs

The first task is to examine the contrast between short monophthongal vowels and their long counterparts. The minimal pairs in Table 2.5 demonstrate these contrasts. Although short monophthong
contrasts are clear, I also present a few contrasts between long monophthongs of differing quality in Table 2.6.²

2.3.2 Diphthongs

The diphthongs that exist phonetically in Hachijō are [ai, au, ei, ui, oi, ou, oa]. In examining such vowel combinations in both Japanese and Hachijō, it can be very difficult to know for certain whether both component qualities are contained within the same syllable or not. Indeed, the very question of whether the syllable is an existing category in standard Tokyo Japanese prosody is still controversial. Some linguists take the universalist position that Japanese has syllables, like (arguably) all other languages, and offer evidence for this claim (McCawley 1968, Haraguchi 1977, Shibatani 1990, Kubozono 1999, Vance 2008). Other linguists deny the existence of syllables in Japanese, upholding a traditionalist view of the mora as the only relevant category of prosodic organization (Akamatsu 2000, Labrune 2012). In fact it is more complicated, because a distinction can be (and has been) drawn between purely phonetic syllables and phonological syllables. Even some scholars who deny the ex-

²Regarding the words for ‘ankle’ and ‘heel’ (Table 2.6), these might seem sketchy as a minimal pair, as the two meanings could be conflated. However, Asanuma (1999) defines them very clearly and unambiguously as these two different bones of the foot, referencing the corresponding (and not very similar) terms in Standard Japanese.
istence of the latter in Japanese acknowledge the existence of the former.³ I must presume that all scholars would extend their arguments about standard Japanese to Hachijō if they were to study it, as the same issues apply. While the centrality of the mora in Japonic phonology cannot be overstated, I follow Vance (2008) inter alia in assuming the existence of syllables in Japanese (revealed by my use of the term ‘diphthong’, which is itself defined in terms of the syllable), and also in Hachijō, by virtue of the very strong similarities in segmental and moraic phonology and phonotactics. I examine the status of each of these vowel sequences in greater detail below.

2.3.2.1 [ou] and [oa]

Although Kaneda (2001a:23) (and also Takayama (2014), who adopts his analysis) claims the sequence/diphthong [ou] as a phoneme of Hachijō language, contrasting with [oː], I reject this conclusion.⁴ Mase (1961:46) agrees with me on this point. In examining the lexical data, it is clear that sequence [ou] has a few different etymological sources. One of these is at the trailing end of verbal nonpast declarative forms in which the [o] forms the end of the stem and the [u] is the nonpast affirmative inflection of verbs taking the more mainland-style of this inflection (cf. Section 5.2.2.1). Examples are:

- omou ‘think’ (same as SJ)
- irou ‘ridicule’
- hirou ‘pick up’ (same as SJ)

³Kindaichi (1967:58) presents a readable summary (in Japanese) of some other well-known linguists’ work on this question.
⁴Kaneda’s phonological analysis (to be fair, not his central focus in that book) is marked by a distinct lack of traditional [] and // notation. At the beginning of the section (p. 15), he does make a comment, in which he uses traditional delimiters, about two long vowels in particular and the subtlety of the problem of how to represent them phonemically, but then says that he will omit the use of // below. I suppose he intends us to understand that his undelimited segmental notation represents phonemes, but it is not entirely clear.
Of these three, only *irou* is actually attested in my lexical data (and this word has no cognate form in SJ), although I include the other two because they must certainly exist, based on the fact that I have the following forms also attested:

- *omouwa* (MI) ‘think’
- *iro:wa* ‘ridicule’
- *hiro:* (KT/NN) ‘pick up’

Two of these latter are forms in *-owa* referred to above. Verbs that in mainland Japanese would have a nonpast affirmative (citation) form ending in *-ou* should normally have two forms in Hachijō: one identical to the mainland form, and also one ending in *-wa* (“HJ-style”). What we can see from these examples is that the mainland-style form for ‘pick up’, at least in KT/NN, is not attested with *-ou*, oddly, but ends with *-o:*. Similarly, the HJ-style form for ‘ridicule’ changes [ou] to [o:]. But the HJ-style form for ‘think’, in MI village, keeps the [ou], simply adding *-wa*. We will see below that this is a dialectal characteristic of MI, which very often shows [ou] where other dialects have [o:], even root-internally. We can expect that the form *hiro:wa* ‘pick up’ also exists, and that it is probably *hirouwa* in MI.

The following word variants are also attested (where I specify a dialect, I believe that the form is perhaps used exclusively in that dialect):

- *geto: / getou* (MI) ‘wooden sandals-ACC (SJ *geta-wo*)’
- *dokuro: / dokuro* ‘sixth son (SJ *rokuro*)’
- *haNno: / haNnou* ‘nose rope (for a cow)’
Table 2.7. Minimal pairs for [ei] and [e:]

- ke:byo:me / ke:byoume 'lizard'
- kutsuko:shime / kutsukoushime (MI/OK) 'cicada (SJ semi)'
- yo:ra / youra 'quiet, gentle'
- muro:wa / murouwa (MI) 'receive (SJ morau)'

The natural conclusion is that there is no /ou/ phoneme contrasting with /o:/, but that [ou] is a dialectal variant of /o:/.

The same is true for [oa], a diphthong found only in KT and NN.

2.3.2.2 [ei]

Although Kaneda (2001a:21) (and also Takayama (2014), who adopts his analysis) claims the sequence/diphthong [ei] as a phoneme of Hachijō language, contrasting with [e:], I reject this conclusion. As with [ou], Mase (1961:47) agrees (cf. Section 2.3.2.1). This diphthong is the result of several different historical paths of change, including from [ai], [oe], [oi], and [ie]. There are a few odd minimal pairs (seen in Table 2.7), however, these are anomalies of the somewhat “mixed up” reality of HJ dialect forms. The synchronic evidence, seen in the distribution of these two sounds over many entries in my lexical data, is very clear: that [ei] is a dialectal variant of /e:/, and is not a contrasting phoneme. It should not come as a surprise that MI tends strongly to use [ei] rather than [e:] (given its preference for [ou] over [o:], noted above), but the difference between MI and other villages is not as sharp with this vowel as with /o:/. Following is a selection of attested words to help demonstrate my claim:
• ne:mo / neimo 'a kind of potato (SJ yamano-imo)'

• ke:mochi / keimochi 'a farming tool'

• pe:rowa / peirowa (MI) 'to get wet (SJ nureru)'

• koke: / kokei 'to here (PP) (SJ koko-e)'

• kine: / kinei 'yesterday (SJ kino)'

• teNne: / teNnei 'the heavens'

• zouse: / zousei (MI) 'a holiday soup (SJ zo:sui)'

2.3.2.3 [ai], [ui], and [oi]

The vowel sequence [ai] in Hachijō vocabulary can result from a few different historical sources: (1) it is original (I must assume this is true of some of the words in my data, especially many proper nouns, but etymologies are mostly unclear), (2) it remains after a sequence /aCi/ loses its consonant (often /t/ or /s/), but does not undergo further monophthongization; (3) it is the result of a sound change of /e:/ > [ai] in Utsuki (UT) dialect. This latter looks like the reversal of a change that apparently all the dialects underwent, but that change applied to original, etymological /ai/. In the case of UT, the change applies only to original /e:/, or secondary ones that are the result of a different change. Examples of the latter are:

• *kefu > *keu > HJ kei > UT kai 'today'

• *seNse: > HJ seNse: > UT cheNchai 'teacher'

• *tenugufi > *tenugui > HJ tenegai: > UT tenegai 'towel'
omoidasu \(\rightarrow\) HJ omeidasu \(\rightarrow\) UT omaidasu ‘to recall’

This sound can sometimes be found across a morpheme boundary (i.e., certainly not syllabic), e.g. oyabi ‘thumb’, made up of oya ‘parent’ + ibi ‘finger’. In my lexical data, there are many examples of [ai] in the names of fish, bird, and plant species, and in other proper names. However, there are also examples having [ai] in cases where I would expect it to have been changed to /e:/ or /ya/ (as in KT/NN). In a few cases I have multiple examples of the same word, where one features [ai] and the other [e:]. I suspect that some of the informants who provided these words in modern times may have been influenced by knowledge of SJ, and self-corrected their pronunciation. Additionally, there are quite a few examples of [ai] in common nouns found in my premodern sources. Especially considering how common the /ai/ > [e:] sound change is in Japan overall, it seems unlikely that this happened only in modern times in Hachijōjima. One wonders, again, if perhaps the compilers of the premodern documents “cleaned up” what they may have perceived as the rustic accent of the locals for their audience of mainland urbanites.

It is difficult to say anything about the vowel sequences [ui] and [oi], because there is nothing obvious to compare them to. Like [ai], they sometimes result from the historical loss of an intervocalic consonant. Although both have a low type (i.e., distinct word) frequency in my lexical data, the latter will have a high token frequency in use, because it appears in the demonstratives koi ‘this’, soi ‘that (mesial)’, doi ‘which’. Similarly, [ui] appears in another demonstrative ui ‘that (distal)’. Some illustrative minimal pairs over diphthongs or diphthong-like sequences are found in Table 2.8. But it is difficult to say whether these are truly diphthongs, or rather short vowel sequences. As the information available to me is insufficient to make even a good guess, this question must be left open.
Table 2.8. Various diphthong contrasts

| [oi] vs [ei] | koi ‘this (MI) (SJ kore)’ | kei ‘today (MI) (SJ kyo:)’ |
| [oi] vs [ei] | soi ‘that (MI) (SJ sore)’ | sei ‘veggies, side dishes’ |
| [oi] vs [ei] | doi ‘which (MI) (SJ dore)’ | dei ‘tatami room (SJ zashiki)’ |
| [ai] vs [ui] | ai ‘1P pronoun (SJ ware)’ | ui ‘that (MI) (SJ are)’ |
| [ui] vs [ii] | ui ‘that (MI) (SJ are)’ | ii ‘rice porridge’ |

Table 2.9. Semivowel contrasts

| /y/ vs /w/ | ya: ‘cavern, grotto (SJ hora-ana)’ | wa: ‘1P pronoun + topic (SJ ware wa)’ |
| /y/ vs /w/ | yo: ‘fish-ACC’ | wo: ‘ring-ACC’ |

2.3.2.4 [au]

The diphthong [au] does not exist, as such, in Hachijō, except in Utsuki (UT) dialect, where it corresponds to HJ /o:/ as a dialectal variant, in such words as UT jauri ∼ HJ jo:ri ‘grass sandals’, and UT dokuyau ∼ HJ dokuro: ‘sixth son’. Other HJ words that contain the same sequence of short vowels [a] and [u] invariably have an intervening morpheme boundary (e.g., yauchi ‘close family (SJ miuchi)’, which has prevented this sequence from being coalesced, it seems, to /o:/, as happened in other words where [au] was morpheme-internal (though this sort of coalescence happens regularly across morpheme boundaries in other words).

2.4 Semivowels

Although there are few minimal pairs in my data (Table 2.9, and recall that I am not considering the existence of a single minimal pair as conclusive evidence of contrast), and there a few cases where [w] and [y] might seem to be interchangeable, those are special cases of fast-speech phenomena, morpheme variants, and the like. In examining the lexical data, it is intuitively clear that Hachijō has the same unambiguous phonemic opposition of /y/ vs /w/ as does Standard Japanese.
| /p/ vs /b/ | none |
| /p/ vs /h/ | pe:rowa ’get wet’ | he:rowa ’enter, go in’ |
| /p/ vs /t/ | none |
| /p/ vs /k/ | purowa ’fall (rain, etc), swing’ | kurowa ’come’ |
| /p/ vs /h/ | pe:rowa ’get wet’ | ke:rowa ’come/go back/home’ |

Table 2.10. Consonant contrasts with /p/

2.5 Consonants

As Hachijō is a Japonic language, certain contrasts are clear enough, and in the interests of time and space, I limit my examples to the important contrasts (e.g., /p/ vs /b/), skipping over ones that are unlikely to be controversial (e.g., /t/ vs /g/). Note also that I do not repeat examples, so minimal pairs presented for /k/ vs /g/ in the section for /k/ are not repeated in the section for /g/.

2.5.1 /p/

Among the consonants, the status of /p/ is one of the more interesting. It has a very limited distribution in Hachijō, and since historically in Japonic (at least outside of Ryūkyūan) there is a well-known sound change of */p/ > /h/ since Old Japanese times,⁵ we would not expect to find syllable-initial [p] in “normal” vocabulary, as we find, in a very limited way, in Hachijō. In mainland Japanese, /p/ is a member of the phoneme inventory because of its heavy use in mimetic and foreign loanword vocabulary, although in core vocabulary strata its distribution is highly restricted, appearing only as an allophone of /h/ in medial onsets following the moraic consonantal codas /N/ and /Q/ (Vance 2008:74).

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⁵The change of */p/ > /h/ is word-initial, with */p/ > /w/ word-medially, followed by /w/ > zero before all vowels except /a/. There is one word that shows an odd contrast between Japanese and HJ: ’mother’ (OJ *papa, SJ haha, HJ hawa > ho:). For some reason, Japanese failed to change the medial */p/ to /w/, to my knowledge only in this word, while HJ followed the rule consistently.
Here (Table 2.10), we see a contrast of proposed phoneme /p/ with both /h/ and /k/ in native verbs, and I believe Mase (1961:56) is right when he says that it is very unlikely to be the case that the [p]s that we find in native vocabulary represent a retention of OJ */p/ in Hachijō. Many of them appear in the initial position of verbs, and Mase presents a plausible theory to explain their presence based on a very common sort of prefixing of verbs with a derivational emphatic prefix form ending in /Q/ (such as buQ- or tsuQ-), which forces a following /h/ to change to [p] by a standard phonological rule in Japonic (mentioned just above), following which the prefix is reduced to zero. While it is intuitively appealing, there are also examples of medial [p] that cannot be explained this way (below). I am not yet fully convinced by Mase’s argument, but it warrants more investigation. Certainly, the weight of evidence points to the */p/ > /h/ change having run to completion in Hachijō, as in Japanese, and that the examples of [p] that we find (not following /N, Q/) are special exceptions.

So the question remains whether we should consider [p] to be a member of the phoneme inventory. Mase lists it as such, in spite of its issues, but I do not feel that he makes a case for it. In the great majority of words, it appears as an allophone of /h/, but it has greater flexibility than in SJ: it can appear not only following /N, Q/, but also in place of /b/ in cases of /h/-rendaku in words like in-apikari (SJ inabikari) ‘lightning’, and maputa (SJ mabuta) ‘eyelid’ (Ōshima 1975:47). Ōshima suggests that these are devoicings that affect more than just /b/, but these are cases about which we might want to ask whether the [p] is the retention of an ancient */p/. Could it be that [p] can sometimes be retained only in the rendaku environment, with normal rendaku suppressed? My data are insufficient to answer this question, but it should be noted that there is attestation of normal /h/-rendaku (producing [b]) in premodern sources.

—Note that purowa and perowa are not attested in my data, but I believe them to be legitimately existing lexical items because all verbs would appear to have two nonpast affirmative citation forms in common use: a form in -owa which is unique to Hachijō, and a form in -u which might be morphology borrowed from the mainland (cf. Section 5.2.2.1 for more on this topic). Both puru and peru appear in my data.
In the end, I am inclined to call /p/ a marginal phoneme, with the support of a small number of minimal pairs found in my data, but most interestingly the one that shows a contrast with /h/, considering the history of these two sounds in the family. There are also (just as on the mainland) mimetic and mimetic-looking vocabulary that include it, e.g., the names of birds poNpoNdori ‘lesser cuckoo’ (SJ hototogisu) and piyome ‘chick’.

2.5.2 /t/

The minimal pairs presented in Table 2.11 show convincingly that /t/ is a full phoneme of Hachijō (cf. the previous table for /t/ vs /p/). The traditionalist view of mainland Japanese is to consider [ʨ] and [c] to be conditioned allophones of /t/, however for a Western linguistic analysis of this question, see Vance (2008:82). I address these sounds, for Hachijō, in Section 2.5.9.

2.5.3 /k/

The minimal pairs presented in Table 2.12 show convincingly that /k/ is a full phoneme of Hachijō (cf. earlier tables for additional contrasts).
2.5.4 /h/

The minimal pairs presented in Table 2.13 show convincingly that /h/ is a full phoneme of Hachijō (cf. earlier tables for additional contrasts).

It is perhaps inevitable that I have transcribed the /h/ sound when it appears before /u/ as f. This is standard in the Hepburn romanization system for modern Japanese, because the segment produced in this environment is [ɸ] (or something very close to this). It has considerably more fricative noise than the usual pharyngeal [h]. Modern day Hachijō pronunciation shares the pronunciation of all five moras having /h/ as the onset (the so-called ha-row) with standard Japanese, including the use of [ɸ] preceding /u/, as confirmed by modern sources that use either romanized transcription, or IPA (Mase 1961, Kaneda 2002). Probably we can never know how these sounds were pronounced in older, pre-modernization Hachijō, as the transcriptions are done in katakana. It is well-known that modern Japanese /h/ was */p/ in the time of Old Japanese, and that this sound remained labial in Central
Japanese (the language of the power centers), even before vowels other than /u/, throughout the 18th and probably into the 19th century (Frellesvig 2010:386). We do not know if the Hachijōjima islanders were early innovators of pharyngeal [h], or perhaps late adopters. The phonemicization of [ɸ] (/f/) in modern Japanese (Irwin 2011:72) occurred because of the influx of a large number of loanwords from European languages in the 20th century, but this does not apply to Hachijō language as spoken before modernization, which is my main concern, and so I will consider [ɸ] to be an allophone of /h/.

The other non-pharyngeal sound on the ha-row of modern Japanese is the dorso-palatal fricative [ç]. For most scholars, including Vance (2008), this remains a conditioned allophone of /h/, appearing before high front vowel /i/ and semivowel /y/. Akamatsu (2000), however, analyzes it as a phoneme, because in his purely functional approach to phonology, it has a distribution before all vowels except /e/, not just the high front. This is a consequence of his analysis of all the palatalized non-coronals as single phonemes rather than clusters with /y/; that is, all moras traditionally analyzed as, e.g., /hya/, /myo/, /ryu/, etc., instead have palatalized simplex onsets: /ça/, /m'o/, /r'u/ (in his notation in which the apostrophe indicates palatalization), and his notation of /ç/ as the phoneme that would otherwise be written /h'/. I share Akamatsu’s conclusion on this issue, taking this fricative to be phonemic, which I notate /hʸ/, because of my more general approach to all the palatalized onsets, which are treated in detail in Section 2.5.13 below.

2.5.5 /b/

Regarding /b/ vs /p/, I have already noted in the section (2.5.1) on /p/ that I have no minimal pairs for this contrast, but this is likely because /p/ is marginal to begin with. It should be noted that there is a certain kind of free variation of /b/ and /p/, seen most often following /Q/, in words like yoQbari/yQbari ‘urine’ and shiQbeta/shιQbeta ‘buttocks’. Here, the underlying sound is no doubt
voiced, and will be devoiced following /Q/ in a way that is normal for conservative speakers of mainland dialects. Yamada (2010) also cites a dialectal variation boQkuri/poQkuri ‘wooden clogs’, which is certainly a mimetic word, and given that initial /p/ is most commonly seen on the mainland in mimetic and loan vocabulary, this also seems very natural, and should not be construed as evidence against this contrast. It seems there is also a variation of /b/ with /g/ following /N/ in certain words, such as shiNbeta/shiNgeta ‘buttocks’, a word that we just saw in another variant form, here with /N/ replacing /Q/. Another example is chiNburi/chiNguri ‘a very short person’. I have no principled explanation for these /b/ ∼ /g/ variations.

I address the issue of /b/ vs /m/ in Section 2.5.10 on /m/.

2.5.6 /g/

One relevant contrast is shown in Table 2.15, although the mutual contrast among the voiced and voiceless oral stops has been well-established, and exceptions related to /g/ have been noted elsewhere.

| /b/ vs /d/ | yoQbari ‘urine’ | yoQdari ‘spittle’ |
| /b/ vs /d/ | baku ‘elephantiasis’ | daku ‘easy, comfortable (SJ raku)’ |
| /b/ vs /d/ | haNbo ‘wooden container for rice’ | haNdo ‘small window’ |
| /b/ vs /g/ | bame ‘cow’ | game ‘moth’ |
| /b/ vs /g/ | shaba ‘do-COND (SJ sureba)’ | shaga ‘white hair (SJ shiraga)’ |

Table 2.14. Consonant contrasts with /b/

| /g/ vs /d/ | e:ga ‘a specialized container’ | e:da ‘interval (SJ aida)” |

Table 2.15. Consonant contrasts with /g/
2.5.7 /s, z/ and /š/

2.5.7.1 /s/ vs /z/

The syllables with initial coronal consonants perhaps represent the part of the phonemic system where an analysis in the Western linguistic tradition will differ most dramatically from a traditionalist view of Japanese/Japonic. Generally speaking, I will argue below that most of these sounds are phonemically contrastive. I will use the symbol /š/ for the voiceless lamino-alveolo-palatal fricative phoneme that is manifest phonetically as [c].

A contrast like /s/ vs /z/ is absolutely expected. It is, after all, a contrast that has been clearly established for Old Japanese, both Eastern (EOJ) and Western (WOJ) dialects (Vovin 2005), and I have already mentioned that the fact of Hachijō’s relationship to EOJ has been clearly established. Thus, although history is no guarantee, it might seem strange to have only a single minimal pair, even in a limited data set (Table 2.16). According to the examination of “intermediate phonological relationships” done by Hall (2013), contrast is not a binary property but a gradient one. A relationship that has a single minimal pair could still be considered allophonic in spite of this fact, if the evidence of allophony that makes use of other criteria like distribution is strong.

Mase (1961:57) points out that obstruent voicing contrasts are often lost in natural speech. Actually, his claim is specifically that corresponding pairs of voiceless and voiced stops and affricates often freely vary, and he gives examples from NN, but I note that all of his examples have voiceless obstruents where SJ cognates would have a voiced one. It is hard to know whether these are true free variants, which would suggest a weakening of the contrasts in question, and therefore their phonemic
status in Hachijō, or if the devoicing is a fast-speech phenomenon, and if therefore careful pronunciation will always yield the same form (probably the one with a voiced obstruent). My database contains some entries, such as mijikya: (NN) ‘short’ (SJ mijikai), that show that NN people can pronounce this word with /j/ rather than the /č/ that Mase cites, but on the other hand, there are several different forms for ‘slug’, from different sources: nabekojiki (presumably current SY pronunciation), nabekoshi (from Ōta ([18⁇]1928), a premodern source), and Mase’s NN elicited form, nabekochiki. It is interesting that a form like *napekochiki is not found, devoicing the /b/, although examples like inapikari (SJ inabikari) show that intervocalic [p] is possible. Taking this into account, and realizing that most of the words in my lexical database were not collected by trained linguists but by armchair amateurs (all L1 Japanese speakers), and with the caveat that the phenomenon just discussed is not supposed to apply to fricatives, nevertheless one might suspect that voicing ambiguity could account for the difficulty of justifying certain contrasts, perhaps specifically among coronals.

In that case, I provide the distribution of /s/ and /z/ (Note that /si, zi/ are not included because neutralization causes them to have different onsets): Table 2.17 shows robust distribution of both sounds in all the possible environments. Is the one minimal pair sufficient to show contrast? Perhaps it could be argued, no. One would have to ask why all the amateur lexicographers, who have the contrast in their own L1, recorded the two sounds differently, in a random manner. Some words, like zusu (SJ rusu) ‘not at home’, contain both sounds, with the same following vowel, and this word is

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<td>[zu]</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>[ze]</td>
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<td>[so]</td>
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<td>[sa]</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>[za]</td>
<td>7</td>
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</table>

Table 2.17. Distribution of onset /s/ and /z/ in the data
transcribed this way in multiple sources. For the time being, I will be satisfied that a claim of phonemic contrast is supported by the circumstantial evidence of EOJ lineage, the fact that this contrast exists in mainland Japanese, and that the distribution suggests at least lack of complementary distribution.

### 2.5.7.2 /s/ vs \(\text{š}/\)

In a traditionalist (kokugogaku) understanding of Japanese phonology, \(\text{c}\) is a conditioned allophone of /s/ that appears before high front vowel /i/ and semivowel /y/. This conception is reflected clearly in kana orthography. Let /Y/ be an archiphoneme (Hyman 1975:70) of the vowel /i/ and the semivowel /y/. If one accepts the notion that what I am calling the phoneme \(\text{š}/\) is instead the phonemic combination /sY/, and similarly for \(\text{č}/\) as /tY/, then this analysis looks correct. However, I consider it problematic, and instead take the position for Hachijō, as Vance (2008) does for standard Japanese, that these consonants are unitary phones in the language and argue that they are contrastive.

In the data available to me, there are few minimal pairs for these two segments. They are shown in Table 2.18, listed, and described below, by descending degree of soundness with respect to my criteria for selection, as I will explain. The first two pairs, saga/shaga and sou/shou, are to all appearances solid minimal pairs of words that are likely shared across most or all of the village dialects. The third pair, sekomerowa/shekomerowa, are verbs and would also be a solid pair except that I am not entirely certain that they are different words. Both come from Asanuma (1999), where he has listed them separately and given them different definitions, but the definitions are rather close semantically. Asanuma is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/s/ vs (\text{š}/)</th>
<th>saga ‘northwest wind’</th>
<th>shaga ‘white hair’</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s/ vs (\text{š}/)</td>
<td>sou ‘crossbeam, girder’</td>
<td>shou ‘fourth son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ vs (\text{š}/)</td>
<td>sekomerowa ‘reproach, strongly urge’</td>
<td>shekomerowa ‘lecture, sermonize, harangue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ vs (\text{š}/)</td>
<td>uso ‘not true/factual’</td>
<td>usho ‘sea water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ vs (\text{š}/)</td>
<td>sa:ma ‘gully’</td>
<td>sha:ma ‘a kind of plant (SJ shariNbai)’</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Table 2.18.** Consonant contrasts of [s] with [c]
usually careful, and notes in his entries when there are differing forms in other island dialects (most of his headwords appear to belong to his native Sueyoshi (SY) dialect). Palatalization of /s/ before short /e/ is a well-known feature of older generation speech in NN specifically (Mase 1961:53), and perhaps in other villages as well (Ōshima 1975:46). Even if these two words only contrast in SY (though that is unlikely), they should be counted. *Uso/usho* would be a perfect pair showing contrast in medial position, but I have imposed upon myself the criterion that ideally words used for this analysis should not be obviously borrowed from the mainland during modern times (1868–). Here, I am not certain about *uso*, which is a word in SJ, and furthermore I have an attested variant *oso* with the same meaning, but according to Asanuma, limited to OK and KT dialects. There are a number of words attested in the OJ literature in which an EOJ /o/⁷ corresponds to WOJ /u/ (Kupchik 2011:865) (with WOJ much closer to being an ancestor of modern Japanese than EOJ). That said, there are also words where the correspondence is the reverse. However, if *oso* represents the retention of an EOJ form,⁸ then it is likely that *uso* is a borrowed form, and thus not ideal for getting at the phonology of an older, purer Hachijō language. As a final note on this pair, according to Asanuma, the meaning of *uso* in Hachijō is similar to the meaning of SJ *chigau* ‘to be different’, i.e. it does not carry the connotation of deception, as the usual translation of modern Japanese *uso* is ‘lie, falsehood’. Should such a semantic change be expected to occur in only about 100 years since the (suspected) borrowing? All things considered, *uso/usho* can probably be considered a marginally acceptable pair. Lastly, the weakest pair in this set is *sa:ma/sha:ma*. Although I will gloss over the etymology here, the former is clearly, by phonology, a SY word, while the latter is clearly a KT/NN word, making them not strictly

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¹I gloss over the distinction of so-called *kō* and *otsu* syllables in the OJ seven- or eight-vowel system (Kupchik 2011:38, Vovin 2005:40) for present purposes, and assume the merged five-vowel system that came only shortly afterward in history, and that survives to this day in both Japanese and Hachijō.

²It is noted in the entry for this word in Sawagata (1968:834) that it is “believed” that the OJ form featured a mid-back, rather than high-back vowel its initial syllable, but the word in such a form does not appear as a lemma in the dictionary in question, which leads me to think that that theory is at best speculative.
Table 2.19. Distribution of onset /s/ and /ʃ/ in the data

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<td>[su]</td>
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<td>80</td>
<td>[cu]</td>
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<td>[so]</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>[co]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[sa]</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>[ca]</td>
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comparable. I include the pair for the sake of being instructive. The KT/NN word for sa:ma should be something like *soama, while the SY word for sha:ma is in fact se:ma.

Other than looking for minimal pairs, we can also consider the distribution of segments. When two segments have the same, or nearly the same, distribution, this indicates at least that they are not allophones in complementary distribution. It is obvious that /s/ and /ʃ/ are neutralized before high front /i/, with [s] being replaced in that context by [c]. As consonant clusters are not permitted by either Japanese or Hachijō phonotactics, it cannot make sense to ask happens when /s/ is followed by /y/. The situation of these two phonemes is what Hall (2013:230) describes as “mostly unpredictable, but with some degree of predictability”; in other words, for most word templates that can take either sound, inserting one or the other will change the meaning (i.e., it is unpredictable by phonological context which word you get). However, in a restricted number of contexts, which sound appears is predictable; in this case, before /i/, we always find [c]. As coda position is not available for most sounds, we can only look at onset position. Table 2.19 shows how many times each syllable appears in my lexical database, i.e. the distribution by position in the word.9 What we find is a fairly robust distribution of the two phonemes in question across contexts with different following vowels, especially for low and back /a/ and /o/. Small numbers for [cu] is not a big surprise, because al-

Note that the total words for each phoneme sequence will usually be a little less than the sum of initials + medials, because there might be a few words that contain both. Also, these numbers are counting the case where the consonant is followed by the vowel quality in question, regardless of whether the vowel is a short vowel, or the first half of a long vowel or diphthong.
most all the words in my database are native (Japonic, i.e., nonloan) forms, and even in mainland Japanese, examples of this syllable (whether with short or long rhymes) overwhelmingly belong to borrowed vocabulary, mostly Sino-Japanese. As there is no phonological palatalization before low or back vowels in Hachijō, we would not expect any alternation before /u/ as before front mid and high vowels. However, that said, it strikes me as a little odd that the counts are so low for /še/, given the aforementioned productivity of palatalization of /s/ before /e/, at least among certain age and dialect groups.

Both Hall (2013:231) and Hyman (1975:71) note that speakers (when asked) usually reported that they felt two such partially neutralized phonemes were somehow closer, or more similar to each other, than other phonemic contrasts that have no neutralization. This seems natural enough, and no doubt accounts at least in part for the treatment of these two in traditional Japanese linguistics.

2.5.8 /d, r, z/ and /j/

I want to consider these four sounds together, as they are more closely related as a group in Hachijō phonology than in the phonology of Japanese (note that we are seeing /z/ again). The most “troublesome” contrasts I will tackle here involve [ǰ], about which more below. I have already established above the contrast between /t/ and /d/, and there can be little doubt that Hachijō features the same contrasting voiceless/voiced stop pairs as Japanese.

2.5.8.1 /d/ vs /r/

A notable feature of Hachijō is the neutralization of /d/ and /r/ in morpheme-initial position, where we find only /d/ (the lexical database contains quite a few examples of initial /r/, but I treat these as manifestations of the bilingualism situation on the island—even the elderly now have SJ as their
dominant language, and have had for most of their lives). Considering that the positional neutralization will wipe out many potentially existing minimal pairs in my relatively limited data set, I feel lucky to have at least this one (Table 2.20), to illustrate a contrast that intuitively I feel must exist, as it does in Japanese. The tap /r/, a sound which historically in Japanese does not appear word-initially in the native Japonic lexicon (Frellesvig 2010:43, Vovin 2005:40), appears only morpheme-medially in Hachijō. It is true that /d/ also did not appear word-initially in the oldest attested sources of Japanese, however it did appear in suffix-initial position (ibid.), and seems to have expanded its phonological horizons earlier than /r/, as we can see in the development of the grammatical particle de and copula da. Initial /r/ is found extensively in the Sino-Japanese lexical stratum, and thus the initial [d]s which are the result of neutralization are found primarily in these borrowed vocabulary, e.g., dokuro: ‘sixth son’ (cf SJ rokuro), and deneN (MI) ‘next year’ (cf SJ raineN). We can see that it is conditioned on morpheme structure rather than word structure because of examples like sadeneN ‘the year after next’ (cf SJ saraineN), in which sa- is a prefix, and InDaN ‘lewdness, lechery’ (cf SJ InRaN), a Sino-Japanese compound. This latter example might suggest that Hachijō treats Sino-Japanese compounds as being composed of multiple (one per syllable) morphemes, or it could be that the neutralization extends to the post-N/Q (moraic coda) environment as well. My data are insufficient to answer this question at present.

2.5.8.2 /d/ vs /z/ vs /j/

As in Japanese, we find in Hachijō /d/ and /z/ neutralized before /u/, where only /z/ appears; also, all three of /d/, /z/, and /j/ are neutralized before /i/, where only /j/ appears. The affricate [dz] can ap-
Table 2.21. Consonant contrasts of [d] with [z]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th></th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>[ju]</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>[zu]</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[de]</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>[ze]</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[do]</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>[zo]</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[da]</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>[za]</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.22. Distribution of onset [d, z] and [j] in the data

...PEAR before [u] as a noncontrastive semifree variant; the received view on this variability for modern Japanese is that [dz] is dominant in word-initial position, and [z] elsewhere (some say this distribution is strictly categorical), however a study by Maekawa (2010) has shown that the reality is rather more nuanced. I do not have such careful measurements to make a judgement for Hachijō (and any conclusions would be suspect in any case because it would be nigh impossible to dissociate the articulatory influence of SJ caused by bilingualism). My data show an allophonic relation between [z] and [dz] for Hachijō, which is at least roughly if not exactly congruent with the situation in Japanese, and all of the aforementioned phonology holds equally for both languages. As noted earlier, one or two minimal pairs is not really enough to prove contrast, although it is suggestive in a language like this one, where all the circumstantial information definitely leads us to expect this contrast. There are no minimal pairs in my lexical database for /d/ vs /j/, or /z/ vs /j/. This might seem a reason to abandon the theory that these are contrastive phones, and look for allophonic relationships, but I will start from the distributions (Table 2.22) and then drill down to specifics. Because I have demonstrated the contrast between /d/ and /z/ with two minimal pairs (Table 2.21), and because this is a contrast that we should absolutely expect to find, I will focus on words containing [j]. It is true that in many of the words in the database containing [ja] and [jo], the [j] can be recognized as a derivative reflex of either...
/d/ or /z/. There are three reasons for this change, (1) “random” palatalization of /z/, (2) metathesis of diphthong [ai] following /d/ or /z/, and (3) fortition of an onset /rʲ > [d'] > [j]. In the case of (1) and (2), the vocabulary in question come primarily from NN and KT, the two uphill villages that show the greatest phonological divergence both from their sister dialects, and from Japanese. In the case of “random” palatalization, by which I mean that there is no apparent systematic reason for it, these dialects seem to prefer to change the /z/ to [j] mostly before [a] and [o]. Example words for phenomenon (1) are:

- **hijamazukowa** ‘kneel’ (SJ hizamazuku)
- **kijamowa** ‘chop, mince’ (SJ kizamu)
- **jashiki** ‘tatami room’ (SJ zashiki)
- **mijo/mijoma** ‘drainage, sewer’ (SJ mizo)
- **joushi:** (NN) ‘a trad. kind of soup’ (SJ zo:sui)
- **jokume** (AO) ‘bull’ (HJ zokume)
- **jo:ri** ‘straw sandals’ (SJ zo:ri)

Note that for almost all of these words, I also have attestation in my database of a variant using /z/ instead of /j/. It is interesting and odd that jo:ri is attested for all of MI, SY, and NN, three dialects that often disagree, and no dialect appears to agree with SJ on zo:ri. But even uphill, this palatalization is not perfectly consistent. Following are attested: NN/KT hya:zara ‘ashtray’, NN/KT zoQkume ‘bull’.

The next source of derivative [ǰa] involves metathesis of [ai]. In NN and KT dialects, most if not all instances of etymological /ai/ are reversed, with the [i] component normally being merged
with the preceding consonant onset as palatalization (a topic covered in more detail later). When the onset is underlyingly /d/, /z/, or an /r/ that changes to [d] as explained above, the resulting syllable is introduced by a palatalized [dʲ] or [zʲ], which manifests as affricate [ǰ]. Most often in these cases the [a] nucleus is lengthened to [aː], to maintain the length of the original diphthong. Example words for phenomenon (2) are:

- **ja:ko** (KT) ‘large radish’ (SJ *daiko*)
- **kyouja:** (NN/KT) ‘brothers’ (SJ *kyo:dai*)
- **ja:zu** (KT) ‘soybean’ (SJ *daizu*)
- **zuja:** (NN/KT) ‘hearth pot hook’ (SJ *jizai*)

Again, for all of these words I have attestation in my database of a variant using /d/ or /z/ instead of /j/, and having an unmetathesized vowel. Closely related to the preceding is when a word contains etymological /rʲ/ (limited to Sino-Japanese borrowings). Here, too, we will find a derivative [ǰ], the phonological process being identical to the aforementioned cases of diphthong metathesis in syllables /dai/ and /rai/ (>). In principle, this process applies to syllables having in the nucleus any of /a, u, o/, however I have no examples using the former two. Example words for phenomenon (3) are:

- **jo:te** ‘both hands’ (SJ *ryo:te*)
- **jo:bune** ‘fishing boat’ (SJ *ryo:bune*)
- **jo:rowa** ‘to cook/prepare food’ (SJ *ryo:ri suru*)¹⁰

¹⁰This word is interesting because they have created a pseudo-Japonic verb root neologism *jo:r*- out of a Sino-Japanese word, a process known to happen in mainland Japanese as well with borrowed vocabulary.
In addition to words featuring derivative [ǰ], there are words with etymological /j/, of both Japonic and Sino-Japanese origin. As you can see below, these mirror mainland forms very closely, with some slight phonetic and semantic differences, and it is hard to know when they came into the Hachijō language, although the characteristic voiced geminate of gaQjo: suggests this word might be of older vintage.

- **jouzu** ‘skillful’ (SJ jo:zu)
- **hachijo:** ‘the name of this island’ (SJ hachijo:)
- **gaQjo:** ‘strong, sturdy, robust’ (SJ gaNjo:)
- **jaba** ‘obstruction’ (SJ jama)
- **deji** ‘important’ (SJ daiji)
- **mijikakya** ‘short’ (SJ mijikai)
- **wowoji** ‘grandfather’ (SJ oji:)
- **ju:meN** ‘be on the verge of tears’ (SJ ju:meN ‘vexed, bitter face’)
- **ju:ro:** ‘tenth son’ (SJ juro:)

Finally, there are a number of instances of [ǰ] whose origin/etymology is unknown to me.

- **mija** ‘earth, land’
- **meja** ‘proud, haughty person’
- **okojo** ‘a kind of fish’ (SJ eboshikasago)
• akajaQcha ‘a kind of bird’ (SJ tanekomadori)

• kakija- ‘cockroach’ (several different dialect forms share this stem)

• keQkeNjo ‘a game of hopping on one leg’

• jaQkoku ‘a dish of boiled meat and vegetables’

It is clear that there are a variety of different sources of the [ǰ] phone in Hachijō, some derivative and some underlying. Many of the derived [ǰ]s can come from several phonemic forms, e.g., [jo] can result from /jo/, /zo/, or /r'o/; [jaː] from /daː/, /rai/, /zaː/, /zaː/. What seems clear from the preceding discussion is that the appearance of the sound [ǰ] is mostly unpredictable, in the information sense. The distribution counts show that [ǰ] is robustly attested before [a, o]. Although it is rarer before [u, e], it is not nonexistent, and these small numbers feel like an accidental gap in my data. So it is not limited in phonological environment. In some cases (the aforementioned “random” palatalization), it can be replaced by [z] to generate a variant of the same word (this represents a small degree of predictability), but in most cases it cannot be replaced by another sound, and it does not participate in a complementary relationship with anything else. The only possible conclusion is that [ǰ] is mostly unpredictable, which means that it provides information to hearers. We should consider it at least a marginal phoneme, but one that is much closer to the “fully unpredictable” (fully contrastive) end of the spectrum than, for example, /p/, which is close to fully predictable, having just a little bit of unpredictability. In this sense, there is a stronger case for /j/ as a phoneme of the language than for /p/, despite the fact that the latter has a few minimal pairs.
2.5.9 \(/t, c/ and /č/

In a traditionalist (kokugogaku) understanding of Japanese phonology, [c] is a conditioned allophone of \(/t/\) that appears before high back vowel /u/, and [č] another conditioned allophone that appears before high front vowel /i/ and semivowel /y/. But considering the distribution of these sounds before vowels, we see that it is not quite that simple in Hachijō (or in Japanese for that matter, cf. Vance 2008:82). Thus, as in Japanese, in Hachijō we find \([t]\) and \([c]\) neutralized before /u/, where only \([c]\) appears; also, all three of \([t]\), \([c]\), and \([č]\) are neutralized before /i/, where only \([č]\) appears. As noted earlier, one minimal pair for a contrast is at best suggestive. There are no minimal pairs in my data for \([c]\) vs \([č]\) (Table 2.23). There is one small caveat here in the use of \(to:ya\) and \(cho:ya\) to show the contrast of \(/t/ vs /č/\), the former of which is unique to Utsuki (UT) dialect (one of the two Kojima dialects), while the latter is apparently shared at least between SY and KT dialects, and perhaps others on the main island. UT shows significant phonological divergence from the five main island dialects. Nevertheless, my stated policy is to treat all dialect forms as belonging to a single language, and in any case, there is no systematic dialect variation relating to \([t]\) and \([č]\), and the initial \([t]\) of \(to:ya\) is shared by all dialect forms for this lexeme, and so I take it as a legitimate minimal pair. Table 2.24 shows the distribution from my lexical database. In this distribution, we find a less convincing case for phonemic contrast than we found with \(/d, z/\) and \(/j/\). We certainly find \([t]\) well attested in all contexts, and there should be no controversy in establishing \(/t/\) as a phoneme. Next, \([č]\) is pretty
solid before low and back vowels /a/ and /o/, but thinly attested before high and front /u/ and /e/.

Examining these latter cases more closely, we find the following words for /u/:

- **chu:kuri** ‘a flock of birds’

- **heQchu:da** ‘a swing (plaything)’ (SJ *buranko*)

- **chu:yo:** ‘attention-ACC’ (SJ *chūi-wo*)

- **omoidachu** (UT) ‘recall’ (SJ *omoidasu*)

- **achu** (UT) ‘tomorrow’ (SJ *asu*)

I do not know the etymology of the first two, *chu:kuri* and *heQchu:da*; they could be based in Sino-Japanese, because most examples of syllable [ʨu] (including *chu:yo*) are from that lexical stratum.

The final two words are from UT dialect, where we find a systematic sound change of etymological (including synchronic HJ) /s/ > [ʨ]. Therefore, these two should not be included as evidence for /č/.

Next, the forms containing [ʨe]:

- **chebakura** ‘swallow (bird)’ (SJ *tsubame/tsubakura*)

- **cheNchai** (UT) ‘teacher’ (SJ *seNsei*)

- **uQche** (KT)(NN) ‘barnacle’ (SJ *fujitsubo*)

Table 2.24. Distribution of onset [t, c] and [ʨ] in the data
wareNche: ‘1P pronoun’

The one strong word in this set for \[\text{we}\] is *chebakura*, though why this word has /e/ in the first syllable rather than the /u/ of the Japanese cognate is mysterious. In *cheNchai* we have another UT word exhibiting the /s/ > [c] sound change. And the remaining two words feature [c] following one of the two moraic codas /N, Q/. This latter phonetic environment is one where we very often find examples of [c]—so often that the suspicion that [c] is purely in complementary distribution with something should be taken seriously. Another phenomenon we see (described more below) is excrescent [t] intruding in the sequences /Qs/ and /Qš/, and evidence from other dialects shows that the latter two words above can be so derived. Nevertheless, among the words containing [ca] and [co], although quite a few feature the sound preceded by a moraic coda, there are still five medial examples of [co] which are not, and 13 medial examples of [ca] which are not. From a predictability perspective, /č/ is mostly unpredictable, and thus I assign it phonemic status.

The total lack of anything even close to a minimal pair for [c] vs [c], and the distribution as shown in Table 2.24, are telling. In every example of [ca] and [co] (all medial), the [c] is preceded by /Q/. In some of these examples, such as *cuQcoaru* (NN) ‘touch’ (SJ *sawaru*), *cuQcasowa* ‘pierce’ (SJ *sasu*), and *heQcogo* ‘navel’ (SJ *heso*), a /Q/ coda precedes an etymological /s/, and it seems very clear that the [t] component of the affricate is excrescent. A verb such as *buQcobakasowa* ‘to startle, surprise (vt)’ has unclear etymology, but given the distributional reality, it would be surprising if the [t] component of the [c] affricate were underlying (i.e., if the etymological form of the verb stem minus the *buQ*-prefix were /cobakas-/ rather than /sobakas-/). Another class of [c] words, and one which accounts for the tiny number of attestations of initial [c] not followed by /u/, comes primarily from Mitsune (MI) dialect, and in all cases the surface syllable [cei] seems clearly to correspond to an underlying
[cui] or [cue], based on Japanese cognates, and thus these words might be seen to contain the syllable /tu/ at some level:

- \textit{uQcei} (MI) ‘day before yesterday’ (SJ \textit{ototoi}) (probably \textit{< uitsutsui} with raised vowels)
- \textit{ceitachi} (MI) ‘first of the month’ (SJ \textit{tsuitachi})
- \textit{cei} (MI) ‘staff, stick’ (SJ \textit{tsue})

In fact, it is possible to show a minimal triple of the above word \textit{cei} ‘staff, stick’ with \textit{tei} ‘one day’ and \textit{kei} ‘today’, all three of which appear to be characteristic of (possibly unique to) MI dialect, and thus one might want to propose a very marginal /c/ phoneme for this dialect. This onset would still be sparsely attested before [e], and there are no examples of [ci], but it could be seen as an incipient example of phonemic inventory divergence in one village dialect.

If we consider the distribution of [c] in Hachijō broadly from the information (i.e., predictability) perspective, however, in the overwhelming majority of cases, [c] is predictable. It appears in an onset either preceding /u/, or following a coda /Q/. The natural conclusion is that the sound [c] in Hachijō is in part an allophone of /t/ when it precedes high back vowel /u/, but also may be produced excrescently in cases where only the fricative part corresponds to an underlying segment.

2.5.10 /m/

In Hachijō, as well as mainland Japanese, there is a residue of historical uncertainty in the /m/ vs /b/ contrast. This is due to the voiced obstruents having arisen as prenasalized voiceless which in turn were previously nasal/voiceless clusters (Frellesvig 2010:42). This can be seen in SJ in such freely varying pairs as \textit{samishii/sabishii} ‘lonely, sad’, and in HJ in the pair \textit{tsumuri/tsuburi} ‘head (body part)’. There seem to be a fairly large number of words in Hachijō that allow for m/b variation, and so it
Table 2.25. Consonant contrasts with /m/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/m/ vs /b/</th>
<th>urame ‘to squint’</th>
<th>urabe ‘low-level shrine functionary’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /p/</td>
<td>maku ‘a bird dance (unclear)’</td>
<td>baku ‘elephantiasis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /p/</td>
<td>me:rowa ‘come, go, be (SJ mairu)’</td>
<td>pe:rowa ‘to get wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /p/</td>
<td>michikerowa ‘to find (SJ mitsukeru)’</td>
<td>pichikerowa ‘to become very thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /p/</td>
<td>murowa ‘to leak (SJ moreru)’</td>
<td>purowa ‘fall (rain, etc) (SJ furu)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /n/</td>
<td>me:rowa ‘to burn (SJ moeru)’</td>
<td>neirowa ‘be boiled, cooked (SJ nieru)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /n/</td>
<td>me: ‘silkworm cocoon (SJ mayu)’</td>
<td>ne: ‘seedling (SJ nae)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs /n/</td>
<td>hiNmakowa ‘to fly, dance (of birds)’</td>
<td>hiNnakowa ‘to cry (emphatic) (SJ naku)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.26. Consonant contrasts with /n/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/n/ vs /d/</th>
<th>nare ‘2P pronoun’</th>
<th>dare ‘who’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs /d/</td>
<td>ne: ‘seedling (SJ nae)’</td>
<td>de: ‘something exchanged (SJ kawari)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs /d/</td>
<td>sena ‘1st son (UT)’</td>
<td>seda ‘to copy or imitate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs /t/</td>
<td>neNji ‘dried potato slices’</td>
<td>teNji ‘ghost, phantom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs /t/</td>
<td>narya: ‘north wind (NN)’</td>
<td>tarya: ‘basin (NN) (SJ tarai)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs /r/</td>
<td>kuni ‘mainland Japan/Tokyo’</td>
<td>kuri ‘a tall, narrow bottle (SJ tokuri)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

is probably appropriate to consider this particular contrast weaker than others. Nevertheless, two minimal pairs are attested for this contrast in my data set (seen in Table 2.25), and from a distributional standpoint, both sounds are robustly attested initially and medially before all vowels, and so the intuition that /m/ and /b/ are contrasted is borne out.

