

Ainu and Tungusic from the perspective of linguistic typology and areal linguistics

Sangyub, BAEK
(Muroran Institute of Technology)



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0. Tungusic languages

A language family consisting of 10-11 languages, distributed across Russian and Chinese territories;

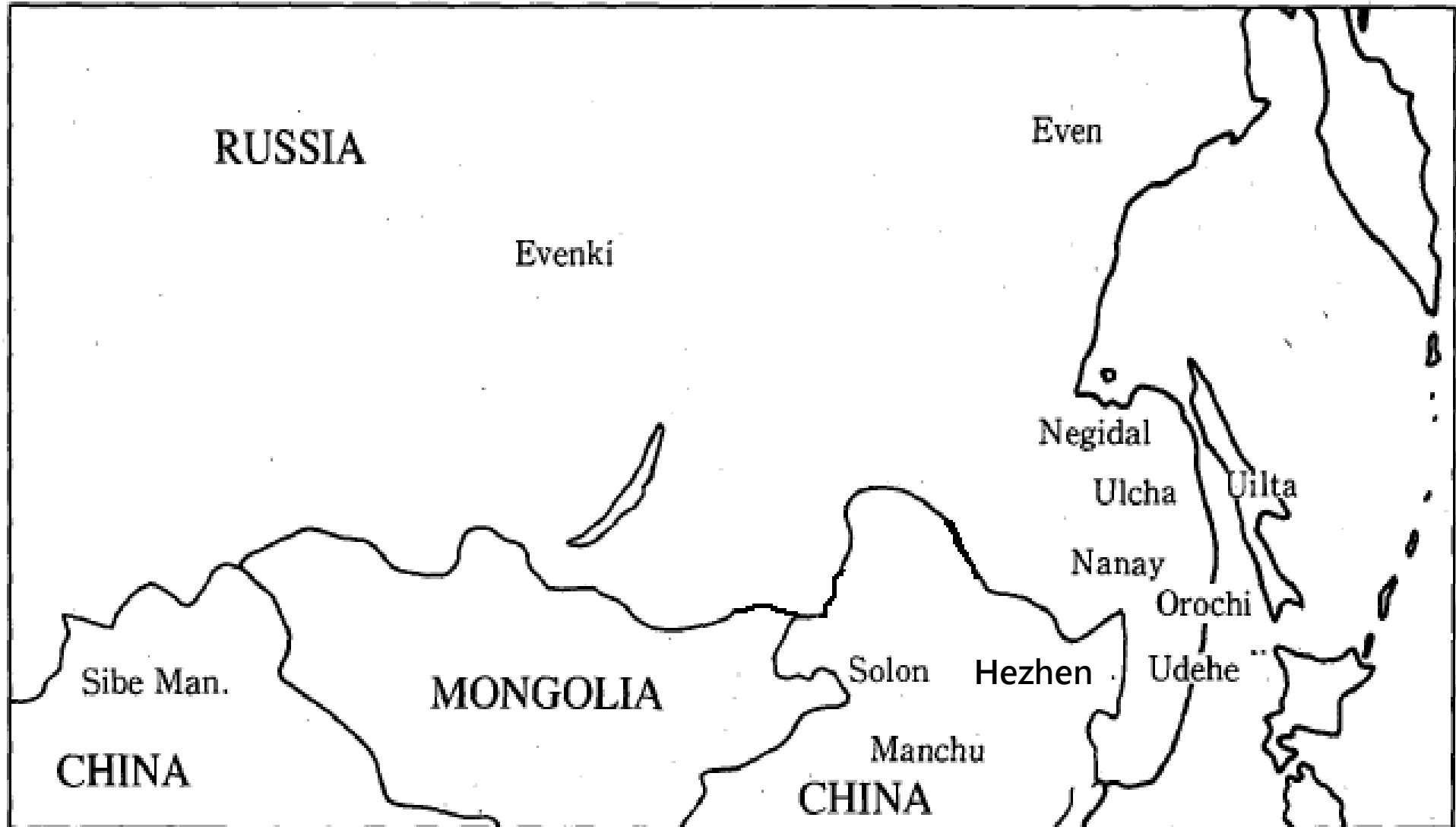
(1) Russian side:

- Eastern Siberia
- Lower Amur River, Primorskii Krai
- Sakhalin Island

(2) Chinese side:

- Northeastern Province
- Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous province

