Hokkaido Ainu Dialects: Variation from the Perspective of the Geographical Distribution of Vocabulary

Mika FUKAZAWA
Preparatory Office for National Ainu Museum
(The foundation for Ainu culture)
INTRODUCTION

• The aim of this study is to generate geographical maps and to describe the variations in Hokkaido Ainu dialects.

• The Ainu language has three dialect categories: Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and Northern Kurils.

• It is well known that “for Hokkaido, there are some differences in vocabulary, phonology, word formation, and the like between northeastern and southwestern dialects” (Tamura 2000: 3)
INTRODUCTION

- Hokkaido
- Sakhalin
- The Kamchatka Peninsula
- The Kuril Islands
- Honshu
Regarding the Ainu dialects, the most important work on them was conducted by Hattori, Chiri, and their collaborators from 1955–1956.

Currently, few native speakers of Ainu exist, and collecting sufficient words and sentences through fieldwork is difficult.

My studies adopted geolinguistics for the Ainu language, referring to the audio and written materials that Hattori, Chiri, and other researchers have collected.
AINU DIALECTS

Hokkaido:
1. Yakumo/ 2. Oshamambe/ 3. Horobetsu/
4. Biratori (Fukumitsu)/ 5. Nukibetsu/

Sakhalin:

Kurils:
25. Shumushu
Nakagawa (1996) first suggested the geographical distribution and several patterns of Ainu.

Here, I consider the following major three types within Hokkaido Ainu dialects.

- The Eastern-Western type
- The Saru-Chitose (and Sakhalin) type
- The ABA type
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

• First, in the case of the Eastern-Western type, a pseudo-phonetic correspondence is present: the Eastern /ca-/ [ʧa, ʤa] vs. the Western /pa-/ [pa, ba].

• This is one of the reasons why the Hokkaido dialects are classified into Northeastern and Southwestern dialectal categories.
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

‘mouth’

- car [ʧar]
- par [par]

ca/pa-or

< mouth-

in the place of
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

'\textit{lips}'

\begin{align*}
\text{caapus} & [\text{ʧa\textipa{p}us}] \\
\text{capus} & [\text{ʧapu\textipa{s}}] \\
\text{papus} & [\text{papus}] \\
\text{catoy} & [\text{ʧatoj}] \\
\text{patoy} & [\text{patoj}] \\
\text{pakisar} & [\text{pakisar}] 
\end{align*}
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

' lips'

- **ca/pa-pus**
  - < mouth-
  - an ear of millet

- **ca/pa-toy**
  - < mouth-
  - fields/ground

- **pa-kisar**
  - < mouth-ear
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

• The boundary between the Eastern and Western dialects might be affected by the conflict between *sumunkur* ‘Western People’ and *menasunkur* ‘Eastern People.’

  (c.f. Nakagawa 1996)

• Their boundary was the Sizunai river.
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

Moreover, when vocabulary words in Eastern dialects are compared with those in Western dialects, the onset /h-/ tends to be deleted and regressive assimilation often occurs in Eastern dialects.
## 1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

The deletion of onset *h*- (Hattori and Chiri 1960)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'wash'</th>
<th>huraye</th>
<th>1-7,13</th>
<th>uraye</th>
<th>8-12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'husband'</td>
<td>hoku</td>
<td>1-7,13</td>
<td>oku</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'child'</td>
<td>hekaci</td>
<td>1-7,13</td>
<td>ekaci</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'children'</td>
<td>hekattar</td>
<td>1-7,13</td>
<td>ekattar</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>heras(i)</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>eras(i)</td>
<td>8,9,11,12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'up'</td>
<td>herikas(i)</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>erikas(i)</td>
<td>8,10-12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## 1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

Regressive assimilation  (Hattori and Chiri 1960; Hattori 1964)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>e.g. –tk-, -rs-, -pt-</th>
<th>Dialect No.</th>
<th>e.g. –kk-, -ss-, -tt-</th>
<th>Dialect No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘lie’</td>
<td>hotke</td>
<td>1,3-5,11-13</td>
<td>hokke</td>
<td>8-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>sirsesek</td>
<td>1,3-8</td>
<td>sissesek</td>
<td>10-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bosom’</td>
<td>upsort</td>
<td>1,3,4,8</td>
<td>ussor</td>
<td>10-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘move it (to another place)’</td>
<td>tupte</td>
<td>1,3,4,8,11,12,13</td>
<td>tutte</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘armor’</td>
<td>hayokpe</td>
<td>1,3,4</td>
<td>hayoppe</td>
<td>11,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ayoppe</td>
<td>10,12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. THE SARU-CHITOSE (AND SAKHALIN) TYPE

• Second, the distribution of some interrogatives, for example, ‘who,’ ‘what’ and ‘how,’ demonstrates the Saru-Chitose (and Sakhalin) type.

• Belonging to this type, the Biratori, Nukibetsu, Niikappu, Mukawa, Chitose (and Sakhalin) dialects have a distinctive form.