Unlike SJ, there is in Hachijō a weakness in the m/n contrast as exhibited by attested words such as michisho/nichisho ‘high tide’ and memezume/nenezume ‘earthworm’. It is not hard to find minimal pairs, such as are shown in Table 2.25, and distributional evidence to demonstrate this contrast, but the existence of the apparently freely varying pairs serves to show that the contrast is arguably weaker, similarly to m/b, than it is in SJ.
2.5.11 /n/

The minimal pairs presented in Table 2.26 show sufficient evidence that /n/ is a full phoneme of Hachijō (cf. earlier tables for additional contrasts). In Hachijō as well as in mainland Japanese, there is a residue of historical uncertainty in the /n/ vs /d/ contrast (see comment in Section 2.5.10 on the history of voiced obstruents). Free variability between n/d in Hachijō is, like in Japanese, apparently a rare phenomenon, not nearly as common as between m/b (see the entry for hedaka in Chapter 3 for a potential example). There is furthermore a small amount of interdialectal variation between /n/ and /r/, such as in the dialect roots for ‘cockroach’: MI/KT kakijar- vs OK/NN/SY kakijan-, however this phenomenon, too, is rare enough not to raise doubts about the contrastive status of either consonant.

2.5.12 /N, Q/

As in Japanese, there are only two consonants that can appear in the coda of a heavy syllable in Hachijō; they have moraic weight, and are widely known as /N/, or the “mora nasal”, and /Q/, or the “mora obstruent”. /N/ may appear word-finally but /Q/ may not. The quality of /N/ is determined by place assimilation to the following onset, though if it is word-final, it takes a default dorsal place of articulation. The quality of /Q/ is always determined by this assimilation, usually producing the same phonetic effect as gemination. As explained in Section 2.5.9, however, unlike SJ, Hachijō seems to disprefer the phonetic manifestation of gemination [s:] when /Q/ is followed by /s/, because most words having medial /Qs/ are produced with an excrescent stop as [tːs]. Additionally, some examples of /Qš/ exhibit the same excrescence, surfacing as [tːC]. This affrication helps to demonstrate why the combination /QC/ should not be analyzed as a simple geminate [Cː].¹¹ The other, more major,¹¹There is some evidence that affrication may be a dialectal phenomenon, because there are some examples lacking affrication in my data, although they cannot be straightforwardly triangulated. The premodern text Hachijō Jikki contains word lists in multiple places: Volume 1 (Kondō [1855]1964), for example, gives heQsogo 'navel', but
phonotactic difference between HJ and SJ as regards the mora obstruent is discussed in Section 2.6, and an examination of dialect distribution is offered in Section 4.3.1.

2.5.13 Palatalized consonants

We have already seen a few consonant phonemes, the coronal obstruents, /š, č, j/, which can be seen as palatalized counterparts of the plain segments /s, t, z/, but all of the other onset consonants in Hachijō have palatalized counterparts as well. It is common, in the Japanese linguistic literature, in both the kokugogaku and the modern Western linguistic traditions, for palatalized consonants to be analyzed as clusters. That is, what I have presented as /š/ becomes /sy/, /č/ becomes /ty/, and /j/ becomes /zy/ (or sometimes /dy/, as these two have merged). These coronals lie at the heart of my disagreement on phonemics with the Japanese linguistic mainstream. The cluster analysis aligns well with kana orthography, but I contend that [č]/š/, [kč]/č/, and [j]/j/ are unitary consonants that show no phonetic evidence of containing a glide, and thus it is misguided to include /y/ in their underlying representation. I take the theoretical position (similar to that offered by Akamatsu 2000) that palatalized onsets are comprised of a single palatalized consonant phoneme, rather than a cluster containing a subphonemically palatalized consonant allophone plus the glide /y/.

¹² Briefly speaking, this position has the broad advantage both of allowing the palatals to form a coherent series within the inventory without the inconsistency that some have a pronounced /y/ while others do not, and at

heQsoso 'dragonfly', while Volume 6 (Kondō [1855]1972) gives heQsoso 'dragonfly' (and does not list 'navel'). From modern sources, Asanuma (1999) offers a couple unaffricated examples, including heQsogo 'navel', but the great majority of words having etymological /Qs/ appear as [ts]. Asanuma reveals that his native dialect is SY (p. 12), and that almost all his example sentences are in SY dialect, and interestingly, Yamada (2010) attributes heQsogo to SY and affricated forms to all other dialects. Although we might tentatively question whether SY might be a nonaffricating dialect, no real conclusion can be drawn from this, but it bears revisiting as further research is done.

¹² Vance (2008:82–93) strikes a middle position between the extremes represented by (1) all palatalized onsets are underlyingly /Cy/ and my position of (2) all palatalized onsets are simplex phonemes: his coronals are /š, č, j/, but all the rest are /Cy/ clusters.
Table 2.27. Consonant contrasts of plain and palatalized consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/n/ vs /nʸ/</th>
<th>na: ‘rope (SJ nawa)’</th>
<th>nya: ‘garden (SJ niwa)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/ vs /hʸ/</td>
<td>ha: ‘mother (SJ haha)’</td>
<td>hya: ‘ashes (KT/NN)(SJ hai)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the same time preserving the constraint against consonant clusters that seems otherwise inviolable. The potential disadvantage (arguably) is that of increasing the size of the phoneme inventory.

Minimal pairs are extremely hard to find, however, at least with a moderately small lexical database, to justify phonological opposition between plain and palatalized counterparts other than the coronal obstruents. The total number of words from my lexical database containing any of /kʸ/, hʸ, bʸ, gʸ, mʸ, nʸ, rʸ, wʸ is only 214, out of a total of more than 3200 entries. Subtracting those words containing the highly productive predicate adjectival suffix -kya reduces the list to 142—not many for seeking minimal pairs, and I should feel lucky to have the two shown in Table 2.27. The paucity also makes it hard to build an argument based on distribution. This difficulty exists, further, despite the fact that KT and NN dialect phonology creates new palatalized onsets through metathesis of an underlying [ai] diphthong, a phenomenon not seen in the other dialects. Perhaps the most salient reason for the small number of attested Hachijō words containing these sounds is that the sounds were created via phonemicization in Early Middle Japanese following the wholesale importation of an enormous number of Chinese loans (Frellesvig 2010:170, though note that Frellesvig assumes the cluster theory). For that matter, [ai] also features heavily in Sino-Japanese loan vocabulary. The borrowed words tend in the main to be those having meanings associated with (for lack of a better term) the “higher civilization” that the Japanese saw in China, and aspired to. As such, it is easy to imagine that the bulk of this vocabulary did not begin finding its way to the isolated peasants of Hachijōjima until the end of feudalism in 1868. Although the non-coronal-obstruent palatalized onsets are somewhat rare in the vocabulary I have collected, there is no reason to question the existence of these phonemes in
the Hachijō language. Sino-Japanese loans certainly existed in pre-1868 Hachijō. Many must have been brought by exiles and others traveling to and from the mainland during the penal colony era, but it is also possible that these words had been filtering into the island speech (probably at a slower rate) since the time of their introduction to Japan as a whole. As for the rarity of finding these words in the lexical sources, the “word collectors” who have provided much of the early documentation of Hachijō, both during the feudal era and after, were perhaps less likely to include such words, even if they were in use, because of the consciousness that they were loans from the mainland, and thus not “pure” island speech.

A palatalized phoneme existing in Hachijō but not in standard Japanese is /wʸ/. Examples are words such as yuwya: ‘celebration (SJ iwai)’ and kawya:shikya ‘adorable (SJ kawaii rashii)’. This phoneme is essentially limited to KT and NN dialects, where it results from the metathesis of the /ai/ diphthong in the syllable /wai/, followed by coalescence of [w] and [i] into [wʸ] and compensatory lengthening of the remaining [a] nucleus.

2.6 Phonotactics and syllable structure

Hachijō has the same phonotactics and syllable structure as standard (and most if not all dialects of) Japanese, with a salient difference. The syllable template is: (C)V(V)(Q|N), in other words, onsets are simple and optional (note my theoretical position that palatalized onsets are single phonemes and not /Cy/ clusters in Section 2.5.13), nuclei can be short, long monophthongs, or long diphthongs, and the optional coda, which is moraic, can only be Q or N. Superheavy syllables of the form (C)VVQ or (C)VVN are rare but not impossible. Examples are found in words such as buQpo:Qte-okowa ‘to leave sth alone (SJ ho:tte-oku)’, da:Nte ‘therefore (SJ dakara)’, and aiQpara ‘a kind of fish (SJ suma)’.
The difference is this: in standard Japanese, /Q/ can precede voiceless obstruents only, excepting [h]. If an allophone of /h/ follows /Q/, it must change to [p]. In Hachijō however, /Q/ may also precede the voiced obstruents /b, d, g, z, j/, without causing their devoicing, as happens on the mainland when conservative speakers encounter foreign loanwords containing these combinations (Irwin 2011:115). Based on induction over my lexical data (especially those from Yamada (2010), which lists dialect forms in parallel), this phenomenon seems to be most common uphill in KT and NN, and downhill in OK dialects, and least common in MI (downhill) and UT (Hachijō-kojima), although a strictly categorical separation cannot be established. The morphophonological environments producing /Q/ in these cases are varied:

- Sino-Japanese loan vocabulary featuring original medial /N/, in which /N/ changes to /Q/, e.g.,
  - biQbo: ‘poverty (SJ biNbo:)’
  - gaQjo: ‘strong, robust (SJ gaNjo:)’
  - teQjo: ‘ceiling (SJ teNjo:)’
  - koQbu: ‘a kind of seaweed (SJ koNbu)’

- Certain verb forms in -ta/-te and similar coronal-initial suffixes where the stem is consonant-final. In SJ, those with /m, n, b/-final stems change the final consonant to /N/; those with /g/-final stems change the final consonant to /i/. In Hachijō, these can all produce /Q/:\(^{13}\)
  - asuQ-de: ‘play-SUB (SJ asoNde, stem is asob-)’

\(^{13}\) /r, t, w/-final stems in SJ change to /Q/, but there is no voicing of the suffix onset, and this is shared by Hachijō. Note that I am using the gloss -SUB (“subordinating gerund”) for the common Japonic verbal suffix -te which is used to link verb phrases together. As I do not have a theoretical position on this morphology, I follow the terminology and glossing of Frellesvig (2010) and Vovin (2008:893), the latter of which is for WOJ, but this morpheme is largely unchanged since that time.
– *tsuQ-de* ‘pile.up-SUB (SJ *tsuNde*, stem is *tsum-‘)

– *tsuQ-de* ‘take.along-SUB (SJ *tsurete*, stem is *tsure-*, seems suspect, as a vowel-final stem, but reported by Hoshina 1900:50)’

– *yaQ-de* ‘be.ill-SUB (SJ *yaNde*, stem is *yam-‘)

– *toQ-de* ‘grind/polish-SUB (SJ *toide*, stem is *tog-‘)

– *noQ-bak-e-ru* ‘choke (on)’, seems to be a verbal compound deriving from stems *nom-‘ ‘drink’ and *hak-‘ ‘vomit’

- Compound words that historically have an embedded attributive/genitive particle *no*, which might be rendered as /N/ in mainland Japanese, can replace /N/ with /Q/:

– *taQbo*: also *taNbo*: ‘palm of the hand’, seems to derive from *ta-no-bo*: ‘hand-GEN-??’

– *seQbone* ‘backbone, spine (SJ *sebone‘), seems to derive from *se-no-hone* ‘back-GEN-bone’

– *taQgo*: also *taNgo*: ‘twins (SJ *futago‘), with loss of initial syllable *fu*, common in Hachijō

– *teQguruma*: also *teNguruma*: ‘ride on shoulders (SJ *kataguruma‘)

- Consonantal *onbin*. The term *onbin* is used to refer to a set of complex and somewhat heterogeneous phonological and morphophonological changes that swept through the Japanese language in the Early Middle Japanese period. Some of those changes involved the change of certain CV syllables, e.g., /pi/ and /pu/, to other single phonemes, sometimes vocalic, sometimes consonantal, but maintaining moraic weight (Fredericks 2010:195). Hachijō provides some examples of consonantal *onbin*, specifically /Q/-*onbin*, which differ from the cогnate forms in SJ:

– *yoQbe* ‘night/last night’ (SJ *yu:be* < OJ *yupu* ‘evening’ + *pe* ‘side’)

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- $iQbu$ ‘wart’ (SJ $ibo < OJ$ *$ipi$ ‘rice’ + *$bo$ ‘grain’)

- $aQde$ ‘why (SJ $naNde$)’

- Words that have probably attracted extra phonological weight for pragmatic reasons:

  - $baQba$ ‘grandmother (SJ $ba/ba:$)’
  
  - $hiQbi$ ‘every day, day after day (SJ $hibi$)’
  
  - $haQba$ ‘a kind of algae (SJ $habanori$)’

- Etymology unclear:

  - $yoQdari$ ‘drool (SJ $yodare$)’
  
  - $yoQbari$ ‘a kind of fish (SJ $aigo$)’
  
  - $heQgo$ ‘a kind of potato (SJ $shimateNnaNsho$; related to satoimo)’

### 2.7 Pitch Accent

Since the dawn of modern linguistics in Japan, more than a century ago, a great deal of dialectological research has been done on pitch accent variation throughout the country. Pitch accent refers to a phonologically binary-valued prosodic system in which H/L pitch is assigned to syllables and which can give rise to word contrast. There are a number of differing accent systems in use in Japan, but most regions of the country, and the vast majority of the population, have a variety that falls into one of two main classes: the Tokyo pattern or the Kyōto/Osaka pattern (Hirayama 1970, NHK 1988).

Hachijō was claimed in the impressionistic accounts of some scholars (Hirayama 1941, NLRI 1950:176–9) to be ‘accentless’, or to have a ‘fixed’ or ‘single-pattern’ (一型) accent, like a number
of other regions. This claim has been confirmed in more recent years after careful research, and the
generally accepted view is that the modern speech of Hachijōjima is accentless rather than having
a single, fixed pattern. We may reasonably assume that the premodern Hachijō language was the
same. It is noteworthy that the Hachijōjima lack of accent is shared on the mainland by two substan-
tial regions in particular: the southern part of Tōhoku (Ibaraki, Fukushima, Tochigi) in eastern Japan,
and also by a swath of central and southeastern Kyūshū, notably Miyazaki. I will go on to show that
these accentual similarities coincide nicely (though not necessarily precisely) with lexical similarities
to those regions. On the other hand, it is clear that the rest of the islands in the Izu archipelago,
to which Hachijōjima belongs by geographic convention, speak varieties that are not only unam-
biguously seen as dialects of mainland Japanese (Tachibana and Tōjō 1934:44), but whose accentual
patterns are essentially the same as the Tokyo pattern, though perhaps with minor variations (Hi-
accent is marked in any of the extant sources of lexical items. Nevertheless, the fact that even well
into the 20th century (perhaps up to the present), and in spite of the very heavy influence of SJ on
the island since 1868, the people of Hachijōjima have not adopted the Tokyo accent is interesting and
suggests that accent may be fairly resistant to borrowing, at least in this language family. It is thus a
good place to look for linguistic traces of the historical peopling of the island.

Hirayama (1965:169) specifically calls the Hachijō accent a “broken” or “collapsed” fixed accent,
a condition he considers to be a consequence of the presence of educated exiles on the island during
the feudal era. As these individuals came from many different parts of the country, he argues their
differing accents conflicted in the minds of the islanders who looked up to and were influenced by
them, resulting in a breakdown of accent perception. He contrasts this with a place like Miyakonojō
city in Miyazaki, where there exists a single-pattern fixed accent, one that he calls “unified” or “syn-
thetic” and claims is perceived in the minds of its users. While Hirayama’s theory of broken accent may be arguable, the large ratio of distinctive Hachijô vocabulary which I demonstrate in Chapter 3 to originate, apparently, from places known to have fixed or no accent in the present day might provide a more straightforward explanation of this phenomenon.

2.8 Summary

I propose the following phonemic inventory for Hachijô language overall (marginal phonemes in parentheses, more parentheses indicating more marginal):

- Voiceless nonpalatal obstruent: /((p)), t, k, s, h/
- Voiced nonpalatal obstruent: /b, d, g, z/
- Palatal: /š, č, kʰ, hʸ, bʸ, j, gʸ, mʸ, nʸ, rʸ + (KT/NN) /wʸ/
- Moraic coda obstruent: /Q/
- Nasal: /m, n, N/ (/N/ unspecified for place)
- Liquid: /r/
- Semivowel: /y, w/
- Short vowel: /a, i, u, e, o/
- Long vowel: /a:, i:, u:, e:, o:/

Allophonic rules for these are as follows:

/h/ has the allophone [ʃ] when followed by /u/
/t/ has the allophone [c] when followed by /u/

KT and NN dialects have an extra palatalized onset /w.^/. This is the one clear example of a difference in inventory between dialects. In MI dialect, one could possibly argue for a very marginal /c/ phoneme, as this onset appears not only before /u/ but before /e/ as well, but as it still is not found before [a, i, o] (except in the very predictable excrescent environment between /Q/ and /s, š/), this seems to me a stretch.

The diphthongs [au] (primarily found in UT), [ou], and [oa] (KT/NN) are dialect variants of /o:/; [ei] is a dialect variant of /e:/ It is difficult to know what to do with [ai], [ui], and [oi]: there is no real evidence of phonemic status available. Without more in-depth phonological work on this language, it is probably best to consider all the diphthongs as short vowel sequences, which implies that they form two short phonological syllables rather than one.

Finally, what are the differences between my analysis and that of Mase 1961? Following are phonemes I propose that Mase does not:

- All of the palatalized onset consonants

- All five long monophthongal vowels

- I analyze /p/ explicitly as marginal; Mase lists it as equal among the others

Phonemes that Mase proposes that I do not:

- Voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate /c/

- A mysterious consonant that he writes with an apostrophe as /'/ . He calls it a laryngeal, but it often appears only in phonemic representations, not in phonetic transcription. When it does
appear in phonetics, it corresponds to labialization or palatalization, not to a glottal articulation.

I confess that I do not understand his idea.
Chapter 3

Hachijō in the Japonic family

In this chapter, I present an extensive list of lexical items from the Hachijō language and discuss similarities and differences of these forms with corresponding forms used in other varieties throughout the archipelago of Japan (including the Ryūkyū Islands of the south), establishing a pattern of cognacy between Hachijō and other Japonic varieties/dialects. I have not chosen the list based on any specific, established linguistic precedent (such as one of the Swadesh lists or variations on them), but simply selected from the items in my data based solely on my judgement that the meaning can be considered “basic vocabulary” and is one that should be frequently found in daily conversation.

I used three excellent, comprehensive dialect dictionaries for this research: Satō (2004), hereafter abbreviated as SATO, Hirayama (1989), a massive eight-volume work hereafter HIRA, and the three-volume Tokugawa (1992), hereafter TOKU. The focus in this chapter is on these dictionaries, and so I say which of these three (if any) lists a given form, but will often also note when Hachijō-specific modern or premodern sources do, as well.

In what follows, I will refer only to prefectures (read: provinces) and certain relevant islands when placing words geographically. Although the dictionaries often specify geographical targets down to (what in English would be called) county, district, or town, such detail is excessive for my needs.
3.1 Lexical comparisons

**shokya** ‘know/be known’ (SJ *shiru*). Unique to Hachijō. Virtually all other mainland dialects have a verb root that is some variation on *shir-* . Furthermore, this is an adjective, not a verb, making it very unusual in the family (although an overlap in verbal and adjectival morphology is a central aspect of Japanese grammar).

**bo:kya** ‘big, large’ (SJ *oki* ). Unique to Hachijō. None of the three dictionaries shows any forms even remotely similar to this root. Virtually all forms found are variants of clearly noncognate *oki* - , *deka* - , *futo* - or *ika* - . I reviewed dialect forms corresponding to SJ words *oki* : ‘large’, *takai* ‘tall’, and *futoi* ‘big, thick’.

**neQkokya** ‘small’ (SJ *chisai* ). There are a few phonetically similar mainland forms that correspond. According to HIRA, in a place called Akiyama in the northeasternmost part of Nagano, near Niigata, is found *noQkochi* : ‘small’. According to SATO, *nokoi/noQkoi* can be found in a few isolated communities in Nagano, Niigata, and Yamanashi. The form *nukoi* is further found in Nagano and Yamanashi corresponding to the meaning of SJ *hosoi* ‘slender’. But the vast majority of words for ‘small’ are variants of clearly noncognate *chisai* - , *chQcha* - , *koma* - (cf SJ *komakai* ), or *hoso* - .

**=shaN** ‘to/into/toward (postpositional clitic)’ (SJ *e < OJ *pe* ). None of the three dictionaries show any forms matching this root, however in Kyūshū, *saN, sanya* ; and *sae* are attested. Throughout the NE part of Honshū, the most common form corresponding to the SJ clitic is *sa*. Finally, in the aforementioned Akiyama, *se* or *sea* .
wareNse: ‘we (1P plural pronoun)(MI)’. Other dialect forms in Hachijō are wareNsha: (NN) and wareNche: (probably UT). Protoform *wareNsai can be reconstructed because of regular sound changes introduced earlier, but the etymology of *sai is unclear. The nasal coda is most likely a contraction of attributive/genitive no. TOKU lists the NN dialect form only. HIRA’s list of different forms from throughout Japan gives a great variety of forms that are mostly obviously cognate with SJ words like watashi-tachi, ware-ra, ore-ra, etc., but nothing phonetically resembling the Hachijō forms.

dechikya ‘beautiful’ (SJ utsukushii). I reviewed dialect forms corresponding to SJ words utsukushii and kirei, both usually translated this way. All three dictionaries list this Hachijō word, but similar words in other dialects are very limited. Coronal-initial forms such as chinchi:, chi:chi, te:te:, tsuNtsuka, which are represented as baby talk, can be found in Northern Kyūshū and a few nearby points. Interestingly, TOKU lists daiji: and attributes it to Hachijō, although I have never seen this form in any HJ-specific sources. It appears to be a kind of reverse-engineering of the Hachijō form into what an SJ cognate should look like. But the most intriguing find here is from Akiyama, in the form chire: (according to HIRA). This appears at first glance to be derived from Sino-Japanese compound kirei ‘beautiful, clean’ with the initial /k/ affricated by the following /i/, and a little digging reveals that affrication of /ki/ to [çi] is a feature of Akiyama dialect, although it is not at all a common change in dialects of mainland Japan. By reversing these moras and applying Hachijō’s initial /r/ > /d/ change, we have de:chi. We have already noted a propensity in metathesize in some HJ dialects. The -kya suffix is normally only expected on native Japonic adjectives, but it is not out of the question that this Sino-Japanese compound might have been reanalyzed as such.
teNgo(me)/kubona/to:jiNzaru(me) ‘spider’ (SJ kumo). Hachijō seems to have a few unrelated words for ‘spider’. The most common seems to be teNgome (recall that -me is a diminutive/endearment suffix). TOKU and SATO list kubona, which seems obviously cognate with SJ kumo, although the meaning of -na is unclear. In my data, only premodern sources give kubona; the modern sources offer only the coronal-initial words. SATO further gives toNzarume, unseen in my data. In Kyūshū, the word teNkobu is in widespread use, which TOKU etymologizes as ‘ceiling spider’ (cf SJ teNjo: ‘ceiling’). This is a reasonable interpretation. If kobu is then the basic lexeme for ‘spider’, this might be another example of Japonic metathesis, in this case the swapping of vowels in consecutive syllables while leaving onsets in place. Now we can see HJ teNgo as perhaps derived from teNkobu, with final syllable lost. Finally, there is to:jiNzaru, a form with opaque etymology. TOKU attributes the word to:jiNkobu to Satsuma, present day Kagoshima, and this is the only other reference to the stem to:jiN- that I find in Japan.

wasowa/wasu ‘come, go, be (polite)’. TOKU lists this verb and some paradigmatic forms of it as existing in the following prefectures (all generally in the central part of Honshū): Fukui, Kyōto, Shiga, Nara, Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Aichi, and, farther afield, in Kagoshima. SATO offers essentially the same information.

togirowa/togiru ‘to invite’ (SJ sasou). HIRA lists togiru, but nothing else phonetically similar; almost all other forms corresponding to this meaning are variants of SJ sasou or yobu. SATO and TOKU give the word as togu, but this appears to be a mistake. All sources limit this word to Hachijō.

asei ‘elder brother’ (SJ ani). SATO lists this word as ase: and a variant, ashi:, in which the final /e:/ is raised to /i:/ . TOKU also gives ase:. Neither source locates this word anywhere outside
Hachijōjima; however, there is one similar form, ose, which TOKU places in Bizen (Okayama). TOKU points out that se appears in Old Japanese literature with essentially the same meaning. SJ also has archaic form segare, probably related, meaning ‘son’. But considering these facts, it seems especially strange that among all the dialects of Japan, the only apparent reflexes of this root with meaning ‘brother’ might be found in Hachijō and Bizen.

**iNne**: ‘elder sister’ (SJ ane). SATO and TOKU list this word, limited to Hachijō, but there are a couple similar forms: ine in Mie and Wakayama, and unne in Kagoshima, though this latter is said to be a children’s word.

**zei** ‘younger brother’ (SJ oto:to). The phonetic form of this word is drastically different from all other words with the same meaning in Japan. Of the three dictionaries, only TOKU lists it, as ze: or se:. If there is any morphophonological connection with the word for elder brother, ase:/asei, it is not clear what that could be.

**ma:mi-ni** ‘quickly’ (SJ hayaku). SATO and TOKU list this word, along with mo:miN, a Mitsune (MI) dialect form, as exclusive to Hachijō. No other phonetically similar forms exist. The only other form starting with /m/, is matsu-ni, which TOKU places in Tosa, southern Shikoku, though this does not seem related.

**yadorowa/yadoru** ‘to sleep’ (SJ neru, nemuru). Of the three dictionaries, only TOKU lists this word, strangely, as it is attested by three HJ-specific sources of my database. It is obviously the same word as SJ yadoru, which means to stay overnight, typically at some place other than one’s own home, while in Hachijō it is literally ‘to sleep’.

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yamerowa/yameru  ‘to hurt, feel pain’ (SJ itamu). All three dictionaries list this word, and agree that it is used in many places throughout Eastern Japan. The only /y/-initial forms in Western Japan, however, likely cognate with this one, are found in Wakayama and Kagoshima.

kasurowa/(hiQ)kasuru  ‘to forget’ (SJ wasureru). HIRA and TOKU list this word as exclusive to Hachijō. The only other /k/-initial form with the meaning ‘forget’ appears to be something approximating keasuruT in Kagoshima (the [T] apparently some kind of unreleased oral stop, according to HIRA); the similarity with Hachijō is intriguing. The prefix hiQ- is an emphatic prefix that does not change the semantic meaning of the root.

ogorowa/ogoru  ‘to clamor/make noise/fuss’ (SJ sawagu). SATO and TOKU list this word, and agree that it can be found also in Niigata, Toyama, Ishikawa, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima, Ehime, Oita, and Miyazaki; in other words the Chūgoku and Hokuriku regions of Japan (plus some Kyūshū), which is perhaps an unusual combination, as it cuts across the fairly bright line dividing the Eastern and Western dialects. Note that SJ has a verb oru that means ‘to rise up in a threatening way’, although it is not at all clear that these two can be the same, and is much more likely that the latter is historically related to SJ okoru ‘to arise’.

marubowa/marobu  ‘to die’ (SJ shinu). All three dictionaries list this word; HIRA lists it only for Hachijō, while the others show that marubu is also used in Fukushima. TOKU seems to present marubu as the basic form, implying that marubu is derivative; it is given a generic meaning of ‘to fall down’. It is attested with the meaning ‘fall down’ in Kōchi and Okinawa, and in a few other places in Shikoku with form marugu.

tamo:rowa/tamo:ru/tamoru  ‘to give (to the speaker, usu. humble)’ (SJ kudasaru or kureru). The long-vowel version of this, tamor-, is unique to Hachijō according to all three dictionaries,
however the short version tamor- can be found also in many places throughout Japan. The semantics of this verb from a politeness standpoint seem to overlap somewhat with HJ keru, corresponding to SJ kureru (see the following entry). The social usage of the humbler form kudasaru in SJ is more distinct from the familiar-usage form kureru, but the distinction is apparently not as sharp in Hachijōjima.

**kerowa/keru** ‘to give (familiar)’ (SJ kureru). Listed by HIRA and TOKU. The only other places having this bisyllabic variant of the lexeme, compared to the trisyllabic one found in SJ, are in the northernmost part of Honshū: Aomori, Akira, Iwate, and maybe Miyagi.

**menada** ‘tears (excretion of water from the eyes)’ (SJ namida). All three dictionaries list this word. Similar forms are minada found in the Ryūkyūs, and minada found in Kagoshima. There are some other /m/-initial forms in various places, but they are less phonetically similar and more transparent in their meanings. TOKU claims that the etymology of these forms is from *me-naNda < *me-namida ‘eye-tears’. The southern variants show raising of the /e/ to /i/, and all three have somehow lost the medial /N/ coda. However, this still leaves open the question of the etymology of namida itself. It might contain a reflex of WOJ *midu ‘water’, but we would expect na to be ‘eye’ in that case, and all available evidence is that there is no variation at all, throughout Japonic, in the /m/ onset of all cognates of SJ me (‘eye’). To confuse matters more, SATO attributes a form nadami to Fukushima. One begins to suspect the Japanese of having fun by playing a kind of shell game with syllables.

**yo:ra (=ni)** ‘quiet, calm’ (SJ shizuka). HIRA and TOKU list this word. TOKU furthermore places it in several parts of northern Kyūshū.
kutsukawashi(me) ‘cicada’ (SJ semi, higurashi). Listed by all three dictionaries as unique to Hachijō. Etymology unclear. According to TOKU, the species known as higurashi in SJ is called tsuku-tsukuboshi in many areas, and that this is the only species found in Hachijōjima. The /tsuku/ looks similar to Hachijō /kutsu-/ metathesized, but this is a stretch.

ke:byo:(me) ‘lizard’ (SJ tokage). Listed by all three dictionaries as unique to Hachijō. Dialect variants are kya:ba:(me) (KT), kyoabyoa(me) (NN), kya:bya:(me) (also allegedly NN). The etymology is entirely unclear, but a guess could be made about the first syllable: A form tokake, similar to the SJ form, is attested in several areas of Japan; if we allow this word to lose its initial syllable (common in HJ), further development might look like this: kake > kae > kai > HJ ke; KT/NN kya: Reconstruction on the second syllable based on known sound changes indicates a protoform of something like *baiwa, *baimo, or *bairo, which might be derived from earlier *bashiwa, *bashimo, *bashiro, or something else. In principle, almost any consonant could have been lost in [-aCi-], and none of these candidates looks like a familiar Japonic word. The NN form kyoabyoa, it must be said, seems particularly mysterious, because the diphthong oa (NN) should correspond to o: in other dialects, not to e:. It strikes me that perhaps some speakers “echo” the second syllable vowel back to the first, changing what should be kya: to kyoa.

toNmete ‘morning’ (SJ asa). Listed by all three. Said to derive from *tsutome-te ‘work/toil-SUB’ (a normal word in modern SJ, interestingly enough), based on the idea that morning is when you get up to work. The only forms cognate to this are sutumiti, sutumudi and similar,¹ found in insular Kagoshima (islands to the south of Kyūshū) and in the Ryūkyūs, as far south as Ishigaki

¹Note the lack of affrication of /t, d/ preceding high vowels, as one finds in most Japanese dialects.
and Yonaguni. The HJ form has lost its initial syllable (a common phenomenon as we have seen), and added a compensatory nasal coda to maintain the moraic length of the word.

**kako:/ho:/hoa/uNma** ‘mother’ (SJ *haha, (o)ka:(saN)*). Hachijō seems to have more than its share of different ways to say ‘mother’, but then Japan as a whole has far more. Only TOKU lists *uNma*. The forms *ho: and hoa* are straightforward dialect variants produced by well-known sound changes of *haha* < OJ *papa*. The origin of *kako:* is unclear. Although there are many dialect forms throughout Japan including the sequence *kaka* in one way or another, this one is the only one to feature *kako*. One plausible etymology is *kako:* < *kaka=wa ‘mother=TOP’, because /awa/ > /o:/ is a well-known sound change in Hachijō (and other Japonic varieties), and there is a theory that formation of nonpast verbs in -*owa* and predicate adjectives in -*kya* was accomplished by fusing the topic marker to an attributive-inflected (*rentaikei*) form (Ōshima 1975:53, Kaneda 2001a:93,120). Finally, forms like *uNma* are unusual among mainland dialects, but are commonly found in the Ryūkyūs. TOKU attributes this form to Gifu, Mie, and Nara, all central, and also to several of the Izu Islands (of which Hachijōjima is often considered a member), but not to nearby mainland regions. One wonders whether this might have been borrowed only among the islands. In the Ryūkyūs, forms like *uNma* (Miyako), *aNma:* (Okinawa), and *Nma* are commonly found. In mainland Kagoshima, *uNnyo* ‘mother’ is listed by TOKU.

**hyo:ra** ‘lunch, midday meal’ (SJ *ohiru, hirumeshi, etc*). Listed by all dictionaries as unique to Hachijō. TOKU claims that the original form of this word is *hyo:ro:, which happens to be a legitimate word in SJ, originally meaning army food rations, but seemingly generalized in mainland Japanese to mean food in a more general sense. It is implied that this word was semantically shifted in Hachijō to ‘lunch’. The word is attested in my data by multiple modern
sources, plus one premodern (Kondō [1855]1964) as hyo:ra, but one other premodern source (Ōta [18⁇]1928:48) gives the word with something that looks like hyo:ro; but with gap for illegible character where the ro should be. It seems more than one outside observer has made this lexical association (neither author is personally connected to Hachijōjima from what I can tell). But I see no rationale in Hachijō history or phonology for the change from [ro:] to [ra]. When one considers also that the semantic jump from ‘army rations’ to ‘lunch’ is fairly great, and that this word is used strictly for the midday meal and not any other, I think there are good reasons to question this etymology. I prefer to conclude that the origin of hyo:ra is something yet to be discovered, and its phonetic similarity to the morpheme hiru ‘midday’ is encouraging.

tsuburi/tsumuri ‘head’ (SJ atama). HIRA and TOKU list this word. There are only a few places in the mainland of Japan that have a cognate of this word as a normal word for the human head: tsubre (Aomori), tsuNbu (Shizuoka), and according to TOKU’s map, Chiba and western Shikoku, although no specific listing of these is given in the main text. There are also a few places where the word means ‘hair (of the head)’ (Chiba, Ibaraki, Yamagata), and variants that fall into categories such as children’s vocabulary, polite/formalized, and fossilized expressions. On the other hand, clear cognates of this word are found as the usual word for ‘head’ in many locations throughout the Ryūkyūs: chiburu (Shuri), tsuburu (Kikai, Sakishima), tsiburu (Amami, Yoron), etc.

hagi ‘shin (lower part of the leg)’ (SJ sune). Listed for Hachijō in an uncompounded form only by TOKU. All dictionaries agree that this lexeme can be found in the Kantō region around Tokyo, extending up into the Northeast as far as Fukushima, as the second part of compounds like suneQpagi ‘shin’. On the other hand, hagi/pagi can only be found as a free morph with the
meaning ‘leg’ or ‘shin’ in the Ryūkyū islands of Amami (northern), Miyako, Hirara, and other southern Ryūkyūs.

hedaka ‘back (body part)’ (SJ senaka). All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō, though HIRA reports the form henaga as used in several places in northern Honshū. TOKU claims that the etymology of this word is, in fact, se ‘back’ + taka ‘tall’ (with rendaku), and refers to a person’s height, not to their body part. While this analysis is plausible on its face, Asanuma (1999) and Yamada (2010) contradict it by equating the word to modern SJ senaka. /s/-deletion happens intervocally as a regular historical process in Hachijō, and although there are plenty of words beginning with [se-], lenition to [h-] initially is plausible. Furthermore, nasality variation is common in Japonic, seen primarily in the many cognates varying /b/ with /m/, and while rarer, /d/ and /n/ variation is attested (cf. SJ verbs doku/dokeru, noku/nokeru, which both carry the core meaning ‘to move aside’).

goze ‘wife (of another), lady’ (SJ okusama). This word appears only in premodern HJ-specific sources: Hachijō Jikki (Kondō [1855]1964), where it is given twice (pp. 325 & 334) with this meaning, En’ō Kōgo (on the first page of HJ vocabulary), and Yatake no Nezamegusa (Kakusō [1848]1985) (p. 43 in the original brush manuscript), where it is reported to mean ‘to cause to do’ (SJ saseru). This latter attestation is truly mysterious, because goze makes no sense at all as a Japonic verb, let alone one that could have the claimed meaning, and yet there is no ambiguity in the original document. It is not listed by any of the three modern dialect dictionaries used for this chapter.

niQto ‘feces’ (SJ fuN, daibeN). All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō. There are additionally a few mainland examples of niQto, neQto with meaning ‘clay’. This raises the
question whether the Hachijō word could be euphemistic slang, though there is little evidence that euphemism is much used by the islanders, who tend to speak very frankly.

**hebira** ‘clothing’ (SJ *fuku, kimono*). Refers specifically to everyday clothing, not to anything special. All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō, and SATO adds *hebera* as a variant, while TOKU further adds *hebura*. Etymology is unclear, however *bira* suggests SJ *hira(tai)* ‘flat, level, even’ (with *rendaku*), a morpheme that often carries a connotation of that which is ordinary or typical.

**tsube** ‘roof ridge beam, roof’ (SJ *mune, yane*). All three dictionaries list this as a word for ‘roof’; HIRA does not list it for ‘ridge beam’, while the others do. All three agree it is unique to Hachijō. As for etymology, I note there is a SJ word *utsubari* which has basically the meaning of ‘ridge beam’. The following is easy to imagine: *tsube* (monophthongization) < *tsubai* (intervocalic r-loss) < *tsubari* (initial syllable loss) < *utsubari*. The only slightly unexpected part of this is that usually /ai/ > /e:/, not to short /e/. Considering the straightforwardness of this derivation, it seems odd that there are no other phonetically similar terms in all of Japan.

**hi:ru(me)/heiru(me)** ‘moth’ (SJ *ga*). All three dictionaries list this word. In the form *hi:ru* it is found also in Miyagi, Fukushima, Gunma, Niigata, Shizuoka, other Izu islands, and Oita (Kyūshū). Other locations in Kyūshū have the variant *hiro*.

**hiashi** ‘ant’ (SJ *ari*). All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō. It is interesting to note, however, that SATO and TOKU also attribute *yai* ‘ant’ to Kagoshima. This form could result from the (very common) deletion of the fricative in the /-aši-/ context in *hiashi*, along with lenition of the initial /h/, making the two forms cognate.
yosa:/yoso: (sowa) ‘help out’ (SJ tetsudau/tetsudai(suru)). HIRA and TOKU list this word as unique to Hachijō. Here, sowa is the HJ light verb, corresponding to SJ suru. The two forms are unidentified island dialect variants, but it is likely that when /a:/ and /o:/ are in correspondence, the /a:/ word is SY, and the /o:/ word is downhill (MI and/or OK).

mija ‘earth, ground’ (SJ tsuchi, jimeN). It is not as yet entirely clear to me whether this word refers to the ground that we walk on (SJ jimeN or tochi) or more to the soil, or earth (SJ tsuchi) that makes it up, but most evidence from multiple sources points toward the former. It is unfortunate that none of the three dictionaries lists this word (despite the fact that most HJ-specific sources do); however, all three agree on the existence of multiple apparent cognates throughout the Ryūkyū Islands. Those words are all given as translations of SJ tsuchi (‘soil, earth’) rather than the meaning of ‘ground’, but their similarity is compelling. In Southern Ryūkyū we find mita (Kohama), muta (Miyako), and Nta (Yaeyama); in the North micha (Kikai), and Ncha (Shuri). Nothing else phonetically similar exists in Japan.

shiNbeta/shiQbeta ‘buttocks’ (SJ shiri). All three dictionaries list this word. SATO has only the /N/ version, which may be unique to Hachijō, and despite the prohibition in the majority of Japanese dialects on the sequence of /Q/ and voiced obstruents, shiQbeta is given also for Toyama and Saga. Many locations around the extended Kantō region have shiQpeta.

goki ‘bowl (for rice, tea, soup, etc)’. Although the SJ word is wan or chawan (cha is ‘tea’) and variants of it are most common, goki is a form which is also found throughout the country. Its etymology is transparent as go(HON)-ki(food vessel). All the morphemes in question are Sino-Japanese.

otoane ‘siblings’ (SJ kydai). All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō (SATO has what appears to be a misprint of downhill dialect form oto:ne with “o:ne”, only missing one kana
character). Etymologically, it seems clearly to be composed of *oto- ‘younger brother/sibling’, plus *ane ‘elder sister’. Sprinkled around Western Japan are a few forms like *otodoi, *otode, *utuja; in which the *oto- should certainly be the same as in the HJ word, and the remainder strongly suggests SJ *dai, *de ‘younger brother’. But that would result in both roots having the meaning ‘younger brother’ (one native and one Sino-Japanese) or at least ‘younger sibling’, which would not be expected for a word intended to include older as well as younger. It is noteworthy, nevertheless, that the HJ word refers to elder sister; the SJ equivalent (generally used for both sexes) means ‘elder and younger brothers’.

**ido** ‘bamboo floor mat’ (SJ *goza, mushiro*). HIRA and TOKU list this word as unique to Hachijō. The etymology is obscure, but might be a clipping of *i-dokoro ‘sit/be-place’.

**hoji** ‘wisdom, wise person’. Only TOKU lists this word, and has it unique to Hachijō. Its etymology is obscure, though *chi* (which could become *ji* through sequential or intervocalic voicing) is a Sino-Japanese morpheme meaning ‘knowledge, wisdom’, and so this looks possibly like a Sino-Japanese compound that has been lost on the mainland.

**menarabe** ‘young girl’ (SJ *musume, onna-no-ko*). All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō, although there are what look like cognate forms throughout the Ryūkyūs: *merabi* (Amami), *me:rabi* (Kikai, Miyako, Yaeyama), *merubi* (Ishigaki), *miyarabi* (Okinawa, Ishigaki), *myarabi* (Yonaguni). The etymology claimed by multiple sources is *me-warabe ‘female-child’, which, if correct, means that Hachijō features an unusual change, from /w/ > /n/.

**yoma** ‘gap, crack’ (SJ *suki(ma)*). Only TOKU lists this word, and has it unique to Hachijō. It also appears in Ōta ([18??]1928) (a premodern source). The etymology is unclear, although *ma* is a common Japanese lexeme meaning ‘space, interval’.

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deyaku 'talk, story, saying something' (SJ hanashi, mono-wo iu). Only TOKU lists this word, as unique to Hachijō, and it is provided by all three of my main HJ-specific premodern sources.

yowakya/yuwakya 'hungry' (SJ himoji). Only TOKU lists this word. It is clearly cognate to SJ yowai 'weak'. TOKU also lists yosa:N, yowasa:N (Northern Ryūkyū), and ya:saN, ya:haN (Southern Ryūkyū) and presents them as cognate with this word. In my data, the word is attested by both modern and premodern sources.

zoku(me) 'bull, ox' (SJ oushi). All three dictionaries list this word as unique to Hachijō. SATO and TOKU both mention the word zo:yaku, which is found in a number of places to refer to working animals, usually different kinds of horses. The etymology assumed is zo:-yaku 'various-uses' (highly transparent Sino-Japanese morphs). The only other place having the meaning 'bull' for the latter word is Sado Island, in the Japan Sea. Whether zoku could be a reflex of zo:yaku, or something entirely different, is unclear.

(buQ)tso:bru, (buQ)tso:bakasu 'surprise, startle' (SJ odoroku/-kasu, bikkuri-suru). Note that the first form given is intransitive, the second transitive. Both are normally used in Hachijō with the emphatic prefix buQ-, which normally also gives rise to the excrecent [t] pronunciation before [s]. All three dictionaries list this word, and with the general meaning shown, it seems unique to Hachijō, although there are apparently cognate forms with roots beginning /sob-/ to be found in Shimane, Toyama, and in the Izu Islands, all of which carry the more specific meaning of an animal, not a human, being startled. Hachijō does not seem to have this restriction.

madara 'nice clothes, Sunday-best' (SJ haregi, yosoiki). Listed by HIRA and TOKU as unique to Hachijō. The etymology is entirely obscure.
**haraku/harakuro**: ‘prank, mischief’ (SJ *itazura*). Only HIRA lists this word, but TOKU provides words that appear cognate in mainland southern Kyūshū (Kumamoto, Miyazaki, Kagoshima): *haragurui, haraguri, haragure, haragui*. In my data, modern source Asanuma (1999) gives *haraku*, while the premodern sources offer *harakuri, harakuro*.

**teNto:(sama)** ‘sun, moon’ (SJ *taiyo, hi, tsuki*). HIRA and TOKU report this word being used for the sun in many places throughout Japan. Only TOKU notes that in Hachijōjima, and only here, it is also used to refer to the moon. It is very clearly a Sino-Japanese compound in which *teN* is ‘heavens’ and *to:* is very likely ‘way, path’.

**teNne**: ‘sky, heavens’ (SJ *ame, sora*). Like *teNto:(sama)* above, this word includes Sino-Japanese morpheme *teN* ‘heavens’, but the etymology of *ne:* is unclear.

**heQtsu/heQso(me)/boNshi** ‘dragonfly’ (SJ *toNbo*). SATO and TOKU list this word as unique to Hachijō. The only other similar forms are words in *heNb-*; many variants of which are found around northern Kyūshū. SATO also lists *boNshime*, unique to Hachijō, and there are a few /bo-/-initial forms, such as Kagoshima *boi*, around southern Kyūshū.

**(ya)yushima/(ya)yoshima** ‘evening’ (SJ *yu:, yoi*). Only TOKU lists this word, as unique to Hachijō, and claims that suffix -*shima* is a functional morpheme carrying the meaning ‘at the time (of)’.

**narai** ‘north wind’ (SJ *kitakaze*). SATO and TOKU list this word, attributing it also to Chiba, Kanagawa, Shizuoka, Izu Islands, Mie, and Oita. In different parts of the country, its meaning takes on different directions, sometimes NE, sometimes NW (the latter found primarily in NE Japan).
koNgo ‘elderly person’ (SJ rojiN). Only TOKU lists this word, as unique to Hachijō. It seems to be a metonymic extension of a form meaning ‘bent back’ or ‘rounded back’. Found, with the latter meanings, also in Shimane, Yamaguchi, Nagasaki, Kagoshima.

hyaQpeN ‘lewdness, lewd person’ (SJ sukebe). Only TOKU lists this word, as unique to Hachijō, but modern and premodern HJ-specific sources also have it.

michiki ‘sideburns’ (SJ momiage). Only TOKU lists this word, as unique to Hachijō, but modern and premodern HJ-specific sources also have it.

natsuki ‘space between the eyebrows’ (SJ mikeN). Only TOKU has this word for Hachijō, but both TOKU and HIRA list nazuki for many locations throughout NE Japan, but with the meaning ‘forehead’ (SJ hitai). With the more specific meaning, it is unique to Hachijō.

nukaba ‘tooth, teeth’ (SJ ha). HIRA and TOKU list this word, as unique to Hachijō. Though -ba would seem clearly to be the same lexeme as SJ ha, the meaning of nuka- is less clear. The only other similar forms, according to TOKU, are mukaba, mukoba, found in Shimane, Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, and Kagoshima. Here, muk- could be the root for ‘to face (in a direction)’, and so the etymology might be ‘facing teeth’, referring to the front teeth. The variation of /m/ and /n/ is not unexpected.

tsugume ‘knee’ (SJ hiza). In this exact form, listed by SATO and TOKU as unique to Hachijō; however, both list tsuguma for Miyako (southern Ryūkyū). Variants of tsu(N)bushi are found all over Shikoku, Kyūshū, and the Ryūkyūs (note: -bushi is a SJ allomorph for ‘joint’), though it is not obvious that these are cognate with the HJ word.
shokera ‘dry skin’ (SJ samehada). TOKU lists this word as unique to Hachijō. It is also found in one premodern source.

ko:be ‘(human) skin’ (SJ hada). SATO and TOKU list this word, citing similar forms around the Izu Islands. There are clearly cognate variants found in the Northeast (Tochigi, Ibaraki, Fukushima) that mean other kinds of skin, such as the skin of animals, of fruit, bark of trees, etc., but not human skin. SJ makes a similar distinction.

ibi ‘finger’ (SJ yubi). None of the three dictionaries list this word for Hachijō, although I find it in several HJ-specific sources, modern and premodern. HIRA cites this word as existing in many places throughout mainland Japan, specifically excluding the Northeast.

iburi ‘smoke’ (SJ kemuri). All three dictionaries list this word, although HIRA shows it for Hachijō as yuburi. Although this exact word seems fairly unique to Hachijō (SATO places it in Yamagata as well), cognates in other grammatical forms (ibui ‘smoky’, iburu ‘to smolder’) are found throughout Northeastern Japan.

heQsogo/heQchogo ‘navel’ (SJ heso). Only HIRA lists this word, and finds cognate form heQcho in several places in the northern part of Northeast Japan. The meaning of the Hachijō suffix part -go is not clear, unless it might be ko ‘small, child’.

tsubakura/tsubakuro ‘swallow (bird)’ (SJ tsubame). SATO and TOKU agree that these words are found all over Japan.

tabara ‘(rice) paddy’ (SJ taNbo, ta). All three dictionaries list this word as (almost) unique to Hachijō, because TOKU finds tawara (certainly cognate) in Oita, and cha:baru in Kumamoto. SATO places tabaru in Tsushima Island (geopolitically part of Kyūshū).
*kaina* ‘shoulder’ (*SJ* kata). All three dictionaries list this word, HIRA doing so as dialect form *ke:na* (modern sources give predictable variant reflexes *ke:na* and *ky:na*). It is unique to Hachijō with this meaning; however, cognates can be found all over the country with the general meaning ‘arm’. With the more specific meaning of the upper part of the arm (between shoulder and elbow), cognates are found in Tokunoshima (Kagoshima), Amami, Kunigami, Shimajiri, and Miyako (the latter all Ryūkyūs).

hesowa/oQpesowa ‘to push’ (*SJ* *osu*). None of the dictionaries lists this for Hachijō, but SATO and TOKU place *hesu* in Iwate, Toyama, Yamanashi, Nagano, Gifu, Shizuoka, Aichi, Kyōto, Shimane, and also oQpesu (the same word with emphatic prefix oQ-) in many locations around the Tokyo area, the lower Northeast, and Niigata (including Sado Island).

