

Early Austronesian words with \*S<sub>2</sub>

PAN <sup>Ts</sup> or PHN <sup>Ts</sup>	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	*S <sub>2</sub> uni chirp	*S <sub>2</sub> uReNa snow	*kaS <sub>2</sub> iw tree, wood	*CuS <sub>2</sub> uR to thread	*q <sub>4</sub> uS <sub>2</sub> uŋ mushroom	*guS <sub>2</sub> am skin disease	*Cuma[S <sub>2</sub> H <sub>1</sub> ] body louse
PAN <sup>B</sup>			Suni	SuReNa	kaSiw	CuSuR		guSam	CumeS
PAN <sup>LS</sup>			S <sub>2</sub> uni	S <sub>2</sub> uReNa	kaS <sub>2</sub> iw	CuS <sub>2</sub> uR	quS <sub>2</sub> uŋ	guS <sub>2</sub> am	CumeS <sub>2</sub>
Saisiyat <sup>Ts</sup>	S	h	—	—	<i>kähöy</i>	<i>söhö-ön</i>	—	—	<i>sumäh</i>
Pazeh <sup>LT</sup>	s	h	<i>huni</i>	<i>hahela</i>	<i>kahuy</i>	<i>(siuh)</i>	—	—	—
Favorlang	s	0	—	<i>oéla</i> [ˈula] ‘hoar-frost’	—	—	—	—	—
Proto-Atayalic <sup>L</sup>	s	h	—	<i>hela-qei</i> <sup>Ts</sup>	<i>kahuy,</i> <i>kahu-niq</i>	<i>l&lt;um&gt;uhug,</i> <i>l&lt;um&gt;ihug</i>	<i>qihuy</i>	—	<i>cumiq</i> <sup>1</sup>
Thao <sup>B</sup>	sh	0	—	<i>ulza</i>	<i>kawi</i>	—	<i>qun</i>	—	—
Siraya <sup>A</sup>	x	0	<i>uni</i>	<i>ävla</i>	<i>kayu</i>	—	—	—	—
Bunun <sup>B</sup>	s	0	—	—	<i>kavi</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>(tul-)</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>huuy</i> <sup>4</sup>	—	—
Proto-Tsouic <sup>Ts</sup>	S	0	*-úni	*əruŋa	*káiwu	*-cúuru	*ɣ <sub>4</sub> uúŋ-a	*kúámə	—
Rukai Maga <sup>Ts</sup>	s	0	—	—	—	—	<i>ŋú-ŋu</i>	—	—
Rukai Mantaaran <sup>Ts</sup>	ʔ	0	—	<i>uɖula</i>	—	—	<i>uŋu?</i>	—	—
Kavalan <sup>LT</sup>	s	s	<i>suni</i>	<i>suRna</i>	—	<i>tusuR</i>	—	—	<i>tumes</i>
Puyuma <sup>C</sup>	0	0	—	<i>urla</i>	<i>kawi</i>	—	—	<i>(ma-huwam)</i> <sup>5</sup>	—
Central Amis <sup>N</sup>	s	s	<i>soni</i>	<i>soleda</i>	<i>kasoy</i>	<i>solsol</i> (< *SurSuR)	—	—	<i>tomes</i> <sup>6</sup>
Paiwan <sup>F</sup>	s	s	—	<i>sula</i>	<i>kasiw</i>	<i>ts&lt;m&gt;usu</i>	—	—	—
PMP <sup>B</sup>	h	h	*huni	—	*káhiw	*tuhuR	*quhuŋ	*guham	*tumah
Proto-Kra <sup>O</sup>	s-	s-	—	—	*sui A ‘fuel’	—	—	—	—
Proto-Hlai <sup>N</sup>	-t	-t	—	—	—	—	—	—	*hmə:t

- Final -iq plausibly interpreted as a pseudo-suffix by Tsuchida (1976:202): he cites At *sum-iq*, Sed *sum-yeq*. His interpretation demands post-suffixation syncope of the medial syllable (expected -ah- or -əh-), more plausible than reflection of S<sub>2</sub> as -q, since either -H<sub>1</sub> or S<sub>2</sub> should give -h.
- As noted by Tsuchida, extracted from *busul-kavi* ‘wooden bow and arrow’. By itself, *busul* means ‘gun’.
- Extracted by myself from *tulmi* ‘thread’ (n.).
- Tsuchida (1976:247) lists this Bunun form as corresponding to his \*q<sub>4</sub>uS<sub>2</sub>uŋ. The Bunun reflex of \*q<sub>4</sub> in his system is h-. Wolff at \*qusuŋ gives Bunun *quuy*, the expected form.
- Cited by Blust (ACD) and Wolff (2010). Not in Cauquelin. Reflection of initial \*g- as h- is irregular.
- Extracted from *ci-tomes* ‘be infested with clothes lice’.