0.1. Tungusic distribution (Tsumagari 1997a)



0.2. Genetical classification of Tungusic

I

Evenki, Even, Negidal, Solon

II

Udihe, Orochi, Hezhen

III

Nanay, Ulcha, Uilta

IV

Manchu

(Ikegami 1974, Kazama 1996)

0.3. Geographical classification of Tungusic

(a) North Tungusic (Evenki, Even) : Eastern Siberia

(b) East Tungusic (Negidal, Ulcha, Nanay, Orochi, Uilta, Udihe)
: Lower Amur River, Primorskii Krai, Sakhalin Island

(c) South Tungusic (Solon, Hezhen, Manchu, and Sibe)
: Northeastern Province
Xinjiang Uyghur autonomous province

1. Typological comparison between Tungusic and Ainu

1. Typological comparison of Tungusic and Ainu

Tungusic	Ainu
vowel harmony	
agglutinative	
	polysynthetic
	incorporating
SOV	
case-marking	
postposition	
suffixation-oriented	prefixation-oriented

2. Language contact between Tungusic and Ainu

2.1. Language contact at lexical level between Tungusic and Ainu

2.1. Previous studies on language contact at lexical level

Several attempts clarifying language contact in Tungusic, Ainu, and Nivku at lexical aspect have been made so far as follows;

- Hattori (1952 [2004])
- Krejnovich (1955)
- Austerlitz (1968)
- Ikegami (1980, 1988 , 1990)
- Tangiku (2003)
- Tsumagari (2009c)

2.1.1. Austerlitz (1968)

bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus nauticus* Pallas)

	Uilta	Ainu	Nivkh
~1 year old	<i>amɔspi</i>	<i>amsp</i>	<i>amúspe</i>
~2 year old	<i>ceɛŋa</i>	<i>the-ŋa</i>	<i>(ciyanka)</i>
~3 year old	<i>ɔʃii</i>	<i>the-ŋa-aki</i>	
more than 3 years old	<i>dəriəəci</i>		
grown	<i>dawŋgari</i>	<i>dawyř</i>	<i>taúnkari</i> <i>tukará</i> <i>poróp</i>

(Austerlitz 1968: 135)

2.1.2. Ikegami (1980, 1990, 1994), Krejnovich (1955)

	Uilta (Tungusic)	Sakhalin Ainu	Nivkh	Manchu (Tungusic)
hundred	<i>tangu</i>	<i>tanku</i>	<i>ŋřaŋq</i>	<i>tanggū</i>
Russian	<i>luča</i>	<i>nuca</i>	<i>loč'a</i>	
dog collar	<i>xala</i>	<i>seta hana</i>	<i>hal(ŋ)</i>	
chopsticks	<i>sabuu</i>	<i>saxha</i>	<i>č'afq</i>	<i>sabka</i>

2.2. Language contact at grammatical level between Tungusic and Ainu

2.2. Previous studies on language contact at grammatical level

With regard to grammatical aspect, relevant research still remains at its early stage and is extremely limited as attested below.

-Tsumagari (1997b)

-Yamada (2008)

2.2.1. Tsumagari (1997b)

Tsumagari (1997b) shows that there is a morpho-syntactic similarity in noun coordinative forms in Uilta, Sakhalin Ainu, and Nivkh.

Uilta	Sakhalin Ainu	Nivkh
<i>-kkəə</i>	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-xə</i>

2.2.1. Tsumagari (1997b)

· Uilta (Tungusic)

2-1) *sii-**kkəə*** *bii-**kkəə*** *ŋənnē-pu.*
2SG.NOM-COOR 1SG.NOM-COOR go+PTCP.PST-1PL
'You and I went.'

(Ikegami 1994:160)

· Sakhalin Ainu

2-2) *ohkayo-**ka*** *mahtekuh-**ka*** *okaya-hci.*
man-COOR woman-COOR be(PL)-PL
'There are men and women.'

(Hattori 1981[1964]:325)

· Nivkh

2-3) *vətək-**xə*** *vəmək-**xə*** *maŋgut* *ezmu-d'-gu.*
father-COOR mother-COOR very be.glad-FINIT-PL
'His father and mother are very glad.'

(Panfilov 1962:165)

2.2.2. Yamada (2008)

Yamada (2008) focuses on a possibility of language contact in hearsay forms frequently confirmed in folklores in Uilta, Sakhalin Ainu, and Nivkh.