### 3.2 Summary

Of the 71 words given above, following is the breakdown of similarities with Hachijō based on geography. Note that the categories are not mutually exclusive (i.e., some words could be assigned to more than one):

- 38 items (54%) are either essentially or entirely unique to Hachijōjima. Of these, 23 (32%) are totally unique - no cognates found anywhere. These are surprising numbers, and no doubt account for the reputation this language has of being of “unknown origin”.

- 43 items (61%) show apparent cognacy to some degree with vocabulary in other parts of Japan, among which:

  - 28 items (39%) show a relationship to Kyūshū and/or the Ryūkyūs.
• 10 items (14%) show a relationship to somewhere in Central or Western Japan, excluding the above category.

• 18 items (25%) show a relationship to somewhere in Eastern/NE Japan, including the Izu Islands (of which only 3) and the extended Tokyo (Kantō) region, the homeland of EOJ speakers. This is a smaller number than we might expect given the focus till now on similarities to EOJ.

• Six items (8%) are words that can be found in cognate forms spread throughout the whole country.

When faced with phonetic forms that cannot be recognized as originating in the language family that the target language obviously belongs to, the first impulse might be to wonder whether they are borrowed. In the case of Hachijō, there are not many other language families that one could imagine as the source of such vocabulary. The best candidates are probably Austronesian and Ainu (an isolate). I have done a superficial search of the web-based Austronesian Comparative Dictionary (Blust and Trussel 2013) and An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary (Batchelor 1938) for the meanings of words given above as unique to Hachijō, and can find nothing that looks even remotely similar. Other candidates that should be checked are families of the continent: Koreanic, Tungusic, and Mongolic.
Chapter 4

Subgrouping the dialects of Hachijō

I attempt to apply the comparative method of historical linguistics to the regional dialects of the
Hachijō language in order to try to clarify the path of its diachronic development within the islands
of Hachijōjima and Aogashima, where it is spoken.

4.1 Introduction

Although Hachijōjima is a tiny island with only a few settlements on it, each having its own dialect,
the dialects show surprising lexical and phonological differences considering their geographical prox-
imity. These differences seem almost to reach the extent one might expect of recently-separated sister
languages, which led me to think that applying the techniques of comparative linguistics (Campbell
2013) might lead to some interesting results. However these techniques are well-known to work best
to produce historical family trees in cases where the sister language communities fail to maintain con-
tact after separation, a relatively rare circumstance in any event, and extremely hard to imagine on
Hachijōjima. We will see that the results are not in any way cut and dried. The data I used in this study
came largely from Yamada (2010). In this book, Yamada attempts to provide a comprehensive cross-
dialectal lexicon (including longer phrases), listing side-by-side eight different varieties of Hachijō
speech, representing the five settlements on the main island, the two villages of Hachijō-kojima, and
Aogashima.
As with virtually all, if not all, such books on Japanese and its dialects, the data are given in Japanese syllabic orthography (katakana). This is, of course, less useful to the linguist than a more phonetically-accurate transcription, but it is adequate to the present purposes. Considering the necessarily relatively imprecise nature of the transcriptions, however, there are distinctions recorded that are not meaningful in mainland Japanese, and what meaning they may have here is not explained by the author. The most common of these is to write a long vowel with either two syllabary graphs (usually a CV and a V), or a graph followed by a long vowel symbol. One gets the impression the author simply transcribed as faithfully as he could into syllabary each individual form he elicited, as he heard it on the spot, without any attempt at orthographic consistency, probably even within the same consultant/speaker. There’s at least one example of a transcription which makes no sense at all within the orthographic system (for the meaning SJ 今夜 kon’ya ‘this evening’, p. 54), among other inconsistencies. Yet, in spite of the editorial quirks, there’s enough here to do rough work on.

I focus on just a few sorts of correspondences among the local dialects: primarily the use of coda nasal /N/ vs (totally assimilated) voiced obstruent codas using /Q/ (not possible in conservatively-spoken SJ), selected front and back long vowel/diphthongs, and just a few consonants.

4.2 Method and Data

I have applied the linguistic comparative method to data from several dialects of Hachijō. Although this method was developed with the intent of showing family relations among speech varieties that are known to be different languages, because there is no principled way to tell whether two varieties are dialects or different languages, there is thus no reason to think that the comparative method should not work as well on what are known to be dialects, in order to discover features of a common
ancestor, to the extent that makes sense. Some examples can be found in the work done by Friedrich (1971) for Tarascan and Vovin (1993) for Ainu.

My data are 167 words and phrases taken from Yamada’s lexicon, more or less randomly, starting from the beginning, but after a while skipping over many that seemed uninteresting, often because they showed no dialectal differences and/or were identical to mainland words, or where the relationship to SJ was transparent and unenlightening. These data can be found in Appendix A.

For the most part, in order to keep complexity from growing out of control, I do not consider here the Hachijō-kojima dialects of the villages of Toriuchi (TO) and Utsuki (UT). Although other sources show that UT, for example, exhibits very significant phonological differences from the main island dialects, for some unknown reason Yamada’s book does not reflect these, but makes UT look like a downhill dialect. It may be that the speech of the informants he chose had converged with the main island dialects over the intervening 40 years since the Kojima islanders moved to the main island, more than even they themselves were aware.

4.3 Correspondences

4.3.1 Pre-voiced-obstruent medial codas

For speakers of modern standard Japanese, one of those more distinctive features of Hachijō that leaps out in the examination of vocabulary is the productivity of voiced gemination. More specifically, voiced obstruents may appear in the onset of a syllable following a coda featuring the abstract moraic phoneme /Q/ (see Section 2.6). In SJ (at least the conservative varieties), /Q/ can precede only voiceless consonants, and in foreign loanwords whose localization results (because of other adap-
tational phonology) in a /Q/ followed by a voiced obstruent onset, the onset is usually devoiced.¹

The next thing that is interesting is that /Q/ appears alternately with /N/ (the underspecified “mora nasal”, and the only other coda possible) in many words, depending on dialect (although in many cases both forms are listed as acceptable). In my data set, however, it is not possible to isolate any regular correspondence between these two phonemes, even in the conditioning environment. Rather, the distribution seems to be somewhat freely varying, if not quite random. Even in my relatively small sample, many of the combinatorially possible distributions of /N/ and /Q/ across the six varieties are attested, most of which are exhibited by only a single lexical item. There are 18 relevant lexical items, and 14 cognate sets with differing patterns (distributions). Table 4.1 is an illustration of my worksheet (I have preserved the ordering given in Yamada (N/Q or Q/N) for cases where both forms are listed; I do not know if it is significant, but I am not treating it as such): In some cases, an argument could possibly be made for collapsing some of these, optimistically, into larger sets, by making use of en-

¹Younger and more innovative speakers in recent years show a tendency to pronounce these long voiced consonants as-is (Irwin 2011:73).
tries having both /N/ and /Q/ forms, or where no dialectal form is given. However, one would still be unable to approach the ideal of having one, or a “small enough” number of sets in which conditioning factors could be found to set up regular correspondences. In fact, there are many examples of closed syllables preceding voiced obstruents in which none of the dialects have /Q/, but all have /N/. There seems to be a loose generalization that could be made over my data that instances of /N/ that are in the codas of Sino-Japanese morphemes are less likely to appear as /Q/. Most of my examples of /Q/ are in words of native Japonic origin, some clearly root-internal (asuNde vs asuQde ‘play’), some likely being conversions of an /N/ which is the reduction of no, the attributive/genitive particle (taNbou vs taQbou ‘palm of hand’).

And yet, in spite of the relative randomness, a strong pattern does emerge. Looking at the ratio of /N/ to /Q/ across all the examples of the phenomenon, it is clear that /Q/s are least dominant in Mitsune (MI), and most dominant in Kashitate (KT) and Nakanogo (NN). Table 4.2 shows the counts, in which I have counted only those lexical items showing a straightforward contrast across the board, and counted one of each in cases where both are attested. These facts might be used as supplementary evidence in subgrouping.

### 4.3.2 Long front vowels

I do not have a large amount of data solidly categorized by village dialect (the data set for this chapter, from Yamada (2010), being only 167 items and not of the highest reliability), and so I will refer to

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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
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**Table 4.2.** Sums of coda types per dialect
Kaneda (2001a) for cross-dialectal comparative purposes in what follows. Kaneda seems to implicitly lump together OK with MI, and also KT with NN. Both of these pairs are in close geographic proximity to each other, and certainly share many features in common. I see nontrivial differences between both village pairs along different dimensions, however, just in Yamada (2010), so I will attempt to keep them separate.

There are two clear correspondence sets among long front vowels in my data that stand out as useful in tracing the history of the language. The first is one that Kaneda (2001a:21–22) represents as ei, and he defines the correspondence as MI [ei], NN [e:] ([i:] ∼ [e:]), SY [i:], AO [ei]. Strangely, I do not see this exact correspondence in the data, but rather one in which KT (not NN) shows a variability between high and mid, and NN patterns with SY (Table 4.3). The data for these cognate sets in Yamada do not always show the contrast predicted by Kaneda between [ei] and [e:]. There is a seemingly nondeterministic variation between them. No doubt this is because, as I have already concluded in Section 2.3.2.2, they are variants of the same phoneme /e:/.

This vowel corresponds to SJ [ei/e:], and also results historically from sequences *[eo], *[oe], *[oi], *[ui], *[ie], and others that reduce to these via other changes. Kaneda (p. 22) claims these are analogical changes caused by the widespread merger of other vowels and sequences into [e:/ei]. The examples of this vowel in my data are numbers 75, 87, 129, 133, 135, and 147. There are a few other examples of correspondences involving the long front mid/high vowel, but most of them have only

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ei]</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>[e:] ∼ [i:]</td>
<td>[i:]</td>
<td>[i:]</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
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Table 4.3. Long vowel correspondence: Mid/high front
Table 4.4. Long vowel correspondence: Reflexes of *[ai/ae]*

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>[ia:]</td>
<td>[ia:]</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
<td>[e:]</td>
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</tbody>
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one or two exponents in my data set, and cannot be easily unified into something larger (examples 21, 80, 119).

The apparent disarray here is no doubt a function of the aforementioned highly complex history of the bimoraic vowels in Hachijō, but there is one more clear example of a regular sound correspondence (Table 4.4). As we have seen previously, this vowel does not correspond historically to SJ [e:] or [ei] (as the previous one does), but rather to [ai] or [ae]. The relevant examples in the data set are 9, 19, 26, 53, 54, 72, 73, 74, 78, 79, 95, 97, 105, 117, 127, 134, 140, 141, 146, 151, and 152. In fact, the coalescence of these diphthongs to monophthongal [e:] is a feature of many modern mainland dialects as well (Frellesvig 2010:324). Here, we find the two parts of the diphthong metathesized in KT and NN, and looking much like it could be a shared innovation. It is highly unlikely for such a metathesis to occur in a single step (Patricia Donegan, pers. comm.), and the most ‘natural’ change for this original diphthong is, arguably (at least for Japonic), monophthongization to [e:]. We might imagine that this change happened across all the dialects, and then a rediphthongization occurred in KT and NN, leading to [ia]. We will see below another kind of vowel sequence “reversal” in KT/NN, which will reinforce the impression of these dialects as being quite odd and unique.

The apparently-metathesized vowel shows up in Yamada’s data in different ways: in many cases the high front vowel has become palatalization on the preceding consonant, or a free-standing glide, as in the case of example 79, *ya:taba ~ yataba* < *aitaba* < *ashitaba* ‘A. keiskei (a plant)’. There are some vocabulary in which it shows up phonetically as [ia], [ea], [iya] or [eya], but the correspondence is so

²Although some forms shown here as reconstructions may be attested in Old Japanese, I am treating them as belonging to a Pre-Hachijō.
strong (19 solid cognate sets and two partial ones, out of 167 total entries) that I have no doubt that the phonetic discrepancies are merely the result of the transcription method, along with a certain amount of articulatory variability in his consultants, and other types of “noise”. Additionally, please note that even in the cases of palatalization, in which the [i] coalesces with the onset, Hachijō nevertheless typically preserves the weight of the original syllable by lengthening the [a] nucleus.

### 4.3.3 Long back vowels

Similarly to the case of the front vowels, there is at least one convincing correspondence in the back (Table 4.5). In all or almost all of the words in question, as far as I can tell, the bimoraic vowel construction at the heart of the correspondence is a reflex of one of the sequences *[oa], *[awa], *[ao], or *[awo],³ or similar VCV sequences including other consonants, such as [m], [r], and [k] (Kaneda 2001a:20). Kaneda refers to it as [oː], and I identify it as phoneme /oː/ (Section 2.3).

We can know some of this because of comparison to mainland Japanese, specifically attestations in the literature of OJ. Kaneda offers no sound change theory to explain cases of original *[oa], *[ao] > [oː], and the latter is particularly odd. He does propose to explain the *[aCV] > [oː] cases where C is [w] or [m] by hypothesizing the change of [m] > [w], and loss of the final V, following which [aw] becomes [au] and then [oː]. This is far from the most parsimonious explanation, however, because we can already see that *[oa] > [oː]. Therefore the simplest theory is that *[aw] > [o], after which the immediately following nucleus is progressively assimilated (keeping the vowel long). This theory can subsume both the cases of original *[oa] and the *[awV], leaving only original *[ao] a mystery. Additionally, we can consider that SY does not lose its final [a] at all, but rather the intervening [w], and that KT and NN have [oa] as a terminal form, and it is easier to say that the progressive assimilation

³Some of these [w] are reflexes of OJ */p/.
Table 4.5. Long vowel correspondence: Reflexes of *[awa/awo/etc]

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[o:]</td>
<td>[o:]</td>
<td>[oa]</td>
<td>[oa]</td>
<td>[a:]</td>
<td>[o:]</td>
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</table>

was blocked than to explain why the final V is not lost. In reference to Kaneda’s theory of the *[aCV], while it is true that many instances of long [o:] in SJ (particularly in Sino-Japanese vocabulary) derive from monophthongization of [au] (Frellesvig 2010:191–97) (once again the culprit is onbin), the source of, and changes to, these Sino-Japanese diphthongs is quite different from the morphophonological processes happening here in Hachijō, which are mostly occurring in native Japonic vocabulary, and there is no need to try to make the changes look alike.

Compared to the front vowel correspondences I discussed, there is even more variability in phonetic implementation in this case. However, once again, I will need to conflate some of the surface vowels: [o:] with [ou], [oa] with [owa] and [ouwa] and [uwa], and discount some examples of phonetic vowel length, particularly when they are either word-final or seem to be morpheme-final and may have a prosodic relevance. Again, even given the intuition that the transcriber is giving undigested, impressionistic phonetic renderings, we are left with a fairly well-established correspondence of the following basic form, supported by six solid cognate sets (numbers 44, 96, 108, 115, 125, 148), one “almost” set (160, in which KT patterns with MI and AO, giving [o:], though this is possibly related to the fact that source sequence *[awo] contains a morpheme boundary), and one partial one (134): There is another minor and questionable correspondence which is very close to this one, but differs only in that KT has [a:], like SY. There are only two cognate sets to support it in my data (numbers 81 and 144), and intriguingly both are characterized by the fact that the onset of the vowel in question is palatal. One of them (144) derives the vowel from the sequence *[ama] rather than *[awV]. As I am lacking any sort of etymological connections for the other lexeme (81), I cannot say what
the significance of this set might be, or even if it really is one, but it should be revisited by further research.

### 4.3.4 Consonants and Miscellaneous

There are a couple of intriguing onset consonant correspondence possibilities, and a couple seemingly spurious, unnatural examples, but almost nothing with enough evidence to make anything of. Perhaps the most interesting one is [r] vs [d], which we have seen earlier in Section 2.5.8.1. The examples are numbers 63, 140, 141. In Old Japanese, both of these consonants were restricted phonotactically (for different reasons) to word-medial position, although two of my three entries show them in initial position, valid on the mainland since Early Middle Japanese (EMJ) (Frellesvig 2010:199). The original Chinese pronunciation of (e.g.) the first character of the Sino-Japanese compound SJ rainen ‘next year’ has an onset which is a liquid, borrowed into mainland Japanese as [r]. As there seem to be no obstruents related historically to such a word, I can only conclude that the [d] that appears in such words in Hachijō is an innovative fortition, and represents a primary split/merger of /r/ > /d/, both root-initially and medially. To the extent that we still regularly see /r/ in this position, it is likely due to the increasing influence of SJ on the island in the modern era.

One word that stood out was the word for ‘earthworm’ (example 153). It is memezume in all varieties except in KT and NN, where it is given as nenezume (cf. SJ mimizu; -me is a Hachijō diminutive/endearment suffix). Shimizu 1984, an etymological dictionary, offers an etymon of ninizu. However, dialect dictionaries reveal that throughout the country, including the Ryūkyūan languages, cognate forms of this word invariably start with /m/. The /n/ that we see here appears to be a spurious innovation (cf. Section 2.5.10), but one that will serve as a marker toward my goal.
Finally, although not strictly consonantal, there are several examples of a morphophonological correspondence of initial *yu*- vs *i*-. This general phenomenon (sometimes with a different vowel following the glide) can be seen in SJ in the mostly freely-varying pairs *yuku* ~ *iku* ‘go’ and *yoi* ~ *ii* ‘good’.

There are very few of these (the two mentioned are possibly the only two among the common vocabulary of SJ), however there are four examples in my small sample of Hachijō (numbers 27, 47, 53, 165). The pattern points clearly to KT and NN preferring the vowel-initial variants, and other villages preferring the glide-initial variants, although there is one suspicious inconsistency, in the word for ‘finger’ (SJ *yubi*, example 27). Yamada (2010:26) reports a preference for [i]-initial form *ibi* across the board (except NN, which is listed as using the SJ form), however for ‘thumb’ (a compound of ‘parent’ + ‘finger’), the downhill and AO dialects have glide-initial forms for the embedded lexeme, while uphill have [i]-initial forms, with no apparent phonological conditioning at work. In other words, within downhill dialects, there appears to be a contrast in this feature depending on whether ‘finger’ is free-standing or compounded. This is not the only, or even the most suspicious inconsistency, and should be investigated further.

### 4.3.5 Lexical evidence, or lack of it

There are many cases of differing and obviously noncognate vocabulary given for the same meanings in Yamada 2010. These words are sprinkled across the different dialects of Hachijō in a superficially random fashion. Seeing that there are systematic phonological correspondences among the dialects, one might expect to find more or less coinciding (systematic) patterns of lexical usage, however my data fail to show this.

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*The difference is one of style/register in SJ, with the glide-initial forms being more formal/written, but it is a very slight one. Also note that the free variation, such as it is, is essentially limited to the nonpast indicative affirmative (i.e., the citation form), because only *iku* and *yoi* have full inflectional paradigms, while *yuku* and *ii* do not.*
4.4 Features of Pre-Hachijō

Based on what is found in my data, I can make a few statements about Pre-Hachijō (PreH), although it is not my intention to attempt a comprehensive reconstruction. I start with the long vowel correspondences. In the treatment of the falling diphthongs [ai] and [ae], the primary split between the kind of change found in KT and NN (metathesis, which looks like a shared innovation), and the monophthongization found in the other dialects means that we must posit at least original *[ai] for PreH (and possibly also *[ae], because although *[ae] has merged with *[ai] in modern Hachijō, it may be that they were not yet merged at the time of PreH). The long front vowel correspondence [eː] vs [iː] seems to come from a wide variety of source sequences, and the exponents in my data set are insufficient for me to say anything substantive other than that each pre-merged form (determined by comparison to OJ and SJ) should probably be reconstructed as itself.

The [oː] vs [oa] vs [aː] correspondence derives, as I mentioned, from the sequences *[oa] and *[ao], and other sequences which further reduce to these. On the question of how these vowels appeared in PreH, it seems that, because of the difference between SY and the other dialects seen here, we must once again allow that the oldest known forms were current in PreH (except probably *[apa] which had already become *[awa]), and that therefore all the changes occurred subsequently.

As for consonants, of course PreH had both *[n] and *[m], but the reason for the apparently innovative [n] of the word for ‘earthworm’ found in KT and NN is a mystery. The *[m] is surely used in this word in PreH. I suggest a PreH *[d] where this corresponds to root-initial /r/ on the mainland (a late development there), as this feature is found quite consistently throughout the modern dialects.

Examining the word for ‘wart’ (SJ ibo), which appears as iQbu in KT and NN, and yuNbu or yuQbu elsewhere, it is attested in Old Japanese as ipibo ‘rice grain’ ipiNpo (voiced obstruents derive from
medial prenasalized consonants) (Shimizu 1984, Sawagata 1968). According to Frellesvig (2010:195), as a result of the onbin changes, the syllable [pi] in morpheme-final word-internal position underwent a change to a “bound phoneme”: either a high back vowel (which he notates as U), or to /Q/. Thus, we can derive *ipiNpo > *iUNpo > yuNbu (with some simple assumptions and other known changes), or *iQNpo > iQbu. The form that remains mysterious in this scenario is yuQbu, but the two preceding derivations, helping to define the proposed dialect group split at the highest level, seem to suggest a PreH form like *ipibo, once again much like the Old Japanese form. As for the other words with this pattern, the word for a Buddhist mortuary tablet (ex. 53) is ihai in SJ, and a verb root meaning ‘smoke, smolder’ can be found in SJ as ibur-. As KT and NN have the [i]-initial forms of these words, it would appear that KT and NN are conservative of the apparently original forms, even while they are innovating in other areas. Regarding the word for ‘finger’ mentioned earlier, it is attested in OJ both as yubi and as oyobi, and the historical relation between these two is said to be unclear (Shimizu 1984). This being the case, I do not think it can be used here, although the origin of ibi becomes of particular interest.

Finally, regarding the status of /N, Q/ in PreH, the only question is whether /Q/ could precede voiced obstruents. I do not believe anything can be said for certain, but since the villages of KT and NN, where this feature is by far strongest, have already been found to be potential hotbeds of innovation, we might reasonably guess that the pre-voiced usage of /Q/ is likewise an innovation (later borrowed sporadically in other places).
4.5 Summary

The original idea of this chapter was to see if a subgroup structure could be imposed upon the modern Hachijō dialects, which have such phonological differences that they might appear almost to be recently separated sister languages. I have examined several aspects of the phonology of the dialects, and have proposed Pre-Hachijō reconstructions of just a few, limited elements, though these are mostly the same as (or at least very close to) the OJ forms from which we know the PreH forms to have descended.

I propose that the tree of the Hachijō language has a branch for KT and NN, and a branch containing all the other dialects. There are three changes found here that could qualify as shared innovations, the necessary condition for claiming subgroup branching. The first is the change of *[ai] > [ia] in KT and NN, and the second the *[m] > [n] found in the same dialects, but only in a single datum, ‘earworm’. Thirdly, because it seems fairly clear, in the class of words containing the alternate prefix strings *i- and *yu-, that KT and NN exhibit original vowel-initial protoforms, we should therefore consider the glide-initial forms found in the other dialects to be innovative. Additionally, we can entertain the possibility, because of its overwhelming preference in KT and NN and relatively rare use elsewhere, that the use of coda /Q/ preceding voiced obstruent onsets may have been innovated in the KT/NN branch, but spread by contact over the following years. Because my reconstructions reveal forms that hardly differ from those of Old Japanese, and because the effects of onbin are seen, an attempt to date the PreH stage of the language must place it after the time of onbin changes on mainland Japan (roughly the ninth to tenth century CE), but not necessarily before any other event.

It is probably common sense that one should not normally expect to be able to clearly subgroup dialects in a linguistic and geographical context such as this one, since the dialects, though they may
differ, ultimately belong to a small, circumscribed language community where they ought to have always been in some degree of contact with one another. Nevertheless, I am satisfied that the results seem to have roughly validated my initial hunch.
Chapter 5

Hachijō: Dialect or language?

It is well-known among those whose work involves careful investigation of human language that the question whether any two given speech varieties should be regarded as dialects of a single language or as separate languages, at least for two that are sufficiently similar, is not one that can be answered based purely on linguistic criteria. This reality is due mainly to the ambiguity inherent in the terms themselves, which lack any clear technical definition, but practically speaking, most human beings have strong emotional identification of their speech varieties with ethnicity, history, politics, etc., and thus such questions related to language have often been decided based on the latter criteria. The only ostensibly objective criterion normally called upon by linguists is mutual intelligibility, i.e., to what degree would two monolingual speakers of the two speech varieties in question understand each other in (attempted) conversation, if each were (naturally) speaking only his or her own variety? It should be fairly obvious that this is extremely difficult to measure scientifically, at least in cases where the mutual intelligibility is well above zero, and well under one hundred percent. As far as I am aware, there is not even a general agreement on what percentage score should be the cut-off, above which the two are considered dialects, below which separate languages, in case a highly accurate mutual intelligibility test could be performed. Further, it is unclear how to handle cases of nonreciprocal intelligibility, in which one participant ends up understanding the other to a much greater degree than he or she is understood (at least we would need to question that person’s monolingualism). In addition to the general difficulties of objective quantification of intelligibility, there is a variety of pitfalls
such a test could succumb to, all of which I believe has discouraged most linguists from venturing into this treacherous territory (imagine, for example, a case in which a hidden ethnic resentment, or class consciousness, caused one participant to report zero comprehension, when in fact they could understand most of what the other was saying). Hachijō represents a common sort of situation, in which a minority language is spoken in a region where there is a closely-related national language, of which everyone (or nearly so) has full control, alongside whatever fluency they have in the local, minority language. In this case, finding a purely monolingual speaker of the minority language is effectively impossible; whether monolingual speakers of the minority language would be able to understand the dominant language lacking this bilingualism is a question that cannot be answered.

Nevertheless, in spite of the lack of any strict linguistic criteria, the languages-vs-dialects question is one that often comes up in the course of linguistic work, particularly in sociolinguistics, historical/comparative linguistics, and language cataloging (such as done by Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2019) and the Catalogue of Endangered Languages (ELCat)), as it does sometimes in the minds of the general public. And we often have strong intuitions, that we would like to validate. Dickins and Satow (1878:464), writing shortly after the end of the feudal period in Japan and its opening to the outside world (and to a significant degree the opening of easier access between Hachijōjima and the mainland), said of the island speech that “[i]t is not too much to say that a new-comer, whether Japanese or foreigner, would at first be entirely at a loss to understand what the people around him were saying.”¹ Also, that “[while the men tend to affect polished mainland speech,] the women […] speak a language which, at first, sounds utterly unintelligible to a stranger. The number of words which differ entirely

¹Although it might seem strange to make the obvious-sounding claim that this language was incomprehensible to a foreigner, I think what was meant here, awkwardly, is something like “we strongly suspect that even native-speaking mainland Japanese would have similar difficulty to ourselves.” In fact, both authors had been in Japan for many years at the time of the island visit, where they had distinguished themselves in the study of the language, making names as interpreters and translators of literature. Satow in particular was considered an important member of the British diplomatic mission because of his language skills. (Wikipedia)
from the corresponding expressions in the standard Japanese is very great, the terminations of the verbs are likewise peculiar, [...]. One Japanese native speaker who has expressed the same feeling that the language of Hachijōjima is incomprehensible is Tamura (1928), and Tachibana (1936), noting that scholars of the time had begun to classify even the highly divergent Ryūkyūan dialects, is sure that readers will share his incredulity that the prevailing view of Hachijō, a dialect spoken within the jurisdiction of the national capital, was that it was of “unknown origin” (系統不明).

Hoshina (1900:40), writing at the turn of the 20th century, notes that the latter part of the 19th in Hachijōjima was marked by a furious imitation on the part of the islanders of anything and everything of mainland Japanese culture, language included, simultaneously and analogously to the way that mainland Japanese were furiously imitating anything and everything of European and American culture. He laments his inability (in a visit of about 3 weeks) to find those speaking what he would judge to be “pure” island speech, but rather it seemed to him that even just a few decades beyond the opening of the island to intercourse with the wider world, its language had already become hopelessly “mixed” and “hybridized” with the language of the mainland. This view is curiously in contrast to the observations of Dickins and Satow, and we may wonder whether Hoshina may have gone to the island with an overly exaggerated idea of the differentness of their language, and was perhaps disappointed when he was able to decipher much of the cognate vocabulary. In any case, it is also true that he visited Hachijōjima precisely 20 years later than the two Englishmen, plenty of time for a relatively small community, bent on borrowing, to transform their speech in very significant ways, especially when the borrowing is from a closely-related language of greater power and prestige.
5.1 Measuring distance and intelligibility

5.1.1 Intelligibility

An early and influential attempt to quantify intelligibility and approach the languages-vs-dialects question in a systematic and objective way can be found in Voegelin and Harris (1951). Among the four methods they recommend, the one that attracted the most attention and use by other linguists was a method they called “test the informant”.

² Making use of leading-edge technology of the time, they suggest having informants recite stories onto magnetic tape, and also give translations into another language, possibly the language they share in common with the investigator, often not a mother tongue for either. The same thing is repeated in other language communities, with people from different communities listening to each other’s stories and attempting to translate them. By comparing the translations, one could allegedly deduce to what degree speakers from different speech groups could understand each other’s varieties/dialects. Perhaps it is not necessary for me to go into detail about the numerous potential pitfalls of such a method, not least of which might be the difficulty of getting informants to do this tedious work, and to take it seriously enough to do it accurately (even if you are paying them well). It further depends on the informants having sufficient control of another language, such as the shared language with the investigator, to do good translations into. The method was strongly criticized by Wolff (1959) and others, and yet is still regularly cited in literature on the question of languages-vs-dialects determination.

²The other three methods (briefly) are: (1) “ask the informant”, which means “you present your question to the informant’s perception rather than to the data directly”; (2) “count samenesses”, a quantitative approach resembling my approach in this chapter somewhat (but differing, in that I am focusing on differences); and (3) the “structural status method”, in which structural, distributional, and various peculiarities are considered.
Recently, O’Grady et al. (2014) have conducted an intelligibility experiment in order to establish the language or dialect status of the speech variety of Jeju Island in South Korea relative to peninsular Korean. This is a textbook case of the kind of linguistic situation alluded to above, in which intelligibility testing between two speech varieties can only be done in one direction, because of pervasive bilingualism. The minority language speakers on Jeju Island can all understand Standard Korean (and probably other peninsular dialects) with little trouble, because it is the national language of education, media, etc.; indeed, there are many younger generation inhabitants of the island who can only speak and understand the national language. What O’Grady et al. found was that the comprehensibility of a typical narrative in Jeju language was extremely low, not only for speakers of the Seoul standard, but also (indeed, even more so) for those living geographically closest to the island, in the southern part of the peninsula. They concluded that Jeju’s indigenous speech variety is a distinct, though closely related, language to Korean. The overall linguistic situation of Hachijōjima with respect to the Japanese mainland seems to me very similar to that of Jeju Island to the Korean mainland.

5.1.2 Quantitative distance measures

A research program having a history now lasting decades, and that proposes to objectively measure the “distance” between dialects is dialectometry (Wieling and Nerbonne 2015, Goebl 2018). Although its proponents would no doubt claim that the term applies to any research involving quantitative measurement of dialect differences (normally as they vary geographically), the core methodology of dialectometric work appears to be the use of the Levenshtein distance (or edit distance), computed between two aligned strings of phonetic symbols, as a numerical metric defining the linguistic “distance” between those forms, and the statistical aggregation of these distance metrics over a large number of semantically-corresponding forms in order to determine distances between dialects. My
small amount of reading in this literature suggests that the goals of this research program are more oriented toward clarifying processes of the diffusion of linguistic change than in estimating intelligibility between dialects.

Another quantitative methodology that has been applied to dialect data in order to elucidate the mechanisms of diachronic change is *dynamic dialectology* (Ogura *et al.* 1991, Ogura 1990).

Recent work whose primary goal is to predict mutual intelligibility among dialects is that of Chaoju Tang for Chinese. Ultimately, it seems, the single factor best predicting mutual intelligibility is “the percentage of cognates shared between the dialects.” (Tang and van Heuven 2015:309). What the authors seem to mean is not cognates such as the term is used by historical linguists, but words that are recognizably similar for noncoincidental reasons, and are not borrowed from a genetically-unrelated language. They fail to take into account the possibility of borrowing between dialects, but this is a minor nitpick on terminology, and surely they know something about Chinese historical linguistics that I do not. Nevertheless, their point seems to be that when words that mean the same thing sound “similar enough” (my quotes), this aids crossdialect comprehension more than any other factor, a conclusion that certainly feels intuitively correct. But perhaps the Sinitic languages are a particularly forgiving family for studying interdialect intelligibility, given the simplicity of the purely isolating morphosyntax, and the relatively simple segmental phonology and syllable structure.

### 5.2 Assessing affinity

In this section, I provide an objective assessment of some aspects of the affinity of Hachijō with Japanese, SJ in particular. Given the confounding difficulties inherent in functional intelligibility testing, I believe there is room for and a need for the sort of objective, quantitative affinity metric
to be used as a rough proxy of intelligibility, such as those discussed above, and therefore a tool for making tentative judgements on, or as a baseline for more detailed considerations of, the languages-vs-dialects question. Ultimately tentative, and therefore dismissible, judgements are all that the world at large will accept from us linguists, because they decide such matters for themselves, based on their own reasoning, and no doubt will often take offense at any conclusions that disagree with preconceived linguistic boundaries. I do not propose an algorithm intended to be applicable to any pair of speech varieties, but rather explain below the empirical criteria that I believe can be used to argue specifically for the conclusion that Hachijō is best considered a close relative of modern Japanese, rather than a dialect of it: the ratio of cognate “basic” vocabulary, degree of compatibility of morphological paradigms (including cognacy of their bound morphemes), and the effect of regular sound changes. In studying other pairs of speech varieties, one might also take into account such factors as, e.g., word order, and phonological suprasegmental phenomena (stress, rhythm, intonation, etc., and the effect these have on phonetic production, e.g., stress-based vowel reduction in English). I will not consider such factors, however, mainly because I do not have the data to do so, but also because I do not believe they would show significant differences in this case. In Section 2.7, I mentioned that the pitch accent of modern Hachijōjima is accentless, i.e., there is no word contrast based on this prosody, a phenomenon shared by a number of other regions on the mainland of Japan. Thus, we would not expect pitch accent to be a factor in affinity; accuracy of pitch accent production is well-known to have a minor to insignificant effect on intelligibility, as can be attested by any L2 learner of SJ. Such learners typically can achieve a high level of communicative fluency long before they have come anywhere near mastering the lexically-determined (and thus highly unpredictable and difficult) accent system of that language.
5.2.1 Ratio of cognate basic vocabulary

As I showed in Chapter 3, Hachijō has many basic vocabulary that are of unknown origin, i.e., that cannot be easily associated with a Japonic etymology. If I do a fairly simple calculation, I find that 23 out of 71 items in my list have no known cognates, which means the cognate ratio of this list is $48 / 71 = 67\%$; only two out of three.

I should discuss methodology a bit: from a statistician’s point of view this is not a proper representative sampling, which presumably could have been achieved (more closely) had I started from a Swadesh list or similar. That is, starting from a list of meanings that are considered universal would have resulted in a (possibly) less biased sample. My sample is biased somewhat by the fact that I started from a set of lexical items (albeit a large one) that have been prechosen by others as representative of Hachijō language, which is to say, they were probably more likely to be added to lists and books because of being different from mainland Japanese in interesting ways.³ On the other hand, one could defend my calculation by saying that the meanings represented in my set are (overwhelmingly—a few might be arguable) basic, everyday, universal meanings, and so, while the approach is not pure from a mathematical point of view, surely any numbers we can get out of it are reflective of some reality (and after all, we are not really trying to solve this problem mathematically). One reason why I have not done extensive fieldwork in order to collect basic vocabulary in a way that would make my computation more mathematically valid is that I did not feel confident that I could get forms that were uninfluenced by SJ during the modern era. I want to know what the original Hachijō language was like, and I define that to be the language spoken before the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Already well into my work, I discovered a good illustration of this problem in the dictionary that I abbrevi-

³The premodern sources, which are relatively short, no doubt are more guilty of selectivity, but Yamada (2010), for instance (a book), starts from basic, everyday meanings and provides multiple HJ dialect forms for each.
ated as HIRA in Chapter 3, *Gendai Nihongo Hōgen Daijiten* (Hirayama 1989). By the time I was using this dictionary, I was already quite familiar with many Hachijō words, and I found that very often, perhaps more often than not, the forms HIRA cites as HJ forms for common meanings are really just SJ forms, which I recognized as inaccurate because I already knew traditional HJ forms from other sources, both modern and premodern. Perhaps the goal for this dictionary was not to strive for a kind of historical “purity” with respect to the many and various obscure regional dialects of Japan, but merely to record exactly the way most people were speaking at the time of compilation. But if so, I feel that there is a kind of (arguably benign) deception in it.

If my sample is biased, perhaps we can get a ratio that is closer to statistically valid by “handicapping” the number. Without knowing a proper mathematical method for doing this, I will do it cursorily: if 67% might be too low, then we can choose 75% cognate as a round, somewhat higher estimate. Then we can ask the question: should a language A with only 75% of basic vocabulary cognate with forms in language B be considered a dialect of B, or a distinct language from B? Of course, this is only one dimension of comparison. But if we take seriously the finding of Tang and van Heuven (2015) mentioned above, that cognate percentage is the best single predictor of mutual intelligibility, then even 75% seems to be barely adequate. There is another angle on this issue that I must mention: in Hachijō there are no few forms that are either clearly cognate with Japanese (but which have undergone significant semantic shift), or are merely homophonous with mainland forms, and so we would not want to count these in a cognate percentage that points to intelligibility, because they are confounding of intelligibility. Some examples:

- *oto* to ‘younger sister’ (SJ ‘younger brother’)

- *kowak-* ‘painful’ (SJ ‘frightening’)
• yador- 'to sleep' (SJ 'to lodge, usu. away from home')

• -tara 'past (tense)' (SJ 'past conditional')

• gomi 'firewood' (SJ 'rubbish')

• yowak- 'hungry' (SJ 'weak')

• urusak- 'dirty' (SJ 'noisy')

• o:sama 'grandfather' (SJ 'king')

• toNbo 'a kind of fish' (SJ 'dragonfly')

Many more examples could be given, including grammatical bound forms.

5.2.2 Morphological compatibility

I focus on verbal and adjectival paradigms, and rely primarily on the following sources on Hachijō grammar: Kaneda (2001a), Ōshima (1975), Iitoyo (1959), Kaneda and Holda (2005). As the verbal morphology is quite complex, quite a bit more so than SJ, I cannot cover every aspect of it, but have selected a representative and important subset.

The first thing to note when comparing the verbal morphological systems of SJ and Hachijō is that they do not comprise the exact same set of categories (which is in itself a major factor in intelligibility comparison). However, first, I compare basic category forms that are comparable: the nonpast declarative, past declarative, the subordinating gerund (for which I have used the gloss -SUB above, also sometimes called connective, continuative, or converb), the suppositional, the nonpast negative declarative, and the attributive.
5.2.2.1 Nonpast declarative in -owa/-u

The verbal nonpast declarative in Hachijō has a form ending either in -u, like SJ (and with the same morphophonological structure as SJ, even for verbs that do not exist in Japanese at all), or ending in -owa, which as far as I know is unique to this language. In my investigations so far, I have not found any semantic distinction to exist between these two inflections of the same stem (nor anyone attempting to explain it). However, in my lexical data, collected from a number of different sources premodern and modern, there is a curious difference in how verbs are reported: the premodern sources overwhelmingly give verbs with the -u suffix; this might be contrary to what one would expect as -u could perhaps be interpreted as a borrowing from the mainland. There is only one example of -owa, given in Kondō ([1855]1964) (this proves, at least, that -owa is not entirely a modern innovation).

On the other hand, a few modern sources tend strongly to -owa. Asanuma (1999) (a dictionary) lists the vast majority of verbs using this suffix, and only a few with -u. Kaneda (2001a) (recall, the only modern linguist, probably the only one ever, to have done substantial fieldwork in Hachijō-jima, over many years) always gives citation forms in -owa. Mase (1961) is all -u, and Yamada (2010) (a book-length multidialect wordlist) is overwhelmingly -u, with a few examples of -owa sprinkled throughout (interestingly, one is the same verb that Kondō ([1855]1964) gave: ikowa ‘to go’).

Now, it is also true that a few of these modern sources are focused on particular dialects: Kaneda has worked primarily with a consultant from MI, and Mase with a consultant from NN. Asanuma himself comes from SY. We do not know from which villages the premodern sources collected words, although Kondō’s tremendous, intricately detailed tome on ‘all things Hachijō-jima’ would not be expected to leave out such an important detail as verbs in -owa if they were used in places other than his
home village. It strains credibility that this difference could be something as simple as dialect variance. Yamada’s book is organized specifically to show the different dialect forms for each meaning, and in the few cases where he has -owa, he shows it across the dialects.

5.2.2.2 Past declarative in -(t)ara(ra)

According to Kaneda (2001a:79,170) and Kaneda and Holda (2005:76), there are two declarative verbal forms expressing the past that are in a historical relation with each other; he goes into great detail in the former book about the diachronic development of these and other forms, a topic that is outside the scope of my work. The first form is composed by appending -ara to the stem, for consonant stem ("strong conjugation") verbs. For vowel stem ("weak conjugation") and irregular verbs, -tara is appended. Examples are given in Table 5.1. In SJ and most other dialects, the past/perfective suffix is -ta/-da; however, they also have a suffix -tara/-dara whose meaning is past conditional. These suffixes derive from *-te-ari/*-te-aru and *-te-araba respectively (Frellesvig 2010:333), where final syllables /ri, ru, ba/ are lost. Kaneda (2001a:109) speculates that the past suffix -ara is also a contraction and grammaticalization of arowa ‘to be, exist’, the HJ cognate of SJ aru. In that sense, they result from very similar historical processes, but it would not be appropriate to say that HJ -ara and SJ -ta are cognate. It is not reasonable to guess that speakers of other dialects will recognize -ara as a past tense (declarative) morpheme, certainly in the case of strong verbs, where it is not preceded by /t/. For the weak, irregular, and /s/-stem verbs, the allomorph -tara is used, which is more recognizable as related to SJ -ta, but this form conflicts with past conditional -tara of mainland dialects, causing interference for intelligibility. For Table 5.1, I choose verbs with roots that are the same at the morphophonemic level between HJ and SJ, so that morphological compatibility can be considered without other morphophonological differences in the roots clouding the issue. The second past tense form referred to above
reapplies the same historical grammaticalization process to the lexicalized -ara forms, resulting in -arara suffixation. Kaneda and Holda (2005) discuss the details of the semantic shifts of past tense and resultative forms, however the mere existence of subtleties of semantic interpretation for multiple tense and aspectual forms, not isomorphic to Japanese grammar and mostly not cognate with its forms, is another example of intelligibility interference between the two.

### 5.2.2.3 Subordinating gerund in -te

This morpheme is one that is exceptionally stable in the Japonic family, and we see high compatibility and little expected interference with SJ. Attaching to what is traditionally called the ren’yōkei stem (glossed here as INF for infinitive), in Hachijō it undergoes mostly the same kind of morphophonological (onbin) changes as SJ:

- Verb stems ending in /-r, -t, -w/ change the last syllable of the ren’yōkei form to /Q/: /tat-i-te/ ‘stand-INF-SUB’ > taQte, /ogor-i-te/ ‘make.noise-INF-SUB’ > ogoQte.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Past 1</th>
<th>Past 2</th>
<th>SJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'write'</td>
<td>/kak-/</td>
<td>kakara</td>
<td>kakara</td>
<td>kaita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>/kaw-</td>
<td>kawara</td>
<td>kawara</td>
<td>katta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'enter'</td>
<td>/hair-</td>
<td>he:rara (MI)</td>
<td>he:rarara</td>
<td>haitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td>/nom-/</td>
<td>nomara</td>
<td>nomarara</td>
<td>noNda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td>/tok-/</td>
<td>tobara</td>
<td>tobarara</td>
<td>toNda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'swim'</td>
<td>/oyog-/</td>
<td>oyogara</td>
<td>oyogarara</td>
<td>oyoida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'expel'</td>
<td>/das-</td>
<td>dashitara</td>
<td>dashitarara</td>
<td>dashita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>/ki-/</td>
<td>kitara</td>
<td>kitarara</td>
<td>kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'teach'</td>
<td>/oshie-/</td>
<td>oshi:tara (SY)</td>
<td>oshi:tarara</td>
<td>oshieta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1. Past tense of comparable verbs
• Verb stems ending in /-b, -m, -n/ change the last syllable of the ren’yōkei form to /N/ or /Q/ (though /Q/ is not possible in SJ) with progressive assimilation of suffix /t/ > /d/: /kam-i-te/ ‘eat-INF-SUB’ > kaQde or kaNde, /marub-i-te/ ‘die-INF-SUB’ > maruQde or maruNde.

• Verb stems in /-s/ or a vowel undergo no changes, but simply attach -te: /hes-i-te/ ‘push-INF-SUB’ > hesite, /mei-te/ ‘burn(vi).INF-SUB’ > meite (cf. SJ moeru ‘burn(vi)’).

There are a few exceptions to this apparent compatibility:

• Verb stems ending in /-k/ pattern with those ending in /-r, -t, -w/, changing the last syllable to /Q/). This is unlike SJ and probably most Japanese dialects, in which stem-final /-k, -g/ is deleted, resulting in forms like /kak-i-te/ ‘write-INF-SUB’ > kaite and /tog-i-te/ ‘grind-INF-SUB’ > toide. In Hachijō, /kak-i-te/ ‘write-INF-SUB’ > kaQte, /patsuk-i-te/ ‘wither-INF-SUB’ > patsuQte.

• Verb stems ending in /-g/ pattern with those ending in /-b, -m, -n/, changing the last syllable to /N/ or /Q/. Thus, in Hachijō, /tog-i-te/ ‘grind-INF-SUB’ > toNde or toQde.

• When the stem-final consonant of strong verbs is one of /-b, -m, -k, -g, -t, -n, -w/, i.e., one of those discussed above which produces one of /N, Q/ in the subordinating gerund, if the preceding vowel is long, then the /N, Q/ is dropped, presumably in order to avoid creating a superheavy syllable, a phonotactic constraint that does not hold in SJ verbs. But it seems unusual in Hachijō, because (as mentioned in Section 2.6) superheavy syllables are not banned in this language; they are only banned from verbs, it seems: /buQsobe:r-i-te/ ‘be.startled(vi)-INF-SUB’ > buQtsobe:te, /e:m-i-te/ ‘walk-INF-SUB’ > e:de (cf. SJ ayumu ‘walk’), /so:g-i-te/ ‘scold-INF-SUB’ > so:de (cf. SJ sawagu ‘make noise/fuss’).
All things considered, the amount of intelligibility interference caused by differences in the morphophonology of \textit{-te} seems relatively small. To recap (choosing verbs that have identical stems in the two languages): a verb with stem in \textit{/k/} like \textit{kak-} ‘write’ forms its gerund as \textit{kaQte} compared to SJ’s \textit{kaite};
a verb with stem in \textit{/g/} like \textit{oyog-} ‘swim’ forms its gerund as \textit{oyoNde/oyoQde} compared to SJ’s \textit{oyoide};
and a verb containing a long vowel like \textit{tor-} ‘pass through’ forms its gerund as \textit{to:te} compared to SJ’s \textit{to:tte}. While it is also true that these slightly differing \textit{-te} forms will clash with other words because of homophony, e.g., HJ ‘write’ with SJ \textit{kaQte} ‘win-INF-SUB’, ‘buy-INF-SUB’, ‘mow/trim-INF-SUB’, and ‘hunt-INF-SUB’, this example shows at the same time that within SJ there are already homophones that must be distinguished by semantic context.

