Major Syntactic Differences between Sakhalin and Hokkaido Dialects of Ainu

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Differences between Sakhalin and Hokkaido Dialects of Ainu

		Hokkaido Dialect	Sakhalin Dialect
phonological	syllable final – <i>p, -t, -k</i>	0	×(except Tarayka)
	syllable final <i>-f</i>	×	0
	syllable final <i>-r</i>	0	×
	V vs. VV	×	0
<i>morphologic & syntactic</i>	plural suffix <i>–hci</i> or <i>-hsi</i>	×	0
	'gerund' making suffix -hV	×	0
	adaptation of 'belonging form' to composit possessive expression	LIMITED	RATHER WIDE

'gerund' in Sakhalin Dialect

- Murasaki(1984:94)
- -hV the verb ending to make gerund.
- 1) isaha ohta ku-oman keraykusu ku-araka-ha pirika. hospital to 1sg-go becase 1sg-ache-GER good "Since I went to the hospital, my aching eased."
- 2) ku-yee-he sunke.

1sg-say-<mark>GER</mark> lie

"what I said is a lie."

Complementizer – *hi* in Hokkaido dialects

3) a-utarihi inne yakun, mosir epitta sipirasa hi a-ki rusuy

4.relative inclease then country whole spread that 4.do want "when my people inclease, I want that they spread to whole country." (M7908041UP:Saru)

4) sironuman kor ne tapkop nukar a-ki rusuy become-evening then the hill watch 4.do want
"When the evening comes, I want to watch the hill." (M8608101UP:Saru)

Complementizer – *hi* in Hokkaido dialects

3')*a-utarihi inne yakun,* [[*mosir epitta sipirasa*_S] *hi*_{NP}]*a-ki rusuy* 4.people inclease then country whole spread that 4.do want "when my people inclease, I want that they spread to whole country."

4') sironuman kor [ne tapkop nukar_{NP}] a-ki rusuy
become-evening then the hill watch 4.do want
"When the evening comes, I want to watch the hill."

The same function between hi and -hV

5) tuhso caruhu nean oyas ohta asin-ihi an-nukara. cave entrance that monster there go-out.GER 4.see
"I saw that the monster went out to the entrance of the cave" (Murasaki 1976:96:Sakhalin)

6) tanto tura neeraan usaan ukoytah an-kii wa today with(her) anything various converse 4.do then
"today we'll converse with her on anything"
(Murasaki 1976:8 :Sakhalin)

The same function between hi and -hV

5')[[*tuhso caruhu nean oyas ohta asin*_S]-*ihi* _{NP}] *an-nukara.* cave entrance that monster there go-out.GER 4.see "I saw that the monster went out to the entrance of the cave" (Murasaki 1976:96)

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The position of -hV in a word structure

7) eci-nukan –te -an -ihi
1sub2obj. see. CAU. 1sub2obj.hV
"that I show you" (Murasaki 1976:60:Sakhalin)

8) aa –re –hci -hi

sit. CAU .pl. hV "that they seated him"(Murasaki 2001:438 :Sakhalin)

-hV is not attached directly to the verb root, but after derivational suffixes, personal suffix and plural suffix, that is, the verb stem form contains a sentence like information.

Conclusion-1

- Sakhalin dialect –hV and Hokkaido dialect hi have a similar form and a similar function to make NP from a 'sentence'.
- One of the differences between them is that the form of –hV depends the stem final phoneme, while hi is invariable.
 Therefore we can say –hV has a more suffix-like feature than hi.

Murasaki regards sentence final particle hVV different form from gerund suffix -hV.

• Affermation. It is used to state the fact in the past or emphasize the fact in the present.

kuani tani uwas ku-ek-ihii. (< eh "come")

I now just 1sg.come.hVV "I've just come here!" (Murasaki 1984:72-73)

 It is used to ask someone with understanding his/her feeling. Question with sympathy. Or to ask the hearer about what the speaker wants to know earnestly.

hemata e-ee-henean?otoopempee-eehee?what2sg.eat.-hVINTsweets2sg.eathVV"What are you eating?""You are eating sweets, don't you?""You are eating sweets, don't you?"(Murasaki 1984:72-73)

Mashiho Chiri regards -hV and hVV as the same form, that is, It is a special personal form of verb.

" In the special cases, verbs have inflections of the stems like as making a personal form of noun *siki* "his eye" from a conceptual form *sik* "eye". "I have a grandson", for example, can be translated into *nitpo a-kor* in the southern dialect of Hokkaido and *mici an-koro* in Sakhalin dialect. When the latter emphasize or assert it as "I really have a grandson!", they say mici *an-koro-ho*. " (Chiri 1942:497-498)

"Forming such personal stems, you attach *ha, -hi, -hu, -he, -ho* to the vowel final verbs and *hi* to the consonant final verbs."

eani sinenne e-omeka-ha

you only 2sg.remain.-hVV "You alone are left."

In interrogative sentences, this form is standard. *hemata kusu haneh e-oman-hi?* why NEG 2sg.go.-hVV "Why won't you go?" (Chiri 1942:497-498) Formal nouns as sentence final particles in Hokkaido dialect

Formal nouns *ruwe, hawe, siri, humi* in Hokkaido dialect are used as sentence nominalizers and also as particles expressing strong emotions or questions.

9) kamuy sirpirka an ruwe! (N9307251FN:Chitose) god (wether)be-fine exist FN "it's very fine!"

10) *unarpe anak totek ruwe?* (N9111100CON:Chitose) aunt TOP fine FN "Is my aunt fine?"

Conclusion-2

• At the sentence final position the formal nouns, especially *ruwe* of Hokkaido dialect has the same function with hVV of Sakhalin dialect. They are used to express strong emotions or questions.

• In other word, we can think that they may be the common functions of NOMINAL FINAL SENTENCES in Ainu. So we can regard hVV as a formal noun.

• In conclusion, -hV and hVV in Sakhalin dialect can be seen as the same form, as Chiri said, and their functions are nominalizing the sentences.

Addition

• Sakhalin dialect also have formal nouns *ruwehe (ruuhe)*, *hawehe* etc. equivalent to those of Hokkaido dialect. But at the final position of sentences, I haven't found any example of them. As for *ruwehe ne*, I can find few examples but very rare compared to those of Hokkado dialect *ruwe ne*.

• On the contrary, in Hokkaido dialect *hi* final sentences are very limited, such as *ene hawean hi* "(he) said as follows".

• Therefore we might think the function of *hVV* is replaced by *ruwe, hawe* etc. in Hokkaido dialect.

Abbreviation

- 1, 2, 4 1st person, 2nd person, 4th person(including narrative 1st person, inclusive 1st person plural etc.)
- sg-singular, pl-plural
- CAU-causative, TOP- topic, NEG-negation
- GER-gerund, INT-interrogative, FN-formal noun

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