-Sakhalin Ainu	<i>manu</i>
-Uilta	<i>=ndAA</i>
-Nivkh	<i>furu</i>

2.2.2. Yamada (2008)

	Nanay, Ulcha	Uilta	Sakhalin Ainu	Nivkh
hearsay form	<i>wende/unde</i>	= <i>ndAA</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>furu</i>
grammaticalization	-	+	+	+
rising intonation	-	+	+	+

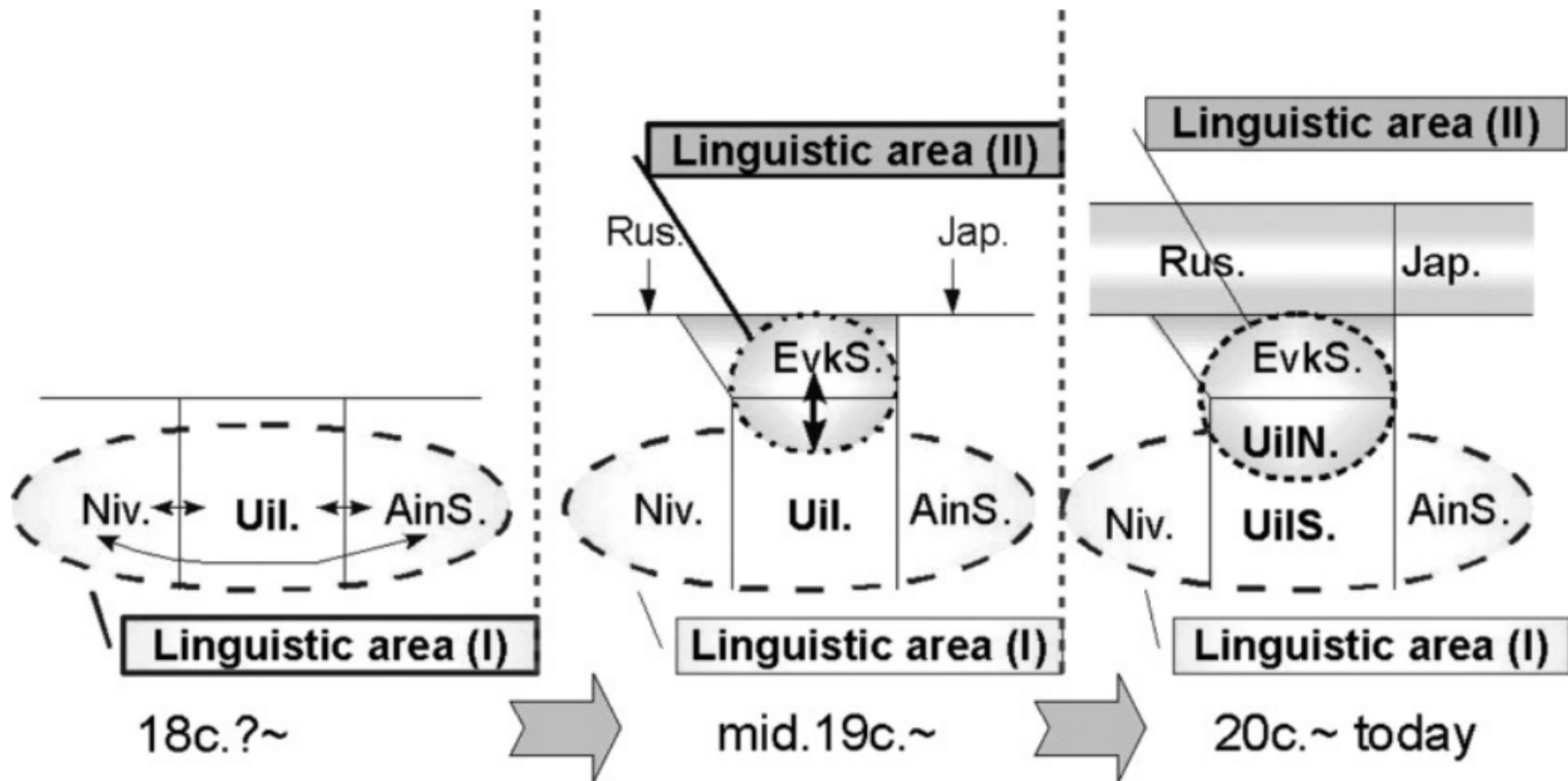
2.3. Tungusic and Ainu from the perspective of areal linguistics

2.3.1. Gruzdeva (1996), Tsumagari (2009c)

Gruzdeva (1996: 1008) characterizes the linguistic situation in Uilta, Ainu, and Nivkh as multilingualism.