### 5.2.2.4 Suppositional in \textit{-no:wa}

In Hachijō, the suppositional (i.e., the expression of something with uncertainty) is expressed by inflectional morphology, with the use of the suffix \textit{-no:wa}. This is unlike SJ, which, in the nonpast tense, uses an analytic construction composed of the simple nonpast declarative plus a copula inflected for suppositional (with suffix \textit{-ro:}). In the past tense, SJ can either analytically combine the simple past declarative with the same copula, or add the suppositional suffix \textit{-ro:} to the past tense form. To give the flavor of the forms in Table 5.2, the nonpast affirmative carries a meaning like ‘might write’, and the past affirmative like ‘probably wrote’. The suppositional is a very heavily used construction in Japanese and seemingly in Hachijō as well. The various village dialects feature yet differing affixes for negation, that will result in differing inflected suppositional forms (cf. Iitoyo 1959:222). Note

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nonpast affirm</th>
<th>Past affirm</th>
<th>Nonpast neg</th>
<th>Past neg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HJ</td>
<td>\textit{kakuno:wa}</td>
<td>\textit{kakaNno:wa}</td>
<td>\textit{kakiNnaNno:wa}</td>
<td>\textit{kakiNna(ka)raNno:wa}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>\textit{kaku daro:}</td>
<td>\textit{kaita daro:/kaitaro:}</td>
<td>\textit{kakanai daro:}</td>
<td>\textit{kakanakatta daro:/kakanakattaro:}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Table 5.2. Suppositional paradigm for verb ‘write’}
specifically the past affirmative: the stem kakaN- will strongly suggest a negative meaning to mainland speakers; on the other hand, the actual Hachijō negative forms, with stem kakiNna- can cause confusion because, while having the nasals that are normally expected in negated forms by mainland speakers, the stem kaki- can only be used (at least in SJ) for polite negative forms, which these are clearly not. The forms shown here are sufficiently incompatible that questions of cognacy are essentially moot.⁴

5.2.2.5 Nonpast negative declarative in -(N)naka

The majority of Hachijō verbs form a nonpast negative declarative with the suffix -naka. This is the final/predicative inflection; the attributive (rentaikei) form differs. The precise etymology of this morpheme is unclear; it has been studied by numerous scholars over the years, but without consensus on its origin being reached (Kaneda 2001a:132). However, it will have a certain minimal familiarity to SJ speakers in that the dominant morpheme for negation in Japanese is the auxiliary nak-, which leaves the mysterious final vowel -a as an element of interference (as nak- is not followed by /a/ in any nonpast or declarative forms). Additionally, in most dialects (including SJ) corresponding nonpast finite forms have lost the /k/ (cf. SJ -nai), although it is retained in past tense and infinitival inflections (like the negative subordinating gerund -nakute). The appearance of /k/ in (specifically) the nonpast negative suffix is thus another form of interference. But even if the precise historical origin of this suffix is unclear, it certainly should be seen as cognate with SJ nak-.

More problematic for intelligibility are the parts of the inflected word preceding -naka: firstly, this suffix always applies to the ren’yōkei stem, which is essentially the root (usually unviable as a

⁴Kaneda (2001a:114) explains the n/r contrast in the HJ no: vs SJ ro: seen here as arising from variants of the same Old Japanese functional morpheme: EOJ namu vs WOJ ramu. That n/r variation exists is not a surprise as we can find it in other vocabulary: HJ garima vs SJ kani ‘crab’, and within Hachijōjima in the stem for the several different words for ‘cockroach’: MI/KT kakijar- vs OK/NN/SY kakijan-. 

Table 5.3. Nonpast negative forms of comparable verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>HJ nonpast neg</th>
<th>SJ nonpast neg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'win'</td>
<td>/kat-/</td>
<td>kachīNnaka</td>
<td>katanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'take'</td>
<td>/tor-/</td>
<td>toriNnaka</td>
<td>toranai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'buy'</td>
<td>/kaw-/</td>
<td>ka(w)iNnaka</td>
<td>kawanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td>/nom-/</td>
<td>nomiNnaka</td>
<td>nomanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'swim'</td>
<td>/oyog-/</td>
<td>oyoGiNnaka</td>
<td>oyoganai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'expel'</td>
<td>/das-/</td>
<td>dashiNnaka</td>
<td>dasanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come'</td>
<td>/ki-/</td>
<td>kiNnaka</td>
<td>konai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'show'</td>
<td>/mise-/</td>
<td>miseNnaka</td>
<td>misenai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

free word) followed by /-i/ (in the case of consonant verbs only; for vowel verbs the root and ren’yōkei stems are the same). In SJ, negation always applies to the mizenkei stem, which, for consonant verbs, is the root plus /-a/. So there is some interference from the fact that negation is attached to a different stem.⁵ Furthermore, the majority of verbs (especially consonant stem verbs) have a mora nasal coda /N/ following the ren’yōkei stem (the historical origin of which is not clear to me), resulting in -Nnaka. Though the full form may be recognized as a negative, mainland speakers will intuitively associate /N/ with negation (as many mainland dialects reduce nak- or its variant to N, even at the morphophonemic level, i.e., even in careful speech). Thus, if N is parsed as negation, that leaves -naka not to be understood, or vice versa. In the worst case, this -naka might even be heard as the noun naka ‘middle, center, midst’, which is grammatical and whose interpretation might sometimes be just at the edge of plausibility. As in the previous section on the past declarative, in Table 5.3, I choose verbs for examples with roots that are the same at the morphophonemic level between HJ and SJ, to isolate the issue of morphological compatibility.

⁵The reader might note that my argument here is based on concepts from the kokugogaku framework rather than that of Western linguistics, but it is merely for convenience of exposition, and in fact, when discussing the metalinguistic awareness of Japanese native speakers, may be more relevant because they have been educated in this framework.
5.2.2.6 Attributives in -o (verbs) and -ke (adjectives)

I would be remiss not to mention the aspect of Hachijō grammar that has gotten the most attention, because of its similarity to the grammar of EOJ found in ancient poetry. The issue of intelligibility in this case has more to do with categories than forms. Hachijō (alone, as far as I know, north of the Ryūkyūs) has retained the surface distinction between final/predicative and attributive inflections that is found in Old and Classical Japanese. These two underwent a merger during the era of Late Middle Japanese, in which attributive forms, which had long since been able to head main clauses under special syntactic rules like *kakari-musubi*, were gradually extended to take over that role, and the old final forms disappeared (Frellesvig 2010:354). Although adjectives have a different history, in the modern language, predicative and attributive forms are also homophonous. In Hachijō, verbal nonpast attributives end in -o, while nonpast predicatives end in -owa/-u. Adjectival attributives end in -ke, while predicatives end in -kya. Mainland speakers expecting nonpast verbs in relative clauses to end in -u would probably suffer only temporary confusion hearing [o]. There is a larger difference between HJ -ke for adjectives and corresponding SJ -i, but because of some fossilized expressions and popular historical television dramas, most modern speakers are familiar with the older mainland attributive suffix -ki (an obvious cognate with HJ -ke). The suffix -kya of HJ predicate adjectives should cause more interference, both because of unfamiliarity, and because of a clash in the negative with SJ colloquial *nakya*, a contraction of nonpast negative conditional *nakereba*. But the greatest interference is likely to arise simply from the unexpectedness of predicative and attributive forms, for both verbs and adjectives, differing across the board.
5.2.3 The effect of regular sound changes

So far, I have discussed the potential for intelligibility interference from differences in noncognate verbal morphology; however, such interference is compounded by the sound changes that are such a salient feature of Hachijō diachronic phonology. Many consonants are lost intervocally, with the resulting hiatus coalesced according to more-or-less consistent rules. Typically, the first (left-hand) vowel is deleted and the following one lengthened, but different dialects have different rules. I present some illustrative examples (needless to say, far from a complete exposition of all the possible changes):

- The sound [c] is very often lost in the context [-aci-], and this is usually followed by the characteristic change of [ai] for the dialect in question: for most, [ai] > [e:], but in KT/NN, [ai] metathesizes, and the [i] usually becomes palatalization on the preceding consonant. Thus: /ašitaba/ ‘a commonly used leafy plant’ > [aɪtaba] > e:taba (MI), > ya:taba (NN). This causes big changes in /s/-stem verbs, which in the ren’yōkei stem have the palatalized [s] change to [c]: /das-i-te/ ‘expel-INF-SUB’ > [dai:te] > de:te (MI), > ja:te or deate (NN). An important role played by /s/ in Japonic is as a signal of the causative and transitive; the causative suffix in SJ is -(s)ase, and it is essentially the same in HJ (Ittoyo 1959:222). /s/-loss happens as well with [-ase-] as with [-aci-], thus: /kak-ase-te/ ‘write-CAUS-SUB’ > [kakaete] > kake:te. Without /s/ as a phonetic “signpost”, mainland speakers will certainly not recognize the causative inflection, or the transitivity of many /s/-stem verbs, that feature /s/ as a lexicalized historical indicator of the transitive.

- Initial syllable loss has been a regular process historically, but I am not aware that it is presently productive. Though it probably affects relatively few words, they are affected probably precisely because they are high frequency: tetsu ‘one’ (SJ hitotsu), koshi ‘few’ (SJ sukoshi). Changes
like this convert words to something that sounds like a different word: SJ *tetsu* ‘iron’, SJ *koshi* ‘hips’. Many times discourse context will be enough to avoid misunderstanding, but it imposes a processing burden on the hearer.

- Vowel metathesis has been a salient process in both Hachijō diachronic and synchronic phonology. I have described the process as it works in KT/NN dialects on [ai], but there are other examples: downhill, particularly in MI, many verbs having original [ie] have changed it to [ei]: *oseirowa* ‘teach’ (SJ *oshieru*), *meirowa* ‘be visible’ (SJ *mieru*), *neirowa* ‘be boiled’ (SJ *nieru*). Metathesis is not limited to root-internal historical changes, but operates productively as well, and even across morpheme boundaries. The best examples of this are found in nominal morphology, and are most common uphill: *yamea* (NN) ‘to the mountain’ < */yama=e/* ‘mountain=PP’; *kasoa kase* (NN) ‘lend me an umbrella’ < *kasa=o/* ‘umbrella=ACC’ + *kas-e/* ‘lend-IMP’.

- Sounds changes tend toward common targets. In MI, [ei] is one of these. While sound change creates homophones commonly in many languages, the tendency is very strong in Hachijō. The verb *meirowa* (which we saw above) is not only ‘be visible’, but also ‘burn(vi)’ (SJ *moeru*). In MI, [ei] comes not only from */ie/ and */oe/, but from */ui/ as well (MI *tengei* < */tenugui/ ‘towel’). Long /o:/ is a major target of vowel coalescences. In MI, /o:/ results from [owa] (*sasozu* ‘not inviting’ < *sasow-/* ‘invite’ + */azu/* ‘NEG’), from [aro] (*nomo*: ‘drank-ATTR’ < */nomaro/* < */nomi-/* ‘drink’ + */aro/* ‘be-ATTR’), from [awa] (*koko* ‘to dry(vi)’ < */kawak-owa/* ‘dry-NONPST’), and others.

- There are some segment-level variations (compared to SJ) that might seem surprising even to Japanese speakers: /n/ ~ /m/ (HJ *migakya* ‘bitter’ ~ SJ *nigai*, HJ *kabuna* ‘seagull’ ~ SJ *kamome*,...
HJ nichi sho ‘high tide’ ~ SJ michi shio), /n/ ~ /ɾ/ (HJ gar ima ‘crab’ ~ SJ kani, HJ tsura ‘rope’ ~ SJ tsuna). Note that these are not necessarily typical sound changes such as would submit to analysis via the linguistic comparative method; the aforementioned /n/ ~ /m/ variation goes both directions (cf. my frustration in Chapter 4 trying to nail down sound correspondences within Hachijōjima). As vowels go, SJ speakers are likely more familiar (if not consciously) with /i/ ~ /u/ variation, but HJ additionally has /o/ ~ /u/ (HJ hoko mowa ‘hold in the mouth’ ~ SJ fukumu, HJ kuchiбро ‘lips’ ~ SJ kuchiburu). These short vowel differences could possibly be explained as regular historical sound correspondences if one or the other vowel could be established as older.
In this dissertation, I have addressed and clarified several aspects of the phonology, history, and status of the Hachijō language of Japan. It was a worthwhile exercise to lay out a detailed phonemic analysis of Hachijō, even if the primary value of it is to spur further discussion of how best to approach the phonological analysis of Japonic languages.

Probably the result most interesting to myself is to have given another (following Tachibana 1936), and quite different, demonstration of the geographical diversity of the vocabulary. Although grammatical similarities to the Eastern Old Japanese language attested in Man’yōshū have of course been noted many times, the prevalence of lexical items appearing to originate in the same region where EOJ was spoken is arguably not as strong as would be expected. Most exciting is the strength of the influence of southern (Kyūshū and Ryūkyūan) vocabulary. It should go without saying that I am not the very first person ever to have taken note of this latter relationship, but those who have noted it do not seem to have gone so far as to document it:

- Tachibana (1936:148) mentions adjectival suffixation being similar to Kyūshū dialects, and says that this needs to be further studied. In his attempt at a quantitative lexical analysis to find which part of the country shares the most vocabulary with Hachijō (similar to what I have done), the results favor the central and Eastern/Northeastern regions, which is probably what he expected to find. Kyūshū makes a decent showing, but the Ryūkyūs are terribly underrepresented, perhaps because he didn’t have access to much documentation. He speculates (p. 164)
that similarities to Kyūshū are likely due to common retention of older Japonic forms, rather than any direct historical relation between the two regions. I find that doubtful, and suspect that the similarities are due to migration.

- Tachibana and Tōjō (1934:45) quote famous Okinawan linguist Iha Fuyū as pointing out that a very old stela at Yarazamori Castle in Naha, Okinawa has an inscription that includes the phrase nakya mono. Iha speculates that this is a variation of, or corruption of, the Kyūshūan naka mono ‘non-existing thing’.

  It might be that. But no connection to Hachijō language can be established from this example, because it is not grammatical. In Hachijō, nakya is a final/predicative form; the corresponding attributive form is nake or naQke, and thus the phrase should appear as nake mono. These authors should certainly have been aware of this morphological discrepancy.

- Hirayama (1941:51–2) says many “elements” are similar to Kyūshū dialects, but nothing specifically, while making reference to Kumamoto in particular. He makes a point to mention Kyūshū first, and following that, the similarities with Eastern and Northeastern Japan. He claims that architectural styles of early buildings resemble those of Kyūshū and farther south, and wonders about the “hidden” history connecting the South with Hachijōjima.

I was launched on the journey of pursuing this topic by an offhand comment by a professor who speculated that Hachijō might represent a third primary subgroup in the Japonic family tree, along with Japanese and Ryūkyūan. Now, it seems clear to me that the true origin of this language must be more complex than that speculation would suggest. Given the strength of the influence from the

¹This naka may be reminiscent of the suffix -(N)naka discussed in Section 5.2.2.5, but there should be no simple, direct relation between them. In particular, the Kyūshū naka is an attributive form in the adjectival paradigm, whereas the HJ form is final/predicative, not used attributively.
south, without doubt amplified by the “conveyor belt” of the Kuroshio ocean current, we must wonder whether the settlement of the island by Japonic-speakers began with people from Eastern Japan, who were later joined by a wave of migrants from the south, whether the order was the reverse, or whether it is even more complex than that. If there were multiple waves of settlement, did later arrivals create their own villages apart from the existing residents, or mix freely with them? As I have shown in Chapter 4 on subgrouping the villages, at this point, the evidence is sufficiently mixed up that it is very difficult to discern much of a historical pattern in the modern dialects. But it may be that more detailed examination of all the extant documentation, combined with further, well-targeted fieldwork (soon, while the elders we have are still alive) may reveal patterns that have remained hidden. As I pointed out in Section 2.7, the evidence that Hachijōjima islanders have resisted borrowing the Tokyo accent may be taken as evidence that their accentless old vocabulary originates mostly from places that even today are accentless, including central Kyūshū. Will it turn out to be most accurate to place Hachijō as a branch within a Proto-Kyūshū-Ryūkyū subgroup (PKR has been proposed by Igarashi 2017), as a sister of Japanese in a subgroup that does not include Ryūkyūan, or perhaps, as my professor imagined, as a branch of Proto-Japonic that is sister to Proto-Japanese and perhaps also to Proto-Ryūkyūan (or PKR)? I look forward to continuing these investigations.

What is the origin of the many words that appear to be unique to Hachijōjima? In Chapter 3, I have dispensed with the possibility that the unique vocabulary of Hachijōjima comes from Austronesian or Ainu. Further research will require checking for similarities to Koreanic, Tungusic, and Mongolic, which could represent very early borrowings, if not true cognates. If these are found, it would provide tantalizing evidence toward a solid theory that ties Japonic together with the continent linguistically.

Finally, I believe I have made a strong argument, using lexical and grammatical facts rather than intelligibility tests, for considering Hachijō to be a distinct language from Japanese, while recognizing
that this is still very much a subjective judgement. Based on what I know so far, it is definitely the correct judgement, but I do not imagine that I will have convinced everyone. I look forward to continuing to develop this argument as well, perhaps into a methodology that could be applied to other language families.
Glossary

**kana** The two syllabary scripts used in Japanese are *hiragana* and *katakana*. *Kana* is a generalized term to refer to either or both. There are 48 characters in each system, historically, each representing a mora, of which only 46 remain in common use in modern times because of historical sound changes. 17, 18, 39, 55, 77, 148

**katakana** One of the two syllabary scripts used in the writing of Japanese. See *kana*. 20, 34, 86

**kokugogaku** The old native tradition in the study of Japanese linguistics (to be contrasted with the Euro-American linguistic tradition which informs this work, dating from the late 19th century). 39, 49, 55, 116

**mizenkei** The *kokugogaku* term for the verbal stem normally used for the construction of irrealis inflected forms, like the negative. 116

**onbin** A complex and somewhat heterogeneous collection of morphophonological and sound changes that swept across the Japanese language in the Early Middle Japanese period (roughly 8th to 10th century CE), often resulting in the change of a CV syllable to a moraic coda, thereby introducing closed syllables to the language (Frellesvig 2010:191). 59, 93, 97, 98, 112

**ren’yōkei** The *kokugogaku* term for a certain verbal stem. Sometimes translated in English as the ‘infinitive’, although it does not correspond in an obvious way to infinitival forms in Indo-European. x, 112, 113, 115, 116, 118

**rendaku** (a.k.a. sequential voicing) The morphophonological process in Japonic by which a voiceless obstruent in the initial position of the second part of a compound word becomes voiced. Not perfectly systematic, or productive. Mostly constrained by a rule known as Lyman’s Law (Vance 1987:133–48 *inter alia*). 32, 75, 76

**rentaikei** The *kokugogaku* term for the attributive or adnominal inflection of verbs and adjectives. x, 6, 73, 115

**Japonic** A small language family (by number of languages), whose largest and best known member is Japanese. The name was coined by Leon Serafim of the University of Hawai’i. viii, 1, 4, 20, 25, 42, 43, 47, 58, 65, 89, 93, 107, 112, 118, 121

**Sino-Japanese** Vocabulary borrowed into Japanese from continental China in several waves over many hundreds of years, and making up an enormous percentage of the total Japanese lexicon. Most of them are written as compounds of two Chinese *kanji* characters, although longer and shorter ones exist. 6, 42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 56–58, 67, 77, 78, 80, 89, 93, 94
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Appendix A

Subgrouping Data

2. head
   (MI) tsuburi
   (OK) tsuburi
   (KT) tsuburi / tsumuri
   (NN) tsuburi
   (SY) tsuburi
   (AO) tsuburi / haNgama

3. white hair
   (MI) shaga
   (OK) shaga
   (KT) shaga
   (NN) shaga
   (SY) shaga
   (AO) shaga

7. sideburns 2
   (MI) houpeta
   (OK) houpeta
   (KT) houpeta
   (NN) houpeta
   (SY) houpeta
   (AO) houpeta

3. white hair
   (MI) shaga
   (OK) shaga
   (KT) shaga
   (NN) shaga
   (SY) shaga
   (AO) shaga

4. sideburns 1
   (MI) michiki
   (OK) michiki
   (KT) michiki
   (NN) -
   (SY) michiki
   (AO) michiki

8. hair
   (MI) kebusho
   (OK) kebusho / kebusho
   (KT) kebusho / kebusho

4. sideburns 1
   (MI) michiki
   (OK) michiki
   (KT) michiki
   (NN) -
   (SY) michiki
   (AO) michiki

5. beard
   (MI) hege
   (OK) hege
   (KT) hege
   (NN) -
   (SY) -
   (AO) hege

9. forehead
   (MI) hite:
   (OK) hite:
   (KT) hite:

5. beard
   (MI) hege
   (OK) hege
   (KT) hege
   (NN) -
   (SY) -
   (AO) hege

10. eyebrow
    (MI) mami
    (OK) mamige
    (KT) mamige

6. cheek
   (MI) hou
   (OK) hoQpeta

9. forehead
   (MI) hite:
   (OK) hite:
   (KT) hite:

6. cheek
   (MI) hou
   (OK) hoQpeta

10. eyebrow
    (MI) mami
    (OK) mamige
    (KT) mamige

   (NN) mami
   (SY) mami

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11. eye
  (MI) manako
  (OK) manako
  (KT) manako
  (NN) manako
  (SY) manako
  (AO) manako

12. eyeball
  (MI) meNtama / meNkuritama
  (OK) meNtama / meNkuritama
  (KT) meNtama / meNkuritama
  (NN) meNtama
  (SY) meNtama
  (AO) -

13. tears
  (MI) menada
  (OK) menada
  (KT) menada
  (NN) menada
  (SY) menada
  (AO) menada

14. close (eyes)
  (MI) tsuQku:
  (OK) tsuQku:ru
  (KT) tsuQku:
  (NN) tsuQku:
  (SY) tsuQku:
  (AO) -

15. tooth
  (MI) nukaba
  (OK) nukaba
  (KT) nukaba
  (NN) nukaba
  (SY) nukaba
  (AO) nukaba

16. chipped tooth
  (MI) hagu:ba
  (OK) hagu:ba
  (KT) hagu:ba
  (NN) hagu:ba
  (SY) hagu:ba / haguNba
  (AO) hagu:ba / hamoge

17. neck
  (MI) kuNbone
  (OK) kuNbone
  (KT) kuQbone
  (NN) kuQbone
  (SY) kuQbone
  (AO) kuQbone

18. nape of neck
  (MI) boNkubo
  (OK) boNkubo
  (KT) boNkubo
  (NN) unya:ji
  (SY) boNkubo
  (AO) kuQbonegasou

19. jaw
  (MI) otoge:
  (OK) otoge:
  (KT) otogya:
  (NN) otogya:
  (SY) otoge:
  (AO) otoge:

20. choke (on sthg)
  (MI) noNbakeru
  (OK) noNbakeru
  (KT) noQbakeru
  (NN) noQbakeru
  (SY) noNbakeru
  (AO) noNbakeru

21. drool
  (MI) yoNdare
22. spittle
(MI) sho:
(KT) sho:
(NN) sha:buki
(SY) sha:
(AO) shougami
27. finger
(MI) ibi

23. saliva
(MI) tsudaki
(OK) tsudaki
(KT) tsudaki
(NN) tsudaki
(SY) tsudaki
(AO) tsudaki
28. thumb
(MI) bouyubi

24. back (body part)
(MI) hedaka
(OK) hedaka
(KT) hedaka
(NN) hedaka
(SY) hedaka
(AO) hedaka
29. palm (of hand)
(MI) taNbou

25. naked
(MI) shaQpedaka
(OK) shaQpedaka
(KT) shaQpadaka
(NN) shaQpedaka
(SY) shaQpedaka
(AO) shaQpedaka
30. navel
(MI) heQchogo

26. shoulder
(MI) ke:na
(OK) ke:na
(KT) kya:na
31. umbilical
(MI) hesogara

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32. penis
(MI) chiNpoko
(OK) chiNpoko
(KT) chiNpoko
(NN) chiNpoko
(SY) chiNchiN
(AO) marou

33. vagina
(MI) shiNnoko
(OK) shiNnoko
(KT) shiNnoko
(NN) shiNnoko
(SY) shiNnoko
(AO) shiNnoko

34. buttocks
(MI) shiNbeta
(OK) shiQbeta
(KT) shiNbeta / shiNgeta
(NN) shiNbeta / shiNgeta
(SY) shiNbeta
(AO) shiNbeta / shiNgeta

35. tailbone
(MI) shiNbetabone
(OK) -
(KT) shiQbetabone
(NN) shiQbetabone
(SY) shiQbetabone
(AO) shiQbetabone

36. leg / foot
(MI) -
(OK) -
(KT) boji
(NN) -
(SY) -
(AO) boQtougi: / boji

37. arch (of foot)
(MI) anashita
(OK) anashita
(KT) anashita
(NN) anashita
(SY) anashita
(AO) anashita

38. knee
(MI) tsugume
(OK) tsugume
(KT) hijakabura
(NN) hijakabura
(SY) tsugume
(AO) sunekamachi / hizakabura

39. shin / leg
(MI) hagi
(OK) hagi
(KT) hagi
(NN) hagi
(SY) suneQpachi
(AO) hagi

40. heel
(MI) aQkei
(OK) aQkei
(KT) aQkya:
(NN) aQki:i
(SY) aQkei
(AO) aQkei

41. facial mole
(MI) kusube
(OK) kusube
(KT) kusube
(NN) kusube
(SY) kusube
(AO) kusube

42. snore
(MI) igoro
(OK) igorou
(NN) igoro
(SY) igoro
(AO) igorou

43. sneeze
(MI) -
(OK) -
(KT) aQtsua
(NN) kuQchia
(SY) kuQcha:
(AO) -

44. skin
(MI) ko:be
(OK) ko:be
(KT) ku:wa:be
(NN) koabe
(SY) ka:be
(AO) koube

45. int. organs
(MI) harawata
(OK) -
(KT) wata / hugi
(NN) hugi
(SY) harawata
(AO) hugi

46. rough skin
(MI) shoQke
(OK) shoQke
(KT) -
(NN) shoQkeN
(SY) shoQkera
(AO) shoQkejou

47. wart
(MI) yuNbu
(OK) yuNbu / yuQbu
(KT) iQbu

48. feces
(MI) iNno

49. defecate
(MI) iNnoumaru

50. urine
(MI) yoNbari

51. wet oneself
(MI) shikaburu

52. die
(MI) marubu / marobu

135
(AO) marubu

53. Budd. tablet (SJ ihai)
(MI) yuhé:
(OK) yuhé:
(KT) ihiya:
(NN) ihiya:
(SY) yuhé:
(AO) yuhé:

54. funeral
(MI) tomore: / tomure:
(OK) tomure:
(KT) tomurya:
(NN) tomurya:
(SY) tomure:
(AO) kakahisami

55. give birth (to)
(MI) nasu
(OK) nasu
(KT) nasu
(NN) nasu
(SY) nasu
(AO) nasu

56. man
(MI) onokogo
(OK) onokogo
(KT) onokogo
(NN) onokogo
(SY) onokogo
(AO) onokogo

57. woman
(MI) oNnagō
(OK) oNnagō
(KT) oNnagō
(NN) oNnagō
(SY) oNnagō
(AO) oNnagō

58. 1st son
(MI) tarou / yarou
(OK) tarou / taru:
(KT) tarou
(NN) yaQko
(SY) yaQko
(AO) tarou

59. 2nd son
(MI) jou
(OK) jou
(KT) jou
(NN) jou
(SY) jou
(AO) jou

60. 3rd son
(MI) sabou
(OK) sabou
(KT) sabou
(NN) sabou
(SY) sabou
(AO) sabo:

61. 4th son
(MI) shou
(OK) shou
(KT) shou
(NN) shirou
(SY) shou
(AO) sho:

62. 5th son
(MI) gorou
(OK) gorou
(KT) gorou
(NN) gorou
(SY) gorou
(AO) goro:

63. 6th son
(MI) rokurou / dokurou
64. 1st daughter
(MI) nyoko
(KT) nyoko
(NN) nyoko
(SY) nyoko
65. 2nd daughter
(MI) naka
(KT) naka
(NN) naka
(SY) naka
66. 3rd daughter
(MI) tego
(KT) tego
(NN) tego
(SY) tego
67. 4th daughter
(MI) kusu
(KT) kusu
(NN) kusu
(SY) kusu
68. last child
(MI) shiQpashi
(KT) shiQpashi
(NN) shiQpashi
(SY) shiQpashi
69. breakfast
(MI) asage
(KT) asage
(NN) asake
(SY) asake
(AO) asake
70. lunch
(MI) hyoura
(KT) hyoura
(NN) hyoura
(SY) hyoura
(AO) hyo:ra
71. dinner
(MI) youmeshi / youke
(KT) youmeshi / youke
(NN) youke
(SY) youke
(AO) yo:meshi / youke
72. side dishes
(MI) sei
(KT) sha:
(NN) sha:a
(SY) sei
(AO) se:
73. please eat (IMP)
(MI) me:re
(KT) mya:riyare
(NN) mya:riyare / agariyare
(SY) me:riyare / me:re
74. rice porridge
(MI) oke:
(OK) oke:
(KT) okya:
(NN) okya:
(SY) oke:
(AO) oke:

75. rice gruel
(MI) zousei
(OK) zouse:
(KT) zouse: / doushi:
(NN) joushi:
(SY) zoushi:
(AO) jousei

76. sashimi
(MI) sasumi
(OK) -
(KT) -
(NN) sasumi
(SY) sasumi
(AO) sasumi

77. sweet potato
(MI) kaNmo
(OK) kaNmo / satsuma
(KT) satsuma
(NN) satsuma
(SY) satsuma

78. daikon
(MI) de:ko
(OK) de:ko
(KT) ja:ko
(NN) deyako
(SY) de:ko
(AO) de:ko

79. A. keiskei (SJ ashitaba)
(MI) e:taba
(OK) e:taba
(KT) yataba
(NN) yataba
(SY) e:taba
(AO) e:taba

80. a k.o. potato
(MI) neimo
(OK) neimo
(KT) ni:mo
(NN) neimo
(SY) ni:mo
(AO) neimo

81. unpeeled cooked satoimo
(MI) nyo:geimo
(OK) nyo:geimo
(KT) nya:ge
(NN) nyoage
(SY) nya:geimo
(AO) nyo:geimo

82. small (sato)imo
(MI) chiNgoimo
(OK) chiNgoimo
(KT) shaNgaimo
(NN) chiNgoimo
(SY) chiNgoimo
(AO) -

83. satoimo roots, etc (cf. hair)
(MI) kebisho
(OK) kebusho
(KT) kebusho
(NN) kebusho
(SY) kebusho
(AO) -

84. red pepper
(MI) toNgarashi / toNgaisho
85. *shiokara* (squid?)

86. tea*pot*

87. boil, cook

88. sewer, drainage

89. rice pot
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<th>100.</th>
<th>carpenter</th>
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<tr>
<td>(MI)</td>
<td>he:riguchi</td>
<td>(MI)</td>
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</table>
106. purlin, main structure

107. raindrops

108. rope ( SJ nawa)

109. rope ( SJ tsuna)

110. bull

111. cow

112. calf (cattle)

113. lovable cow

114. rampaging cow

115. nose rope
116. “walk!” (to cow)
(MI) tei:
(OK) toi / shi:i
(KT) toi
(NN) ya
(SY) toitoi
(AO) tei / hoi

117. “stop!” (to cow)
(MI) be:e
(OK) be:e / beibei
(KT) bya:
(NN) bya:
(SY) be:
(AO) be:

118. compost, muck
(MI) mayagoe / motogoe
(OK) mayage: / ushige:
(KT) ma:yagi:
(NN) mayagoyashi
(SY) ushigoyashi
(AO) mayage: / ushige:

119. cow transport thing
(MI) keimochi
(OK) ke:mochi
(KT) ki:mochi
(NN) keimochi
(SY) ki:mochi
(AO) -

120. cow loading support
(MI) sasuNbo: / sasu
(OK) sasu / sashibou
(KT) sasu / sashibou
(NN) sasu
(SY) sasu / sashiNbo:
(AO) sasu

121. hulling (barley)
(MI) mugishigoki
(OK) shigoku
(KT) mugishigoki
(NN) mugishigoki
(SY) taQkoki
(AO) osu

122. plant (sprouts, etc)
(MI) naberu
(OK) naberu
(KT) naberu
(NN) naberu
(SY) naberu
(AO) naberu

123. one bundle
(MI) iQcha
(OK) iQcha
(KT) iQcha
(NN) iQcha
(SY) iQcha
(AO) hitoneji

124. two bundles
(MI) nya
(OK) nicha / niwa
(KT) nicha
(NN) nya
(SY) nicha / nya
(AO) futaneji

125. straw bale, sack
(MI) to:ura
(OK) to:ra
(KT) toara
(NN) toara
(SY) ta:ra
(AO) to:ora

126. cull, thin out
(MI) uronuku
(OK) sabaku (NN) moyori
(KT) sabaku (SY) moyou
(NN) sabaku (AO) hiyori
(SY) sabaku
(AO) oronoku

127. seedling
(MI) ne:
(OK) ne:
(KT) nya:
(NN) nya:
(SY) ne:
(AO) ne:

132. be hot
(MI) hotouru
(OK) hotouru
(KT) hoto:ru
(NN) hotouru
(SY) hoto:ru
(AO) hoto:ru

128. raise crops
(MI) hagimu
(OK) hagimu
(KT) hagumu
(NN) hagemu
(SY) hagimu

133. be cold
(MI) kogeiru / kajimu
(OK) kogeiru
(KT) kogi:ru
(NN) kogi:ru / kajimu
(SY) kogi:ru
(AO) koge:ru

129. heavens
(MI) teNnei
(OK) teNnei
(KT) teNnei
(NN) teNni:
(SY) teNni:

134. north wind
(MI) ko:mura
(OK) ko:mura / nare:
(KT) narai / kawamura
(NN) narya:
(SY) ka:mura

135. today
(MI) kei
(OK) ke:

136. night
(MI) yuru
(OK) yuru
(KT) yoNbe
(NN) yoQbe
(SY) yoNbe / yuru
(AO) yoNbei
137. yesterday
(MI) kinei
(OK) kine:
(KT) kinyou
(NN) kine:
(SY) kine:
(AO) kinei
138. last night
(MI) yoNbe
(OK) yoNbe
(KT) yoQbe
(NN) yoQbe
(SY) yoQbe / yoQbe
(AO) yoNbe
139. day before yesterday
(MI) ototei
(OK) ototei
(KT) uchichi:
(NN) ototei
(SY) otochi: / uchichi:
(AO) uQsei
140. next year
(MI) de:neN
(OK) de:neN
(KT) ja:neN
(NN) dianeN
(SY) de:neN
(AO) de:neN
141. year after next
(MI) sade:neN
(OK) sare:neN
(KT) sadeya:neN
(NN) sadeaneN
(SY) sade:neN
(AO) sade:neN
142. satoimo
(MI) heNgo
(OK) heNgo
(KT) heQgo
(NN) heQgo
(SY) heNgo
(AO) heNgo
143. SJ tsurusoba?
(MI) nebutachi
(OK) nukutachi
(KT) nukutachi / nubutachi / nobutachi
(NN) nukutachi
(SY) nukutachi
(AO) nukutachi
144. wax myrtle fruit (SJ yamamomo)
(MI) yo:mo
(OK) yo:mo
(KT) ya:mo
(NN) yo:mo / yuamo
(SY) ya:mo
(AO) youmo
145. lily bulbs
(MI) -
(OK) inera
(KT) inera
(NN) inera
(SY) yurine
(AO) -
146. fly (bug)
(MI) he:me
(OK) he:me
(KT) hya:me
(NN) hya:me
(SY) he:me
(AO) he:me
147. moth
(MI) heirume
148. cicada (SJ semi)  
(MI) kutsukoushime  
(OK) kutsukoushi  
(KT) kutsukuwa:shime  
(NN) kutsukoashime  
(SY) kutsukoushime  
(AO) sho:rume

149. spider  
(MI) deNgome  
(OK) kumome  
(KT) kumome  
(NN) deNgome  
(SY) deNgome  
(AO) kumome

150. cockroach  
(MI) kakijaneme / kakijarime  
(OK) kakijaneme / kakijarume  
(KT) kakijarime  
(NN) kakijaneme / kakijarume  
(SY) kakijarime  
(AO) kakijoume / amami / kakijaneme

151. frog  
(MI) ke:rome  
(OK) ke:rome / ke:rume  
(KT) kya:rume  
(NN) kya:rume  
(SY) -  
(AO) ke:rome

152. lizard  
(MI) ke:byoume  
(OK) ke:byoume  
(KT) kya:ba:me

153. earthworm  
(MI) memezume  
(OK) memezume  
(KT) nenezume  
(NN) nenezume  
(SY) memezume  
(AO) memezume

154. a k.o. seaweed (SJ habanori)  
(MI) haNba  
(OK) haNba  
(KT) haQba  
(NN) haQba  
(SY) haQba / haNba  
(AO) haNba

155. play-SUB (SJ asonde)  
(MI) asuQde / asuNde  
(OK) asuNde  
(KT) asuQde  
(NN) asuNde  
(SY) asuNde  
(AO) -

156. that way (SJ ano youni)  
(MI) ugoN  
(OK) ugoN  
(KT) ugaN  
(NN) ugaN  
(SY) ugaN  
(AO) unoyouni

157. SJ aru mon ka  
(MI) aro:shi  
(OK) aro:shi  
(KT) aroushi  
(NN) aroashi  
(SY) ara:shi
158. give me that (SJ are wo kure)
(MI) urei.kero
(OK) urei.kero
(KT) urei.kero
(NN) uri:.kero
(SY) uri:.kero
(AO) ure:.kero

159. gentle (SJ otonashi:)
(MI) yu:na
(OK) youra
(KT) youra
(NN) youra
(SY) youra
(AO) yu:na

160. loan me an umbrella (SJ kasa wo kase)
(MI) kas:..kase
(OK) kaso:.kase
(KT) kaso:.kashiyare
(NN) kaso:.kase
(SY) kasa:a.kase
(AO) kaso:.kase

161. hop on one foot
(MI) keNkeN
(OK) keQkeN
(KT) keNkeN
(NN) keQkeN
(SY) keNkeN
(AO) keQkeNjou

162. ride on shoulders
(MI) teNgruma
(OK) teNgruma
(KT) teQgruma
(NN) teNgruma
(SY) teNgruma
(AO) teNgruma

163. corner, nook
(MI) suNma
(OK) suNma

164. lump, clod
(MI) koNgori
(OK) koNgori

165. smoke
(MI) yuburi
(OK) yuburi

166. small hill
(MI) toNbu
(OK) toNbu

167. dried yam
(MI) kiNboshi
(OK) kiNboshi

168. a while ago
(MI) haNdume
(OK) haNdume
(KT) haQdume
(NN) haQdume
(SY) haNdume
(AO) haNdume
The following pages contain the lexical data (or database) referred to within the present dissertation. The structure of entries is as follows: Lines containing phonological forms contain “>”, preceded by a four-letter abbreviation indicating the source of the word (see below). If the form is specific to one or more dialects, village abbreviation(s) will follow, in parentheses, like “(NN)”. One or more lines giving the definition and any other notes follow, starting with whitespace at the left edge of the line. Multiple definition lines can appear before the next entry begins with a new “>” line. When more than one closely-related form shares the same definition (including, but not limited to, dialectal variants), multiple “>” lines may appear consecutively before the definition begins. English text contained in curly braces {} are annotations by the transcriber, but those notes might also sometimes appear in square brackets [ ]. The format for definitions and extraneous information is not extremely consistent, or strict. Modifiers “older” and “younger” indicate which generation of speakers is more likely to use the form. A form marked with (^) indicates that it is expected to exist or have existed, if not actually a reconstruction, but which is not attested in any of my sources. Often it is a verb citation form in -owa, when the attested version is in -u, like SJ. Alternatively, a romanized form corresponding to modern kana usage which I conjecture to be the correct (contemporary) pronunciation of something written in old kana usage.