(Fukazawa 2013, 2017)
2. THE SARU-CHITOSE TYPE

‘who’

- **naata** [naːˈtaː]
- **nen** [nen]
- **hunna** [hunna]
- **(h)una** [huna] (?)
2. THE SARU-CHITOSE TYPE

‘how’
- **nekon** [nekon]
- **mak(anak)** [mak(anak)]
- **temana** [temana]
- **uyman** [ujman] (?)
2. THE SARU-CHITOSE AND SAKHALIN TYPE

‘what’

- **nep** [nep]
- **hemanta** [hemanta]
- **hemata** [hemata]
- **hinta** [hinta]
- **hemah** [hemah](?)
2. THE SARU-CHITOSE (AND SAKHALIN) TYPE

• The distribution of Saru-Chitose type overlaps with that of the word-formations involving first- and second-personal affixes.
  • ex.) ‘I give you(SG)’

• The Saru and Chitose dialects:
  • eci=kore (2PL.O=give)

• The other Hokkaido dialects:
  • e=kore=an (2SG.O=give=1PL(INCL).A) or
  • e=kore=as (2SG.O=give=1PL(EXCL).A)

(Nakagawa and Fukazawa 2020)
• Third, the ABA type reveals an ABA distribution on a geographical map, where form B is sandwiched with form A.
• For example, the interrogatives for ‘how many’ and ‘when’ and the basic word for ‘tongue’ are classified into this type.
3. THE ABA TYPE

‘when’

- **nempara**
  - [nempara]
- **hempara**
  - [hempara]
- **hempakiw**
  - [hempakiw] (?)
3. THE ABA TYPE

‘how many’

- **nempak**
  - [nempak]
- **hempak**
  - [hempak]
- **hampoku**
  - [hampoku] (?)
3. THE ABA TYPE

- The words of the ABA type usually offer some clues as to how to describe the history of the words in the other type.
- The interrogatives *hempak, hempara, hemanta, hunna* and *hinna* are interpretable as having the roots $hV_m$ and $hV_n$.
- If “A is older than B,” *hem* would be older than *nem*. Therefore, the roots $hV_m$ and $hV_n$ are not newer forms.
3. THE ABA TYPE

• The sound $h$ of *hempara* was turned into $n$ by the analogy of the interrogative and indefinite root *ne*. (Nakagawa 1996)

---

• Some interrogative and indefinite words are derived from the root *ne*:
  
  • The word *nep* ‘what; something’ — *ne* - the nominalizing particle $p$ (a classifier of non-human things or events)
  
  • The word *nen* ‘who; somebody’ — *ne* - the nominalizing particle $n$ (a classifier of human beings)
For the next example, ‘tongue’ has two forms, *aw* and *parunpe*, and the form B *aw* is distributed in Sakhalin; Kuril; the Northern Hokkaido dialects, Nayoro and Sōya; and the Western Hokkaido dialect, Yakumo.

The form *parunpe* is distributed over the Eastern /ca/ area where the word for mouth is *car*. 
3. THE ABA TYPE

‘tongue’

aw [aw]

parunpe [parunpe]

par-un-pe

< mouth-

belong to-thing
3. THE ABA TYPE

• The distribution of toponyms in Kirikae (1994) are more suggestive of the ca:pa distribution.

• In the Ishikari region (e.g., the Asahikawa and Chitose dialects), there are 11 place names including the word par.
The distribution of toponyms
The distribution of toponyms including the words car and par seems to be an ABA distribution.

The form car would be older than par?
1. THE EASTERN-WESTERN TYPE

In fact, the root *pa* is ambiguous between the interpretations of ‘head’ and ‘mouth’ in Western dialects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Western Dialects</th>
<th>Dialect No.</th>
<th>Eastern Dialects</th>
<th>Dialect No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
<td>par</td>
<td>1-6,11</td>
<td>car</td>
<td>7-10,12,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>sapa</td>
<td>1-6</td>
<td>pake</td>
<td>7-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
<td>parunpe</td>
<td></td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>12,13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- *pa-or* < *mouth-in the place of*
- *sa-pa* < *fore-head*
- *pa-ke* < *head-part*  

(Hattori and Chiri 1960)
3. THE ABA TYPE

- Even if the root *pa* originally stands for ‘head,’ the word *parunpe* can be analyzed as ‘thing in the oral cavity,’ or ‘thing inside the head.’
- Therefore, *parunpe* ‘tongue’ would be widely distributed even in the Eastern /ca/ area.
- In the Western /pa/ area, the root *pa* would have become the meaning of ‘mouth.’

(Fukazawa 2014, 2017)
CONCLUDING REMARKS

• I described the Eastern-Western type and the Saru-Chitose (and Sakhalin) type as the typical geographical distribution of vocabulary in the Hokkaido dialects.

• The Saru-Chitose (and Sakhalin) type is important to consider the historical relationship between Hokkaido and Sakhalin.

• The Eastern-Western type could not only be influenced by *sumunkur* and *menasunkur*, but also formed by the Western /pa/ area of the people along the Ishikari river.
REFERENCES

REFERENCES