Concentrating on grammatical and lexical similarities among Uilta, Ainu, and Nivkh, Tsumagari (2009c: 6) raises a possibility of considering Sakhalin Island as linguistic area.

2.3.2. Yamada (2010)



Linguistic 'strata' on Sakhalin (Yamada 2010: 71)

3. Tungusic and Ainu from the perspective of areal linguistics

3.1.1. Objective

The focus will be placed on plural suffixes listed below in Uilta, Sakhalin Ainu and Nivkh in Sakhalin Island.

Uilta	Sakhalin Ainu	Nivkh
<i>-l</i>	<i>-hci(n)</i>	<i>-gu(n)</i>

3.1.2. Typological parameters

In this presentation, the following 3 typological parameters will be applied to the previously mentioned three plural suffixes in Uilta, Sakhalin Ainu, and Nivkh.

- a) Appearance: nouns and/or verbs
- b) Function: third person plural marking
- c) Usage: obligatory or optional

3.2. Relevant Previous studies

Baek (2016) raises a possibility that *number distinction between the third person singular and plural in Tungusic shows a clear variation in accordance with its geographical distribution of each Tungusic language, showing remarkable similarities with those of neighboring languages.*

3.2.1. Typological parameter in Baek (2016)

From the cross-linguistic perspective of *where to mark the number between the third person singular and plural*, the person marking type of languages can be grouped as 4 patterns;

3.2.1. Typological parameter in Baek (2016)

A. PERSON MARKING TYPE

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| (i) both-marking | (3SG: +, 3PL: +) |
| (ii) 3SG-marking | (3SG: +, 3PL: - \emptyset) |
| (iii) 3PL-marking | (3SG: - \emptyset , 3PL: +) |
| (iv) zero-marking | (3SG: - \emptyset , 3PL: - \emptyset) |

B. NON-PERSON MARKING TYPE

3.2.2. North Tungusic



3.2.2. Evenki

- 3rd person singular

3-1) *asatkan j̄u-du t̄age-t-č̄a-r̄a-n.*

girl house-DAT sit.down-STAT-IMPF-PRS-3SG

‘The girl is sitting at home.’

(Nedjalkov 1997: 248)