asan> aiQpara
  a fish [suma - saba]
asan> aiyaiyai
  SJ ara maaa
asan> au
  SJ iya da koto
asan> aokya
  blue/green
asan> aoze
  a fish [aodai - fuedai]
asan> aoburi
  a fish [hiramasa - aji]
asan> aoboNshi
  a dragonfly [kosiaki-tonbo]
asan> aomuro
   a fish [kusayamuro - aji]
asan> aga
   1P pronoun attributive/adnominal
asan> akagame
   a turtle [umigame]
asan> akasaba
   a fish [hatibiki]
asan> akajaQcha
   a bird [tanekomadori - tsugumi]
asan> akazukiimo
   a tuber
asan> akazumori
   a fish [sasanoha-bera]
asan> akaze
   a fish [muroaji - aji]
asan> agatono
   my sweet child (cf agahime for girls)
asan> akadoro
   a fish [minami-hatanpo]
asan> akanada
   a fish [tora-utsubo]
asan> akanenobara
   a plant [juzunenoki - akane]
asan> agahime
   my sweet girl (cf agatono)
asan> akahyu:kidake
   a fish [aka-yagara]
asan> akaburi
   a fish [kanpati - aji]
asan> akaboNshi
   a dragonfly
asan> akamasu
   a fish [oohime - fuedai]
asan> akaminoki
   a plant [mokkoku - tsubaki]
asan> akamushi
   a bug [tsutsugamusi - SJ dani family]
asan> akamutsu
   a fish [hatijouakamutsu - fuedai]
asan> akamuro
   a fish [kumazasahanamuro - fuedai]
asan> akamedama  
    a fish [tikame-kintoki]
asan> akamochi  
    a plant [mokureisi - nisikigi]
asan> akayashi  
    a fish [sim-a-gatsuo - katsuo]
asan> akayo  
    a fish [aka-hata]
asan> agare  
    mesi-agare
asan> akaNbane  
    a cow
asan> akiage  
    celebration of the end of the fishing period
asan> akiyamasama  
    deity of fire prevention
asan> akusheku  
    isogasiku
asan> akusu  
    tangle (as of thread, etc)
asan> agemono  
    offerings to deity
asan> akerotoshi  
    the next year
asan> akerohi  
    the next day
asan> agerowa  
    vomit, spit [haku]
asan> ako  
asan> akojiru  
    ash juice
asan> akonoki  
    a plant/tree [karasu-no-sansyou]
asan> akobi  
    yawn, akubi
asan> asagane  
    a fishing tool
asan> asake  
    breakfast, tyousyoku
asan> asage:ri  
    going home in the morning [asagaeri]. A marriage related tradition.
asan> asaQte
same as SJ
asan> azana
   nickname, SJ adana
asan> asane
   reef/rocks hidden under ocean water
asan> asami
   a fish [isuzumi]
asan> azamizoshii:
   a soup made with azami leaves [azami zousui]
asan> azamitabako
   dried azami leaves crushed and smoked
asan> ashi:
   niisan, respectful way to address older male
asan> ashiire
   "putting foot in", a marriage tradition
asan> ajikuri
   act of spider spinning its web
asan> ashikekotoni
   SJ kore ha kore ha (warui neeee)
asan> ashinakaebi
   a shrimp [semi-ebi]
asan> ashibuto
   a plant [onikusa]
asan> azu
asan> azubata
   boundary, as between land property
asan> azukimeshi
   osekihan
asan> asunaro
   a plant [inu-maki]
asan> asubiba
   SJ asobi-ba (play place)
asan> asubowa
   play, SJ asobu
asan> atagerowa
   SJ ijimeru, iyagaraseru, kurusimaseru
asan> atagoto
   a lot, much, takusan
asan> atayami
   omoi byouki, a grave illness
asan> adaN
   dousite mo, nanisiro, in any case
asan> adaN-sa:shi
dou nimo naranai
asan> adaN-shitara
dou sitara
asan> adaN-su
dou suru
asan> adaN-ka
dou ni ka
asan> adaN-shite
dou site, naze, why; dou yatte
asan> adaN-da:
dou dai
asan> adaN-daka
dou na no ka
asan> aQkari
crack(s), splitting places esp when it looks red inside?
asan> atsuki
atsu (small beans)
asan> atsukya
SJ atsui; hot
asan> aQke:noki
a tree [akamegasiwa - toudaigusa]
asan> aQke:yo-kakowa
agura wo kaku, sit crosslegged
asan> aQtakechi (NN)
SJ mattaku
asan> aQchi
same as SJ
asan> aQpame
baby, akaNbou
asan> aQpe:pe:
sukkarakan; broke, have no money
asan> aQpe:manako
surprised eyes
asan> atege:ri
SJ ii kagen
asan> atege:buQchi
something about helping out; really refers to a social custom
asan> ateQkoora
nazonazo (a game?)
asan> atoshaN
SJ kouhou he (toward the back of something)
asan> atotori  
   heir, chounaN
asan> anautsuku  
   a fish [mino-kasago]
asan> anashita  
   ashi no ura (a[shi] no/na shita?); bottom of foot
asan> anamamori  
   a shellfish [maanago]
asan> anaNgo:  
   a hole, including holes in the ground and caves
asan> ani  
   SJ nani; Semantics: "used when you don’t know the name of something"
asan> anyo-osunaro  
   SJ nani itte’N desu ka
asan> anyoka  
   SJ nani wo ka
asan> anyo-shoda: (SY?)
asan> anyo-shodoa (KT)(NN)
asan> anyo-shodo: (MD)(OK)
   SJ nani wo suru no ka
asan> aniNkamo:  
   SJ kamau na
asan> anedara  
   SJ toshiue (da)
asan> ane:dono  
   SJ ane ue (big sister, hon.)
asan> abayo:i  
   bye, sayonara
asan> abi  
   a plant [hachijou kusa ichigo - bara/kiichigo]
asan> abiyuwe:  
   SJ abi-iwai; when mother bathes for first time 21 days after birth of child
asan> abuki  
   a shellfish [tokobusi - mimigai]
asan> abusowa  
   SJ nyuuyoku saseru; to bathe (transitive)
asan> abunakya  
   SJ abunai
asan> abume  
   SJ abu; a bug, a little bigger than a fly
asan> aburage  
   SJ abura-age (mochi, not tofu?)
asan> aburaku
   a fish [kagokakidai]
asan> aburade:
   a fish [okina-mejina]
asan> aburayo
   a fish [sujitarumi - fuedai]
asan> aho:dori
   a bird [ahoudori]
asan> ama
   a kind of attic? storage above ceiling (OK)(SY). In other regions, just "ceiling"
asan> amago
   a tool for smoking fish?
asan> amazu
   a ceiling made of thin, woven bamboo?
asan> amasowa
   SJ haku; vomit, spit out
asan> amabashi
   specialized steps (for climbing to the ceiling?)
asan> amamime
   a small cockroach that only lives in human buildings, not seen outdoors
asan> ameiji
   madaragyuu. a cow with a lot of reddish coloring, mixed with white and black
asan> a:me:go:showa
   SJ amaeru [does this include "showa" ‘suru’?]
asan> a:mochi (SY)
asan> woamochi (KT)(NN)
asan> o:mochi: (MI)(OK)
   SJ awamochi; mochi made of millet?
asan> ara
   fault, shortcoming. Person who likes to find these in others is "arasagashi".
asan> arakerowa
   newly cultivate (land); SJ kaikoN
asan> arasho
   new farmland created from forest; also a burnt field after being left 1 year
asan> arabitogonomi
   preference of women for men from other places ("new person like"); long blurb
asan> arare
   seems same as SJ
asan> ariitasowa
   SJ arimasu/gozaimasu.
asan> ariNnaka
   SJ inai
asan> aruchi:ya
   SJ iru sou da, aru sou da
asan> are
   1P pronoun; cf ware
asan> arowa
   SJ aru, iru
asan> aNshi:
   SJ doushite, naze
asan> aNshi:ka
   SJ naze ka (duh)
asan> aNda
   what, nani. Seems to be a variant of "ani"... from his examples, looks like it has normal
   SJ copula embedded, but no clear explanation that would indicate degree of lexicalization.
   Or whether it’s regional. Summary of the semantics is: “used when things are not clear”
   [monogoto ga hakkiri shinai toki ni tsukau]
asan> aNdaka
   nan da ka
asan> aNde
   nan de, naze
asan> aNde-sogaN
   shoi SJ nande sou suru no ka. This form (SY)(NN) aNde sogoN sho (MI)(OK)
asan> aNde-mo
   nakkya SJ nan de mo nai
asan> aNte-yaQki:
   SJ nan to ittakke. aniite yaroo (MI)
asan> aNdo: (OK)
   SJ “nan da”; what is it? cf korya aNda: p99
asan> aNdo
asan> aNde
asan> iNne
   like SJ one:san. can be used as post-name suffix.
asan> aNnimo
   SJ sou de ha nai
asan> aNnimo-narya-sazu
   SJ dou nimo naranai
asan> aNnyomo-kaNnyomo
   nanimo kamo
asan> aNno-maned
   SJ nan no maneda (why not [dara] I wonder?)
asan> aNbe:
   SJ yousu/chousi. (from SJ aNbai?)
asan> aNpera
SJ mushiro (a kind of grass)
asan> aNmari[dara]
   SJ aNmari da
asan> iie:
   argument
asan> iiNnaka
   SJ iwanai, as in keep a secret (only this?)
asan> ikata
   way of sitting, seiza?
asan> ikaQchiiga
   itta sou da ga
asan> ikapiQcha
   ikahodo/dorehodo (mo nai)
asan> ikyo-showa
   hotto suru; iki-nuki suru (sigh of relief); probably "iki wo suru"
asan> ikiyo:wa
   ikiau/deau; KT ikiyouru
asan> iguma
   nature word (tree?)
asan> ige
   SJ yuge, steam
asan> igokowa
   SJ ugoku, hataraku
asan> igoro
   SJ ibiki, snore
asan> ishinoko
   small rock
asan> ishibaQchiki[dara]
   hard as a rock
asan> ijimerowa
   SJ shikaru, scold
asan> ishiya:mo
   a plant [yanagiichigo - irakusa]
asan> ijo-harowa
   SJ jji wo haru
asan> izunoki
   a plant [yuzuriha - himehagi]
asan> isoudo
   a fisherman? Hjo Jikki
asan> isokago
   a fishing tackle basket made from "madake" (?)
SJ akigumi, a tree
asan> isogoki
    SJ isogiku, a kind of chrysanthemum (is there a metathesis here?)
asan> isogoQko
    SJ isohiyodori, a bird
asan> isosuge
    SJ higesuge, a kind of grass
asan> isonezumi
    a fish
asan> isomonotori
    collecting shellfish, etc on the beach at low tide, so you don’t get too wet
asan> itagara
    a kind of grass
asan> itabira
    SJ ita, plank
asan> ichibi
    SJ fuyou. a tree of family ”aoi”
asan> ichiNchi
    ichi nichi, one day
asan> iQkonai
    SJ ano ne, interjection
asan> iQsaN-makuda
    SJ ichi-moku-san ni??
asan> itsuchiya
    SJ egonoki, a tree
asan> iQcho:rai
    SJ hare-gi?
asan> iQto:[dara]
    SJ ichiban da
asan> iQbu
asan> yuNbu (MI)
asan> yuQbu (OK)
    SJ ibo; wart
asan> iQpuki
    SJ ippiki (one animal)
asan> iQpe:
    SJ takusan, a lot
asan> iQpe:yaku
    a cultural practice; read blurb
asan> iQpo
    SJ ippoN (one long, thin thing)
asan> idemi:
SJ tyotto mate
asan> iderowa
SJ yuderu, boil
asan> ido
   SJ mushiro, goza; a straw mat spread on the floor; cf musho, mosho
asan> ito:shikowa
   SJ ito wo taguru, pull thread. Looks cognate to /siku/ ‘lay down’ or /hiku/ ‘pull’?
asan> itonaku(te)
SJ isogashii
asan> inasa
   south-east wind; cf tatsumi
asan> inazuma
   thunder (not lightning?)
asan> ine
   SJ une; ridge?
asan> inera
   SJ sukasiyuri, a grass, related to /yuri/ (lily)?
asan> ibi
   SJ yubi; finger
asan> ibirowa
   itameru (food)
asan> ibiwa
   SJ yubiwa, finger ring
asan> iburi
   smoke
asan> iburowa
   smoke (vi), be smoky
asan> ihie:
asan> ihya: (KT)(NN)
   a piece of wood with dead person’s various names written on it
asan> imidzure
   a ritual relating to death of one’s parent; read blurb
asan> imemigo
   a basket used for peeling potatoes?
asan> imogashira
   a kind of potato
asan> imodzuki
   a way of eating potato
asan> irakaji
   SJ uni? (urchin?)
asan> irifune-yue:
asan> irifune-yuwe: [not given in book, but predictable?]
asan> irifune-ie: (MI)
asan> irifune-yuwya: (KT)(NN)
SJ irifune iwai (a celebration)
asan> iro
something re: traditional dress
asan> irowa
SJ suwaru?
asan> iro:wa
SJ karakau
asan> iNkyo
something about retirement customs
asan> iNjiru
semen/sperm?
asan> iNdO:
tabako ire, a container for tobacco; KT yuNdo:
asan> iNnaka
SJ iwanai; not say
asan> iNne
older sister (other readings exist: anei, aNne, aNdo)
asan> iNno
poop, scat
asan> itakura
a grain store raised on stilts, cf takakura
asan> uide
first menstruation, coming of age for girls
asan> ueshaN
SJ ue no hou he, upward
asan> ue:to:ka
SJ miemashita ka, irasshai. He explains: a greeting used toward someone from another village who comes to your village on some errand, as they are leaving for home. This makes no sense to me. Irasshai? Really?
asan> ueNda
SJ ue no hou
asan> ugata
SJ achira no hou. directional
asan> ugaN
SJ ano you ni
asan> uki:
SJ doko he. ex: "ukii wasoka" = doko he ikimasu ka
asan> ukisu
kurage, jellyfish
asan> uku
SJ asoko
asan> ukuja
SJ asoko de ha
asan> ukura
SJ asokora, asoko atari
asan> ukedzuri [his katakana shows affricate]
   an old method of fishing
asan> usaba
   a shark? [uba-zame] - is this transposition a typo?
asan> ushiebezu
   a plant, kind of grape [nobudou]
asan> ushizumi[dara]
   SJ yamadumi? describes something that's disorganized, in a messy heap, etc; darasinai
asan> ujidashi[dara]
   SJ darashi-nai
asan> ushiya:mo
   a plant [inubiwa - kuwa]
asan> usho
   sea water. SJ ushio = tide
asan> uso
asan> oso (OK)(NN)
   SJ chigau [not "lie"?]
asan> uzoma:shikya
asan> uzomoushi: (MI)
   SJ iyarasii, maybe urusai also?
asan> utateshikya
   SJ tsumaranai
asan> uchigi
   a plant [hakone utsugi - suikazura]
asan> uchichi:
asan> uQtsei (MI)(OK)
   SJ ototoi; day before yesterday
asan> uchimurasaki
   a fruit. a kind of large mikan
asan> uchiwadomi
   a fish [uchiwafugu]
asan> uQchi
   SJ achira, acchi
asan> uQchaN
   SJ acchi he
asan> uQtse:
asan> uQche (KT)(NN)
barnacle [fujitsubo]
asan> uQto:shikya
urusai
asan> unaNsha
SJ omae-tachi
asan> uno:
SJ anoo
asan> unogure:
SJ ano gurai
asan> unoshito
asan> onoshito (KT)(NN)
SJ ano hito
asan> unonai (SY? or UT?)
asan> unonei (MI)
asan> unonou (OK)
asan> ononoa (KT)
asan> unonoo (NN)
SJ ano ne {could this be a kind of hypercorrection, reconstructing an [ai] that was never there? Or could be UT, with expected sound change ei > ai}
asan> unome
a bird [umiu]
asan> ubaihoumei-jiNja
PN name of a shrine
asan> umazura [fricative shown in katakana, not affricate]
a fish [umazurahagi - kawahagi]; filefish
asan> umiiji
a sea creature [amefurasi]; sea hare
asan> urabe
a lower level functionary at a shrine
asan> urame
squint
asan> urame-ni-showa
SJ me wo shiroguro saseru
asan> uri:sho
SJ uribatake
asan> ure
SJ are
asan> ureshikya
SJ kimoti ii, kokoti yoi [but not uresii??]
asan> ureshikute-shiNde
extremely happy
asan> ureshiku-narowa
recover from illness
asan> uro-doshi
something year?
asan> uNga
asan> unaga (KT)(NN)
   SJ omae ga, you(subj)
asan> uNma
   mother
asan> uNmakya
   SJ umai, oisii
asan> uNmasou[dara]
   SJ umasou, oisii sou
asan> e
   house, as in aga-e (my house)
asan> e-ga
   some kind of container used in egg production
asan> e-gazashi
   some kind of shelf used with the e-ga (above)
asan> e-kaNcho:
   some object of historical significance (read to find out). Clearly just borrowed from mainland.
asan> ego
   SJ irie
asan> egoimo
   SJ ao-imo?
asan> egokya
   SJ igarappoi, scratchy, itchy?
asan> esaba
   SJ chuu-bai-nin, broker, agent
asan> e:su
   a fish [mejina]
asan> ezukya
asan> e:zui (KT)
   SJ yari-nikui
asan> e:zo
   SJ e, picture, drawing
asan> e:zo:
   a fish [honbera - bera]
asan> e:da
   SJ aida
asan> e:taba (MI)(OK)(SY)
   a plant [asitaba - seri]
asan> e:te
SJ aite
asan > enuki
SJ ie wo deru koto, such as when a wife leaves her husband’s home and returns to her parents.
asan > enoko
SJ chiisai ie
asan > enoshimatsu
SJ ie no shigoto
asan > enohara
SJ ie no naka
asan > ebeshioya
asan > ebisuoya (KT)
SJ ebosiya, a role played by a senior person in coming of age ceremony or sthg - look it up
asan > ebezu
a plant, kind of grape? [ebiduru - budou]
asan > ebesusama
SJ Ebisu-Sama
asan > e:mono
SJ aemono
asan > e:mowa
walk (cf SJ ayumu)
asan > e:yo:
asan > eiyo: (OK)
SJ koNya, only used during daylight hours of the same day? (cf. ya:y0:)
asan > era
SJ takusan, a lot (from era-i?)
asan > eraQPami
SJ taishokusha (someone who eats a lot?)
asan > eNga:
asan > eNgoa (KT)
SJ en-gawa, nure-en
asan > eNkyu:
a fish [oyabiccha - suzumedai]
asan > eNbana
a plant [hakuchouge - akane]
asan > eNyougusa
a plant [himekobaNsou - ine]
asan > o:
SJ hai. the one used to respond to having your name called, giving aizuchi, etc.
asan > o:kage
SJ zassou, weeds, grass
asan > o:gashima
Aogasima
asan> okikarikinu
   a fish [teNghagi - nizadai]
asan> okishaN
   SJ oki no hou he, toward the deep ocean
asan> okidomi
   a fish [umadurahagi - kawahagi]
asan> okinaebi
   a shrimp [semiebi - uchiwaebi]
asan> okifugu
   a fish [ishigakifugu - hariseNboN]
asan> okiburi
   a fish [tsumuburi - aji]
asan> o:gyo
   a fish [uchiwafugu]
asan> okirowa
   SJ okiru
asan> okuji
   SJ oku no hou, deep inside
asan> okunoma
   SJ oku no ma, space on the inside
asan> okuri
   funeral
asan> okenoko
   SJ oke, bucket, pail, tub
asan> ogo
   a fish [himedai - fuedai]; cf komasu
asan> okojo
   a fish [eboshikasago - fusakasago]
asan> okoze
   a fish [hanaokoze - izariuo]
asan> okomori
   SJ okomori, to hole-up?
asan> ogorowa
   SJ sawagui, fuzakeru; make a fuss, noise
asan> osanakya
   SJ osanai
asan> o:sama
   grandfather (cf. o:do, oucha, ho:cha)
asan> o:do (SY)
   grandfather; cf o:sama
asan> oucha (KT)
   grandfather; cf o:sama
asan> ho:cha (MI)
   grandfather; cf o:sama
asan> o:shi
   SJ oshi, kuchi ga kikanai koto
asan> oji:uba
   aunt or uncle (dvandva)
asan> oji:saN
   a fish [himeji]
asan> oshimya: (KT)(NN)
   SJ oshimai
asan> oji:mi
   SJ o-te-dama
asan> ojarachi:ga
   SJ irasshatta sou desu ga
asan> ojari-yaru-ka
   SJ irasshaimasu ka?
asan> osharowa
   SJ ossharu, say(hon)
asan> ojarowa
   SJ irassharu
asan> osharoNte
   SJ ossharu kara
asan> oshokome
   SJ koushi, calf
asan> oshiro
   SJ ushiro {lower}
asan> ojirou
   a fish [giNyugoi - yugoi]
asan> oshieru
   SJ oshieru
asan> osunarowa
   SJ iimasu, say (polite?)
asan> o:se
   SJ awase (but these should be SY words, so this should be [a:se], no? [o:se] should be downhill.
asan> otakowa
   SJ haku, vomit, spit out
asan> ota:ne
asan> oto:ne (MI)(OK)
   brothers and sisters, siblings
asan> ochobogahige
   a fish [goNzui]
asan> oQka (cf "uNma")
mother
asan> oQ kanagarowa
SJ kowagaru
asan> oQ kanakya
SJ okkanai, osoroshii
asan> oQ kaburarowa
SJ oou, tsugaeru, tsugaesu, cover, overlay. Seems definitely frogname with SJ kaburu/kabuseru.
asan> oQ komowa
SJ ippai ni naru
asan> oQ tara
SJ damare, damatta (should be past tense, not imperative, I would think, but perhaps like "damatte iruN da!")
asan> otsu[dara]
SJ somatsu, poor, humble
asan> oQ chaberowa
SJ perapera shaberu
asan> oQ patakerowa
SJ doshaburi, heavy downpour of rain
asan> oQ parerowa
SJ hare-agaru, swell up
asan> oQ pya: (KT)(NN)
SJ oQ pai, breasts
asan> oQ pirogerowa
SJ hirogeru, widen
asan> oQ puserowa
SJ taosu, knock down
asan> oQ peserowa
SJ osaueru, hold down
asan> oQ pesowa
SJ osu, push, press
asan> odeo
a fish [aobudai - budai]
asan> o:desu
a kind of large basket
asan> otema
SJ doma, a room with earth/dirt floor
asan> oderowa
SJ osoreru
asan> o:to:
a fish [nishikibera - bera]
asan> otoge:
asan> otoya: (KT)(NN)
jaw, or palate? to have a stiff jaw, tall nose?
asan> otogo
   to have a younger sib born
asan> ototoshi
   SJ ototoshi (why is this in here? it’s obviously a recent borrowing)
asan> otohimesama
   a character in a trad. story? read blurb
asan> otoyomushi
   another name of something; read blurb
asan> odora
asan> odora-moQkusu (OK)(KT)
asan> odora-ke:kusu (MI)
   SJ motsure, tangled, twisted up
asan> onimaru-jamaru
   the name of a boat used to deliver tribute silk to the Odawara Hojo clan who conquered Hj
   (according to Hj Jikki)
asan> o: numa
   a fish [buchi suzu ki ber a - bera]
asan> onokogo
   SJ otoko. general word for a grown man. Thus SJ ”otoko no ko” = onokogo no ko. @@@
etymology?
asan> obata
   SJ touge, or mine? or a proper name of some such?
asan> ohaQchi
   SJ ohachi, meshibitsu, some kind of food vessel
asan> obanaga
   a fish [tsum uburi - aji]
asan> obafurime
   a bird [seguro sekirei - sekirei]
asan> obishime
   a fish [okinamejina - mejina]
asan> ohijama-kakowa
   SJ hiza-mazuku, kneel down
asan> ohyarakasowa
   SJ hiyakasu, karakau
asan> obi:rowa
asan> obeirowa (MI)
asan> obe:ru/-rowa? (KT)
   SJ oboeru
asan> ofune azukariyaku
   name for something; some other long story to (not) read
asan> obouke
SJ hatsu-ukabe (first float)?; name for some local trad.?
asan> obokumowa
SJ obotsukanai
asan> oborokasarerowa
SJ unasareru, have a nightmare
asan> o:ma:shi
SJ kaNtoku, supervisor (M/F towazu)
asan> omi
you (from omae)
asan> o:mido:nokane
something that happened at o:mido: in NN village long ago. Should probly read sometime.
asan> ome:
you
asan> ome:garowa
SJ omowareru
asan> omosu
SJ abura-itame (cooking)
asan> omotatsura
a condition of something being too heavy to move, lift, or otherwise deal with?
asan> omowayoi
asan> omouwayo: (KT)
SJ sayounara
asan> oyako
relatives, kindred (attested in Hj Jikki)
asan> oyari
SJ oyari
asan> oyori-yaQtaka
SJ literally oyasumi shita ka? pragmatic meaning: good morning
asan> oyore
asan> oyori-yare
SJ oyasumi(nasai)
asan> ori
SJ ishigaki, stone walls
asan> oNnago
SJ oNna, women in general
asan> oNbei-katsugi
SJ eNgi wo katsugu. To feel/one who feels there is fate/omen in every little thing.
asan> oNbo:ji:
the guy who does cremations
asan> oNmazarowa
SJ majiri-au
asan> kaka
asan> kako:
asan> kakou
    mother {cf other forms}
asan> kagajirowa
    SJ tsukurou; mend, repair
asan> kakijane
asan> kakijari
    SJ gokiburi; cockroach
asan> gakiyami
    SJ kuishinbou; foodie?
asan> kagekiyō
    a fish [chikamekiNtoki - kiNtokidai]
asan> kakeso
    SJ gaNkake; “hanging” a prayer on a deity?
asan> kagebuchi
    SJ ushiro sugata
asan> kakebo
    SJ tanesuhi; a bull kept for breeding purposes
asan> kagobuchi
    a plant [kohakusaNboku - suikazura]
asan> kakeshita
    SJ daku; hold, hug, embrace (clearly cognate with SJ kakomu ‘surround, enclose’)
asan> kasaaki
    SJ taN; phlegm
asan> kazagune
    SJ boufuuriN; groves of trees planted as windbreak against typhoons; cf kune
asan> kasashiba
    SJ kareba; withered leaves
asan> kazato
    a place that is exposed to strong winds
asan> kazama
    bad weather
asan> kashikami
    a fish [aobudai - budai]
asan> kashikowa
    SJ musu; steam(vt)
asan> kashitate-odori
    a dance done in KT? long blurb
asan> kasegime
    a bug [kamakiri]; cf geNbe:me
asan> ka:da
    SJ kawa; river [really?]
asan> kataQpera
asan> karahira
    half
asan> kachó:
    a fish [takibera - bera]
asan> kachi-rowa (KT)
    become hungry
asan> katsu:
    a fish [katsuo - saba]
asan> katsuki
    males who dive for food
asan> katsuke
    reason, rationale (for something)
asan> kaQchakowa
    SJ hikkaku
asan> kaQchabakowa
    SJ yabuku; tear(vt)
asan> katsu:dori
    a bird [oomizunagidori - mizunagidori]
asan> kaQpetaori
    another fabric that Hj is famous for; long blurb
asan> kadokya
    SJ subashikkoi
asan> katogowa
    SJ katsugu; carry
asan> kanagame
    SJ yadokari; hermit crab
asan> kanashikya
    SJ kawai'sou (seems to retain OJ meaning of kanashiki)
asan> kanashigō
    a child particularly doted upon by parents
asan> kanada
    a fish [torautsubo - utsubo]
asan> kanayamasama
    proper noun, name of a deity
asan> kanebuNmushi
    a bug [koganemushi]
asan> kanoki
    a plant [hachijou-guwa - kuwa]
asan> kabutsu
    a plant [daidai - mikaN]
asan> kabuname
a bird [umineko - kamome]
asan> kabume
   a bug [ka]; mosquito
asan> ka:be
asan> ko:be (MI)
   the skin of fruit, potatoes, etc.
asan> kabe:
asan> kabya: (KT)(NN)
   leaves of the kanoki tree? cf kanoki entry
asan> kabe:mogi
   the practice of picking leaves off the kanoki [kuwa] tree
asan> kamaserowa
   SJ tabesaseru
asan> kamatsuka
   a fish [okieso - eso]
asan> kamado
   SJ ro; a kind of fireplace
asan> kamarowa
   SJ niou; to smell(vi)
asan> gamaNshiyare
   SJ gaNbari nasai
asan> kamikake
   SJ tabekake
asan> kaminoki
   a plant [taimiN-tachibana - yabukouji]
asan> ka:muguri
   a bug [geNgorou]
asan> ka:muranare:
asan> kawamuranarai
   north-west wind; cf saga, ko:mura
asan> kame:naka
asan> kamy:a:naka (KT)(NN)
   SJ kamawanai
asan> kamenoko
   a small turtle? something about thin-sliced pickled root veggies...?
asan> kamomonono
   SJ tabemono
asan> kamowa
   SJ taberu
asan> kayaNbiNgo
asan> kaNbiNgo (KT)
   a plant [chigaya - ine]
asan> karakajime
   a bird [mozu]; cf ke:go:derime
asan> karasu
   someone who covets food (insult)
asan> karamarowa
   SJ natsuku; become attached (clearly cognate with karamaru ‘entangle (with)’)
asan> karikinu
   a fish [nizadai - nizadai]
asan> garimame
asan> garime (MI)
   SJ kani; crab, different kinds (sea, beach, land)
asan> kariyasu
   a plant [kobunagusa - ine]
asan> gaNgi
   a bent or twisted tree?
asan> kaNge:rowa
asan> kaNgya:rowa (KT)(NN)
   SJ kaNgaeru
asan> kaNjo:
   SJ beNjo; toilet, restroom
asan> kaNjo:shiba
   a plant [gakuajisai - yokinoshita]
asan> kaNdara
   SJ sono toori (da)
asan> gaNtsu
   partially uncooked rice
asan> kaNdoyama
   proper name of a place with spiritual power? long blurb
asan> gaNbako
   a wood coffin
asan> kaNbari
   repair, mend
asan> gaNmoN
   a fish [kichiji - fusakasago]
asan> kaNmo (MI)(OK)
   SJ satsuma-imo
asan> ki:
   SJ kyou; today; cf kei
asan> ki:kaki
   some kind of farming implement
asan> ki:kya
   thickly growing (of plant life)
asan> kiki:rowa
asan> kikeiru (MI)(OK)
   SJ kikoeru; can hear, can be heard
asan> kikorimushi
   a bug [urihamushi - hamushi]
asan> kikowa
   SJ kiku; hear
asan> kisheru
   a tobacco pipe?
asan> kishaji
   louse (shirami) eggs
asan> kijamowa
   SJ kizamu
asan> kishoku-warukya
   SJ kaNji ga warui
asan> kishogerowa
   peel the skin of something
asan> kizomeiro
   yellow dye (for kihachijou)
asan> kidamasama
   a tree deity?
asan> kichige:
asan> kichigya: (KT)(NN)
   SJ kichigai; crazy, wacko
asan> kitsuki
   SJ ki ga kiku koto
asan> kitsune
   a fish [hagauo - saba]
asan> kitsunetsuki
   SJ usotsuki; liar
asan> kini:
asan> kinei (MI)(OK)
   SJ kinou; yesterday
asan> kinudomi
   a fish [soushihagi - kawahagi]
asan> kihachijo:
   the famous dyed fabric
asan> kibigawari:
   SJ taiheN da; (is this just "kimi ga warui", i.e. 'weird, grim, creepy'?)
asan> ki:bushi
   SJ kurubushi; ankle
asan> kiboku
turtle shell fortune telling
asan> kimi:ga-mi:rowa
asan> kimeiga-meirowa (MI)
   SJ hara ga tatsu
asan> kiminago
   a fish [kibinago - nishin]
asan> kimo
   SJ shiNzou; heart (the organ)
asan> ki:mochi
asan> ke:mochi (MI)(OK)(NN)
   a farming tool, made of rope so two people can carry sthg?
asan> kyo:de:
asan> kyouja: (KT)(NN)
   SJ kyoudai; siblings
asan> kyo:baN
   a measuring device?
asan> kiribaN
   kitchen cutting board
asan> kire:[dara]
asan> kirya:[dara] (KT)(NN)
   dislike
asan> kiNgyoyo
   a fish [ittoudai]
asan> kiNb (KT)
asan> kiNboshi
   SJ kiriboshi
asan> kiNme
   a fish [kiNmedai]
asan> giNme
   a fish [itomakiei]
asan> kuerowa
   SJ fusagu; close up, stop (up), seal; cf hakerowa, kuwarowa
asan> kugakuNchi
   Festival on Sept 9th
asan> gugujime
   a bird [yamashigi - shigi]
asan> kuzaimoN
asan> kuzaemoN (MI)
   a bird [kawarahiwa - suzume]; cf shiNdo:dori, daikoNdanekurai
asan> kusanaka
asan>kusanya: (SY)
   SJ kusamura
asan> kusame
   a doll (or particular kind of doll?)
asan> kusarakashi
   SJ kono yarou (swearing, namecalling); cf kokusheki
asan> kusari
   SJ yarou, inakamono, uncouth fellow
asan> kujinagusa
   a plant [dokudami]
asan> kusube
   SJ hokuro; dark spot on skin
asan> kusuriibi
   SJ kusuri-yubi; ring finger
asan> kuzurei
   SJ gake-kuzure; landslide
asan> kusokame
   something like "eat shit!"; a comeback in a nasty verbal fight
asan> kusodai
   a fish [meichidai - fuefukidai]
asan> kusodami
   a plant [shirodamo - kusunoki]
asan> kusomarowa
   to move bowels, take a dump, do #2
asan> kutabarizokone:
asan> kutabarizokonya: (KT)(NN)
   "drop dead"; a comeback in a nasty verbal fight
asan> kuchiaka
   bad breath
asan> kuchike
   lit. open mouth; opening of fishing season for certain species
asan> kuchigari
   SJ kuishiNbou; greedy, gluttonous person
asan> kuchiku-narowa
   SJ onaka ippai ni naru; become full (from eating)
asan> kuchibiro
   lips
asan> kuQka:shime
   SJ semi; cicada
asan> kuQkairowa
   SJ kajiru; bite, chomp on (emphatic)
asan> kuQkamowa
   emphatic for kamowa ‘eat’
asan> kuQtage:rowa
eat too much
asan> kuQchigirowa
   SJ kuichigiru
asan> kuQchiborowa
   emphatic for SJ shiboru; squeeze, wring out (strongly)
asan> kuQcha:
   SJ kushami; a sneeze(n)
asan> kuQchaburowa
   emphatic for SJ shaburu; suck on
asan> kuQchaberowa
   emphatic for SJ shaberu; talk a lot
asan> kuQbone
   hollow/nape of the neck
asan> kuni
   the mainland from Hj standpoint, usually Tokyo
asan> kunizake
   SJ kiyozake; any booze that’s not shimazake?
asan> kune
   SJ boufuuriN; groves of trees planted as windbreak against typhoons; cf kazagune
asan> kubishime
   death by strangulation, e.g. hanging
asan> kubirerowa
   SJ motsureru
asan> kuberowa
   SJ moyasu; burn up(vt)
asan> kuyo:bashi
   a bereavement ritual; read blurb
asan> kuyorerowa
   SJ kuzureru; collapse, fall down (of structures, landforms)
asan> kurago:wa
   turning up roots to shallow level in the midst of raising crops? or something?
asan> kuri
   SJ tokuri; a tall narrow container for liquids
asan> guruwaN
   to surround
asan> kure:
asan> kureya: (KT)(NN)
asan> kurya: (KT)(NN)
   SJ yuugata; evening
asan> kuroei
   a fish [tobiei]
asan> kurosegawa
proper name of a river; read blurb
asan> kuronada
   a fish [kokeutsubo - utsubo]
asan> kurobato
   a bird [karasubato - hato]
asan> kurobuchi
   a plant [masaki - nishikigi]
asan> kuromefuji
   a plant [houraikazura - fujiutsugi]
asan> kurowa
   come
asan> kuwa:bune
   springwater, water bubbling out of the ground
asan> kuwarowa
   SJ fusagu; close up, stop (up), seal; cf kuerowa, hakerowa,
asan> kuNsho:gusa
   a plant [yaemugura - akane]
asan> kuNmu
   SJ kuni-no-hito? mainland people, esp exiles
asan> guNnomowawa
ayan> kuNnomu
   SJ nomi-komu
asan> kei (MI)
   SJ kyou; today; cf ki:
asan> ke:garowa
asan> kya:garowa (KT)(NN)
   SJ kayui; itchy
asan> ke:go:
   SJ kaigara; seashell
asan> ke:go:dorime
   a bird [mozu]; cf karakajime
asan> gejigejime
   a bug [geji]; centipede
asan> ke:ja:sha:te
   SJ kuremai to shite (etym?)
asan> gesu
   fertilizer/compost that uses human excrement
asan> kezutomoyoQkya (MI)(OK)
   SJ kurenaku tomo yoi
asan> ke:darukya
asan> kya:darukya
   SJ darui
kechinosa

SJ nan no koreshiki

keQke

SJ kataashi tobi (hopping on one foot?). childs play, not really done since WWII

gQsuri[bara]

SJ maitte shimau; also means tired/fatigued

gQba

SJ fumidai; platform to stand on

ketsumagurowa

SJ ketsumazuku; trip over something and fall

kede:yami

keja:yami (KT)(NN)

lazy person

gedeN

a plant? [onikusa - tengusa]

ke:tokone

SJ utatane

kedo:zu[bara]

SJ kitanai; messy, unkempt, dirty

ke:na

kya:na (KT)(NN)

SJ kata; shoulder

kena

SJ atae ru na; don’t give it

ekubisho

body hair (many kinds)

ke:byo:me

ke:ba:me (KT)

ke:bya:me (NN)

SJ tokage; lizard

ke:bushi

SJ kakato; heel of the foot

keburi (NN)?

SJ kemuri; smoke

ke:rome

kya:rome (KT)(NN)

SJ kaeru; frog

keru

(please) give me [probably not very polite]