Proto-Tai <sup>Pitt</sup>	s	s	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
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	S <sub>1</sub>	S <sub>2</sub>	to wipe anus	to transport	waist	tongue	centipede	cockroach	termite
PAN <sup>B</sup>			*qiluS	*SakuC	*Sawak	*Sema	*qaluSipan	*Sipes	*SayaN
PAN <sup>LS</sup>			*qiluS <sub>2</sub>	*S <sub>2</sub> akuC	*S <sub>2</sub> awak	*S <sub>2</sub> ema	*qalu-S <sub>2</sub> ipan	*S <sub>2</sub> ipes	*S <sub>2</sub> ayaN
Saisiyat <sup>Ts</sup>	S	h				<i>kae-hma</i>	<i>?aeloŋahipan</i>	<i>hipih</i>	—
Pazeh <sup>LT</sup>	s	h		<i>hakus</i>		—	<i>haripan (&lt; M)</i>	—	—
Favorlang	s	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Proto-Atayalic <sup>L</sup>	s	h				<i>*həma?</i>	—	—	—
Thao <sup>B</sup>	s	0	<i>q&lt;m&gt;iur &lt; M</i>		<i>awak</i>	—	—	—	<i>ayaz</i>
Siraya <sup>A</sup>	x	0				—	—	—	—
Bunun <sup>B</sup>	s	0				—	—	—	—
Proto-Tsouic <sup>Ts</sup>	S	0				—	—	—	—
Rukai Maga <sup>Ts</sup>	s	0				—	—	—	—
Rukai Mantaoran <sup>Ts</sup>	?	0				—	—	—	—
Kavalan <sup>LT</sup>	s	s	<i>klis</i>	<i>saqut</i>	<i>sawaq</i>	—	<i>Rusipan</i>	<i>sipes</i>	—
Puyuma <sup>C</sup>	0	0	<i>?ilu</i>	<i>akut</i>		—	—	—	<i>ayan</i>
Central Amis <sup>N</sup>	s	s	<i>?ilos</i>			<i>sema</i>	—	—	—
Paiwan <sup>F</sup>	s	s	<i>qilus</i>	<i>sakuts</i>		<i>sema</i>	—	—	—
PMP <sup>B</sup>	h	h	*qiluh	*hakut	*hawak	*hema	*qalu-hipan	*ipes <sup>7</sup>	—
Proto-Kra <sup>O</sup>	s-	s-				—	—	—	—
Proto-Hlai <sup>N</sup>	-t	-t				—	—	—	—
Proto-Tai <sup>Pitt</sup>	s	s				—	*q-sip	—	—

Table 1. Austronesian reflexes of \*S<sub>2</sub> (column 3) contrasted with \*S<sub>1</sub> (column 2). Based on Tsuchida 1976 (pp. 250, 171) for the data; and p. 308 for the reflexes of \*S<sub>1</sub>. Kavalan (Li and Tsuchida 2006), Siraya and Bunun data added from Adelaar (2012), de Busser (2009); Proto-Atayalic from Li (1981), PMP from Blust, Proto-Kra from Ostapirat (2000), Proto-Kra from Norquest (2015). Austronesian languages that

7 Irregular loss of \*h, as in \*Sepat ‘four’ (Blust, ACD).

do not distinguish the two are shaded at the bottom of the table. Superscripts: <sup>'B'</sup> = Blust, <sup>'Ts'</sup> = Tsuchida, <sup>'LS'</sup> = Sagart, <sup>'LT'</sup> = Li and Tsuchida, <sup>'L'</sup> = Li, <sup>'A'</sup> = Adelaar, <sup>'C'</sup> = Cauquelin, <sup>'N'</sup> = Norquest, <sup>'F'</sup> = Ferrell, <sup>'O'</sup> = Ostapirat, <sup>'Pitt'</sup> = Pittayaporn.

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