Major Syntactic Differences between Sakhalin and Hokkaido Dialects of Ainu

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Differences between Sakhalin and Hokkaido Dialects of Ainu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hokkaido Dialect</th>
<th>Sakhalin Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>phonological</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable final –p, -t, -k</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>× (except Tarayka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable final -f</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllable final -r</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V vs. VV</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>morphologic &amp; syntactic</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural suffix –hci or -hsi</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gerund’ making suffix -hV</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>○</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adaptation of ‘belonging form’ to composit possessive expression</td>
<td>LIMITED</td>
<td>RATHER WIDE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘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-GER 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 increase then country whole spread that 4.do want

“when my people increase, 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) *tuhsa 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’)[[tuhsō 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)

6’) tanto tura [neeraan usaan ukoytah$_{NP}$] an-kii wa

   today with(her) anything various converse 4.do then

   ”today we’ll converse with her on anything”
(Murasaki 1976:8)
The position of \(-hV\) in a word structure

7) \(eci\text{-}nukan -te -an -ihi\)
   \(1\text{sub2obj. see. CAU. 1\text{sub2obj.hV}}\)
   “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 \(hi\).
Sentence final particle $hVV$ in Sakhalin dialect

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)
Sentence final particle $hVV$ in Sakhalin dialect

- 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.

$hema\text{ta }e-ee-he\text{ nean? } otoope\text{mpe }e-ee\text{ hee?}$
what 2sg.eat.-hV INT sweets 2sg.eat $hVV$
“What are you eating?”
“You are eating sweets, don’t you?”
(Murasaki 1984:72-73)
Sentence final particle hVV in Sakhalin dialect

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)
Sentence final particle hVV in Sakhalin dialect

“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 Hokkaido 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 – 1\textsuperscript{st} person, 2\textsuperscript{nd} person, 4\textsuperscript{th} person (including narrative 1\textsuperscript{st} person, inclusive 1\textsuperscript{st} person plural etc.)
• sg-singular, pl-plural
• CAU-causative, TOP-topic, NEG-negation
• GER-gerund, INT-interrogative, FN-formal noun
References