kerojanashi

SJ kureru wake demo nai no ni

ke:rome
a fish [tobihaze - haze]
asan> kerowa
   SJ kureru, yaru; give
asan> ke:rowa
asan> kya:ru (KT)
   SJ kaeru; come home/back
asan> geNzari
   SJ aikyou nashi
asan> geNno:
      SJ kanazuchi; hammer; cf tsutsu, saizutsu
asan> keNno:ka
      SJ kurenai (no) ka?
asan> ko
   come(IMP); cf "koQchaN ko" p94
asan> ko: (MI)(KT)(NN)
   come(IMP); cf komi: p97
asan> koibi
   SJ koyubi; pinky finger/toe
asan> gogagoNchi
      May 5th festival, nationally now boy’s day
asan> kokasowa
   SJ otosu; drop(vt)
asan> kokatsu
   SJ kuzu; small bits of refuse
asan> ko:garime
   a bug [shimageNgorou]
asan> kokarowa
   SJ chirabaru; scatter around
asan> kogaN
   SJ kono you ni
asan> goki
   rice bowl
asan> kokya
   SJ koi; thick, concentrated
asan> go:kyu:gire:
      a cultural practice; read blurb
asan> kogi:rowa
      to make you feel cold, like SJ samui
asan> koku
      the state of being koi (cf kokya)
asan> kokusheki
   SJ kono yarou (swearing, namecalling); cf kusarakashi
asan> kokusu
   silkworm excrement?
asan> gokumo
   SJ chiri, kuzu
asan> gokurakumadara
   a religious/superstitious thing; read blurb
asan> kokurowa
   SJ kosuru, masatsu suru; rub, abrade, scape
asan> gokeiri
   the second wife (after divorce, widowerhood)
asan> ko:ko:
   SJ takuan; a kind of daikon pickle
asan> kogomarowa
   SJ kagamu; bend over, stoop over
asan> kogoNdo:me
   SJ kono you na mono
asan> ko:sabire
   a fish [kobaNaji - aji]
asan> koshi
   SJ sukoshi; a little
asan> koshi
   cliff, precipice
asan> ko:ji
   a kind of mikaN (orange fruit)
asan> kojikowa
   pull (examples given are only pulling plants out of the ground)
asan> kojikowa
   beg (for food)
asan> kojima
   small island
asan> ko:shaku
   talk a lot
asan> ko:jo:
   talk back to social superiors; make excuses
asan> koshoke
   fishing tackle box
asan> gosho:nawa
   a rope tied from the neck to knees of a corpse in a coffin
asan> koshire:rowa
asan> kosha:ru (KT)(NN)
   SJ koshiraeru; make sthg
asan> go:jirowa
SJ goran ni naru
asan> gozu
    bits/shards of charcoal, used to keep fires going
asan> kosukya
    SJ zurui; zu:zu:shikya
asan> ko:seN
    SJ mugi kogashi
asan> ko:chi
    SJ buraku; peasant village
asan> koQkuba
    kitchen; he says it comes from Dutch word for ‘cook’ + ba (place)
asan> koQkeNkokejame
    a bird [hototogisu]
asan> koQkome
    a bird [akakokko - tsugumi]
asan> kotsukowa
    pounding things like barley in a pestle?
asan> koQchaN
    SJ kochira he
asan> kotedori
    help (out); subordinate, assistant, servant
asan> koto:gyo:ja
    refers to some historical person or social role; read blurb
asan> kototo
    SJ wazato
asan> kotonerowa
    SJ matomeru; gather/assemble together
asan> konasama
    slang nickname for silkworm
asan> ko:nichi
    a festival/holiday on January 9th
asan> kone:da
    SJ kono aida; the other day, recently
asan> konokurya: (KT)(NN)
    SJ kono/kore kurai; roughly this much
asan> go:nohito
    person from another island village
asan> kobashi
    fishing lure/bait
asan> kobutai
    a fish [tobiei - akaei]
asan> ko:be
asan> ka:be (SY)
  human skin
asan> kobotoke
  SJ hitomi; pupil of the eye
asan> komasu
  a fish [himedai - fuedai]; cf ogo
asan> komi:
  SJ kinasai (affectionate)
asan> gomi
  firewood
asan> gomihire:
  gather firewood (clearly from gomi hiroi)
asan> ko:mya:
  give birth to a baby
asan> ko:mya:yakata
  a small house used in the childbirth process
asan> gomuhajiki
  a rubber slingshot (using rubber band?)
asan> ko:mura
  north-west wind; cf. saga, kawamuranarai, anaze?
asan> ko:moNsama
  a nickname for Ukita Hideie
asan> go:ra
  a cavity in the trunk of a dead tree
asan> goragora
  SJ "hayaku, hayaku"; hurry up
asan> gorasowa
  SJ korasu; punish, discipline
asan> kori
  SJ kouri; a wood or bamboo container for kimono, etc
asan> kori:
asan> korei (MI)(OK)
  SJ kore wo
asan> ko:ri
  SJ kawari
asan> gorigorishiba
  a plant [raseitasou - itakusa]
asan> goro:
  fifth son
asan> korosowa
  SJ korosu; kill
asan> ko:rowa
packing/crating, esp of foodstuffs for shipment
asan-> kowakya
SJ kurushii; painful
asan-> kowamushi
SJ kaiseN; scabies? itchy skin disease
asan-> koNkyuu:
SJ koNkyuu; poverty, destitution
asan-> koNgo
hunched-back person
asan-> koNgori
SJ shikori/kori; muscle stiffness
asan-> goNgoro:
a fish [suzumedai]
asan-> koNda
SJ kondo; this time, next time
asan-> koNdo:ji:
a local nickname for Kondou Tomizou
asan-> koNri:
SJ koNrei; wedding festivities
asan-> saizutsu
SJ tsuchi; hammer; cf geNno:
asan-> saga
north-west wind; cf kawamuranarai, ko:mura
asan-> sakaki
a plant [hisakaki - tsubaki]
asan-> sakasama[dara]
SJ gyaku; upside-down, reverse
asan-> sagasaNchi
SJ hinamatsuri, girls day, March 3
asan-> sakashikya
SJ kashikoi
asan-> sakashaN
asan-> sakashima (KT)
SJ gyaku-sama; upside-down
asan-> sagamichi
asan-> sagaji (MI)
SJ kudarizaka; downward hill
asan-> sakame:
SJ totaN, saichuu; just at that time, in the midst of
asan-> sagariabi
a plant [hachijou-kusaichigo - bara]
asan-> sakiuchichi:
SJ saki-ototoi? three days ago
asan> sakiQcho
SJ seNtaN; the tip
asan> sagime
   a bird [kosagi - sagi]
asan> sakudara
   a plant? [sakunoki - sawabuki]
asan> sakubarowa
   SJ kubaru; distribute
asan> sakuradai
   a fish [hanafuedai - fuedai]
asan> zaguri
   a machine related to textile making
asan> sake:
   SJ sakai; border, boundary
asan> sagesho
   low tide
asan> sagedasowa
   SJ mochi-dasu
asan> sa:gowa
   SJ shikaru; scold
asan> sasa
   SJ madake; a kind of bamboo?
asan> sasakuguri
   a bird [mebosomushikui - uguisu]
asan> sasagune
   bamboo thickets grown as a wind-break
asan> sasabo:ki
   a kind of garden rake made of sasa?
asan> sasame
   gills (as on fish)
asan> sasayo
   a fish [isuzumi]
asan> sazunya
   SJ shinakereba
asan> sasumi
   SJ sashimi
asan> sachi:
asan> satei (MI)(OK)(NN)
   old cropfield, cropfield close to houses?
asan> saQkata
   SJ saki-no-hou
asan> satsukerowa
   SJ ataeru; give something to someone of lower station
asan> satsuma
   SJ satsuma-imo
asan> sanagashi
   south-west wind; cf haibuki, natsunishi
asan> zanarowa
   SJ oto ga suru
asan> sabakowa
   SJ mabiku; to space out seedlings?
asan> sabire
   a fish [shimaaji - aji]
asan> sabo:
   third son
asan> sa:ma
asan> soama (^NN)
asan> so:ma (MI)(OK)
   SJ sawa (geographical feature)
asan> samekusa
   a fish [kobaNaji - aji]
asan> sameshikya
   SJ samishii, kowai
asan> zaru
   SJ uni; sea urchin
asan> zarukaNba[dara]
   SJ bosabosa
asan> sarowa
   SJ sawaru; touch
asan> saNzashi
   a tool used in silkworm cultivation
asan> zaNsara
   kindling (as for a fire)
asan> saNmagime
   silkworm pupa
asan> saNnasaQte
   the day after asatte (3 days from now)
asan> saNnoji
   a fish [nizadai]
asan> saNma
   a shellfish [yomegasa - tsutanoha]
asan> saNmi:rowa
   SJ yakete-shimau; burn up
asan> zaNme:[yo:]  
SJ kaNbeN shite kure
asan> shiasaQte  
4 days from now
asan> shiude  
SJ shiokara (food)
asan> sheki  
SJ seki; cough
asan> shekomerowa  
SJ sekkyou suru; preach, propound, lecture, sermonize
asan> shesherowa  
violating a border by digging through it (or something?)
asan> jenigusa  
a plant [namedzuta - uraboshi]; Asanuma explains that Hj name comes from the fact that leaves are round, like coins, thus jene + kusa.
asan> jene  
SJ zeni; money, cash; cf zene
asan> shikakerowa  
splash (sthg) with pee, urinate on
asan> shigasaQte  
3 days from now
asan> shikaburowa  
asan> shiQkaburu (MI)  
to leak pee, wet oneself
asan> shikame:rowa
asan> shikamya:ru (KT)
asan> shikamya:rowa (^KT)(^NN)  
SJ tsukamaeru; catch, seize
asan> shigi  
SJ soko; the bottom (as of a container)
asan> shikiido  
SJ shikimono, e.g. goza
asan> shikyo-showa  
SJ seki wo suru; to cough; cf sekyo-showa
asan> jikugurimame  
peanut (etym: bean/nut that digs below the ground)
asan> shi:kuyari[dara]  
talkative, gabby
asan> jigura  
place where retirees live; Asanuma says to refer to iNkyo definition
asan> shikei  
SJ shikii; threshold
asan> jiko:
  SJ rikou; clever
asan> shi:shi (KT)(NN)
  Sueyoshi village; cf seishi
asan> shi:shi:
  a command called out to cows
asan> jiji:gaoQpai
  a plant [sumire]
asan> shizu
  muscles and blood vessels?
asan> shizuN
  SJ shinaide
asan> shidaki
  a plant [hachijou-ibota - sekusei]
asan> jidaguri
  SJ zuNguri
asan> shita:da:ga
  SJ shita no da ga
asan> shitadami
  a shellfish [himekubogai]
asan> shitaQchi:ja
  SJ shita sou da ga
asan> shidaterowa
  to raise silkworms
asan> shidarime
  a bug, a kind of dani
asan> shitaredo:
  SJ shita keredo
asan> shi:daro:
  SJ shitte iru ka?
asan> shitaNda
  SJ shita no dan; lower cropfield in a terraced situation
asan> shitaNne:ya
  SJ shitara
asan> shiQkari
  SJ takusaN, juubuN
asan> shiQcho:
  seventh son
asan> shiQtokerowa
  SJ tokeru, torokeru; melt
asan> shiQpashi
  SJ suekko; the last child
asan> shiQatsu
SJ shuppatsu
asan> shiQpaN
SJ shuppaN; set sail
asan> shiQbu
SJ shita no hou; the lower part of something
asan> shide
a rope for collecting?/directing? rainwater. Used (particularly?) in AO and Kojima.
asan> shite:
SJ hitai; forehead
asan> shidego
braid, plait
asan> shite:mono
a kind of light kimono, like yukata?
asan> shite-mo-yoQkyya
SJ shite mo yoi
asan> shito
SJ hito; person
asan> shidoko
a plant [hachijou-kibushi - kibushi]
asan> shi:nekabutsu[dara]
to stay completely silent
asan> jibukurowa
SJ guzuru
asan> shibo:
SJ shibafu; lawn
asan> shimazake
island shouchuu
asan> jimatsuri
ritual blessing for construction, etc. or something
asan> shimamasu
a vessel for measuring volume. different from ones used on mainland
asan> shimameguri
going around the island?
asan> shaga
SJ shiraga; white hair
asan> jashiki
SJ zashiki
asan> shashakya
hot
asan> shashekerowa
SJ yakeru
asan> shasowa
   SJ dokasu
asan> ja:chikya (KT)(NN)
   SJ utskushii
asan> ja:chiku
   SJ kirei/sappari
asan> ja:Qkoku
   a dish made of boiled meat and veggies
asan> shaQchi
   SJ zehi to mo
asan> shaQtsura[dara]
   SJ nikutarashii; hateful
asan> shaQpadaka
asan> shaQpedaka (OK)
   SJ suppadaka; buck naked
asan> shaQpeN
   lewd, loose woman
asan> shaQpoge
   SJ torihada; goosebumps
asan> shaQpogega-tatowa
   get goosebumps
asan> ja:neN (KT)(NN)
   SJ raineN; next year
asan> jaba[dara]
   SJ jama; obstruction
asan> shamakasowa
   SJ hiyakasu; to jeer at, make fun of
asan> shameNbana
   something flower; cultural name; read blurb
asan> sharitori
   reburial (long blurb with details)
anan> sha:reme
   SJ shiroari; termite
asan> shiyaroagaN
   SJ yarimashou
asan> share
   SJ doke; move! (IMP)
anan> sharowa
   SJ doku, noku; move out of the way
asan> shaNpa:
   SJ awa; bubbles, froth {this couldn’t be from En ‘shampoo’... could it??}
anan> shaNme
SJ shirami; louse, lice
asan> jaNme: (MI)
SJ kaNbeN shite kure
asan> ju:meN
being on the verge of tears
asan> ju:ro:
tenth son
asan> sho
SJ shio; salt
asan> sho:
SJ shirou, yonaN?; fourth son
asan> jo:
SJ jirou, jinaN; second son
asan> shoiuri
peddler, hawker, vendor
asan> shoiro[dara]
SJ iroiro; various
asan> shogaN
SJ yarou; let’s do
asan> shokaNno:ja
SJ shitte iru darou; probably know something
asan> shokya
SJ shitte iru; know, acknowledge (this is an adjective! grammatically odd)
asan> shogirewa
SJ yokogiru; cut across, go across
asan> shogune
forests planted as a sea barrier?
asan> shokune:
asan> shokunaQkya
SJ shiranai; don’t know
asan> shokeja
SJ shitte iru; know something {cf shokya - what’s the difference?}
asan> shogenashidara
SJ muaisou
asan> shoja
SJ suru, okonau; do
asan> shotazurusu
fat, ugly chick {vulgar, ya think?}
asan> shoQkera
dry, itchy skin
asan> jo:te
SJ ryoute; both hands
asane shote
SJ izen, ima yori mae; before, earlier
asane shotetsu
SJ sotetsu; cycad (a tree)
asane jo:to:[dara]
SJ joutou; top-notch, high class
asane sho:tome
asane sha:tome (KT)
a bird [kijibato - hato]
asane shonakuchi
a fish [fuefukidai]
asane jo:bakushowa
SJ sabaku; cutting meat off of bones
asane sho:bu
a lot, many/much
asane shoboburi
light rain
asane shomebushi
name of a very well-known folk song
asane jo:ri
SJ zouri; straw sandals
asane jo:rowa
preparing fish for cooking
asane joNpei (MI)
being soaking wet from head to toe
asane jirifugu
a fish [kitamakura - fugu]
asane ji:ro:
fifth daughter
asane shirokya
SJ shiroi; white
asane jirobuchi
outer frame of the irori (cooking pit)
asane shiroberowa
SJ soroeru
asane shiromuro
a fish [maruaji - aji]
asane shi:rowa
SJ kakeru; hang up
asane shiwashinanka
SJ shinaï; emphatic form
asane shiNkichime
 SJ batta; grasshopper
asan> shiNto:
 SJ maNnaka; the center
asan> shiNdo:dori
 a bird [kawarahiwa - suzume]; cf daikoNdanekurai, kuzaemoN
asan> shiNnaka
asan> shiNnya: (KT)(NN)
 SJ shinai; won’t do
asan> shiNnoko
 vagina
asan> shiNbu
 SJ soko; the bottom
asan> shiNbeta
asan> shiQbeta (OK)(KT)
 SJ shiri; buttocks
asan> shiNpe:
asan> shiNpeya: (NN)
 SJ shiNpai; worry
asan> jiNyaato
 a proper name of a historical place in OK
asan> sugaki
 SJ nagashi; place to use water when cooking, extends to mean kitchen
asan> sukazu
 SJ iya na yatsu; disliked person
asan> sukari
 net bag, for collecting seaweed, shellfish, etc
asan> sukiita
 SJ shikiita; a board placed under... something
asan> sugiburi
 a fish [tsumuburi - aji]
asan> sukimono
 SJ shikimono; something to sit on top of
asan> suku
 SJ seN; cap, stopper, cork
asan> sujigatsu:
 a fish [hagatsuo - saba]
asan> zuja: (KT)(NN)
asan> zuze: (SY)
 SJ jizai; hook for hanging pots, etc on above the fire
asan> zujo:uNpaN
 cultural word; read long blurb
asan> zusu
SJ rusu; not at home
asan> zuzukuri
cultural word; read long blurb
asan> zuzudama
a plant [juzudama - ine]
asan> zusu:
asan> zu:zu:shikya
SJ zurui; cf kosukya
asan> sudaro:ka
SJ suru darou ka
asan> suQpakya
SJ suppai; sour
asan> sutowa
SJ suru to
asan> sunago:
asan> sunaQpa (MI)
SJ sunahama; beach
asan> sunamuguri
a fish [teNsumodoki - bera]
asan> zunaNbo:
vicious person
asan> zuniN
SJ runiN; exile
asan> suneido:mo
SJ suru darou ga
asan> zuberowa
SJ suberu; slip, slide
asan> sumiitashiNnaka
SJ "sumimaseN"
asan> sumikachO:
a fish [sasanohabera - bera]
asan> sumigi
wood material for making charcoal?
asan> sumigomo
written as charcoal+straw bale. meaning unclear
asan> sumuguri
diving to harvest seafood stuff, wearing goggles
asan> suri:ya:
SJ mamagoto; playing mommy
asan> suNbao:to:
a fish [itobera - bera]
asan> suNma
corner
asan> se
  SJ shiro:, seyo; do it!
asan> seishi (MI)
  Sueyoshi village; cf shi:shi
asan> seibei (MI)
  someone who eats a lot? meaning unclear
asan> sekitsu
  water overflowing
asan> sekyo-showa
  SJ seki wo suru; to cough; cf shikyo-showa
asan> sekomerowa
  SJ semetateru; reproach, urge strongly
asan> sejiyari
  SJ oseji; flattery
asan> sejirowa
  SJ seNjiru; heating/cooking to infuse
asan> seshiN
  SJ shite mo ii; permit, allow
asan> sechibu
  SJ setsubuN; a festival? in Feb for driving out evil forces
asan> seQkogo
  SJ semushi; someone whose back is bent
asan> seQkori
asan> sheQkori (NN)
  SJ sotto, shizuka ni; quietly
asan> seQpo
  the peak, tiptop
asan> seQbone
  SJ sebone; spine, backbone
asan> sedomichi
  small, narrow street
asan> zenigari
  SJ togeashi-gani; a kind of crab? why -gari then and not -gani???
asan> zene
  SJ zeni; money, cash; cf jene
asan> senokami
  a plant [kamenote]; looks like a turtle’s hand
asan> se:ma
asan> sha:ma (KT)(^NN)
  a plant [shariNbai - bara]
asan> se:mi
a plant [saimi - ogonori]
asan> semitobi
a fish [ayatobiuo - tobiuo]
asan> zeNnotsuna
a white rope used in funerals? cultural thing, read blurb
asan> soide
SJ sore de
asan> so:ka
a plant [gettou - shouga]
asan> sogaNka
SJ sou ka
asan> sogaN-da:to
SJ sou dattara
asan> sogaN-dewa-naQkya
SJ sou de ha nai
asan> sogaN-do:ja
SJ sono toori
asan> sogaN-naQte
SJ sono you ni natte
asan> sogaN-narara
SJ sou natta
asan> sokunerowa
SJ shisokonau, shippai suru; lose
asan> sokori
high tide
asan> so:gowa (MI)
SJ shikaru; scold
asan> zo:shi:
asan> zousei (MI)
SJ zousui; a soup eaten at holidays
asan> sozoshikya
SJ suzushii; cool, refreshing
asan> so:takishiba
a plant [tamaajisai - yukinoshita]
asan> zoQkume
SJ ox, bull
asan> soQchaN
SJ sochira he
asan> sotonoma
living room
asan> sonoka:ri
SJ sono kawari
asan> somizake
   a kind of booze
asan> someya
   those who dye, primarily kihachijou fabric
asan> sora
   SJ sono hito(tachi); a 3P pronoun
asan> zora[dara]
   SJ somatsu, sozatsu? poor, humble, rough
asan> sori:
   SJ sore wo
asan> zoriebi
   a shellfish [semiebi]
asan> sori:oa:
   SJ sore wo ne...
asan> soroberowa
   SJ soroeru
asan> sowa
   SJ suru
asan> daido:
   SJ da keredo
asan> dairome (SY)
   slug (slimy animal)
asan> daga
   SJ dare no
asan> takagari
   a crab [shoujingani]
asan> takakura
   a grain store raised on stilts, cf itakura
asan> takaQpa
   a fish [takanohadai]
asan> tagamarowa
   to bend the body
asan> tagamerowa
   SJ tatamu
asan> tage:me
   a handicapped or otherwise freakish person
asan> takeyama
   thick bamboo grove that cannot be cleared easily
asan> takeNtsubo
   a fish [aoyagara - yagara]
asan> tako:na
   SJ take no ko
asan> takome
SJ madako; a kind of octopus
asan> ta:sareme
SJ asobinin
asan> ta:sarerowa
goofing around and not working
asan> ta:shi (SY?)
asan> to:shi (MI)(OK)
asan> toashi (KT)(NN)
SJ tawashi; dish scrubbing tool
asan> taji
SJ nezumi-irazu
asan> dajio
radio
asan> tashika
SJ sou ka, sou na no ka
asan> tashinakya
precious, valuable
asan> tachima:rowa
SJ shigoto suru; moving around to get work done?
asan> daQkyo:
SJ rakkyou; a plant that grows little onion-like fruits
asan> daQchitsukazu (SY)
weak, feeble
asan> daQchi:ya
SJ ...da sou da
asan> tatsumi
south-east wind; cf inasa
asan> tateme:
asan> tatemya: (KT)(NN)
SJ tatemae
asan> tanashita
SJ yukashita; below the floor
asan> tanaba
legendary first ancestor (female) of Hj, also rokakominyoko
asan> tane
blood relation, kinship
asan> taneba
a small veggie garden in one’s yard
asan> ta:noyo
a fish [ishidai]
asan> tabakoire
a fish [itatatedai - chouchouuo]
asan> tabatsura
    a rope, often made of bamboo, for tying things
asan> tabara
    a flooded paddy
asan> tabigoya
    a small house where women would go, alone, for menstruation and childbirth to keep the
    main house "clean". A very old tradition on Hji. "tabi" is other-fire, not travel.
asan> tabu
    a plant [ine]
asan> dabumimi
    SJ kikurage; a mushroom that looks like a human ear
asan> tabowa
    SJ kuremasu; polite form of give. example given uses kudasaru instead of kureru,
    so pragmatics unclear
asan> taminoki
    a plant [yabunikkei - kusunoki]
asan> dame
    SJ dame; no good
asan> tametomoyuri
    a plant [sakuyuri - yuri]
asan> tamochi
    SJ kanemochi; wealthy person
asan> tamo:rowa
    SJ kudasaru
asan> ta:ra (SY?)
asan> to:ra (MI)(OK)
asan> toara (KT)(NN)
    SJ tawara; straw bale/bag
asan> dara
    SJ da; copula
asan> tarumerowa
    SJ yurumeru; loosen
asan> tare:
asan> tarya: (KT)(NN)
    SJ tarai; basin, tub
asan> daredo:mo
    SJ ...da keredomo
asan> taro:
    SJ chounan; eldest son
asan> taNgo
asan> taQgo (NN?)
SJ futago; twins
asan> taNgo
SJ kihachijou; this is a local word for the famous cloth
asan> taNgoyo
a fish [oyabitya - suzumedai]
asan> taNgori
something spat out by a breastfeeding child
asan> daNshiN
SJ kichigai; crazy, wacko
asan> da:Nte
SJ dakara
asan> daNpu
SJ raNpu; lamp (En loan)
asan> taNbo:
asan> taQbo: (OK)(KT)
SJ te no hira; palm of the hand
asan> daikoNdanekurai (OK)
a bird [kawarahiwa - suzume]; cf. kuzaemoN, shiNdo:dori
asan> chiginoki
a plant [mogashi - budou]
asan> chigya:itoko (KT)
SJ mataitoko; En second/third, etc cousins? cf. futaharaitoko
asan> chikiri
a fish [ittoudai]
asan> chi:shu
husband; cognate with SJ teishu?
asan> chi:suna
"don’t touch"
asan> chi:tachi (KT)(NN)
SJ tsuitachi
asan> chichi
SJ tsuchi; earth, land
asan> chichika:jime
a bird [mosukemisosazai - misosazai]
asan> chichimame
a plant [karasunoendou - mame]
asan> chichiya
a dairy collection/distribution center (each village had one)
asan> chiQchigirowa
SJ tsuneru
asan> chi:to
a little (bit)
asan> chi:tozutsudemo
    SJ sukoshi-zutsu de mo
asan> chi:-noberowa
    put one’s hand out, extend one’s hand
asan> chibu
    an emulsion liquid coming from plants?
asan> chibuna
    a plant [hachijouna - kiku]
asan> chagashidoki
    snack time around 3pm
asan> chabera:
    a plant [inutsuge - mochinoki]
asan> chu:kuri
    a flock of birds
asan> chu:seNyo:sama
    a proper noun of historical significance (read the blurb)
asan> cho:seNushi
    a kind of cow (Korean cow?)
asan> cho:cho:me
    butterfly
asan> cho:chiNgusa
    a plant [hotarubukuro - kikyou]
asan> choQkura
    SJ shibaraku, chotto (no aida)
asan> cho:matsuri
    a festival (read the blurb)
asan> cho:ya (SY)(KT)
    shrine, jinja
asan> choNkome
    a calf (cattle baby)
asan> choNkome
    a kind of shellfish (perhaps so named because it looks like a calf? [he says])
asan> choNbori
    a little
asan> chirabarakasowa
    SJ chirakasu
asan> chiNguri[dara]
asan> chiNbur[i][dara]
    SJ kogara; small size
asan> chiNgo
    a small potato
asan> chiNpoko
penis
asan> tsueNbo:
asan> tsukeNbo: (NN)
   SJ tsue; staff
asan> tsukame:rowa
asan> tsukamya:ru (KT)(NN)
   SJ tsukamaeru
asan> tsu:garowa
   copulation, coupling
asan> tsukie:
   SJ tsuki-ai, shiriai
asan> tsukya:me (KT)
   a working ox/cow
asan> tsukya:yaruto (KT)(NN)
asan> tsuke:yaruto (OK)
   SJ otsukai nasai
asan> tsugu
   a plant [shuro - yashi]
asan> tsukuni:mo (SY)
   SJ yamaimo; a potato
asan> tsukume
   a bird [mimizuku]
asan> tsukume
   a cow’s nose ring
asan> tsugume
   kneecap; cf hizakabura
asan> tsukumefuji
   a plant [sarutoriibara - yuri]
asan> tsugumorowa
   SJ suwari-komu
asan> tsukurimono
   SJ nou-sakubutsu; agricultural goods
asan> tsugeji
   phlegm, mucus
asan> dzusu
   SJ rusu, not at home
asan> tsudaki
   SJ tsuba(ki), saliva, mouth-watering
asan> tsudasowa
   SJ hitasu; submerge in water
asan> tsuchiishi
   a kind of rock (read the blurb)
asan> tsutsu
    SJ tuchi; hammer; cf geNno:
asan> tsuQkagarowa
    SJ agaru
asan> tsuQkazukowa
    SJ utsura-utsura suru; be sleepy
asan> tsuQku:wa
    close one’s eyes
asan> tsuQkazukerowa
    SJ oreru; break(vi)
asan> tsuQkorowa
    SJ oru, orimagaru
asan> tsuQtagamowa
    SJ oru, tatamu; fold
asan> tsuQtsasowa
asan> tsuQto:sowa
    SJ tsuki-sasu
asan> tsuQte-ikowa
    SJ tsurete iku
asan> tsuQte-mikowa
    SJ tsurete aruku
asan> tsuQtokasowa
    SJ tsubusu
asan> tsuQtomowa
    SJ kieru
asan> tsuQtoNgarowa
    SJ yaseru; get thin
asan> tsuQtoNgerowa
    SJ togaraseru; sharpen?
asan> tsuQpajikowa
    SJ muku; peel.. ikioi yoku, energetically (I guess this is the tsuQ prefix part)
asan> tsuQpanakasowa
    SJ tobasu
asan> tsuQpanerowa
    SJ haneru?: jump?
asan> tsuQpamerowa
    SJ hameru
asan> tsuQpijikerowa
    SJ dame ni naru
asan> tsuQpukurerowa
    swell, expand
asan> tsuQpesowa
SJ osu; push
asan> tsudzume
a bird [suzume]
asan> tsuno
SJ tsuno; horn
asan> tsunotsuki
some kind of cultural thing that ended in 1988. read the blurb
asan> tsunomugi
SJ oomugi
asan> tsubakimushi
a bug [chadokuga - dokuga]; a poisonous moth?
asan> tsubakiya:
asan> tsubakiyo: (MI)(OK)
SJ tsubaki-rin (forest of tsubaki trees)
asan> tsukakuriya:me
a bird [tsubame]
asan> tsukurikari
haircut
asan> tsube
top ridge of a roof?
asan> tsuketega
SJ teguwa?
asan> tsukesode
a kind of clothing sleeve
asan> tsukowa
SJ tsukamu; take food with fingers and eat
asan> tsurakya
illness
asan> tsurusarime
when a person has something bad "on" them? or the person themselves. waruguchi term.
asan> tsurumame
a plant [fujimame - mame]
asan> tsudasowa
SJ sashidasu
asan> tsudabusowa
SJ kakasu; hide(vt)
asan> tsudoboserowa
SJ noboseru
asan> tsudnomerowa
to put something under water in contradiction of common sense?
asan> tsudnomorerowa
SJ shizumu
asan> tsuNbo: deaf
asan> tsuNmugurowa
      lean/pitch/fall forward?
asan> de:
      SJ kawari; a replacement/exchange for something (cf. dai as in sedai)
asan> teiQpe:[dara]
      SJ te ippai; hands full
asan> tega
      an agricultural tool
asan> te:gi[dara]
      SJ taigi; meaning is "gokuro: sama"
asan> deki-te-kerowa
      SJ dekite kureru
asan> dekiNno:te
      SJ dekinai kara
asan> de:ku
      SJ daiku; carpenter
asan> dekurowa
      come (out); cf. kurowa
asan> te:ge:
      SJ taigai; generally, overall
asan> te:ko
      SJ taiko; drum
asan> tego
      third daughter
asan> deko
      SJ koi! (IMP); come!
asan> de:ko
asan> dya:ko (NN)
asan> ja:ko (KT)
      daikon
asan> de:kokiNbo
asan> dya:kokiNbo (NN)
asan> ja:kokiNbo (KT)
      dried (hoshi) daikon
asan> de:jikya
      SJ utskushii, kirei
asan> de:jigo (SY)
      SJ daiji na kodomo; only child
asan> de:ji[dara]
asan> dya:ji[dara] (NN)
asàn> ja:ji[dara] (KT)
    SJ daiji; important
asàn> de:ji-ni-showa
asàn> dya:ji-ni-sowa (NN)
    SJ daiji ni suru; really [sowa] for NN?
asàn> de:zu
asàn> dya:zu (NN)
asàn> ja:zu (KT)
    SJ daizu; soybean
asàn> tetsu
    SJ hitotsu
asàn> teQpösama
    some kind of food in ball shape
asàn> tete:
    a command called out to cows
asàn> teteNkuNkuN
    name of a lullaby
asàn> de:doko
asàn> ja:doko (KT)
asàn> dya:doko (NN)
    SJ daitokoro
asàn> tedorerowa
    SJ te ni iru
asàn> tena:
    string used for kite flying
asàn> de:nashi[dara]
asàn> ja:nashi (KT)
asàn> dya:nashi (NN)
    SJ dainashi; ruined
asàn> tenegi:
asàn> tenege: (MI)(OK)
    SJ tenugui
asàn> de:neN
asàn> dya:neN (NN)
    SJ rainen; next year
asàn> debuimo
    a plant [nigakashuu - yamanoimo]
asàn> temaga:ri
asàn> temago:ri (MI)
    labor exchange?
asàn> tema:shi
    SJ daNtori
asan> te:ra
asan> te:ro (MI)(OK)
asan> ty:a:ra (NN)
   SJ taira? flat ground
asan> te:ragerowa
   SJ taira ni suru
asan> teruko
   SJ satsuma-imo
asan> tereN
   telling lies; liar
asan> derowa
   SJ deru / iku / ???
asan> deNgine
   SJ suri-kogi
asan> teNgusa-gani
   a small crab who lives in teNgusa grass
asan> deNgunetsu
   an illness, fever; hachijou-netsu?
asan> teNkura
   liar
asan> teNguruma
   SJ kata-guruma
asan> teNgome (NN)(SY)
   spider; cf to:jijnarume
asan> teNji
   SJ youkai; ghost, phantom
asan> teNde
asan> teNdera (MI)
   "every man for himself"; each person separately
asan> teNne:
asan> teNni: (NN)
   sky, heavens
asan> teNpo:
   missing arms and/or hands (whu?)
asan> de:chikya (MI)(SY)
   SJ utsukushii; cf ja:chikya
asan> de:chiku (MI)(SY)
   SJ kirei/sappari
asan> do:ga
   SJ dakedo
asan> togamerowa
   SJ hara wo tateru
asan> toki: (KT)(NN)
    SJ tokei; clock, watch
asan> togi
    SJ tsuuya
asan> to: gimi
    a plant; to:kibi; maize, corn.
asan> togirowa
    SJ sasou; invite
asan> doke:-waso
asan> doki:-waso (KT)(NN)
    SJ "doko he ikumasu (ka)?"
asan> dokugatsu
    SJ rokugatsu; June
asan> dokugatsuyo
    a fish [marusoudagatsuo - saba]
asan> doku[dara]
    something is bad, or bad for you (body or health). related to SJ doku ‘poison’?
asan> dokudenashi
    SJ rokudenashi
asan> doke:-ojaro
    SJ doko he irassharu ka (very polite)
asan> to: gesama
    geographical thing of local interest; read the blurb
asan> to: go
    a fish [tougorouiwashi]
asan> dogomizu
    SJ nigorimizu
asan> tokoro
    a plant
asan> tosaka
    SJ tosakanori; a kind of seaweed?
asan> tojikurowa
    SJ nuu; sew
asan> dojigoe
    SJ nonoshirigoe
asan> dojidama
    SJ tsumuji; cowlick?
asan> do: shini
    SJ issho ni
asan> to: shibi
asan> to: shimi
    SJ to: shimi, to: shiN
asan> dosho:dama
   SJ kimottama; boldness, daring
asan> toshori
asan> do:jiN (KT)(NN)
   SJ toshiyori
asan> toshirashikya
   SJ urayamashii
asan> dojiwaru[dara]
   SJ ijiwaru(i)
asan> to:jiNjarume
   spider; cf teNgome
asan> to:su
   7th daughter
asan> tozukeguchi
   SJ tsugeguchi
asan> tozukowa
   SJ todoku
asan> do:soku
   SJ rousoku; candle
asan> dotashajiku (KT)(SY)
   strong rain
asan> dotazurusu
   fat chick
asan> dotahichi
   SJ dotabata
asan> doQchimichi
   SJ izure ha
asan> doQchaN
   SJ docchi he
asan> doQchaNdemo
   SJ dochira he de mo
asan> toQtsukowa
   SJ nedzuku
asan> toQtsubu
   SJ sukoshi
asan> toQtsurusarowa
   SJ torisugaru
asan> toQderowa
   SJ deru
asan> toQtokimadara
   SJ haregi; nice weather clothes?
asan> toto:
father
asan> totokoro
     same place
asan> to:to:me
asan> nyaQtorime (KT)
     SJ niwatori; chicken
asan> donarakasowa
     SJ donaru
asan> to:noki
     a plant [kusagi - kumatsudzura]
asan> to:noyo
     a fish [ishidai]
asan> tonori
     a bug [batta]; grasshopper
asan> tobiQko
     footrace
asan> tobiyo
     a fish [hamatobiuo - tobiuo]; also harutobi
asan> dobu
     SJ doro; mud
asan> tobura
asan> toburashiba
     a plant [tobera]; also hamatsubaki
asan> toburashibayaki
     a cultural thing; read the blurb
asan> tobo:
     SJ geNkaN; entrance; in NN/SY, means "(in) front of a house"
asan> toborerowa
     SJ kieru
asan> tomasowa
     SJ kesu; extinguish (as, a flame)
asan> to:mame
     a plant [natamame - mame]
asan> tomarowa
     be(come) pregnant (of cows!)
asan> tomi
     a fish [namemoNgara - moNgara-kawahagi]
asan> to:mugi
     a plant [juzudama - ine]
asan> tomure:
asan> tomurya: (KT)(NN)
     funeral; cf miokuri
asan> tomo:sowa
SJ ana wo akeru
asan> do:moyo:i
SJ doumo arigatou
asan> do:moN
SJ mouroku shita joutai
asan> to:yaku
later
asan> to:yaku
a fish [shiira]
asan> to:ra
one corner
asan> do:ra
SJ hora ana; cave, cavern, den
asan> doranii:i
SJ saa yarou
asan> torame:rowa
SJ tsukamaeru
asan> tori
SJ hitori
asan> torishima
a specific island; read the blurb
asan> dorubota[dara]
covered with mud
asan> toNgarasho
SJ tougarashi; red pepper
asan> toNgyo:
clitoris
asan> doNgo
SJ bakamono
asan> toNjiN
tips of plant leaves?
asan> doNnademo
SJ doushite mo
asan> toNbu
mountain peak
asan> toNbo
a fish [biNnaga - saba]
asan> toNmete
SJ souchou; early morning
asan> na:
asan> no: (MI)
asan> noa: (NN)
   SJ nawa; rope
asan> naka
   2nd daughter
asan> nakaibi
   SJ nakayubi; middle finger
asan> nagakya
   SJ nagai; long
asan> nagashi
   south-west wind; cf natsunishi, haibuki, sanagashi
asan> nakashito
   SJ reibai; medium, psychic
asan> nagatoro-yashiki
   a name with cultural significance; read the blurb
asan> nakaNno:ja
   SJ nai darou
asan> nakiyo
asan> nakibita (KT)
   SJ nakimushi;
asan> nasowa
   SJ umu; be born
asan> nadame
   a fish [utsubo]
asan> natsuki
   space between eyebrows
asan> naQkya
   SJ nai
asan> naQkeNte
   SJ nai kara
asan> natsutobi
   a fish [akatobiuo - tobiuo]
asan> natsunishi
   west-south wind; cf nagashi
asan> nabiraka[dara]
   SJ shizuka da; quiet
asan> nabusowa
   SJ kakusu; hide (vt)
asan> naburerowa
   SJ kakureru; hide (vi)
asan> nabekojiki
   SJ namekuji; slug [note: no -me suffix!]
asan> naberowa
SJ ueru; plant (a plant)
asan> nama (SY)(KT)
   SJ sashimi
asan> namani:
asan> namane: (MI)(OK)
   SJ nama nie?; not yet fully boiled
asan> namane
   SJ ne-busoku; lacking sleep
asan> namamigaki
   SJ migaki-busoku; not polished enough
asan> nama-myouja
   someone who has only JUST died; cf other words starting with nama-
   read blurb for culture details, including village differences
asan> narari:gaN
   SJ nariyuki no mama ni
asan> nariNnaka
   SJ naranai
asan> nare
asan> nareNsha: (KT)(NN)
   2p pronoun, SJ omae;
asan> nawakiri
   a fish [kuroshibikamasu - kurotachikamasu]
asan> narowa
   SJ naru; become
asan> nawakure:
   SJ nawakurai; a bad habit of cows to chew/eat ropes
asan> naNnojo:
   SJ aNnojou; as expected, as (I) feared
asan> naNyo:buri
   a fish [tsumuburi - aji]
asan> nigadake
   a plant [azumashino - ine]
asan> nikusaburo:
   a drunkard
asan> nishi
   west wind; cf manishi, fuyunishi
asan> niseme
   a bird [tobi] {cf tamura spelled 'taseme'}
asan> nichisho
   SJ michi-shio; high tide
asan> nichirowa
   SJ michiru; fill up
poop, feces
SJ yamano-imo
SJ niwa; garden
SJ nai
eldest daughter
island of protection for women. cultural thing, read blurb
a plant [hamasuge - kayatsurigusa]
SJ niru/niteiru; resemble
SJ nite inai; not resembling
to fool, trick (someone, vt); to lie
tooth [human only?]
rain dripping from the edge of a roof?
SJ nokiba; edge of a roof
asan> nukutachi
    a plant [tsurusoba - tade]
asan> nukutokya
    SJ nukutoi, attakai; warm
asan> nukowa
    SJ nugu; remove (clothing)
asan> nusutama
    thief, burglar
asan> nu:to:
    thin thread
asan> nuburido
    platform one steps on when entering a house
asan> nuburowa
    SJ noboru; cf noburowa
asan> nurukya
    SJ nurui; lukewarm
asan> nurushi
    add water to something?
asan> nuNme
    SJ nomi; flea
asan> ne
    rocks hidden below the surface of water, sunken rock
asan> ne: 
    SJ nae; seedling
asan> nege:
    SJ negai
asan> nejire
    crooked or devious person
asan> nezumime
    mouse
asan> neQkokyya
    SJ chiisai, osanai; small, young
asan> nenezume
    SJ mimizu; earthworm; cf memezume
asan> nebamowa
    eat, as of the way a cow eats grass
asan> neburowa
    SJ nameru; lick
asan> neburowa
    SJ inemuri suru; doze off (in the middle of something)
asan> nemeQko:
staring game, whoever laughs loses (kinda thing)
asan> neri
   okra (veggie)
asan> nerogaN
asan> nerogoN (MI)(OK)
   SJ neyou; let’s sleep
asan> neNji
   SJ kiriboshi; dried potato slices
asan> neNsho:gumi
   a plant [tsurugumi - gumi]
asan> neNneNyo:
   a lullaby
asan> neNbutsumo:shi
   something about Buddhist prayer; read blurb
asan> no:
   SJ mata; again
asan> nogisho
   SJ hosaki; (blade) tip, spearhead
asan> no:kurowa
   SJ mata kuru yo
asan> nokogirishiba
   a plant [tamashida - uraboshi]
asan> no:ja
   SJ darou {but it’s as yet unclear if this is really a free word or a suffix}
asan> nozukowa
   SJ tachiyoru; cognate with nozoku?
asan> noburowa
   SJ noboru; cf nuburowa
asan> nomerowa
   SJ shizumeru; cause something to sink in water
asan> nomowa
   SJ nomu
asan> nori
   SJ oniamanori; a kind of seaweed, nori
asan> norido
   a place to ride on cows?
asan> noro
   SJ nori; kind of seaweed
asan> norokya
   SJ osoi, noroi (sluggish)
asan> norokusakeshito
   SJ noroma; clod, dunce, ”slow” person
asan> noNbakerowa
    choke, gag (on something)
asan> ha:
    mother (cf other forms)
asan> haiku
    SJ hayaku; quickly
asan> haitobi
    a fish [ayatobiuo - tobiuo]
asan> haibuki
    south-west wind (distinct from west-south); cf natsunishi, nagashi
asan> hakasho
    SJ bochi; graveyard
asan> ba:gachi
    a plant [tachitsubosumire - sumire]
asan> hakame:ri
asan> hakamya:ri (KT)(NN)
    SJ haka-mairi
asan> hakikaburowa
    throw up and soil clothes, etc.
asan> hagi:ta
    SJ hagoita (decorative paddle of sorts?)
asan> hagimu
    to grow food/crops?
asan> hagu
    gums (in the mouth)
asan> baku
    elephantiasis (disease)
asan> hagusa
    a plant [mehishiba - ine]
asan> hagu:ba
    person with no teeth, or few teeth left
asan> hakuraN
    sunstroke
asan> bakeshima
    a fish [shimaaji - aji]
asan> hageta
    SJ waruguchi
asan> hagedaNpu
    bald head
asan> bakehagi
    a fish [amimeumadzu]
asan> hakerowa
SJ fusagu; cf kuwarowa, kuerowa
asan> basama
SJ baasama; grandmother; cf. baNma, baQba, N:ma
asan> hajigamashikya
SJ hazukasii
asan> hashigi
a plant [oomurasaki - tsutsuji]
asan> hashikurowa
an emphatic form of "come"
asan> basho:ika
a squid? [aoriika]
asan> hashiriQko
a game/sport involving running
asan> hashirowa
SJ iku/itte simau. cf. hanerowa ‘run’
asan> hatago
a device for making measurements
asan> hada:shi
SJ hadashi; barefoot
asan> hatamono
SJ hata-ori-ki
asan> bachi
a fish [mebachi - saba]
asan> hachijo:te:kobushi
SJ hachijou taiko-busi; long blurb
asan> hachijou:haQke:
eight famous views or scenes of the island?
asan> hatsu:
SJ hatsumono?; first pickings of the season of some crop
asan> hatsukakuraN
a plant [kokeiraN - raN]
asan> patsukowa
SJ kareru; (plants) wither
asan> haQchi
SJ hage; bald (head)
asan> baQchi
a bamboo pole
asan> haQchake
SJ tokoro-hage
asan> haQcho:
sixth son
asan> baQba
grandmother; cf basama, baNma, N:ma
asan> paterowa
   SJ tsukareru; get fatigued
asan> hatoyo
   a fish [isuzumi]
asan> hanakake
   SJ hana ni kakete shaberu koto
asan> hanakaze
   south-east wind; cf isana, sanagashi, tatsumi
asan> hanasakiebi
   a shrimp [kanoko-ise-ebi]
asan> hanasowa
   SJ itsukeru, tsugeguchi [is this really the only meaning?]
asan> hanachichi (SY)
   SJ neNdo; clay
asan> hanamuro
   a fish [takasago - fuedai]
asan> hanare
   a small outbuilding
asan> hanechakari
   SJ oteNba
asan> babashakarowa
   SJ sekkachi ni naru
asan> habira
   a plant [kakuremino - ukogi]
asan> hama
   SJ hama; beach
asan> hamaguri
   a shellfish, but apparently not the same one called hamaguri on mainland.
   (Hj no takaragai)
asan> hamago
   a fish [kibinago - nishiN]
asan> hamatsubaki
   a plant [tobera]; also tobura[shiba]
asan> hamanakase
   a fish [takanohadai]
asan> hamafuki
   a fish [hamafuefuki - fuefukidai]
asan> hamayo:
   a plant [hamaomoto - higaNbana]
asan> bame
   cow
asan> haraiQpe:
  SJ hara ippai; belly full
asan> haraku:-showa
  SJ itazura wo suru
asan> hara:ta
  SJ gaki; troublesome kid(s)
asan> barana
  banana
asan> barafugu
  a fish [hariseNboN]
asan> harabushi
  SJ utsubuse
asan> harame
  pregnant woman
asan> harya
  SJ sude ni, mou; already
asan> haru
  spring silkworm
asan> harushi
  helping with silkworm cultivation?
asan> harutobi
  a fish [hamatobiuo - tobiuo]; also tobiyo
asan> haruyamabushi
  a cultural thing; read the blurb
asan> parerowa
  SJ hareru; expand, swell(vi); also to be hot/spicy (of food)
asan> haNke
  SJ kawatta hito; strange person {cf tamura spelled ‘haNge’ with meaning baka}
asan> haNzume
  SJ sakki, sakihodo
asan> haNdo
  a small window
asan> haNba
  a seaweed [haba]
asan> haNpaku
  rice and barley mixture
asan> haNbo
asan> haNboN (NN)
  wooden container for holding cooked rice/food
asan> baNma
  grandmother; cf basama, baQba, N:ma
asan> higashinarai
north-east wind; cf many others
asan> hizakabura
   kneecap; cf tsugume
asan> hisamerowawa
asan> hishamerowawa (NN) ['wa’ is missing from this form in the book, but I’m sure it’s a typo}
   SJ katadzukeru
asan> hijigarame
   a bird [shijuukara]
anan> pijikerowa
   to get very tired
asan> hijinoko
   SJ hihi; elbow
asan> hija
   SJ hiza; knee
asan> hijamazukowa
   SJ hizamazuku; kneel down
asan> hita
   tongue
asan> hitaki
   a bird [joubitaki - tsugumi]
anan> hidasowa
   SJ momigara wo nozoku
asan> hite:ame
   skinny cow? (cf. he:tame)
anan> pichikerowa
   to get thin to the point of ’skin and bones’
anan> hichikowa
   SJ kowasu; break, destroy
asan> hicchi:buri
   SJ hisashi-buri; cf heiteiburi
asan> hiQkajimowawa
   SJ kajikamu; be numb, paralyzed
asan> hiQkazukowawa
   SJ inemuri suru
asan> hiQkasurara
   SJ wasurete shimatta
asan> hiQkasurareNnaka
   SJ wasurerarenai
asan> hiQkasurunawa
   SJ wasureru na; don’t forget!
anan> hiQkasuwawa
   SJ wasureru; forget
asan> hiQkuwarowa
    SJ fusagaru; stop something up
asan> hiQkokasowa
    SJ torinokosu
asan> hiQkokurakasowa
    SJ surimuku
asan> hiQkogomarowa
    SJ kagamu; shagamu
asan> hiQkotsukowa
    SJ oru; break (off), bend
asan> hiQkotosowa
    SJ otosu
asan> hiQkomorowa
    SJ iki ga tsumaru, kurushiku naru
asan> hiQchikame:rowa
    SJ tsukamaeru
asan> hiQchikinagurowa
    SJ hikizuru, hikizuri-mawasu
asan> hiQchikowa
    SJ hiku; pull
asan> hiQchijimarowa
    SJ chijimarau; shrink, contract
asan> hiQchibarowa
    SJ shibaru; tie up
asan> hiQchakurowa
    SJ sukuu; skim, dip up out of water, as of goldfish
asan> hiQchagerowa
    SJ motsu; hold in the hand {really? the usual term is this long?}
asan> hiQchabakowa
    SJ yabuku, hikisaku; tear(vt)
asan> hiQchabukowa
    SJ yabuku, hikisaku; tear(vt)
asan> hiQcho:wa
    SJ seou; carry on the back
asan> hiQtsu:rowa
    SJ (guigui to) nomu; drink
asan> hiQtokasowa
    SJ tsubusu
asan> hiQtorowa
    SJ toru, mogitoru; take
asan> hiQpakarowa
    block (sthg), stop up, get the way
asan> hiQpashi
    SJ suekko; last child in a family
asan> hiQpukurerowa
    SJ fukure-agaru; swell up
asan> hite:
asan> hicha: (KT)(NN?)
    SJ odeko; forehead
asan> hitosuteya:
        a legendary thing; read the blurb
asan> hibo
    SJ himo
asan> hiboN
    ashtray
asan> hya: (KT)(NN)
    ash, ashes
asan> hiyashime
    SJ ari; ant
asan> hya:tarowa
    SJ hi ni ataru
asan> hyaQpeN
    a lewd woman
asan> hya:me (KT)(NN)
    SJ hae; fly (n)
asan> hya:riguchi
    SJ iriguchi; entrance
asan> hyu:kidake (KT)(NN)
    SJ hibuki-dake; a bamboo pipe that acts as bellows for firemaking
asan> hyu:kidake
    a fish [aoyagara - yagara]
asan> hyuNdei
    a bird [toratsugumi]
asan> hyo:taN
    swollen belly (esp of a child)
asan> piyome
    SJ hiyoko; a chick (esp of chicken)
asan> hyo:ra
    SJ hirumeshi; lunch
asan> hi:ra
    a plant [mokusei]
asan> hiratega
    some kind of digging tool
asan> hirami
a shellfish [yomegasa]
asan> hirayo
   a fish [bashoukajiki - makajiki]
asan> hi:ri
   SJ onara; fart
asan> hirikaburowa
   to poop your pants?
asan> hi:rume
   moth
asan> hirowa
   SJ umu; give birth to
asan> pi:rowa
asan> peirowa (MI)
   SJ nureru; get wet.
asan> biNcho:
   a fish [biNnaga - saba]
asan> hiNnakowa
   SJ naku; cry [strongly emphatic]
asan> hiNneburowa
   SJ nemuru, inemuri; sleep, doze off
asan> hiNbi
   every day
asan> hiNmakowa
   SJ tobu, maiagaru (of birds)
asan> hiNmogerowa
   SJ toreru; a situation in which a thing has become separated (and is lost?)
asan> piyame
   a bird [hachijou-hiyodori - hiyodori]; cf mekusarime
asan> fuichabaNma
   SJ tsuki-mi; cultural thing, read the blurb
asan> fugi
   intestines
asan> fu:kidake
   SJ hibuki-dake; a bamboo pipe that acts as bellows for firemaking
asan> fukude
   SJ kagami-mochi
asan> fugume
   a fish [ishigakifugu - hariseNboN]
asan> fukurakashi
   a person without charm, amiability (mostly said of women)
asan> fuki
   a plant [kuzu - mame]
asan> fujime:ri
  SJ fuji-mairi; a cultural practice - going to Fuji to pray or something
asan> futaharaitoko
  SJ mataitoko; En second/third, etc cousins? cf chigya:itoko
asan> buchiusu
  SJ usu; a large mortar
asan> buchigine
  a large mallet, used with buchiusu
asan> buQ-
  emphatic/augmentative prefix
asan> buQkajirowa
  SJ surimuku
asan> buQkijimero:ru
  SJ shikaru; scold
asan> buQkijamowa
  SJ kiru; cut (as of tree branches)
anan> buQkuy:ro:ru
  SJ kuzureru; collapse, crumble
asan> buQkurikuriero:ru
  SJ hikkuri-kaeru; turn over, capsize, fall down
asan> buQko:ji:ro:ru
  SJ hikinuku
asan> buQkozu:ke:ro:ru
  SJ oreru; bend, break
asan> buQko:te:ro:ru
  SJ ochiru? fall down (by mistake)
anan> buQko:to:so:ru
  SJ otosu
asan> buQko:me:ko:ji:ki
  person who wastes money, spends extravagantly
asan> fuQdachi
  place to take off geta (shoes?)
anan> buQtato:ru
  SJ shuppatsu suru, tatsu; depart
asan> buQtara:go:ra:ru
  SJ suwaru, suwarikomu
asan> buQchi
  a fish [sayori]
anan> buQcha:ka:so:ru
  SJ waru; split into pieces
asan> buQcha:ba:ko:ru
SJ yabuku, yaburisaku
asan> buQcharigatsura[dara]
   SJ ii kagen [da]; nonsensical
asan> buQcharorowa
   SJ suteru; discard
asan> buQchororowa
   SJ ori-magete-toru; bend, break (off?)
asan> buQchiroberorowa
   SJ tabaneru
asan> buQtsobakasowa
   SJ odorokasu; surprise(vt)
asan> buQtsuzumowara
   SJ shizumu; sink below the surface
asan> buQtokasowara
   SJ tsabusu; crush, break?
asan> buQpakarowara
   SJ tachi-hadakarara
asan> buQpashirowara
   SJ hashiru; run
asan> buQpatakerorowa
   to be soaked with heavy rain
asan> buQpegasowara
   SJ hagasu
asan> buQpo:Qte-okowara
   SJ houtte oku
asan> buQpo:rowara
   SJ houri-nageru
asan> futekaburi[dara]
   SJ futeku sarete iru
asan> futekaburorowa
   SJ futeku sareru
asan> budo
   a seaweed? [kagiibaranori]
asan> futohagi
   SJ futomomo; thigh
asan> fu:toro
   a steam whistle, such as on a ship?
asan> funaoroshi
   ship launching/christening ceremony
asan> funadamamasama
   a ship deity? hard to tell; long blurb with details
asan> bu:bu:me
a fish [mongara-kawahagi]
asan> fuyunishi
   west wind; cf nishi, manishi
asan> furusho
   "old cropfield", (1) planted two years in a row, or (2) two years since being burnt
asan> fuNgaburoswa
   how you feel after stepping in poop
asan> fuNkusa
   an esoteric Buddhist ritual
asan> fuNgokurowa
   step on something deliberately
asan> buNshime
   a bird? [yaNma]
asan> fuNjakasowa
   step on something and break/crush it
asan> fuNjoowawa
   SJ seou; carry on the back [why <oo> here rather than <o:> ?]
asan> fuNdasowa
   fly a kite [long blurb with cultural detail]
asan> fuNdo:shi
   loincloth
asan> fuNdobakasowa
   kick(vt)
asan> fuNdoN
   some kind of scale for weighing things
asan> fuNdoN-moguri
   a method for diving in the ocean; see blurb for details
asan> buNnagamerowa
   SJ buttaosu, knock something down; or elongate something
asan> buNnagamowa
   SJ taoreru, fall down
asan> buNnajimowa
   SJ tsuyoku korobu, taoreru
asan> buNnukasowa
   tell someone a lie but really convince them it's true (?)
asan> buNnuburoswa
   SJ noboru
asan> fuNbijikowa
   break/bend something by stepping on it
asan> buNmakerowawa
   SJ akeru; kara ni suru; make empty
asan> buNmukurowawa
SJ surimuku; peel the skin off something painfully
asan> buNmushi
   a bug [koganemushi]
asan> buNmushirowa
   SJ mogitoru; grab something away by force
asan> he:
   SJ hai. general aizuchi
asan> he:
   ash, ashes
asan> heiteiburi (MI)
   SJ hisashi-buri; cf hi:chi:buri
asan> hegasowa
   SJ hagasu; tear, peel off
asan> he:ki[dara]
   SJ kamawanai; comes from heiki, right?
asan> hege
   SJ hige; facial hair; also pubic hair
asan> hegoshida
   a plant [hachijou-hego]
asan> heshikomowa
   SJ oshikomu; appears to be used with ‘man’ (otoko) as direct object! I don’t understand this.
asan> hese:tsukerowa (MI)
   SJ osae-tsukeru
asan> hesogara
   SJ yasu(?); a fishing tool for stabbing fish?
asan> he:tame (NN)
   skinny cow? (cf. hi:tame)
asan> hedaka
   SJ senaka; back (body part); also SJ hadaka; naked, nude
asan> betaQko
   a fish [child of isuzumi?]
asan> hetaninarowa
   SJ waruku naru; illness gets worse
asan> hetame (NN)
   SJ manuke; fool
asan> heQkuri
asan> heQtori (NN)
   SJ shakkuri
asan> heQsogo
asan> heQchogo (MI)
asan> heQtsogo (KT)
   SJ heso
asan> heQchi:
    cooking space/fireplace in a dirt floor
asan> heQchu:da
    swing, SJ buranko
asan> heQtsome
asan> heQchome (NN)
    dragonfly; SJ toNbo
asan> hedo
    bird droppings
asan> benarowa
    SJ naku; cry, weep
asan> bene
    SJ beni (red color)
asan> he:noki
    a plant [haNnoki - kabanoki]
asan> hebiabi
    a plant [hebi-ichigo - bara]
asan> hebime
asan> hebume (KT)(NN)
    SJ mamushi; name of a poisonous snake
asan> hebira
    SJ kimono; everyday kimono
asan> be:be:
    a cry to cows, telling them to stop
asan> he:me
    housefly
asan> he:riguchi
    SJ hairiguchi; entrance
asan> he:rowa
    SJ hairu
asan> pe:rowa
    SJ nureru; get wet (in the rain, in particular?)
asan> heNgo
asan> heQgo (NN)
    a plant [shimateNnaNshou - satoimo]
asan> heNko-showa
    sex, copulation
asan> heNchikuriN[dara]
    SJ hen [da]; strange, odd
asan> beNbe
    child’s kimono
asan> hoikara
SJ sore kara
asan> hoija
   SJ sore de ha
asan> bo:ibi
      thumb, big toe
asan> bo:e
      a large house
asan> hogarowa
   SJ chirakaru
asan> ho:kishiba
      a plant [tsuwabuki - kiku]
asan> hokidasowa
   SJ hakidasu
asan> bo:kya
   SJ ookii; big
asan> hokuchi
      a hollowed out tree?
asan> bo:ku-narowa
   SJ ookiku naru; get big
asan> hogerowa
   SJ chirakasu
asan> hokomowa
      SJ fukumu; put something in the mouth
asan> hokowa
      budding, sprouting out (of plants)
asan> ho:saN
      a fish [suma - saba]
asan> hoji
      wisdom
asan> boji
      leg/foot (insulting, contemptuous use)
asan> bo:ji
      kitchen work
asan> hoshimakasowa
   SJ misebirakasu
asan> boshamikowa
   SJ hataraki-mawaru
asan> hosogari
      SJ yaseppochi; thin person
asan> bo:ta
      a fish [umeiro - fuedai]
asan> hodagane
SJ ashikase; leg fetters, shackles; trap, burden
asan> hotarugusa
   a plant [hotarubukuro - kikyou]
asan> pochakerowa
   SJ akiru; get tired of
asan> boQkome
   an old cow (vulgar expression)
asan> hoQchiki
   SJ hontou, makoto; truly, really
asan> ho:de
   SJ houden, shinden; treasure hall, temple sanctuary? (from Jikki)
asan> hotokezame
   a fish [gangiei]
asan> hotokoro
   SJ futokoro
asan> hoto:Qte-shiNde
   dying from the heat
asan> hoto:rowa
   SJ atsui; hot
asan> hone[dara]
   SJ muzukasii, taihen
asan> ho:be:
   SJ houbai; companion, colleague, friend
asan> ho:hokejame
   a bird [iijima-uguisu - uguisu]
asan> bo:mame
   a plant [natamame - mame]
asan> bo:muro
   a fish [kusayamoro - aji]
asan> ho:merowa
   feed food, as a mother animal to children, mouth to mouth
asan> hora
   SJ tanima; valley
asan> horage:
   a shellfish [horakai]
asan> ho:risuzume
   a bird [hoojiro]
asan> ho:rizoku
   rampaging adult bull/cow
asan> horo
   SJ boro; old, worn kimono
asan> ho:roku
SJ kawarake; lack of pubic hair on female of appropriately high age?
asan> horokemoN

SJ asobinin; playboy, freeloader, drifter?
asan> hoNkacho:
    a fish [takibera - bera]
asan> boNge:
    big legs/feet (vulgar expression)
asan> hoNdomi
    a fish [namemoNgara - mongarakawahagi]
asan> hoNbeQko:
    a sea turtle [taimai]
asan> poNpoNdori
    a bird [tsutsudori - hototogisu]
asan> ho: (MI)(OK)
asan> howa (KT)(NN)
    mother (cf other forms)
asan> hoNnarya: (KT)(NN)
    north-east wind; cf many others
asan> maejirase
    SJ mae-jirusi? a foreshadowing of something that will happen.
asan> magama
    a kind of kama for cutting grass
asan> magusa
    a plant [hachihou-susuki - ine]
asan> maguni
    "wait". used when asking someone to give you time to rethink something you said {really? weird}
asan> makurakasowa
    SJ korogasu. to roll something
asan> makurafuugu
    a fish [hakofugu]
asan> makurerowa
    SJ korogaru
asan> magurerowa
    thinking that you’re going to die(?) or planning to die(?)
asan> masakifuji
    a plant [tsurumasaki - nishikigi]
asan> majikasowa
    SJ nakusu, ushinau
asan> mashigoro
    SJ sukosi mae, imasigata. just now, a bit before/earlier
asan> majikowa
 SJ norou. curse(vt)
 asan> majirerowa
 SJ nakunaru, inakunaru. cf machikerowa
 asan> ma:serowa
 SJ ageru. polite for "to give" to someone
 asan> mata:bara
 SJ mata mata. over and over
 asan> madami
 a plant [tabunoki]
 asan> madara
 nice clothes, for going out
 asan> machikerowa
 SJ nakunaru, inakunaru. cf majirerowa
 asan> machirowa
 SJ matsu. wait
 asan> ma:kyari
 SJ o-wan? a vessel for food. chinaware?
 asan> ma:kyu:
 a steep hill
 asan> ma:kyuru[dara]
 SJ makkuro, makkura. totally dark
 asan> ma:kyuro[dara]
 SJ masshiro. totally white
 asan> ma:to
 SJ motto. even more (so)
 asan> ma:to:[dara]
 SJ majime
 asan> manishi
 west wind; cf nishi, fuyunishi
 asan> manya
 SJ ima, genzai de ha
 asan> maneguri
 SJ manegoto
 asan> mabarowa
 look at; stare/gaze at (someone’s face)
 asan> maburiyoke (MI)
 an omamori against bad things
 asan> maburowa
 SJ mamoru
 asan> mama
 cliff, precipice (this word is found in MYS poetry)
 asan> mamb:oki
a plant [daimonjisou - yukinoshita]
asan> ma:mini
asan> moa:mini (NN)
SJ hayaku. used to get someone to hurry
asan> maya
SJ ushi-goya. found in En’ou Kougo?
asan> ma:rioya
SJ tomari-yado no oya; cf ma:riyado
asan> ma:rigo
SJ tomari-yado no ko; cf ma:riyado
asan> ma:riyado
a place to stay, word relates specifically to a Hj tradition. read the blurb. the above two words are related to this.
asan> maruta
a fish [marusouda-gatsuo saba]
asan> marubowa
to die
asan> marumanako
jargon related to the making of Ki-Hachijo fabric
asan> mawarinoki
a plant [inubiwa - kuwa]
asan> maN
SJ ima. genzai; now
asan> maNgamaNdemo
SJ ima de mo
asan> maNkara
SJ ima kara
asan> maNda
SJ ima da. a perfect time (for sthg)
asan> maNnoga:ni
SJ ima no you ni; cf maNnogaN
asan> maNnogaN
SJ ima no you ni; cf maNnoga:ni
asan> maNno:[dara]
SJ massugu da
asan> maNmade
SJ ima made
asan> maNwa
SJ ima ha
asan> miokuri
funeral; cf tomure:
asan> migakya
SJ nigai
asan> migadake
a plant [medake - ine]
asan> mikichakarowa
SJ aruki-mawaru
asan> migusakya
SJ migurushii
asan> miko
SJ miko. shrine maiden
asan> mikogamikoga
SJ aruite iru uchi ni; used when sthg unexpected happens while walking
asan> mikoke
meaning related to miko (shrine maidens). read the blurb
asan> mikowa
SJ aruite-iku
asan> mishe
SJ mise; shop(n)
asan> mijikakya
asan> mijikya: (KT)(NN)
SJ mijikai; short; cf mijakya?
asan> mija
SJ jimen; ground
asan> mijakya
SJ hikui; cf mijikakya?
asan> mijo
SJ mizo
asan> mishokabisho
SJ isshou kenmei (or sthg like that)
asan> mishiN[dara]
SJ mite mo ii
asan> mizukusa
a plant [mizuki]
asan> mizukumi
SJ mizukumi onna. long blurb about Hj culture.
asan> mizuzame
a fish [aozame - nezumizame]
asan> mizumiyama
a geonym. appears in Jikki.
asan> miseyare
SJ misete kudasai; polite form
asan> michiki
sideburns
asan> michikerowa
   SJ mitsukeru
asan> michisho
   high tide
asan> minami-daito-shima
   geonym; loooong blurb
asan> mibako
   SJ mibako; sthg related to Shinto
asan> miharakoQko
   a bird [tsugumi]
asan> mimikusa
   a plant [hookogusa - kiku]
asan> mimizukume
   a bird [ryuukyuu-ookonohazuku - fukurou]
asan> mime:
   SJ mimai
asan> mimori
   "water protect"; SJ mizubaN? reference to literature or folktales
asan> mya: (KT)(NN)
   SJ mae; before
asan> mya:kake (KT)(NN)
   SJ mae-kake
asan> mya:ri-itasoga (KT)(NN)
   SJ shiturei itashimasu
asan> mya:roka (KT)(NN)
   SJ tabemasu ka? polite form of kamowa 'eat'
asan> miyoke
   some kind of vessel
asan> mi:yo:shi
   nephew/niece; they are not distinguished
asan> miNnaka
   SJ awanai, atte-nai
asan> miNna:ja
   SJ hisashiburi da nee; from "minakatta ne"
asan> mukajime
   SJ mukade; centipede
asan> mugi:kotoni
   SJ kawaiisou ni
asan> mugi:sho
   SJ mugibatake; barley field
asan> mugizo:shi:
   SJ mugi zusui; barley soup
asan> mugurite
SJ mogori-te; diver
asan> mugurowa
SJ moguru; hide (under)
asan> mugokunarowa
perform heavy, tiring labor
asan> mukodori
SJ muko-iri
asan> mushi-okuri
"sending bugs". some kind of festival held in SY?
asan> mushiga-wakowa
SJ hara ga tatsu; get angry; intransitive
asan> mushikure:
SJ mushi-kui; being bitten painfully by a bug
asan> mushitsuki (SY)
SJ muraki; moody, fickle, capricious
asan> mushitsuke
a material that is burned?
asan> mushime
bugs (in general)
asan> musho
SJ mushiro; a floor mat made of straw or bamboo; cf mosho, ido
asan> musho-wakasowa
SJ hara wo tateru; get angry; transitive
asan> musukubi
thick firewood
asan> muzuko:shikya
SJ kusugutai; ticklish
asan> musowa
SJ moyasu, yaku
asan> mutsugo
a fish [umihigoi - himeji]
asan> murya:nya: (KT)(NN)
SJ morawanai
asan> murerowa
SJ moreru? when you gotta pee bad, and it’s almost leaking out {really?}
asan> muro
a fish [muroaji - aji]
asan> murowa
SJ moreru; leak; cf murerowa
asan> muro:wa
asan> murouwa (MI)
SJ morau; receive
asan> me:
    SJ mayu; silkworm cocoon
asan> me:
    SJ mae; before, in front
asan> meirowa
    SJ moeru; burn up(vi)
asan> mekusarime
        a bird [hachijou-hiyodori - hiyodori]; cf piyame
asan> meshinanacha (MI)
        rice bowl
asan> meQto:
        a shellfish [takasegai]
asan> menada
    SJ namida; tears
asan> menarabe
        young, unmarried woman/girl
asan> me:ne: (SY)
    SJ mienai; cannot see
asan> meme
    SJ mime; outward appearance?
asan> memezume (SY?)
    SJ mimizu; earthworm; cf nenezume
asan> me:rarai (MI)
    SJ gomen kudasai!
asan> me:re
    SJ tabenasai (polite); shortened form of me:riyare
asan> me:rowa (MI)
        go, come, be; from SJ mairu?
asan> meNgo (MI)
        small potato
asan> meNza
    SJ ookuchi wo tataku hito (vulgar)
asan> meNjome
        a bird [michitou-mejiro - mejiro]
asan> meNtama
        a fish [chikamekintoki - kintokidai]
asan> meNna
    SJ minna; everyone
asan> meNnome (MI)
        ugly woman (vulgar)
asan> moku
a seaweed [hondawara]
asan> mogurushi
   sieve (for separating powders)
asan> mo:shi-itasowa
   SJ moushimasu; say (humble)
asan> mosho
   a floor mat made of grass; cf mushiro, musho, ido
asan> mosorowa
   SJ moru; to load up high in a dish, usually food
asan> modama
   a plant [sarutoriibara - yuri]
asan> mochi:
   SJ mochi; not clear if this means the food itself, or "mochi-tsuki" activity
asan> mochi:hiri:
asan> mochi:hirya:
   SJ mochi hiroi; picking up mochi?
asan> motsuki
   baby diaper
asan> moQchaku:showa
   SJ moteamasu (huh?) {does this include "showa" ‘suru’?}
asan> moQchaku[dara]
   SJ moteamasu, te ni oenai
asan> moQchakuhara:ta
   SJ moteamasu kodomo
asan> motoe
   SJ moto no ie; original house
asan> modoriyarowa
   SJ okaeri-ni-naru (polite)
asan> modorowa
   SJ kaeru (how about modoru?)
asan> mo:mini
asan> mo:miN (MI)
   SJ hayaku
asan> momeito
   yarn/thread spun from cotton [momeN]
asan> momoshiki
   SJ momohiki; undergarment to keep legs warm
asan> momone
   SJ mata; crotch, groin
asan> moyokurowa
   to make a plan
asan> moyori
clear blue skies
asan> more:go
asan> morya:go (KT)(NN)
    adopted child; clearly from SJ morai-go
asan> more:niN
asan> morya:niN (KT)(NN)
    SJ nako:do; matchmaker, go-between in marriage
asan> moroko
    a fish [mahata - hata]
asan> morohige
    a fish [itachiuo - ashiro]
asan> moN
    SJ ...mono, a person who [something]
asan> ya:
    SJ hora-ana; a large horizontal hole in a rock or cliff; cavern, grotto?
asan> yaito
    a fish [suma - saba]
asan> yauchi
    SJ miuchi; relatives, family
asan> yakata
    SJ koya; small house
asan> yakamashikya
    SJ yakamashii
asan> yakigirowa
    SJ yaku?
asan> yagidake
    a kind of fishing pole
asan> yakhata
    SJ yakhata
asan> yakuotoshi
    SJ yakuotoshi
asan> yakuza[dara]
    coward, weak, useless
asan> yakuna
    a plant [wadan - kiku]
asan> yasakasowa
    SJ yaseraseru; to make someone/thing thin (by denying food?)
asan> yashigarowa
    SJ anadoru; make light of, make fun of, hold in contempt
asan> yashino:wa
    SJ sodateru; seems cognate with SJ yashinai!
asan> yazu
SJ iwanai
asan> yasumiyaQtaka
  SJ ohayou; good morning
asan> yasumiyarowa
  SJ oyasumi ni naru
asan> yasumowa
  SJ yasumu; rest
asan> yataba (KT)(NN)
asan> ya:taba (KT)(NN)
    a plant [asitaba - seri]
asan> yadagarowa
  SJ iyagaru
asan> yada:koto:
asan> yado:kotou (MI)(OK)
    SJ iya desu nee
asan> yadaQchi:ya
    SJ iya da sou da
asan> ya[dara]
    SJ iya [da]
asan> yaQke:mono
  SJ yakkaimono
asan> yaQkokya
    soft
asan> yaQkome
  SJ yatsu, yakko; a demeaning term, usually for a male
asan> yaQtogayasara
  SJ yatto no koto de
asan> yadorowa
    a more polite form of yasumowa; looks pretty cognate with yadoru
asan> yano:kotoni (MI)
    SJ warui nee, sumanai nee
asan> yahi
  moxibustion
asan> yabushiN
    putting up a straw roof
asan> yaburo
    deep inside a house, not near the entrances
asan> yama
    place where crops are grown; SJ hatake
asan> yamagarama
    a bird [o:sutoNyamagara - shiuugara]
asan> yamagi
asan> yamajibAN
    SJ ? something to do with agriculture
asan> yamashu (MI)
    SJ usotsuki; liar
asan> yamasho
    SJ yakihata
asan> yamasuge
    a plant [kokaNsuge - kayatsurigusa]
asan> yamadami
    a plant [shirodamo - kusunoki]
asan> yamatsuge
    a plant [inutsuge - mochinoki]
asan> yamanuburi
    an animal; SJ yadokari; hermit crab
asan> yamaNba:
    a supernatural creature from folk tales
asan> yamihoroke
    sickly, invalid
asan> yamerowa
    SJ itamu; to hurt, feel pain
asan> ya:mo
    a plant [yamamomo - yanagi]
asan> ya:yO:
asan> ya:yu: (NN)
    SJ yuugata, koNya; evening, this evening (cf e:yO:)
asan> yarikaNbo:[dara]
    SJ ii kagen [da]
asan> yarikeN
    an animal [yariika - ika]
asan> yarekuchi
asan> yarebanashi
    lurid talk, of sex etc.
asan> yareNnaka
    SJ dekinai
asan> yarogaN
asan> yarogoN (MI)(OK)
    SJ yarou (hortative)
asan> yaNgo
    bastard, illegitimate child
asan> yaNbe
    SJ kasabuta; scab, crust
asan> yuzunoki
a plant [himeyuzuriha - toudaigusa]
asan> yutaN
   SJ ookii furuoshiki
asan> yute
tenugui for bathing use
asan> yudo
   SJ ido (well)
asan> yu:nuke
   food that has lost its flavor
asan> yuburi
   smoke
asan> yuburowa
   smoke getting in and irritating your eyes
asan> yuhe:
   SJ ihai; Buddhist wood stick with dead person’s name written
asan> yuru
   SJ yoru
asan> yurunohito
   mouse (not nightowl ;=)
asan> yuwa
   SJ iwa ‘rock’
asan> yuwai
   SJ iwai ‘celebration’
asan> yuwakya
   hungry; cognate with SJ yowai ‘weak’ {an adjective! unlike SJ usage}
asan> yuwa
da fish [maiwashi - nishin]
asan> yuNdo:
a tobacco container
asan> yuNbe
   last night
asan> yo
   fish (in general)
asan> yo:
   fish-ACC
asan> yo: (MI)(OK)
   SJ hora-ana. A large horizontal hole in a rock or cliff.
asan> yoakashi
   SJ tetsuya
asan> yokaNno:wa
   SJ ii darou
asan> yokiri
SJ hidane; a spark or other small flame used to start a bigger fire

asan> yoke

SJ bangohan, yuuge?