- 3rd person plural

3-2) *digin oron-duu ugu-č̄a-ja-ra-∅.*

four deer-DAT ride-STAT-IMPF-PRS-3PL

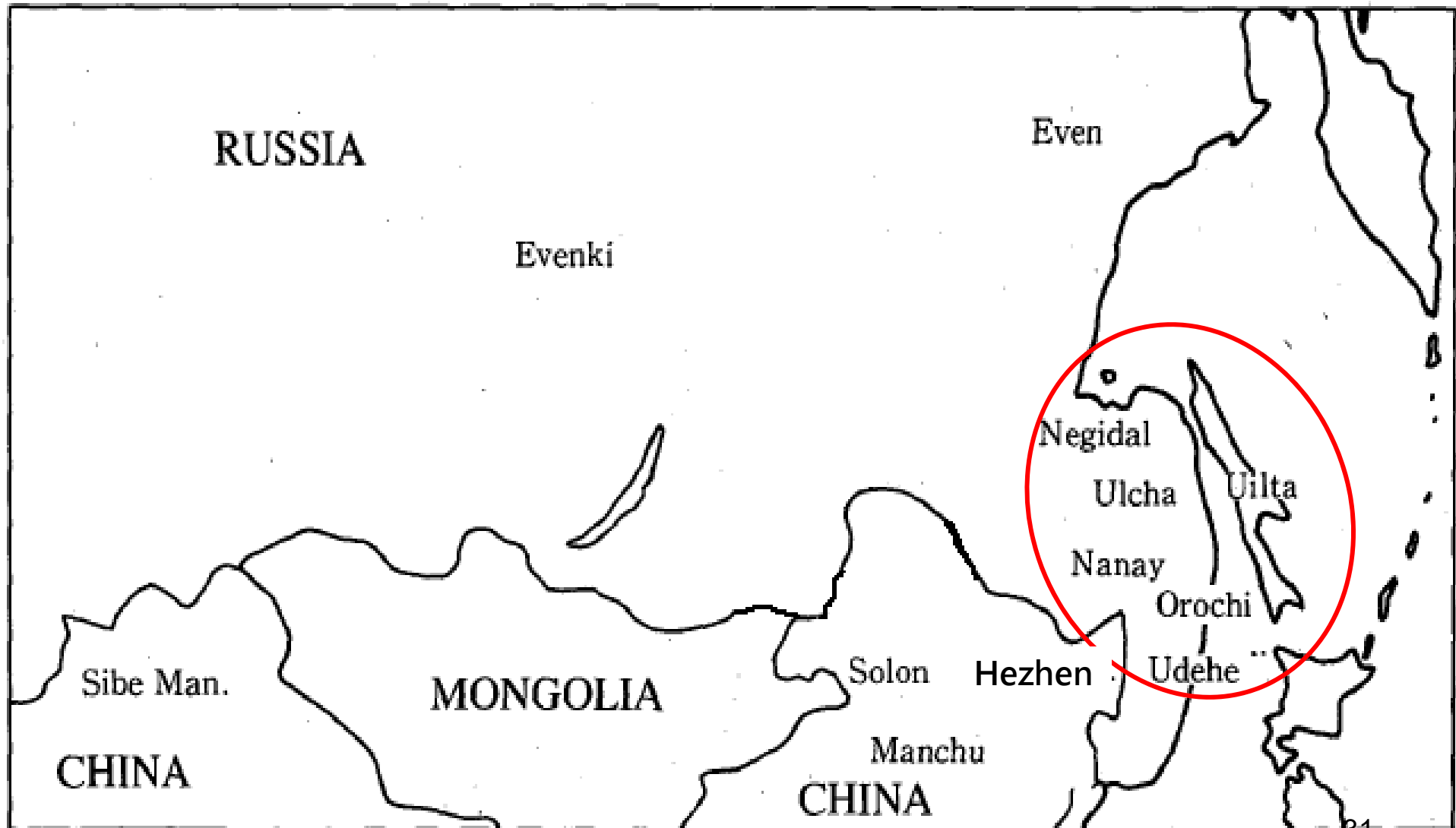
‘[They] are riding on four reindeer.’

(Bulatova and grenoble 1999: 32)

3.2.2. Third person markings in North Tungusic

	Evenki	Even
3SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
3PL	<i>-∅</i>	<i>(-r)</i>
number-marking	3SG-marking	3SG or both-marking
number-distinction	obligatorily-distinct	obligatorily-distinct

3.2.3. East Tungusic



3.2.3. Nanay

- 3rd person plural

3-3) *juə mapa-kaan piktə-ni biə undə.*
two bear-DIM child-3SG be.PRS.3 say

kupiləə-ndu-məəri=ə biə undə.
play.around-DIST-SIM.CVB.PL=CLT be.PRS.3 say

‘They say that there are two small bears and they are playing around.’
(Kazama 2001: 52)

- 3rd person plural

3-4) *təwəksə ojalani tooko-maari=o biə-l undə*
cloud upside climb-SIM.CVB.PL=CLT be.PRS-3PL say

təi mapakaa-sal=gola.
that small.bear-PL=CLT

‘They say: Those small bears is climbing over the upside of the cloud.’
(Kazama 2001: 58)

3.2.3. Nanay

- 3rd person plural

3-5) *sii mimbia baogo-xam-ba-si saa-xam-bari osini,*
you.SG.NOM I.ACC find-PTCP.PST-ACC-2SG know-PTCP.PST-REF.PL if

mimbia ji-dəə waa-jaara-ø.

I.ACC come-ANT.CVB kill-FUT-3.

‘If they know that you find me, they will come and kill me.’