asan> yokeNbe:[dara]

SJ choudo ii, ii guai; (ii aNbai?)

asan> yokegaN

SJ ii you ni

asan> yokeko

beautiful female

asan> yokeja

SJ sore de ii

asan> yokeNshowa

SJ yameru; cf. yoshiNsowa {appears to include “showa” ‘suru’}

asan> yokeNte

SJ ii kara

asan> yogo:

parts of Hijj outside of where you live

asan> yokoshima (SY)

SJ yoko he. This word in SJ means ”bad”

asan> yokutarumi

a fish [yokosuji fuedai]

asan> yokoto

SJ iu koto

asan> yokobara

terraced agriculture

asan> yosa:sowa

asan> yosowa:su (NN)

SJ tetsudau

asan> yosarowa

SJ atsumaru

asan> yoshiNsowa

SJ yameru; cf. yokeNshowa

asan> yosogaN

SJ yameyo:

asan> yosorowa

SJ yosoru ‘serve food’

asan> yota

foam on the ocean

asan> yotsuki

fish (sakana) wo tsuku [pierce] koto

asan> yoQkya

SJ ii, iranai

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asan> yoQkeja
   SJ yoi, ii
asan> yoQkokya
   SJ yawarakai; soft
asan> yoQdari
asan> yoNdari
asan> yoNdare
   SJ yodare; spittle
asan> yoQbari
   a fish [aigo]
asan> yoQbari
   pee, urine (note: a homonym with name of a fish - above)
asan> yoQbe
   last night (cf yuNbe, etc)
asan> yo:demonaQkya
   SJ yokei na osewa
asan> yotogi
   SJ tsuuya
asan> yoba:rowa
   SJ yobu
asan> yobitsuke:
   a messenger?
asan> yobe:
asan> yobya: (KT)(NN)
   SJ yohai? ‘night crawl’
asan> yoborowa
asan> yoba:re (SY)
   SJ yobinasai
asan> yomedono
   mouse
asan> yomena
   a plant, a grass
asan> yomeNnari
   men and women swapping places. really?
asan> yomogimochi
   a dessert
asan> yo:rani
   SJ shizuka-ni, yakkuri; quiet, calm
asan> yorabowa
   SJ erabu
asan> yorie:shigoto
asan> yorya:shigoto (KT)(NN)
SJ kyoudou sayyou: “together work”
asan> yorime
  squint
asan> yoriyarowa
  SJ oyori ni naru
asan> yoroge
  a fish [gonzui]
asan> yorowa
  SJ iru?; roast, parch, boil?
asan> rakudazame
  a fish [nezumizame]
asan> ryo:kami
  name of something of local significance
asan> riNdo:
  a plant [suikazura]
asan> reNge
  a fish [murarasakikatabami]
asan> rokakominyoko
  legendary first ancestor (female) of Hj, cf tanaba
asan> rokuhoQchiki[dara]
  SJ fudeki; poor (quality), unsatisfactory
asan> rokuyasama
  SJ rokuyasama
asan> rokuro:
  sixth son
asan> wa
  sentence-final emphatic particle, SJ yo
asan> waikyu:rowa (MI)
  get angry
asan> waisha:
  SJ watashi nanka, watashi nado
asan> waido
  a fish [buchisuzukibera - bera]
asan> wagaenohito
  my husband (used by wife to talk about her own husband to tanin)
asan> wakaze
  south wind; cf nagashi
asan> wagadaNna
  affectionate way of referring to one’s son [prob only for women I guess]
asan> wagahime
  affectionate way of referring to one’s daughter [maybe not only for women]
asan> wakariNnaka
SJ wakaranai
asan> wage:
  contraction of waga-e (my house)
asan> wake:shu
  SJ wakamono; young person
asan> wasu (SY)(KT)
  come, go, be (polite form often used toward those from other villages). Seems to have
  same semantics as SJ irassharu. Asanuma gives several inflected forms, but not this
  citation form, which I have induced based on what he does give.
asan> watarisama
  a local deity, seemingly of sea travel; read blurb
asan> waQtsura
  SJ hyoumen; surface
asan> waQpu
  SJ haibuN
asan> wa:ha:
  speech noise made when you are surprised about something
asan> warashibi
  straw; dried stems of rice and barley plants
asan> waratabu
  straw bale/bundle
asan> warukarara
  SJ warukatta; apology for something
asan> warukya
  SJ warui, mazui (i.e. oishiku nai)
asan> warusa:-showa
  SJ warusa wo suru; cause mischief
asan> ware
  1P sg pronoun; cf are
asan> wareNche:
asan> wareNse: (MI)
asan> wareNsha: (NN)
  1P plural pronoun
asan> Nga
  SJ omae ga
asan> N:ma
  grandmother; cf baQba, baNma, basama, baasama
asan> N:makya
  SJ umai, oishii; delicious
hosh> de:go
  SJ daikon; cf. de:ko in other dicts
hosh> jize:
hearth pot hook
hosh> kasuge:
   SJ kasugai
hosh> se:
   SJ sai; veggies
hosh> furi:
   SJ furui
hosh> hetse:
   SJ hettsui; stove, hearth
hosh> he:
   SJ hie; barnyard grass, millet
hosh> shike:
   SJ shikii; threshold
hosh> hitomo:ri
   SJ hito-mawari; one time around
hosh> unohito
   SJ ano hito; that person
hosh> ugoNdo:
   ano you ni
hosh> chebakura
   SJ tsubakura
hosh> daNbo:
   SJ ranbou; violent, violence
hosh> joriniN
   SJ ryouriniN; cook (the person who cooks)
hosh> jaimoku
   SJ zaimoku; lumber [shouldn’t this be ze:moku? or ja:moku?] hosh> asoQde
   SJ asoNde; play-SUB
hosh> teQjo:
   SJ teNjou; ceiling
hosh> shiQbaribo:
   SJ shinbaribou; a pole/rod to blockade a door from being opened
hosh> toQde
   SJ toNde; fly, jump, leap
hosh> koQbu
   SJ koNbu; a kind of seaweed
hosh> tsuQde
   SJ tsuNde; stack/load/pile-SUB
hosh> biQbo:
   SJ binbou; poverty
hosh> tsuQde
SJ tsurete; take.along.with-SUB [check tsuQte in other dicts]
hosh> naNnojo:
   SJ aNnojou; as expected, as (I) feared
hosh> fuNdouN 
   SJ fuNdou; weight
hosh> aQdeka
   SJ naNde no, naNde ka; because/reason for something
hosh> ani
   SJ naN ni; what-PREP [this is almost certainly a mistake; should be aNni]
hosh> waga
   1P pronoun attributive/adnominal
hosh> omeshi
   2P pronoun; you
hosh> dare
   who
hosh> koQcha
   SJ kochira
hosh> soQcha
   SJ sochira
hosh> aQcha
   SJ achira
hosh> doQcha
   SJ dochira
hosh> yokya
   SJ yoi; good (shuushi form)
hosh> hiraNte: [or hiraNde:?]
   SJ hiratai; flat, level
hosh> ke:garu
   SJ kayui; itchy
hosh> kebuQte
   SJ kemutte; be smoky
hosh> ojaru
   SJ irassharu
hosh> mo:su
hosh> mo:sowa (^)
   SJ mousu; say(humble)
hosh> dono
   respectful title; cf compounds made with it
hosh> hime
   respectful way to address little girls (usu as suffix/title); cf ji: for boys
hosh> ji:
   respectful title for males, including young boys, not limited to geezers; cf hime
hosh> shaba
   SJ sureba; cf seba [this one may be village dialect]

hosh> do:to
   SJ (de) areba (?)

hosh> yano:
   an interjection used when something makes you feel bad

hosh> we:he:
   SJ iya; interjection

hosh> aQtakechi
   an interjection H. didn’t understand; cf Asanuma’s definition

hosh> saQkebachi
   an interjection H. didn’t understand

hosh> aQtakechi-saQkebachi
   an interjection H. didn’t understand

hosh> oteru

hosh> oterowa (^)
   SJ ochiru; fall(vi); cf. Asanuma ‘buQkoterowa’

hosh> shan
   meaning not totally clear but probably something like "hou" (‘side,direction’).
   H. suggests it’s a directional postposition, but this is far from obvious.

hosh> gara
   SJ no tame [ni]; for the sake of, because of [etymology?]

hosh> nagi
   SJ nagara, to mo

hosh> gaQte
   SJ gatera

ikit> te:ge:ni
   SJ ii kageN ni

ikit> ke:gou
   seashell of ‘tokobushi’

ikit> hane:te
   SJ hanashite

ikit> yame:
   SJ yama he

ikit> me:
   SJ mayu; cocoon

ikit> ke:
   SJ kayu; porridge, gruel

ikit> nomune:dou
   SJ nomu darou keredo

ikit> nome:te
   SJ nomasete; drink(CAUS)
nomaNne:ya
SJ noNda tokoro
deito:ja
SJ dekita yo ne
mitei
SJ mise he
nei
SJ ne he; to go (somewhere) to sleep
neisaN
SJ neesaN; big sister
tei
SJ te wo
anei
SJ ane; big sister
asei
SJ ani; big brother
tomya:tei
SJ noNde mo
horeinaga:
SJ horoi nagara
tenegi
SJ tenugui; hand towel
tei
SJ hito hi; (1 day)
utsutei
SJ ototoi
heichiga
SJ hoshitakke naa; "I did dry it, didn’t I?"
weite
SJ dakkoku; threshing; Kaneda says < woshite
hotokorei
SJ futokoro he
motogei
SJ motogoe; base manure
meite
SJ moete; burn(vi)
oseite
SJ oshiete
neicha
SJ niete ha; as for having been boiled
meiroh
SJ mieru
ikit> sho:rime
    SJ shiroari; termites
ikit> omo:zu
    SJ omowazu; not thinking
ikit> saso:zu
    SJ sasowazu; not inviting
ikit> sho:tome
    SJ kijibato; a dove; Kaneda says < *sho-hatome
ikit> nomo:ja
    SJ noNda nee
ikit> nomodo:
    SJ nomu no de aru; Kaneda says < *nomodaro
ikit> shiNno:dara (MI)
    SJ shinai’N da; Kaneda says < shiNnakodara (NN)
ikit> wo:
    SJ wa wo; ring-ACC
ikit> yo:
    SJ iwa wo; rock-ACC
ikit> kako:
    wife; Kaneda says < *kakawo {but surely this is mother, not wife? cf nezamegusa}
ikit> ho:go:tei
    ”to where mother is”; Kaneda says < *hawa-ga moto he
ikit> o:
    SJ awa wo; millet-ACC
ikit> ho:
    SJ haha; clearly from hawa < OJ papa
ikit> ho:ki
    SJ houki; broom
ikit> ko:kowa
    SJ kawaku; dry
ikit> yo:mo
    SJ yamamomo; a good example of cyclic application of rules? amo > o:
ikit> hado:shi
    SJ hadashi; barefoot
ikit> kumo:sei
    Big brother Kuma; {from kuma+asei with /w/ insertion and awa > o;}
ikit> houi:
    SJ hou he; toward (some) side
ikit> oucha
    SJ okina? grampa, old man
ikit> jourowa
    SJ ryouri suru; cook food {is this a borrowing+verbalization?}
ikit> kou
   SJ ko wo; child-ACC

ikit> totou
   SJ otousaN; dad; Kaneda says < *totowo

ikit> omouwa
   SJ omou; think

ikit> nomedou
   SJ nomu keredo, noNde mo; Kaneda says < *nomedomo

ikit> youra
   SJ jitto, otonashiku; quiet, calm {etym?}

ikit> utouwa
   SJ utau; sing

ikit> tsukouwa
   SJ tsukau; use

ikit> nomunouwa
   SJ nomu darou; Kaneda says < *nomunamowa

ikit> kudo
   SJ kore hodo; Kaneda says < *kohodo

ikit> sudo
   SJ sore hodo; Kaneda says < *sohodo

ikit> doudo
   SJ dore hodo; Kaneda says < *dohodo

ikit> chu:yo:
   SJ chuui wo; attention-ACC

ikit> fu:tsuki
   SJ yousu; condition

ikit> yu:
   SJ yu wo; hot.water-ACC

ikit> katsu:
   a fish [katsuo]

ikit> nu:wa
   SJ nuu; sew

ikit> hatsu:
   SJ hatsumono; Kaneda says < *hatsuho ‘first ear’

ikit> u:do
   SJ are hodo; Kaneda says < *uhodo

ikit> su:rowa

ikit> hiQtsu:rowa
   drink; Kaneda says cognate with susuru ‘sip, slurp, suck, sniff’

ikit> suki:naga:
   SJ sukui nagara

ikit> furi:naga:
SJ furue nagara
ikit> hi:te
SJ fushite
ikit> mi:te
SJ moyashite; burn(vt); cf musowa => SJ moyasu, mushite > mi:te
ikit> uki:
SJ asoko he
ikit> ko:i:
SJ kawa he; to the river
ikit> osei:
SJ oshie he; go somewhere to teach
ikit> doui:te:te
SJ dou itashimashite; Kaneda says < *douitashite
ikit> toui:te
SJ toushite; pass thru(vt)
ikit> mo:i:te
SJ mawashite; turn around(vt) mawe:te or mo:shite
ikit> ni:ki
SJ ni hiki; two small animals counter
ikit> shi:ki
SJ shi hiki; four small animals counter
ikit> shichi:ki
SJ shichi hiki; seven small animals counter
ikit> hachi:ki
SJ hachi hiki; eight small animals counter
ikit> seishi:
SJ Sueyoshi he; to the village of SY
ikit> nomi:
SJ nomi he; go somewhere to drink
ikit> noma:ba
SJ noNdara
ikit> koQka:
SJ koko kara
ikit> wa:
SJ ware wa
ikit> daigetsu
next month
ikit> futai
SJ futari
ikit> nomai:gena:
SJ noNda you da {etym?}
SJ ware; 1P; from ‘are’

ikit> nomaidou
    SJ noNda keredomo

ikit> omai
    SJ omae; cf. omi, ome:, etc

ikit> koi
    SJ kore

ikit> soi
    SJ sore

ikit> doi
    SJ dore

ikit> suibi
    SJ muda-zukai

ikit> ui
    SJ are; from [ure]

iwig> tete

iwig> totou
    father

iwig> wowoji
    grandfather

iwig> shiuji
    uncle who is a second son(?)

iwig> shouji
    uncle who is a fourth son(?)

iwig> asei
    big brother

iwig> aene
    big sister

iwig> tarou
    eldest son

iwig> sabou
    third son

iwig> gorou
    fifth son

iwig> hiQteu
    seventh son [looks like the shiQcho: found elsewhere]

iwig> futo
    an affectionate name for 9th or 10th child; unisex usage?

iwig> ha:

iwig> kaka:
    mother

iwig> tarowoji
uncle who is an eldest son

iwig> sabouji
  uncle who is a third son

iwig> gorouji
  uncle who is a fifth son

iwig> zei
  younger brother

iwig> woshiuba
  uncle and aunt (dvandva) {dakuten missing; prob. wojiuba, cf others}

iwig> jirou
  second son

iwig> shiyou [onbin-less rendering - probably not correct]

iwig> shou
  fourth son

iwig> rokurou
  sixth son

iwig> haQteu
  eighth son [looks like haQcho: and similar attested elsewhere]

iwig> nyoko
  eldest daughter

iwig> teko
  third daughter

iwig> chiirou [could be jiirou with dakuten missing bec of bad repro]
  fifth daughter

iwig> kuurou
  seventh daughter

iwig> toNko
  SJ haka; grave?

iwig> mahariyado [really? cf maharu, this file]
  a place where one is going for pleasure/fun

iwig> yoma
  SJ suki; gap, opening

iwig> seda
  to copy, imitate

iwig> hyou_u
  SJ hirumeshi; lunch {it is possible that what is missing is "ro", making the
  word "hyourou", which means "army rations", perhaps generalized to "food". Considering
  that many other sources give this word as "hyoura", one wonders whether the author of
  this document overthought the etymology}

iwig> totsugi
  having the same strength? {cf tamura spelled ‘totsuki’}

iwig> shaawogamu
having a lot of words? not at all clear what author means here
iwig> ugaan-ni
    something said while pointing forward at something? not at all clear what author means here
iwig> moronokute
iwig> moronotsute [onbin-less rendering - probably not correct]
    SJ tomodomo ni; together, in company
iwig> hizamatsuku
    author gives SJ meaning as a word that would be read in modern language as "iru" ‘to be’,
    however I suspect he meant it to be read "suwaru" ‘to sit’, because I cannot see how this
    word can NOT be basically the same word that in modern SJ means "to kneel down".
iwig> nekohi
    SJ chiisai; small; note that in more modern Hj this would be transcribed as nekko
iwig> magowo-ni
    SJ makoto ni; truly
iwig> maamini-maamini
    SJ hayaku hayaku; quickly!
iwig> haQtemosharazu
iwig> hatsutemoshiyarazu [onbin-less rendering - probably not correct]
    SJ ugokanu koto; (something that) does not move; I assume final /su/ is
    really /zu/, hard to make sense otherwise
iwig> naka
    second daughter
iwig> kusu
    fourth daughter
iwig> aQpa
iwig> aQha (appears this way in text but dakuten is probably just missing)
    sixth daughter; Tomizo says this word is a general word for girl kids (he’s probly right)
iwig> meiyoushi
    nephew and/or niece {typesetter thought there was a character missing here, but
    apparently not}
iwig> magoroku
    SJ donuketa koto
iwig> itari (KT)
    cf mahariyado; used only in KT
iwig> yokiri
    charcoal flame {cf Asanuma’s definition, which is probably right and this is poorly worded
    or wrong}
iwig> waseN
    SJ ribai; compounding of interest? really?
iwig> tei_sosa
    SJ issun to shita koto; [don’t understand and character is missing]
SJ hanashi; probably an unusual or amusing story or fairytale, not just any ol’ talk
iwig> yadoru
SJ neru; sleep
iwig> kokauni
"ato (trace) wo sashite iu koto”. So, this means ‘trace, mark, or relic left over from the past’? Or it is the thing you say when pointing to such? Not clear.
iwig> aQkahi
SJ agura-kaku; sit crosslegged; note this would romanize as aQkai in modern kanazukai
iwig> sogaaNdare
SJ sono you ni
iwig> ideN
"tore to iu koto”. So this means the same thing as "tore” (whichever word that is. "take it”?), or it’s what you say when you want someone to take something? Not clear.
iwig> maamini
SJ hayaku; quickly {We already saw this, JUST ABOVE!}
iwig> yotsuchiibiki [onbin-less reading - maybe not correct]
iwig> yoQchiibiki
SJ katajikenai koto; grateful, indebted
iwig> kawaNtara
SJ ”sou da” to iu koto
iwig> shiyare [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
iwig> share
SJ noke to iu koto, doke; move! get outta the way {cognate with SJ sare ‘go away-IMP’ ?}
iwig> awirashikiyaa
SJ aiso mo nai; not knowing how to deal pleasantly with people
iwig> wase
SJ gozare
iwig> yowakute
to be hungry?
iwig> noshita
To have eaten a lot
iwig> kasuruna
SJ oboete iyou; be remembering (this)! lit. don’t forget
iwig> heta
SJ warui koto
iwig> bowoi
SJ ookii; large [cf. bo:ke]
iwig> koshi
SJ sukunaki koto; little, few, scarce; this is no doubt ”sukoshi” with init syllable dropped
iwig> howoi
SJ sei takaki koto; tall (of a person, usually), high
iwig> mijiyai
SJ hikuki koto; low, short
iwig> zuifu
SJ yamai? no omoki koto; to have a serious illness
iwig> younashi
SJ irazaru koto; to not need/want something?
iwig> yoroke
SJ you ni tatanu koto; to be useless
iwig> toufu
meaning unclear - something geographical {cf tamura, word is spelled to:fu}
iwig> shiku
SJ aruku koto; to walk {really?}
iwig> tomasu
SJ hi wo kesu koto; to extinguish a flame
iwig> hiyoNge [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
iwig> hyoNge
SJ tsumar-anu koto; to be dull, boring?
iwig> futsuke-futsuke [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
iwig> fuQke-fuQke
SJ mura-ame no koto; some kind of rain, unclear
iwig> zare
SJ tawamure no koto; frolic, joke around, play
iwig> hiyoNge-ni [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
iwig> hyoNge-ni
"naze ni" to iu koto
iwig> dero
"kore to iu koto"; come-IMP (apparently); author has a comment on this,
don’t get meaning right off, check it again later
iwig> dahijihi
SJ migoto; splendid {same as de:jikya found in Asanuma?}
iwig> kasuru
SJ wasureru
iwig> shokunai
iwig> shokunai
SJ shiranai; don’t know
iwig> mouni
SJ ooi; many, much, a lot (of something)
iwig> houkeshiyu [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
iwig> houkeshu
an (important?) candidate (for something)
iwig> urusai
SJ kitanai; dirty
iwig> marufu
die; {we have this as marubu/marubowa. is the dakuten missing, or what?}
iwig> magureru
  SJ kizetsu; faint, pass out {note Asanuma has a rather different meaning}
iwig> toNfu
    a high place
iwig> wokoru
  SJ sawagu; raise a ruckus
iwig> harakurou
  SJ itazura; prank, joke on someone
iwig> koNgo-ni-naQte
  SJ koshi no magaru koto
iwig> moyori
    beautiful, clear (as of weather)
iwig> dzuruNte
  SJ suberu; slip, slide
iwig> irou
    hito ni karakau koto; ridicule someone
iwig> todzuke-guchisuru
  SJ tsugeguchi; to rat on, tell on someone
iwig> meNsa-nashi
  SJ ryoukeN nashi; no idea, or no discretion, or no forgiveness
iwig> fushiyau_na
  SJ kitanawi [kitanai?]
iwig> sagasu
  SJ tazuneru
iwig> shiyoshiyogeru [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
iwig> shoshogeru
  SJ kawaku; dry out(vi)
iwig> tamoure
  SJ kure, kudasai
iwig> itemihi
  SJ doremisero (doesn’t quite make sense to me as cSJ)
iwig> youra
  SJ shizuka ni
iwig> kimehi-no-mihete
  SJ hara ga tatte; get (feel) angry
iwig> tahi
    custom for women to go live alone in a separate house during menstruation
iwig> wotsubi-ni-taQte
    ?
iwig> heherameku
    to laugh, smile
iwig> hinohibo
   fire, flame
iwig> nakaNdei
   SJ chiihai zashiki
iwig> waita-ka
   SJ "kita ka?"
iwig> kedousu [dakuten might be missing from su, cf yamada]
   sewer, drain; etym ge->ke=shita dou=michi? then zu=what?
iwig> mashireta
   SJ ushinofu? ushinau? to lose? {cf other defn on this page!}
iwig> namuteNtou
   cf teNtou=heaven
iwig> harakuri
   SJ odoroku {relation to itazura?}
iwig> dadonotsu-totsu-tei
   something about resting?
iwig> saNmai
   SJ sutete oku; throw away
iwig> mashireta
   being unable to see something {cf other defn on this page!}
iwig> usunaru
   ??
iwig> keru
   SJ kureru; give
iwig> maharu
   SJ miru; see {really? cf mahariyado, this file}
iwig> sokaN-ni
   SJ sonna ni; like that {should be sogaN, maybe dakuten is missing}
iwig> takatara
   a bamboo basket
iwig> miyoke
   SJ ito kago; a thread basket?
iwig> miguri-ni-shite
   Giving an example of rolling up threads (into balls)?
iwig> shiNgeta
   SJ shiri; buttocks
iwig> dei
   SJ zashiki
iwig> wojiyare [onbin-less rendering - probably not correct]
iwig> wojare
   SJ oide; come here(polite)
iwig> tsuhe
looks like "yane" ‘roof’. [cf Asanuma ‘tsube’; maybe dakuten is missing]
iwig> nusutama
    thief
iwig> hitsuu-suru
    SJ mihe-wo-suru
iwig> toNtsumuri
    peak of a mountain
iwig> koshi
    steep place between valleys? meaning is not clear, but cf Asanuma
iwig> kawotoru
    take mulberry? what does this mean?
iwig> menada
    SJ namida
iwig> matara
    SJ moyou; pattern, figure, model, state, condition, situation
iwig> horo
    SJ boro
iwig> yumaki
    woman’s kimono underskirt, waistcloth
iwig> fuNgumi
    SJ fuNdoshi. says it’s for men. could be "lower belt” but probably fuNdoshi (loincloth).
iwig> teka
    a small scoop held in one hand
iwig> yaki
    a fishing pole
iwig> keNtoN
    a cup or bowl used for gargling?
iwig> kanauto
    SJ kanateko; crowbar, prybar
iwig> yaayou
    SJ yuugata; evening
iwig> mahiru
    exactly 9 o’clock
iwig> toukayu
    SJ gokoku, nochihodo; a little later
iwig> kogoheru
    SJ samui; cold (feeling)
iwig> kogohete-shite? [shiNde?]
    so cold that one cannot stand it
iwig> zoume
    bull, ox; cf zokume
iwig> woshokome
   calf (cattle); why is there a "missing character" circle here?
iwig> keneida
   a tired cow?
iwig> yawa
   cave-hole
iwig> kanei
   mulberry blossoms
iwig> hehira [cf hebira - probably missing dakuten]
   clothing
iwig> yohi
   SJ obi; belt? {seems dakuten is missing; yobi is attested elsewhere}
iwig> toNsa
   an old, big (dai) nunoko (some kind of clothing)
iwig> koshimahashi
iwig> koshimawashi
   "same as above". the word above is yumaki
iwig> hiboN
   SJ eNsou-boN; literally, "tobacco tray". is this an ashtray??
iwig> makama
   SJ kama; scythe, sickle
iwig> shaugi [shougi?]
   high-class tea/rice bowl
iwig> kuri
   a china or glass, etc bottle, used for sake, shouyu, vinegar, etc
iwig> toNmete
   tomorrow, morning
iwig> asahiru
   a time of day, says 4 o’clock something (what is "hi"?)
iwig> taisaN
   after 8 o’clock pm
iwig> sorosoro
   SJ nochihodo
iwig> hodowoQte-shiNde
   so hot that one cannot stand it
iwig> ureshikute-shiNde
   extremely happy
iwig> bame
   cow
iwig> zoku
   bull
iwig> katou
a fish [katsuo]
iwig> abuki
   a shellfish [tokobushi]
iwig> kona
   SJ kaiko; silkworm
iwig> nuseme
   a bird; En ‘kite’
iwig> koQkome
   a bird [akakokko - tsugumi]
iwig> kabuna
   a bird [kamome]; seagull
iwig> tsutsume
   a bird [suzume]
iwig> heQ_some
   SJ toNbo; dragonfly
iwig> keibyau [keibyou]
   probably lizard
iwig> hiiru
   moth
iwig> dzukume
   a kind of owl [tsuku, mimizuku]
iwig> ichinichibi
   SJ ganjitsu; the first day of the year
iwig> miQkabi
   SJ mikka no hi
iwig> inetsumi
   SJ wazurau; worry, suffer
iwig> yomegodono
   mouse
iwig> tomisagari
   falling of rain?
iwig> kurowotoko
   SJ shukke; Buddhist priest
iwig> yo
   fish (in general)
iwig> mae
   (silkworm) cocoon
iwig> shaQtome {looks like an SY word? cf shoQtome}
   SJ hato; dove
iwig> chiNchikara
   a bird [shijuukara]; En titmouse
iwig> howoritsutsume
a bird {look up later}
iwig> bebeime
    some small bug or animal {look up later}
iwig> nabekoshiki
    SJ namekuji; slug {probably - confirm later}
iwig> kubona
    spider
iwig> kutsukawashi
    SJ semi; cicada
iwig> futsukabi
    the second day (of the year)
iwig> kounichi
    the ninth day (of the year)
iwig> kawafukuro
    cat (but the usual word is neQkome)
iwig> maitama
    SJ imogashira; the "parent" of a sato-imo? {not Mr. Potatohead}
iwig> wowofuku
    to celebrate "fukucha", happiness tea? {wakaran}
karu> aQpame
    baby
karu> netaQte (KT)(NN)(OK)
karu> netaQte (SY)
    SJ nete-ite; sleeping-SUB
karu> kaya:shikya
karu> kaya:shikya (NN)
karu> kayashikya: (KT)
    SJ kawaii; adorable, loveable
karu> imemigo
    a basket for potatoes, related to peeling
karu> koube: (OK)
    fruit/veggie skin (+ACC probably)
karu> kokurowa
karu> kishagerowa (OK)
    peel (as the skin from fruit)?
karu> so
    SJ suru (rentai only)
karu> ushokumi: (MI)(OK)
karu> ushokumioki: (KT)(NN)(SY)
    some kind of equipment (container, I’m thinking) for harvesting something
    at the beach (shellfish?)
karu> sasaNde (MI)(SY)(OK)
karu> sasaQde (KT)(NN)
    to carry on the head (+SUB)
karu> hama
    beach
karu> derowa
    SJ deru; to go out
karu> ikowa
    SJ iku; to go
karu> =shaN
    SJ e(he); to, toward (PP)
karu> ebezu (MI)(OK)(KT)
karu> ebezu: (NN)(SY)
    something to eat (not clear)
karu> sho:te (KT)
karu> shote: (OK)
    SJ mukashi; long ago
karu> aNdemo (OK)
    SJ yoku; often?, freely?
karu> kamo: (MI)(KT)
karu> kama: (SY)
karu> kamoa: (NN)
    ate? (rentai only) {is this really past tense?}
karu> ojami
karu> ojami: (OK)
    SJ tedama; a game like jacks of throwing small objects and picking them up?
mase> muro:ru (NN)
    SJ morau
mase> o:cha (NN)
    SJ okina? grampa, old man; cf oucha (MI?)
mase> ni:seNme (NN) {/s/ is slightly palatalized}
    SJ toNbi
mase> keQkeNjo: (NN)
    hopping on one foot; cf other close forms
mase> he:ru (NN)
mase> he:rowa (NN)(^)
    SJ hoeru; bark (as a dog)
mase> hyo:radoki (NN)
    lunchtime; cf hyo:ra
mase> dokuyau (UT)
    sixth son
mase> hiro: (KT)(NN)
mase> hirouru (MI)
mase> hiyauyu (UT)
  SJ hirou; pick up
mase> ke:noyuru (NN)older
mase> ki:noyuru (NN)younger
  SJ koNya; cognate with kyou no yoru {should be ki:noyuru?}
mase> geNbe:me (NN)
  SJ kamakiri; praying mantis; cf kasegime
mase> hi:ru:me (NN)younger
  moth
mase> kadi: (NN)younger
  SJ kado he; to the gate
mase> hi:ti: (NN)younger
  SJ hisashiku; not in long time
mase> seNse: (NN)
mase> seNshie (KT)
mase> seNsei (MI)
mase> cheNchai (UT)
  SJ seNsei; teacher
mase> omye:dasu (KT)(NN)
mase> omeidasu (MI)
mase> omaidachu (UT)
  SJ omoidasu; recall
mase> tenegi: (NN)
mase> tenegie (KT)
mase> tenegeri (MI)
mase> tenegai (UT)
  SJ tenugui; hand towel
mase> kate:ru (NN)
mase> kachieru (KT)
mase> kateiru (MI)
mase> kataiyu (UT)
  SJ ueru; starve
mase> hoaki (NN)
  SJ houki; broom
mase> koaburime (NN)
  SJ koumori; bat
mase> kyoabyoame (NN)
  SJ tokage; lizard
mase> to:ya (UT)
  SJ tawara; straw bale/bag
mase> ko:ku (MI)(UT)
mase> koaku (KT)(NN)
mase> koakowa (KT)(NN)(^)

SJ kawaku; dry out(vi)
mase> utoa (KT)(NN)
mase> uto: (MI)(UT)
mase> utya: (NN)younger {this assumes an 'older' form of utea - nonsense?}

SJ uta wo; song-ACC
mase> keana (NN)older
mase> kya:na (NN)younger

SJ kata; shoulder
mase> ho:bea (NN)older
mase> ho:bya: (NN)younger

SJ houbai; companion, colleague, friend
mase> kawya:shikya (NN)younger {note onset of [wy]}

SJ kawaiirashii; cute
mase> kedeayami (NN)older
mase> kedya:yami (NN)younger

lazy person
mase> (y)eada (NN)older?
mase> ya:da (KT),(NN)younger(^)
mase> e:da (MI)(UT)

SJ aida; interval
mase> tea (NN)
mase> te: (MI)(UT)

a fish [tai]
mase> kyo:dea (NN)older?
mase> kyo:ja: (KT)
mase> kyoude: (MI)
mase> kyaude: (UT)

SJ kyoudai; brothers (and sisters)
mase> yamea (NN)older?
mase> yamya: (KT),(NN)younger(^)
mase> yame: (MI)(UT)

SJ yama he; to the mountain/cropfield
mase> weNda

SJ ue; up, above {really, just that?}
mase> kaweashikya (NN)older?

SJ kawaiirashii; cute
mase> kawe:shikya (MI)
mase> kawe:chikya (UT)
SJ kawaiirashii; cute
mase> shitea(osu (NN)
mase> shitea(w)osu (NN)
   SJ amaeru {on p51 he says this is careful pronunciation. Mase implies the [w] articulation
   is very light by making it superscript}
mase> ikyo: (NN)
   SJ iki wo; breath-ACC
mase> shiteayosu (NN) {he says this normal pronunciation at speed, cf on p50 shitea(w)osu}
   SJ amaeru
mase> kazu: (NN)
   SJ kazu wo; count-ACC
mase> taNsu: (NN)
   SJ taNsu wo; dresser-ACC
mase> to: (NN)
   SJ to wo; door-ACC
mase> ko: (NN)
   SJ ko wo; child-ACC
mase> kasoa (NN)
   SJ kasa wo; umbrella-ACC
mase> gaQko:yo
   SJ gakkou wo; school-ACC
mase> jiki:yo
   SJ satsumaimo wo; satstuma potato-ACC
mase> koayo
   SJ kawa wo; river-ACC
mase> teayo
   SJ tai wo; kind of fish-ACC
mase> hoNyo
   SJ hoN wo; book-ACC
mase> etsukya (NN)
   SJ muzukashii; difficult
mase> ye:go: (NN)
   SJ Eigou (a place name)
mase> tsukuye (NN) {he gives a small super-y here, not a full glide; suspect}
   SJ desk
mase> ye (MI)
   SJ e; picture
mase> ye:ba (MI)
   SJ yaiba; sword, blade
mase> ye:ne (MI)
   SJ Yaene (a place name)
mase> yashago (NN)
SJ yashago; great-great-grandchild
mase> meja
   proud, haughty person
mase> zuzea (NN)older?
mase> watakaze (NN)
   south wind
mase> tidu (UT)older
   SJ shimoN; fingerprint {caution: plosivity is much stronger than fricativity here, but they’re not pure plosives}
mase> hidinoko (UT)older
   SJ hiji; elbow {caution: plosivity is much stronger than fricativity here, but [d] is not pure plosive}
mase> buQtsobe:ru (NN)
   SJ odoroku; be surprised(vi)
mase> tsuQtsaru (NN)
   SJ sawaru; touch
mase> tsuQtsasu (NN)
   SJ tsuki-sasu
mase> shiQtsazumu (NN)
   SJ shizumu; sink (down)
mase> tseitachi (MI)
   SJ tsuitachi; first of the month
mase> tsei (MI)
   SJ tsue; staff, stick
mase> oQtsakino-utsutsei (MI)
   the day before the day before yesterday?
mase> pitikete (UT)
   SJ tsukarete; be tired {caution: plosivity is much stronger than fricativity here, but [t] is not pure plosive}
mase> seji (NN)
   flattery
mase> seba (NN) {/s/ is slightly palatalized}
   SJ sureba
mase> kisetara (NN) {/s/ is slightly palatalized}
   SJ kiseta; made to wear
mase> achu (UT)older
   SJ asu; tomorrow
mase> achaQte (UT)older
   SJ asatte; day after tomorrow
mase> chokunaQkya (UT)older
   cf MI shokunaQkya; to be unknown, to not know
mase> chachakeru (older
mase> shashakeru (younger
  SJ yakeru
mase> se:ryo: (/s/ is slightly palatalized)
  SJ suiryou; guess, estimate
mase> daku (NN)
  SJ raku; easy, enjoyable
mase> daQpa (NN)
  SJ rappa; trumpet
mase> deaneN (NN)older?
  SJ raineN; next year
mase> deagetsu (NN)older?
  SJ raigetsu; next month
mase> jikimu (NN)
  SJ rikimu
mase> jo:bune (NN)
  SJ ryoubune; fishing boat
mase> jo:ho: (NN)
  SJ ryoubou; both sides
mase> iNdaNshoi
  SJ iNraNshoi; he glosses as koushokusha - lewd/lustful person
mase> kogoN (MI)
  SJ kono you ni
mase> sogoN (MI)
  SJ sono you ni
mase> dogaN (NN)
  SJ dono you ni
mase> dogoN (MI)
  SJ dono you ni
mase> haobeta (UT)
  SJ hou(ppeta); cheek
mase> patsuku (NN)
  SJ kareru; (plants) wither
mase> pareru (NN)
  SJ hareru; expand, swell(vi)
mase> pe:ru (NN)
  SJ nureru; get wet
mase> pichikeru (NN)
  SJ tsukareru; get tired
mase> pikaru (NN)
mase> pikarowa (^)
  SJ hikaru; shine (light)
mase> puru (NN)
mase> purowa (°)
   SJ furu; fall (as rain), or swing (back and forth)
mase> pya:pya:me (NN)
   a bird [hiyodori]; bulbul
mase> piyokome (NN)
   SJ hiyoko; chick (baby chicken)
mase> michikakya (NN)
   SJ mijikai
mase> nabekochiki (NN)
   SJ namekuji; slug
mase> hijamatsuku (NN)
   SJ hizamadzuku; kneel down
mase> atsukeru (NN)
   SJ azukeru; keep, hold safely
mase> inapikari (NN)
   SJ inabikari; lightning
mase> manaputa (NN)
   SJ manabuta; eyelid
mase> saQpuki (NN)
   SJ sanbiki; three small animals
mase> taQgo (NN)
   SJ futago; twins
mase> buQgijime
   humble name for child?
mase> gaQjo:
   SJ ganjou? strong, healthy, robust
mase> aQza
   SJ aza; mark on skin, birthmark
mase> fuQjibaru
   SJ fujibaru
mase> yaQde
   SJ yannde; be sick
mase> toQde
   SJ toide; sharpen, grind, put an edge on
mase> aQde
   SJ nannde; why
mase> hiQbi
   SJ hibi? mainichi; every day, day after day
mase> hijakaNbura
   knee
mase> gaNjou (MI)
strong, sturdy, robust
mase> yoQde (°)
   SJ yoNde; read - proposed by Mase
mase> toQde (°)
   SJ toNde; jump, fly - proposed by Mase
misc> itasowa
   SJ itasu; do; polite auxiliary
misc> tamo:ru
   SJ kudasaru
misc> showa
   SJ suru; do
misc> bo:ke
   big, large (ATTR form)
misc> michiki
   Buddhist temple {found in TOKU dictionary}
neza> sho
   SJ hatake; crop field (not rice)
neza> ii
   SJ meshi; rice
neza> katoubushi
   SJ katsuobushi; dried bonito
neza> magama
   SJ kama; scythe
neza> ka
   SJ kuwa; hoe
neza> tega
   SJ teguwa; apparently a small handheld type of hoe with a short handle, cf tegaga
neza> tegaga
   SJ teguwa; apparently a small handheld type of hoe with a long handle, cf tega
neza> wido
   SJ goza, mushiro; bamboo mat
neza> maQkari
neza> goki
   SJ wan; bowl, food vessel for table use
neza> jo:gi [zeugi]
   one's own food bowl (goki). etym? transliterator has an idea, printed as ruby
neza> kagotsu
   tray and bowls/tableware for eating
neza> kakou [kakofu]
   SJ kogire; a fragment of cloth
neza> hidorinabe
   SJ irinabe; a kind of cooking pan

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deNgine
SJ surikogi; wooden pestle

yakubaN
SJ tabako kiri no dai; a surface for cutting tobacco?

tsube
SJ yane; roof {cf other dicts for slight difference}

ama
SJ teNjou; ceiling

amabashi
SJ hashigo; ladder

gomi
SJ takigi; firewood

teNne:
SJ sora; sky, heavens

mija
earth/land

tenTou

ntenTofu
SJ tsuki; the moon, or sun

hou
mother

ase:
SJ ani; big brother

iNne:
SJ ane; big sister

wotoane:
SJ kyoudai; siblings, all bro/sis younger than myself, subsuming oto:to, imo:to
{cf later in this dict where he gives it with short final vowel}

ojuba
SJ oji+oba; uncle and aunt, as set/type, not distinguished, accding to the author
{I'm skeptical}

ouji [ofujii]
SJ ojii; grandfather

jou
second son

shiQcho: [shiqtefu]
seventh son

haQtefu
eighth son

kuQteu
ninth son {note difference in rendering with 7th and 8th: tefu vs teu}

jiQcho: [jiqtefu]
tenth son {cf Asanuma ju:ro: - must be borrowed from SJ}
neza> jiurou
    fifth daughter
neza> ku:rou
    sixth daughter {!}
neza> ju:ro: [jiurou]
    daughters above sixth
neza> neQkouba
    aunt who is eldest daughter
neza> naQkouba
    aunt who is second daughter
neza> tegouba
    aunt who is third daughter
neza> aQpa:
neza> takari
neza> choNgari
neza> fudou
neza> oriyoshi
neza> kimiyoshi
neza> hodoyoshi
neza> kahoyoshi
neza> tsuruno
neza> kamen
neza> matsuyo
neza> umeyo
neza> takeyo
    female given name
neza> yoshitsune
neza> beNkei
neza> asahina
neza> kiyomasa
neza> geNtoku
    male given name
neza> shiri
    seems to be slang for vagina, but I can’t find the word he uses:
onna+ne(kko no ne). jokon?
neza> kakomu
    sexual union, intercourse (euphemism?)
neza> kataru
sexual union, intercourse
neza> hige
    pubic hair (this is very obviously a euphemism)
neza> houhige
    facial hair (this is in the ruby following word "hige")
neza> goze
    he says = SJ saseru. really? cf other dicts for very different defn
neza> kosuru
    SJ koshi wo tsukau {?}
neza> aze
    SJ naze; why
neza> unu
    SJ sonata; you
neza> ome:
    you (basically polite, like SJ anata)
neza> omi
    you (impolite, like SJ omae)
neza> kaNmomo
    SJ satsuma-imo {cf other dicts: kaNmo}
neza> kine:
    SJ kinou; yesterday
neza> kuQchou
    ninth son
neza> ke:bi [kehebi]
    SJ kyou; today
neza> satsumajo
    SJ satsuma-batake
neza> shiQpeta
    SJ shiri; buttocks
neza> shiyatsuchi [onbin-less rendering - probably not correct]
neza> shatsuchi [onbin-less rendering - probably not correct]
neza> shaQchi
    SJ zehi; certainly
neza> sedo
    SJ uraguchi
neza> se:Qkori [seheQkori]
    SJ hisoka ni; hidden/quiet
neza> sononari
    SJ sugu ni; immediately
neza> zora
    SJ zonzai; rough, careless, slovenly, rude
neza> taji
SJ nezumi-irazu; rat-proof cupboard
neza> tabara
SJ ta; flooded paddy
neza> tsuma
SJ oku; the innermost place, deep inside
neza> tekaga
long-handled hoe {this could be a misprint, cf tegaga in this dict}
neza> deyaku
SJ hanasu; talk
neza> teNtou
SJ hi; the sun, or moon
neza> toshigoro
SJ hatsumei; invention {really?}
neza> do:to [dofuto]
SJ ito; very?
neza> toma
SJ ana; hole {not sure how reliable this is - it depends on interpretation of the old folks' dialog}
neza> hadaobi
SJ fuNdoshi; loincloth
neza> hatago
SJ masu; a measuring cup, size is different from those used on mainland
neza> hou
SJ haha; mother
neza> hoji
wisdom, wise person
neza> bo:e [bofuwe]
large house
neza> yufushima
neza> yu:shima
SJ yu:gata; evening
neza> yowai
hungry; cognate with SJ for 'weak'
neza> wotoane
SJ kyoudai; siblings {cf this same dict where he gives it with long final vowel}
oosh> deite (MI)
oosh> de:te (OK)(SY)(AO)
oosh> deate (KT)(NN)
SJ dashite; put out
oosh> ome:
oosh> omya: (KT)
oosh> omea (NN)
you
oosh> getou (MI)
oosh> geto: (OK)(AO)
oosh> getoa (KT)(NN)
oosh> geta: (SY)
   SJ geta wo; clogs-ACC
oosh> tora (AO)
   SJ tawara; straw bale, sack
oosh> tenegi: (SY)
oosh> tenegi (AO)
   SJ tenugui; hand towel
oosh> kogeirowa (AO)
   cold (feeling?)
oosh> kokei (MI)(AO)
oosh> koke: (OK)
oosh> kokie (KT)(NN)
oosh> koki: (SY)
   SJ koko he; to here
oosh> jouzu (MI)(AO)
oosh> jo:zu
   SJ jouzu; skillful
oosh> karukaNnouja (MI)(NN)
oosh> karukaNno:wa (OK)(SY)
oosh> karukaNnouwa (AO)
   SJ ??; something about being light in weight? Also, can OK vs AO forms really
   be distinguished??
oosh> kakoa (KT)(NN)
   SJ kaita-PST-ATTR; wrote
oosh> katoa (KT)(NN)
   SJ katta-PST-ATTR; won
oosh> sakoa (KT)(NN)
   SJ saita-PST-ATTR; bloomed
oosh> mitoa (KT)(NN)
   SJ mita-PST-ATTR; saw
oosh> yoa (KT)(NN)
   SJ itta-PST-ATTR; said
oosh> hoa (KT)(NN)
   SJ haha; mother
oosh> sheba ()older
   SJ sureba; note palatalization of /s/ before /e/
oosh> maputa
   SJ mabuta; eyelid; Ooshima says this C devoicing is common throughout the dialects.
cf. also inapikari. He explains (p47) "musei shiin ni tsuzuku bi, bu, zu, etc become pi, pu, tsu. But this makes no sense to me as I write it. It means bi/bu/zu FOLLOWING a voiceless onset in prev syllable, no?"

oosh> atsukeru
   SJ azukeru; C devoicing

oosh> N:ma
   mother; note Asanuma says this word means grandmother

oosh> biQbo:
   SJ biNbou; poverty

oosh> takakya
   SJ takai; high

oosh> akakya
   SJ akai; red

oosh> kakara
   SJ kaita; wrote

oosh> ikara
   SJ itta; went

oosh> kawara
   SJ katta; bought

oosh> dashitara
   SJ dashita; emitted

oosh> kitara
   SJ kita; wore (clothes)

oosh> okitara
   SJ okita; arose

oosh> uketara
   SJ uketa; received

oosh> arara
   SJ atta, ita; was/were, existed

oosh> shitara
   SJ shita; did

oosh> kitara
   SJ kita; came

tamu> aQpa
   sixth daughter, or any small child male or female {compare this to what other dicts say!}

tamu> abuki
   abalone {other dicts are more specific - tokobushi}

tamu> aNko
   girl

tamu> itohiki
   menstruation

tamu> irai
SJ sayounara; goodbye
tamu> iro-wo-kiru {my attempt to fix the mistake}
tamu> irokekiru
   to be in mourning, or clothing worn when in mourning {I think he’s made a mistake
   here, giving the wrong <o>... he gives a-row <o> rather than wa-row <wo>, because
   I think this is iro-wo kiru, in which case it does mean to wear mourning/funeral dress.}
tamu> unashi
   empty land behind the house?
tamu> oofuri
   SJ fukucha; happiness tea? {cf iwig ‘wowofuku’}
tamu> ohetsuko
tamu> oheQko
   SJ oke; tub, bucket, pail
tamu> kagona
   SJ kamome; seagull
tamu> kaNsho:
   both kinds of excrement, poop and pee?
tamu> kushagari
   a cold (illness); esp one that is ”going around”
tamu> kuto:
   husband
tamu> kurootoko
   someone who did shukke (becoming a Budd. monk) 4 days before New Years? {cf kurowotoko}
tamu> kedousu {dakuten missing from su?}
   sewer, drain
tamu> koumya
   place of giving birth {looks like mistake, cf ko:mya:}
tamu> koQkudokoro
   kitchen {koQku supposedly from Dutch for ”cook”}
tamu> koNji
   husband
tamu> jiNbashi:
   a joking way to refer to a widow(er)? yikes.
tamu> shiNnoko
   vagina
tamu> tsuku
   big cow, or old cow {really?? others have said it’s an owl}
tamu> daiaaN
tamu> daishaN
   SJ yatsuji (like ”8 oclock”) {cf other dicts}
tamu> tabi
  menstruation

tamu> chihiro:
  fifth daughter

tamu> tsukume
  SJ mimizuku[dori]; horned owl

tamu> zozome
  SJ suzume; sparrow

tamu> tsuhe
  SJ yane; roof {cf Asanuma and others ‘tsube’ missing dakuten?}

tamu> unnara
  SJ oyasumi-nasai; good night?

tamu> ofuri
  funeral {this is very suspicious, cf. asanuma ‘okuri’}

tamu> kakanei
  SJ kuwa no hana; mulberry flowers

tamu> kanashimi
  SJ byouki; illness, sickness {really??}

tamu> kawafukuro
  cat (but the usual word is nekome)

tamu> kuro:
  seventh daughter

tamu> keneida
  a tired cow?

tamu> kotofuto

tamu> kotouto (^)
  brilliant, learned person

tamu> kome
  calf (cattle baby)

tamu> sugaki
  kitchen

tamu> some
  SJ toNbo; dragonfly

tamu> takedara
  a basket for keeping grain

tamu> chiNchikara
  a bird [shijuukara]; En titmouse, Japanese tit (Parus minor)

tamu> dei
  SJ zashiki

tamu> teka
  a small spade for digging with one hand

tamu> to:fu

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meaning unclear - something geographical {cf iwig, word is spelled toufu}
tamu> totsuki
  having the same strength? {cf iwig spelled ‘totsugi’}
tamu> doNko
  SJ baka; fool, idiot {cf other dicts spelled ‘doNgo’}
tamu> toNtsumuri
  peak of a mountain
tamu> toNbu
  small mountain
tamu> nakaNdei
  SJ chiisai zashiki
  some kind of cultural practice involving ascetic training or something? Not clear
tamu> taseme
  a bird [tobi] {cf asanuma spelled ‘niseme’}
tamu> noshita
  To have eaten a lot.
tamu> haNge
  SJ baka; fool {cf asanuma spelled ‘haNke’ with meaning kawatta hito}
tamu> haNdai
  rice bin, or container {but why a container for cooked rice, rather than ‘kome’?}
tamu> hiiru
  butterfly {I think this is a mistake - most other sources have it as ‘moth’}
tamu> hinohibo
  SJ kaji; fire
tamu> hyo:ro:
  lunch, midday meal {other sources have this clearly as hyo:ra - how could he have made such a big mistake? Could it be that he always heard it as "hyo:ra wa", which locals would produce as hyo:ro: because awa > o: is a highly productive sound change?}
tamu> futo
  small child, M or F {it looks like ‘fudo’, but I’m going to assume that what looks like dakuten is just a blemish on the paper}
tamu> hetsu
  SJ toNbo; dragonfly {how is he so far off from other sources?}
tamu> hetsuzo:
  feeling nauseous, feeling the need to vomit
tamu> teko
  third daughter
tamu> teNkura
tamu> teNchira
  liar
tamu> to:su
beloved child {cf other dicts, also tousu}
tamu> tomisagari
   a "good" rain {cf iwig}
tamu> doNjo:
   used when threatening(?) a child
tamu> toNda
   SJ boro; old, worn, damaged, esp of cloth
tamu> tasutama
   thief {really?? other sources have ‘nusutama’ which is much easier to believe}
tamu> taNme
   SJ nomi; flea {asanuma has ‘nuNme’ - cf. tasutama above - I think Tamura cannot read his own handwriting and is mistaking katakana nu for ta :-( }
tamu> bajikudo:
   wild land far from human settlements?
tamu> harako
   a bankrupt or broke person?
tamu> hidzuritsuN
   ?
tamu> heguri
   SJ shakkuri; hiccough, hiccup
tamu> boQko:
   SJ boro; old, worn kimono {cf other dicts spelled ‘horo’}
tamu> hoji
   wise, knowledgable person {cf tomizo1 spelled ‘boji’. could it just be missing dakuten here?}
tamu> miza
   above/on the ground. {I think this is a mistaken spelling for ‘mija’}
tom1> inasakochi
tom1> hiranarai [hiranarahi]
   east wind
tom1> sanagashi
   south-east wind
tom1> nagashi
   south-west wind
tom1> manishi
   west wind
tom1> natsunishi
   WSW wind
tom1> fuyunishi
   WNW wind
tom1> kawamuranarai [kawamuranarahi]
   north-west wind
hitotsunara [hitotsunarahi]
  north wind
owatanara [owatanarahi]
  north-east wind
toNmete
  SJ asa; morning
komahiru
  SJ hiru, hiruyotsu?; midday, afternoon
hyauradoki [hyouradoki]
hi-no-maNnaka
  SJ hiru; midday [what does the small word "hamane" mean here?]
dainsa
  SJ yatsuji (like "8 o'clock", but actually 2pm)
daisaNsagari
  SJ nanatsuji (like "7 o'clock", but actually 4pm?)
yayousha
  SJ yuugure; evening, dusk
ekodoki
  SJ yoru no yotsuji (like "4 o'clock night", but actually 10pm)
totosama (upper?)
tete (lower?)
  father
kakou [kakofu] (upper?)
haa (lower?) [probably (SY)]
  mother
ouji (^) [ofuji]
  grandfather
basama
  grandmother
woyako
  relatives
asei
  SJ ani; big brother
zei
  SJ otooto; little brother
anie
  SJ ane; big sister
chifudai
wotouto {really??}
  SJ imooto; little sister {conflict with tomizo6 on chifudai vs kefudai.
former could be typo?}
tom1> ji
   SJ oji; uncle, possibly only father’s elder brother
tom1> ba
   SJ oba; aunt
tom1> itoko
   cousin {only younger male ones?}
tom1> meiyoushi
   SJ mei; niece {cf iwig, which says that this can also be nephew}
tom1> gose {cf goze, p334 below, could be missing dakuten}
tom1> gosekutou
   SJ tsuma; wife {difference between 2 forms not explained, but maybe kutou is
   like spouse?}
tom1> daNNa (upper?)
tom1> kutou (lower?)
   husband
tom1> mizukumi
   local wife of an exile
tom1> mekake
   SJ ninjo?; ninja no nin + onna. {prob. mistress/concubine; same meaning in SJ}
tom1> towari
   to keep another woman besides your official wife
tom1> ookaˌtadono
   tokeˌdono
   yomedono
   the landlord’s wife? (respectful)
tom1> tono
   landlord’s daughter (respectful)
tom1> toribitsukan
   “lower man”, some kind of gov’t official
tom1> futaharaitoko
   younger male cousin
tom1> koNGo
   SJ roujiN; elderly person
tom1> tonori
   SJ ushi-kahi {cow something?} After this there is some discussion around
   the word “toneri” (the name of some official gov’t role) that I don’t
   understand, but might be interesting.
tom1> jiyau
   second son
tom1> sabou
   third son
tom1> shiyau
  fourth son
tom1> gorou
  fifth son
tom1> rokurou
  sixth son
tom1> shiQchiyau
  seventh son
tom1> haQchiyau
  eighth son
tom1> kuQchiyau
  ninth son
tom1> harahata
tom1> gozou
  child (when denigrating)
tom1> tonosama
tom1> houshinotamasama
  child (when praising)
tom1> mishiyaki [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
tom1> mishaki
tom1> tetsuchi
  child (when scolding)
tom1> doNgo
  SJ baka; fool, idiot
tom1> yaNgo
  illegitimate child
tom1> katako
  newborn infant
tom1> hyaQpeN
  lewdness, a lewd person
tom1> nyoko
  eldest daughter
tom1> naka
  second daughter
tom1> tego
  third daughter
tom1> chigo
  child being led by the hand, child from my own house
tom1> kusu
  fourth daughter
tom1> jihirou
  fifth daughter
ku:ru:  
sixth daughter

aQpa  
general/generic word for girl children. Nampo gives this word as the word for “sixth daughter”

menarabe  
young, unmarried woman/girl
yokeko  
twins

harame  
pregnant woman
taNgo  
head

tsumuri  
sideburns

natsuki  
space between eyebrows (SJ mayu-ma?)
hedaka  
SJ se(naka); back (body part)
tsugume  
knee

hagi  
leg, or part thereof

keibushi  
SJ kibisu/kubisu; bottom of the foot, or heel

hageta  
mouth

heQsogo  
SJ heso; navel

ibi  
SJ yubi; finger

taNbu  
palm of the hand

nukaba  
tooth/teeth

kashiyagai (NN)  
[onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
kashagai (NN)  
hair (on the head)
houhege  
SJ hige; beard

toNjau
SJ mitsu-kuchi; harelip; cleft lip?
tom1> hege
     pubic hair (maybe specifically women’s)
tom1> ijiru
     semen? (he gives word ”insui” ‘dark/hidden’ + ‘water’) {cf Asanuma iNjiru}
tom1> shokera
     dry, rough skin (furigana says ”samehada” ‘sharkskin’)
tom1> houroku
     SJ kawarake; lack of pubic hair on female of appropriately high age?
tom1> heNko-heNko-suru
     copulation
tom1> niQto
     feces, poop
tom1> yoQpari
     urine
tom1> marobu
     die
tom1> menada
     SJ namida; tears (eye water)
tom1> hebira
     clothing
tom1> madara
     fine clothing
tom1> horo
     old, worn clothing
tom1> yobi
     SJ obi; belt
tom1> kakofu
     a fragment of cloth, perhaps torn or cut off a larger piece
tom1> hadayobi
     under-belt?
tom1> nobori
     hem? or some part of clothing {unclear to me}
tom1> kubieri
     SJ eri; collar of clothing
tom1> tabo
tom1> tabu
     SJ ine; some form of rice plant
tom1> ii
     SJ kayu; rice gruel
tom1> dashi
     SJ miso
tom1> asake
   SJ asameshi; breakfast
tom1> hyaura
tom1> hyoura
   SJ hirumeshi; lunch
tom1> yufuke
tom1> yu:ke
   SJ yuumeshi; dinner, supper
tom1> housuahi
tom1> saQtoabi
   SJ ichigo; strawberry?
tom1> anomi
   mulberry fruit
tom1> kanei
   flowers
tom1> bouya
   large house
tom1> yakata
   small house
tom1> ama
   ceiling
tom1> chaudai
tom1> choudai
   SJ nando; storage room
tom1> sugaki
   place where water flows; usu. kitchen?
tom1> kedouzu
   (water) drain
tom1> sou
   SJ keta; beam, girder, crossbeam
tom1> tarugo
   SJ taruki; rafter
tom1> tsube
   roof ridge beam
tom1> ori
   stone wall
tom1> amabashi
   SJ hashigo; ladder
tom1> kaikoya
   stable?
tom1> kado
   SJ kado; gate
tom1> koumaya
   apparently a hut for giving birth in
tom1> tanashita
   below the floor? {can’t read the kanji he gives, but seems to agree with other sources}
tom1> okubi
   something about a house {can’t understand his text}
tom1> yaburo
   entrance to a house
tom1> tobowo
   rice bowl
tom1> mogurushi
   sieve, screen
tom1> kagotsu
   to present a meal with tray and bowls?
tom1> mizudorinabe
   infusing pot?
tom1> ka
   SJ kuwa; hoe
tom1> magama
   SJ kama; sickle, scythe
tom1> moshiki
   SJ takigi, kiki; firewood
tom1> gomi
   SJ shiba; firewood, brushwood
tom1> kuri
   SJ tokuri; a tall narrow container for liquids
tom1> yagidake
   fishing pole
tom1> hane
   seems to be a pole (or device) for catching koi, cf. Tomizo original text, with reference to the previous entry
tom1> koshoke
   fishing tackle box
tom1> hachinomi
   SJ surikogi; some kind of club/mallet for pounding grain to powder
tom1> zoku
tom1> zoume
   bull (cattle)
tom1> bame
   cow (cattle)
tom1> woshiyoko [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
tom1> woshoko
calf (cattle)
tom1> madaraushi
   SJ madaraushi; a kind of cattle (used for plowing?)
tom1> tei
   "left!" - directions given to cattle
tom1> bei
   "right!" or "stop!" - directions given to cattle
tom1> shii
   a command given to cattle - meaning unclear
tom1> kaN
   SJ neko; cat
tom1> yomedono
tom1> yorudori
   mouse
tom1> keibyou
   SJ tokage; lizard
tom1> heQtsuo
   SJ toNbo; dragonfly
tom1> onibeQtsuo
   SJ yaNma; a kind of large dragonfly
tom1> boNshi
   dragonfly, but exactly what kind not clear
tom1> aogashima-beQtsuo
   SJ akatoNbo; red dragonfly
tom1> heiru
   butterfly [? really? should be moth, I thought]
tom1> kutsukawashi
   SJ semi; cicada
tom1> kubona
tom1> toujiNzaru
   SJ kumo; spider
tom1> teNgunoaji
   spider web, cobweb
tom1> hiashi
tom1> hiyashi [not written, but can be assumed as a phonetic variant]
   SJ ari; ant
tom1> katabaiyashi
   probably a kind of ant
tom1> kuhibiyashi
   probably a kind of ant
tsudzume
  SJ suzume; sparrow

suzume; sparrow

kakou
  SJ katsuo; bonito [fish]

shogo

shiyogo [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
  SJ buri; yellowtail [fish]

garima
  SJ kani; crab

iQtokimachiro
  SJ shibaraku; ?

idemi
  SJ saki mate ?; wait

hoQchiki
  SJ honshiki, hontou; truly, in earnest

heitei
  SJ hisashiburi; long time no see

touyaku
  SJ soro soro; late

jiNki
  SJ yakimochi; jealousy

ikowa
  SJ yuku; go

hojinukeru
  for true feelings to be revealed?

peitara
  SJ nureta (PST)

oQtara
  SJ damatte iro; silence!

otaki
  SJ hedo; vomiting (reNyou), cf. otakowa

kadoku-naru
  SJ kashikoi, subashikoi

kaNdara
  SJ ika ni mo

kamu
  SJ kuu; to eat

kamaQte [reduplicated]
SJ nihou; {what is this?}
tom1> keidarukuQte
   SJ darui; to be tired, sluggish

tom1> youraare
   SJ jitto shiro; be still!

tom1> yowakuQte
   be hungry

tom1> daiji:
tom1> daijih
   beautiful; cf. de:jikya {why is /dai/ not [de:] or [ja:]?}

tom1> tamore
   SJ (mono wo) kure; give me (POL)

tom1> hiyoQtsoge [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]

tom1> hyoQtsoge
   tasteless/uncouth appearance?

tom1> nabusu
   SJ kakusu; hide(vt)

tom1> usowoshite
   SJ dou da ka

tom1> utateshiku
   SJ tsumaranu (tsumaranai)

tom1> ofu

tom1> ya: (^NN)(^KT)
   SJ ai {meaning is not clear - love?}

tom1> yameru
   SJ itamu; (feel) pain, hurt

tom1> yadoru
   SJ neru; sleep

tom1> yaNDe
   SJ yamu? inflected form not clear; be ill, sick

tom1> yahi-wo-yaku
   perform moxibustion

tom1> maNnou
   SJ massugu; straight (ahead)

tom1> marobu
   die

tom1> maami
   SJ hayai? inflected form not clear; quick, early

tom1> maire
   SJ kue; telling someone to eat

tom1> majireru
   SJ ushinau? word written with kanji not clear; lose, become lost
mouseru  give something to someone?
maku  SJ tori no mai; bird dance?
mauguuni  SJ soudatsuke, or sou dakke? cf "maguni" in Asanuma
gejiki  SJ koujiki; expensive, valuable
kechii  SJ mezurasii; rare?
bushou [bushau]  SJ kitanai
ko_uni {printing hard to make out, top left of p329}  SJ kochira he
godaraku (OK)
jidara (MI)  SJ fujou; filthy, dirty, unclean
tereN  SJ damasu; keep quiet? {really? cf Asanuma for this word}
deyaku  SJ mono iu; say(ing) something {cf iwig}
teisuna  SJ te wo tsukeru na; don’t touch!
adani-shitara
aQtamo-kaQtamo  SJ dou shiyou; what shall I/we do?
ashike  SJ warui(ATTR); bad
kiruNde  SJ isohide {modern isoide?}; hurry?
meguri  SJ kiNjo; neighborhood. Also, a tradition of going around the island
    pilgrimmage-style to all the shrines in Jan, May, Sep.
mijimeni  having bad reputation?
mijiyaku  SJ hikuki(ATTR); low, short {shouldn’t this be mijiyake?}
shiyai [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
shaai  SJ zama wo miro; look what you’ve done
shokunake  SJ shiranai {seems to be ATTR case reading}; not know(ing)
shoke_ {square following may be an illegible character in manuscript}

SJ shiru; know(ing)

shiyashiyaku [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]

SJ hi-te-ya-ku; something about fire - can’t make it out

shiyashiyakeru [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]

shashakeru

to burn, as of a house?

erabaku

SJ takusan; a lot

erakoshi

SJ mochito or mochitsuto; {seems to mean ‘a little’}

hiNtara-peita

get wet in the rain

hyoNge-ni

SJ naN no koto da; what is that about?

mofuni

mouni

SJ ooku; much, many?

koshi

SJ sukoshi; a little

seQkori

SJ shizuka-ni; quietly, be quiet

suso-gaheshi

suso-gaeshi

SJ <something>gaeshi; ?

kou-dara

SJ sayou, sou da {this is a mistake/type, should be soudara?}

yomoyo

SJ sou de nai; that’s not true

sato (OK)

sawa (MI)

kouchi (SY)

hometown, home village

toNbu

he seems to be saying this word can be either a high peak, or a cave of some sort? the words are not found in modern SJ it seems. And what’s “toora”?

nukasu

SJ damasu; to fool someone, trick, lie

edzui

ezui

SJ meNdou; troublesome
tom1> hagurakasu  
SJ machigau

tom1> keQkeNjou  
walk on one leg

tom1> shiQkuri-keiguri  
SJ nido tema; doing work a second time?

tom1> uNdona  
SJ shouchi; knowledge, understanding

tom1> wojari-yatta-ka {toward me-ue}  
tom1> wojatta-ka {normal politeness}  
tom1> wojarafu-ka {normal politeness}  
tom1> wahita-ka {toward me-shita}  
"did someone come" (?)

tom1> ojare  
SJ koi; come-IMP

tom1> tamori-yaru-to {toward me-ue}  
tom1> tamoru-to {normal politeness}  
tom1> tabe {toward me-shita}  
"give it to me"

tom1> keruhayoi  
SJ yaru {what is ha yo i?}  
tom1> odora-ni-naru  
SJ motsureta; tangled, twisted up?

tom1> keNnaka  
SJ yaranu

tom1> ojaru-to {toward me-ue}  
tom1> wase {normal politeness}  
tom1> ikeyo {toward me-shita}  
SJ hito no kaeru wo wokurite ha (?)

tom1> kamaru  
SJ kusahi; to stink, smell bad

tom1> touyaku  
SJ nochi ni; later

tom1> heta

tom1> nikuhi  
SJ warui

tom1> aNsei

tom1> yazona  
SJ iyada

tom1> ojarinaka {toward me-ue}  
tom1> naQkiyana {normal politeness}  
tom1> naQkezo {toward me-shita}
SJ nahi, nai; not existing {right?}
tom1> buQsobeita
   SJ kimo wo tsbusu; to be astonished {possibly buQtsobeita with excrescent [t] with
author normalizing the orthography?}
tom1> kaNdarya
   SJ sou sa
tom1> yokara
   SK yokatta
tom1> aQkae-wo-kake
   SJ agura wo kake
tom1> hisameru
   SJ katadzukeru; straighten up {what is the "osame" that is attached to this?}
tom1> benaru
   SJ naku; cry, weep
tom1> toto (totou)
   one’s own father, when speaking to outsiders
tom1> asei
   older brother
tom1> kutou
   SJ otto; husband
tom1> warahito
tom1> warabito?
   general word for small children
tom1> wagazui
om1> zui(^)
   one’s younger brother, when speaking to outsiders
tom1> nyoko
tom1> tousu
   female heir? {Asanuma has a different idea about to:su}
tom1> goze
   wife (of others, not one’s own). Etymology offered.
tom1> aseidono
   other peoples’ sons
tom1> anei
   a woman older than oneself? {toshigasane seems to be used oddly}
tom1> yaa
   a word/sound used to respond when listening?
tom1> nare
   impolite 2p pronoun?
tom1> boji
   a wise or practical person?
tom1> ganjou
SJ daijoubu; thing’s are ok

tom1> shoke
   to know, knowing?

tom1> gozare
   SJ kitaka; did you come? {cf waseta-ka below}

tom1> tamore
   word used to ask/beg for something

tom1> seubu

tom1> shoubu(^)
   SJ ikahi/ikai (?) koto

tom1> boge chirasi
   SJ torichirasu; tear something into bits?

tom1> oQtara
   SJ oshino gotoku (?) damatte iro

tom1> kaNdara
   honChou no uso(?) {2nd def seems to match other dictionaries in meaning}

tom1> aNnogezarini
   SJ for some reason you say so, sou de ha nai {meaning not clear to me}

tom1> yoshiicha
   warujare wo nozoke {?}

tom1> youraare
   desugizu ni are {?}

tom1> ou
   possibly a positive response word, like SJ hai? cf asanuma o:

tom1> yatsu
   a rude way to refer to a person

tom1> fugu
   weaker than the average person?

tom1> shoku-nake
   not to know

tom1> waseta-ka
   SJ kita ka; did you come?

tom1> keru
   SJ yaru; give (nonpolite)

tom1> koshi
   SJ sukoshi

tom1> hisameru
   SJ katadzukeru; clean up stuff

tom1> ani-ka-onsunaru
   polite way to say "to say something". Not sure what "iwasharu" is... looks like a blend of iwareru and ossharu!

tom1> ani-tsuki-ni-ka
nani, yotte ka {?}
tom1> kekeshirasu
to know nothing at all, or, for nothing at all to exist {more likely the former}
tom1> shirinoko
"the back gate" {is this a euphemism for butthole?}
tom1> ashike-koto
SJ warui koto
tom1> harako
tom1> harakuro
to destroy a home/family with... nakahana? {cf tamura. both words are given in this entry}
tom1> tenoutoga
{?}
tom1> adakechina
{?}
tom1> openchi (?)
tom1> obenchi (?)
{?}
tom1> aNge-nohei
SJ bakarashii
tom1> chaugemawasu
tom1> cho:gemawasu
to deceive someone using wordplay?
tom1> aNseite-sogaani-suru-ya
SJ "naze sou suru no da?"
tom1> hotsukahouri [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
tom1> hoQkahouri
to lie to someone while posing as a psychic?
tom1> nusudama
the mentality of a thief
tom1> soumewoharau [soumewoharafu]
{?}
tom1> makafuni
tom1> makau-ni (*)
tom1> makou-ni (*)
SJ makoto ni; truly, really
tom1> kaimushi
to "throw" a match (i.e. lose easily and maybe deliberately?) in sumo, etc.
tom1> shiyachi [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
tom1> shachi
to do something recklessly, setting aside reason or common sense
tom1> zoume
the sharpness of a bull’s horns, by comparison to elephants’ tusks (thus ”zou”)?
Hmm... I think he is way off the track here, etymologically...

tom1> ugata
SJ achira
tom1> ichisoudate
SJ itazura sugiru
tom1> suryau
tom1> suryo: (‘)
SJ tawamure ni yoku
tom1> kasuru
SJ okotari wo nasu ka [hmmm, compare other dicts]
tom1> sheainashi
losing something that you were responsible for?
tom1> unugaiNhouni
SJ sono hou gurai no kiryou[talent, looks, calibre] to baka ni suru?
tom6> teNnei
the heavens
tom6> mija
earth/land
tom6> daisaN
SJ hachiji; 8 oclock? cf. tomizo 1
tom6> daisaNsagari
SJ shichiji; 7 oclock? cf. tomizo 1
tom6> yayoushima
tom6> yuukeji {or yuukedoki?}
SJ yuugure; evening, dusk {conflict with tomizo1 on yayou-sha vs. -shima}
tom6> kefudai
tom6> wotofuto
tom6> wotouto
SJ imooto; little sister {conflict with tomizo1 on chifudai vs kefudai}
tom6> gose
SJ tsuma; wife
tom6> chiibushi
SJ kurubushi; ankle {could be typo, cf. Asanuma ki:bushi}
tom6> te-no-sara
palm of the hand; also taNbu
tom6> onibeQso
tom6> boNji
SJ yaNma; a kind of large dragonfly
tom6> aogashima-beQso
SJ akatoNbo; red dragonfly
tom6> heQso
SJ toNbo; dragonfly
tom6> irou (’) [irofu]
   SJ ijruru (”to mess with”?), naburu (to tease) {cf. p271 first on bottom of page}
tom6> hojinukeru
   SJ hoNshiN nukeru; pull out one’s true feelings?
tom6> keidaruguQte
   SJ darui; to be tired, sluggish
tom6> hyoQ_soge
   tasteless/uncouth appearance? {cf. hyoQtsoge in tom1. Does “fullstop” looking thing mean
   missing char?}
tom6> zoNbuNagare (OK)
tom6> shoubuagare [shaubuagare] (MI)
   please eat a lot
tom6> maguuni
   SJ makoto ni; truly ,really {cf iwig for same meaning}
tom6> shiyare [onbin-less rendering - maybe not correct]
tom6> share
   SJ sokowonoke; get out of the way
tom6> hagurakasu
   SJ kanjou wo machigau; make a mistake in calculation
yama> tsumuri (KT)
yama> tsuburi
yama> haNgama (AO)
   head
yama> shaga
   white hair
yama> michiki
   sideburns 1
yama> hege (MI) (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO) (UT)
   beard
yama> hou (MI)
yama> hoQpeta (OK) (NN) (SY) (AO) (UT)
yama> houpeta (KT)
   cheek
yama> houshaga (SY)
yama> houhege (MI) (OK) (KT) (TO) (UT)
   sideburns 2
yama> kebusho (MI) (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> kebisho (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY)
   hair
yama> hicha; (KT)
yama> hite: (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
hitayaa (NN)
  forehead
mamige (OK) (KT)
mami (MI) (NN) (SY) (TO) (UT)
  eyebrow
meQchou (TO)
manako
  eye
meNtama (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (TO)
meNkuritama (MI) (OK) (KT) (TO) (UT)
  eyeball
menada
  tears
tsuQku: (MI) (KT) (NN) (SY) (TO)
tsunburu (UT)
tsuQku:ru (OK)
  close (eyes)
nukaba
  tooth
hagu:ba
  tooth
haguzeN (TO)
hamoge (AO)
haguNba (SY)
  chipped tooth
kuNbone (MI) (OK) (UT)
kuQbone (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO) (TO)
  neck
kuQbonegasou (AO)
boNkubo (MI) (OK) (KT) (SY) (UT)
unya:ji (NN)
  nape (neck)
otoge: (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
otogya: (KT) (NN)
  jaw
noNbakeru (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
noQbakeru (KT) (NN)
  choke (on sthg)
yoQdari (AO)
yoNdare (MI) (OK) (SY) (UT)
yoQdare (OK) (KT) (NN) (TO)
  drool
sha:buki (KT) (NN) (UT)
yama> shougami (AO)
yama> sha: (SY) (TO)
yama> sho: (MI) (OK)
  spittle
yama> tsudaki
  saliva
yama> hedaka
  back (body part)
yama> shaQpadaka (KT)
yama> shaQpedaka
  naked
yama> kya:na (KT) (NN)
yama> ke:na (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
  shoulder
yama> ibi
  finger
yama> oyaibi (KT) (NN) (SY) (UT)
yama> bouyubi (MI) (OK) (AO)
  thumb
yama> taNbou (MI) (SY)
yama> taQbou (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO)
yama> tabo (UT)
yama> tabou (NN)
  palm (of hand)
yama> heQsogo (SY)
yama> heQtsuogo (KT)
yama> heQchogo (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (AO) (TO)
yama> heQchoko (UT)
  SJ heso; navel
yama> hesogara (MI) (OK)
yama> heQchogono:o (KT) (SY)
  umbilical
yama> chiNpoko (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN)
yama> chiNchiN (SY)
yama> marou (AO)
  penis
yama> shiNnoko (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO)
  vagina
yama> shiNbeta (MI) (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO) (UT)
yama> shiQbeta (OK) (TO)
yama> shiNgeta (KT) (NN) (AO)
  buttocks
yama> shiNbetabone (MI) (AO) (UT)
yama> shiQbetabone (KT) (NN) (SY)
  tailbone
yama> boji (KT) (AO) (TO)
yama> boQtougi: (AO)
  leg/foot
yama> anashita
  arch (of foot)
yama> hizakabura (AO) (TO)
yama> sunekamachi (AO)
yama> hijakabura (KT) (NN)
yama> tsugume (MI) (OK) (SY) (TO) (UT)
  knee
yama> hagi (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (AO) (TO)
yama> suneQpachi (SY) (TO) (UT)
  shin
yama> aQki:i (NN)
yama> aQkei (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (UT)
yama> aQke: (TO)
yama> aQkya: (KT)
  heel
yama> kusube
  facial mole
yama> igoro (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (TO)
yama> igorou (AO)
yama> nebiki (UT)
  snore
yama> kuQchia (NN)
yama> kuQcha: (SY)
yama> kuQtsua: (TO)
yama> aQtsua (KT)
  sneeze
yama> koabe (NN)
yama> ka:be (SY)
yama> ku:wa:be (KT)
yama> koube (AO)
yama> ko:be (MI) (OK) (TO) (UT)
  skin
yama> fugi (KT) (NN) (AO)
yama> harawata (MI) (SY)
yama> wata (KT)
  int. organs
rough skin

wart

feces

defecate

urine

wet oneself

die

Budd. Tablet (cNJ ihai)
yama> tomure: (MI) (OK) (SY)
yama> tomurya: (KT) (NN)
yama> kakihisami (AO)
yama> tomore: (MI) (UT)
   funeral
yama> nasu
   give birth (to)
yama> onokogo
   man
yama> oNnago
   woman
yama> sena (UT)
yama> yarou (MI)
yama> yaQko (NN) (SY)
yama> tarou (MI) (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO)
yama> taru: (OK)
   1st son
yama> jou
   2nd son
yama> sabou
yama> sabo: (AO)
   3rd son
yama> sho: (AO)
yama> shirou (NN) (TO)
yama> shou (MI) (OK) (KT) (SY) (UT)
   4th son
yama> goro: (AO)
yama> gorou
   5th son
yama> dokurou (MI) (KT) (NN) (SY)
yama> rokurou (MI) (OK) (UT)
yama> dokuro: (AO)
   6th son
yama> nyoko
   1st daughter
yama> naka
   2nd daughter
yama> tego
   3rd daughter
yama> kusu
   4th daughter
yama> shiQpashi (MI) (OK) (NN) (SY) (UT)
yama> hiQputagigo (AO)
yama> hiQpashi (KT)
    last child
yama> asage (MI) (OK) (KT) (UT)
yama> asake (NN) (SY) (AO) (TO)
    breakfast
yama> hyoura (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (UT)
    lunch
yama> yo:meshi (AO)
yama> youke
yama> youmeshi (MI) (OK) (KT) (UT)
    dinner
yama> sha: (KT)
yama> se: (AO) (TO)
yama> sha:a (NN)
yama> sei (MI) (OK) (SY) (UT)
    side dishes
yama> mya:riyare (KT) (NN)
yama> me:re (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO)
yama> agariyare (NN) (TO) (UT)
yama> me:riyare (SY)
yama> agare (AO)
    dig in (IMP)
yama> okya: (KT) (NN)
yama> oke: (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
    rice porridge
yama> zouse: (OK) (KT) (TO) (UT)
yama> zousei (MI)
yama> jousei (AO)
yama> zoushi: (SY)
yama> joushi: (NN)
yama> doushi: (KT)
    rice gruel
yama> sasumi (MI) (NN) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
    sashimi
yama> satsuma (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO) (TO)
yama> kaNmo (MI) (OK) (AO) (TO) (UT)
    sweet potato
yama> ja:ko (KT)
yama> deyako (NN)
yama> de:ko (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
daikon
yama> yataba (KT) (NN)
yama> e:taba (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
 A. keiskei (asitaba)
yama> ni:mo (KT) (SY)
yama> neimo (MI) (OK) (NN) (AO)
yama> ne:mo (TO) (UT)
   natural potato?
yama> nyoage (NN)
yama> nyo:geimo (MI) (OK) (AO)
yama> nya:geimo (SY)
yama> niyo:geimo (TO) (UT)
yama> nya:ge (KT)
   unpeeled cooked satoimo
yama> chiNgo (TO)
yama> chiNgoimo (MI) (OK) (NN) (SY) (UT)
yama> shaNgaimo (KT)
   small (sato)imo
yama> kebisho (MI)
yama> kebusho (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (TO)
   satoimo roots, etc (cf. Hair)
yama> toNgarasho (KT) (NN)
yama> toNgaisho (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO)
yama> toNgarashi (MI) (OK) (KT) (TO) (UT)
   red pepper
yama> shu:de (AO) (TO)
yama> shoude (KT)
yama> shiude (MI) (OK) (UT)
   shiokara (squid?)
yama> kibisho
yama> kibisu (SY)
   teapot
yama> ne:ru (OK) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> neiru (MI)
yama> ni:ru (KT) (NN) (SY)
   boil, cook
yama> mijo (SY)
yama> kedouzu (MI)
yama> mizoma (UT)
yama> hora (NN)
yama> mijoma (KT) (AO)
   sewer, drainage
yama> hagama (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO)
yama> haNgama (MI) (OK) (NN) (SY) (UT)
   rice pot
yama> uderu (KT)
yama> ideru (NN) (AO)
yama> yugaku (MI) (OK) (SY) (TO) (UT)
   boil (yuderu)
yama> hyu:kidake (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (TO)
yama> fu:kidake (OK) (SY) (AO) (UT)
   bamboo pipe
yama> deNgine
   wood pestle
yama> ido
   bamboo mat
yama> mosho
   straw mat
yama> zuja: (KT) (NN)
yama> zuze (UT)
yama> juzei (AO)
yama> zuzai (AO)
yama> zuze: (OK) (SY)
yama> jize: (MI) (OK) (TO)
   hearth pot hook
yama> touwashi (KT)
yama> ta:shi (SY)
yama> towashi (NN)
yama> to:shi (MI) (OK) (AO) (TO) (UT)
   scrubber
yama> he:boN (AO)
yama> he:zara (MI) (OK) (SY) (TO) (UT)
yama> hiboN (MI) (OK) (KT) (SY) (UT)
yama> hya:zara (KT) (NN)
   ashtray
yama> boQkuri (MI) (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> poQkuri (NN) (SY)
   wood clogs
yama> jauri (UT)
yama> jo:ri (MI) (NN) (SY)
   grass sandals
yama> de:ku (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (TO) (UT)
yama> se:ku (AO)
   carpenter
yama> eNgoa (KT)
yama> eNga: (SY)
yama> eNgo: (MI) (OK) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> eNno (NN)
   veranda
yama> tanashita (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> anashita (MI) (OK)
   under floor
yama> chouzuba (MI) (OK) (KT) (AO)
yama> kaNjo (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (AO) (UT)
yama> kaNjou (SY) (TO)
yama> chouzu (TO)
   toilet
yama> tobakuchi (OK)
yama> tobou
   entrance door
yama> heiriguchi (AO)
yama> he:riguchi (MI) (OK) (NN) (SY) (TO) (UT)
yama> hya:riguchi (KT)
   entrance
yama> bouya (SY)
yama> bouke: (NN)
yama> boue (MI) (OK) (KT) (AO) (TO) (UT)
   purlin, main structure
yama> nukidari (MI) (OK) (KT)
yama> nukidare (NN) (SY)
   raindrops
yama> nou (AO)
yama> na: (SY)
yama> no: (MI) (OK) (TO) (UT)
yama> noa: (KT) (NN)
   rope (nawa)
yama> tabatsura (SY)
yama> tabatsura (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (AO) (TO)
   rope (tsuna)
yama> boQkome (MI) (OK) (SY) (TO)
yama> jokume (AO)
yama> zoQkume (KT) (NN)
yama> zokume (MI) (OK) (KT) (UT)
yama> zoku (TO)
   bull
yama> bame
cow
yama> choNkome
yama> oshokome (MI)
calf (cattle)
yama> kae:shi:.ushime (UT)
yama> kae:rashike.ushime (MI)
yama> kae:shike.ushime (OK) (AO)
yama> kaya:shikya.ushime (NN)
yama> kaeshike.ushime (SY)
yama> uNboume (TO)
yama> kaya:shike.ushime (KT)
lovable cow
yama> hourizoku (MI) (OK) (KT) (TO) (UT)
yama> hourizoQku (NN)
yama> ho:rizoQku (SY)
rampaging cow
yama> haNnoa: (NN)
yama> haNnou (OK) (AO) (UT)
yama> haNno: (MI) (TO)
yama> haNna: (SY)
yama> haNnoa (KT)
nose rope
yama> shi:i (OK)
yama> hoi (AO)
yama> tei (AO)
yama> toitoi (SY)
yama> tei: (MI)
yama> toi (OK) (KT) (TO)
yama> e:me (UT)
yama> ya (NN)
“walk!” (to cow)
yama> be: (SY) (AO) (TO)
yama> be:e (MI) (OK) (UT)
yama> bya: (KT) (NN)
yama> beibei (OK)
"stop!"
yama> mayage: (OK) (AO) (TO)
yama> mayagoe (MI)
yama> mayagoyashi (NN)
yama> ma:yagi: (KT)
yama> motogoe (MI) (UT)
yama> ushige: (OK) (AO)
ushigoyashi (SY)
compost/muck
ke:mochi (OK) (TO)
ki:mochi (KT) (SY)
keimochi (MI) (NN)
cow transport thing
sasuNbo: (MI) (UT)
sashibou (OK) (KT)
sasu (MI) (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO)
sashiNbo: (SY)
support for loading up cow
mugishigoki (MI) (KT) (NN)
taQkoki (SY)
shigoku (OK)
osu (AO) (TO)
hulling (barley)
naberu
plant (vt, sprouts, etc)
hitoneji (AO)
one bundle
niwa (OK)
nicha (OK) (KT) (SY) (UT)
futaneji (AO)
nya (MI) (NN) (SY) (TO)
two bundles
ta:ra (SY)
to:ra (OK) (TO)
to:ora (AO) (UT)
toara (KT) (NN)
to:ura (MI)
straw bale, sack
sabaku (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (TO)
uronuku (MI) (UT)
oronoku (AO)
cull, thin out
ne: (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
nya: (KT) (NN)
seedling
hagemu (NN)
hagimu (MI) (OK) (SY) (TO) (UT)
hagumu (KT)
raise crops
yama> teNnεi (MI) (OK) (KT) (TO) (UT)
yama> teNtou (TO)
yama> teNne: (AO)
yama> teNni: (NN) (SY)
   heaven(s)
yama> mijα
   SJ tuchi no ue; on the ground
yama> moyou (SY)
yama> nagimoyori (OK) (KT)
yama> hiyori (?) (AO)
yama> moyori (MI) (NN) (TO) (UT)
   weather
yama> hoto:ru (KT) (SY) (AO)
yama> hotouru (MI) (OK) (NN) (TO) (UT)
   hot (feeling?)
yama> koge:ru (AO) (TO)
yama> kajimu (MI) (NN) (TO)
yama> kogi:ru (KT) (NN) (SY)
yama> kogeiru (MI) (OK) (UT)
   cold (feeling?)
yama> ko:mura (MI) (OK) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> narai (KT) (AO)
yama> kawamura (KT)
yama> ka:mura (SY)
yama> narya: (NN)
yama> nare: (OK)
   north wind
yama> kai (UT)
yama> kei (MI)
yama> kyei (KT)
yama> ke: (OK) (AO) (TO)
yama> ki: (NN) (SY)
   today
yama> yoNbei (AO)
yama> yoQbe (NN)
yama> yoNbe (KT) (SY)
yama> yuru (MI) (OK) (SY) (TO) (UT)
   night
yama> kine: (OK) (NN) (SY) (TO) (UT)
yama> kinei (MI) (AO)
yama> kinyou (KT)
yesterday
yama> yoNbe (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (UT)
yama> yoQbe (KT) (NN) (SY) (TO) (UT)
last night
yama> uQtsue (TO)
yama> ototei (MI) (OK) (NN) (UT)
yama> otochi: (SY)
yama> uQsei (AO)
yama> uchichi: (KT) (SY)
    SJ ototoi; day before yesterday
yama> ja:neN (KT)
yama> reineN (UT)
yama> de:neN (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO)
yama> dianeN (NN)
    next year
yama> sare:neN (OK) (UT)
yama> sadeya:neN (KT)
yama> sade:neN (MI) (SY) (AO) (TO)
yama> sadeaneN (NN)
    year after next
yama> heQgo (KT) (NN) (TO)
yama> heNgo (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (UT)
    SJ satoimo
yama> nobutachi (KT)
yama> nebutachi (MI) (TO) (UT)
yama> nukutachi (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY) (AO)
yama> nbutachi (KT)
    turusoba?
yama> ya:mo (KT) (SY)
yama> yuamo (NN)
yama> youmo (AO) (UT)
yama> yo:mo (MI) (OK) (NN) (TO)
    wax myrtle fruit (yamamomo)
yama> inera (OK) (KT) (NN)
yama> yurine (SY)
    lily bulbs
yama> he:me (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> hya:me (KT) (NN)
    fly (bug)
yama> sho:rume (AO)
yama> he:rume (TO)
yama> heirume (MI) (OK)
yama> game (UT)
yama> hi:rume (KT) (NN) (SY)
   moth
yama> kutsuko:shime (TO) (UT)
yama> kutsukoushi (OK)
yama> kutsukuwa:shime (KT)
yama> kutsuka:shime (SY)
yama> kutsu:koashime (NN)
yama> kutsukoushime (MI) (AO)
   cicada (semi)
yama> kumome (OK) (KT) (AO) (UT)
yama> deNgome (MI) (NN) (SY)
   spider
yama> kakijaneme (MI) (OK) (NN) (AO) (UT)
yama> kakijarime (MI) (KT) (SY)
yama> kakijarume (OK) (NN)
yama> amami (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> kakijoume (AO)
   cockroach
yama> ke:rome (MI) (OK) (AO) (UT)
yama> kya:rume (KT) (NN)
yama> ke:rume (OK) (TO)
   frog
yama> kya:ba:me (KT)
yama> kamachiko (AO)
yama> kya:bya:me (NN)
yama> ke:byoume (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
   lizard
yama> nenezume (KT) (NN)
yama> memezume (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
   earthworm
yama> haNba (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> haQba (KT) (NN) (SY)
   habanori (seaweed)
yama> asuQde (MI) (KT)
yama> asuNde (MI) (OK) (NN) (SY) (TO) (UT)
   asonde (play)
yama> ugoN (MI) (OK) (TO) (UT)
yama> unoyouni (AO)
yama> ugaN (KT) (NN) (SY)
   ano youni (that way)
yama> aroashi (NN)
yama> ara:shi (SY)
yama> aro:shi (MI) (OK) (TO) (UT)
yama> aroushi (KT) (AO)
    aru mon ka
yama> uri:kero (NN) (SY)
yama> ureikero (MI) (OK) (KT) (UT)
yama> ure:kero (AO) (TO)
    are wo kure (give me that)
yama> youra (OK) (KT) (NN) (SY)
yama> yu:na (MI) (AO) (TO)
    gentle (otonasii)
yama> kas:o:kashiyare (KT)
yama> kas:oa:kase (NN)
yama> kas:o:kase (MI) (OK) (AO) (TO) (UT)
yama> kas:a:akase (SY)
    loan me an umbrella (kasa wo kase)
yama> keQkeN (OK) (NN) (UT)
yama> keNkeN (MI) (KT) (SY) (TO)
yama> keQkeNjou (AO)
    hop on one foot
yama> teQguruma (KT)
yama> teNguruma
    ride on shoulders
yama> suNma (MI) (OK)
yama> sumi (NN)
yama> hajigko (KT) (SY)
    corner, nook
yama> koNgori
    lump, clod
yama> iburi (KT) (NN)
yama> yuburi (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO) (TO) (UT)
    smoke
yama> toNbu
yama> toQbu (NN)
    small hill
yama> kiNboshi
    dried yam
yama> haQdzume (KT) (NN)
yama> haNdzume (MI) (OK) (SY) (AO)
yama> haQzume (TO)
    a while ago