(Kazama 2010: 137)

3-6) *ai-du xəm waa-go-jaal tai ηəwəə-səl.*

this-DAT all kill-REP-FUT-3PL that devil-PL

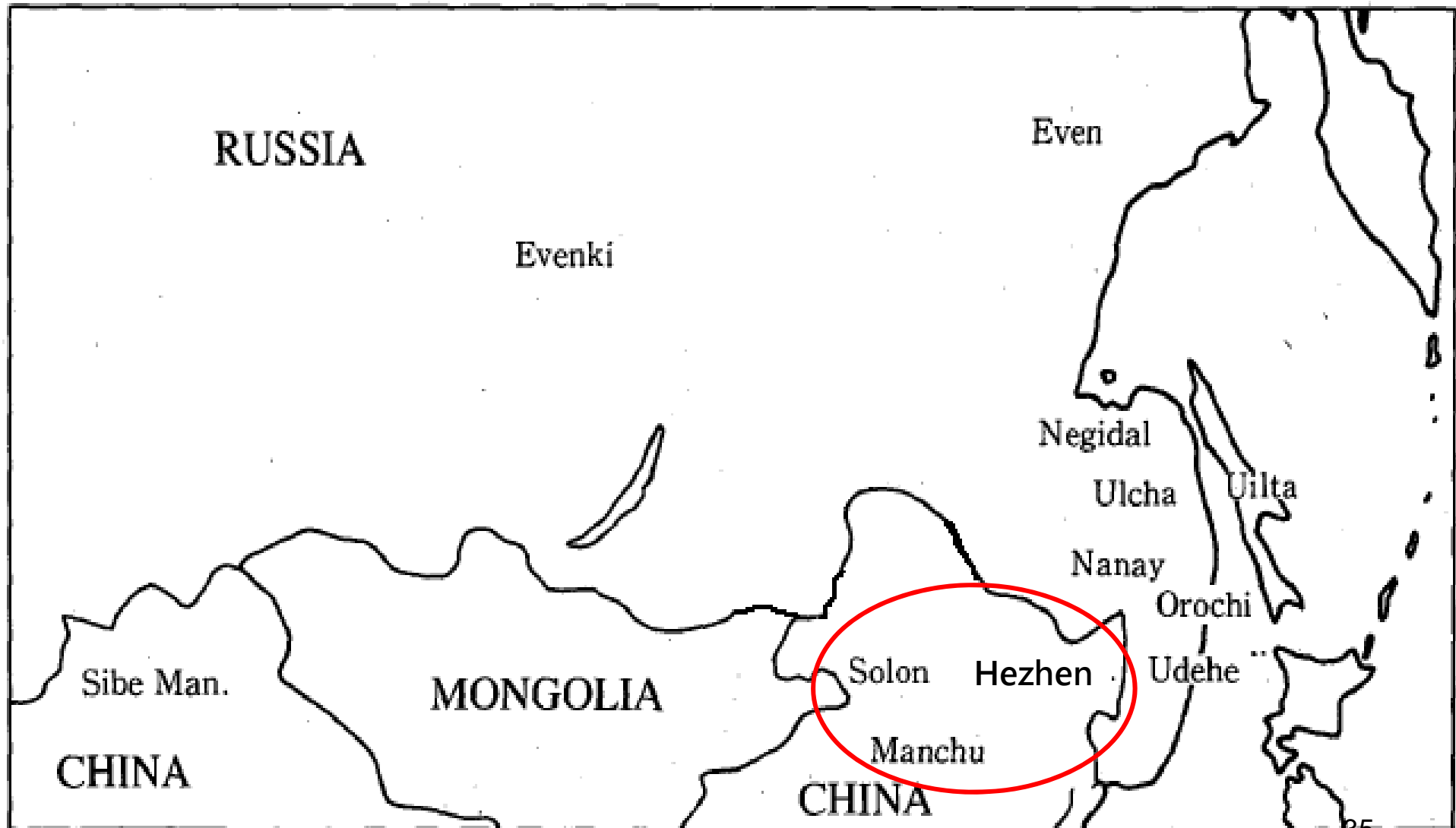
‘Those devils will kill all here.’

(Kazama 2010: 146)

3.2.3. Third person markings in East Tungusic

	Ulcha	Nanay	Uilta	Udihe
3SG	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>-∅</i>
3PL	<i>(-l)</i>	<i>(-l)</i>	<i>(-l)</i>	<i>(-du)</i>
Number-marking	zero or 3PL	zero or 3PL	zero or 3PL	zero or 3PL
Number-distinction	optionally-distinct	optionally-distinct	optionally-distinct	optionally-distinct

3.2.4. South Tungusic



3.2.4. Solon

- 3rd person singular

3-7a) *aasin-a-n*.

sleep-PRS-3SG

‘(S)he sleeps.’

(Tsumagari 2009b: 9)

- 3rd person plural

3-7b) *aasin-a-n*.

sleep-PRS-3PL

‘They sleep.’

(Tsumagari 2009b: 9)

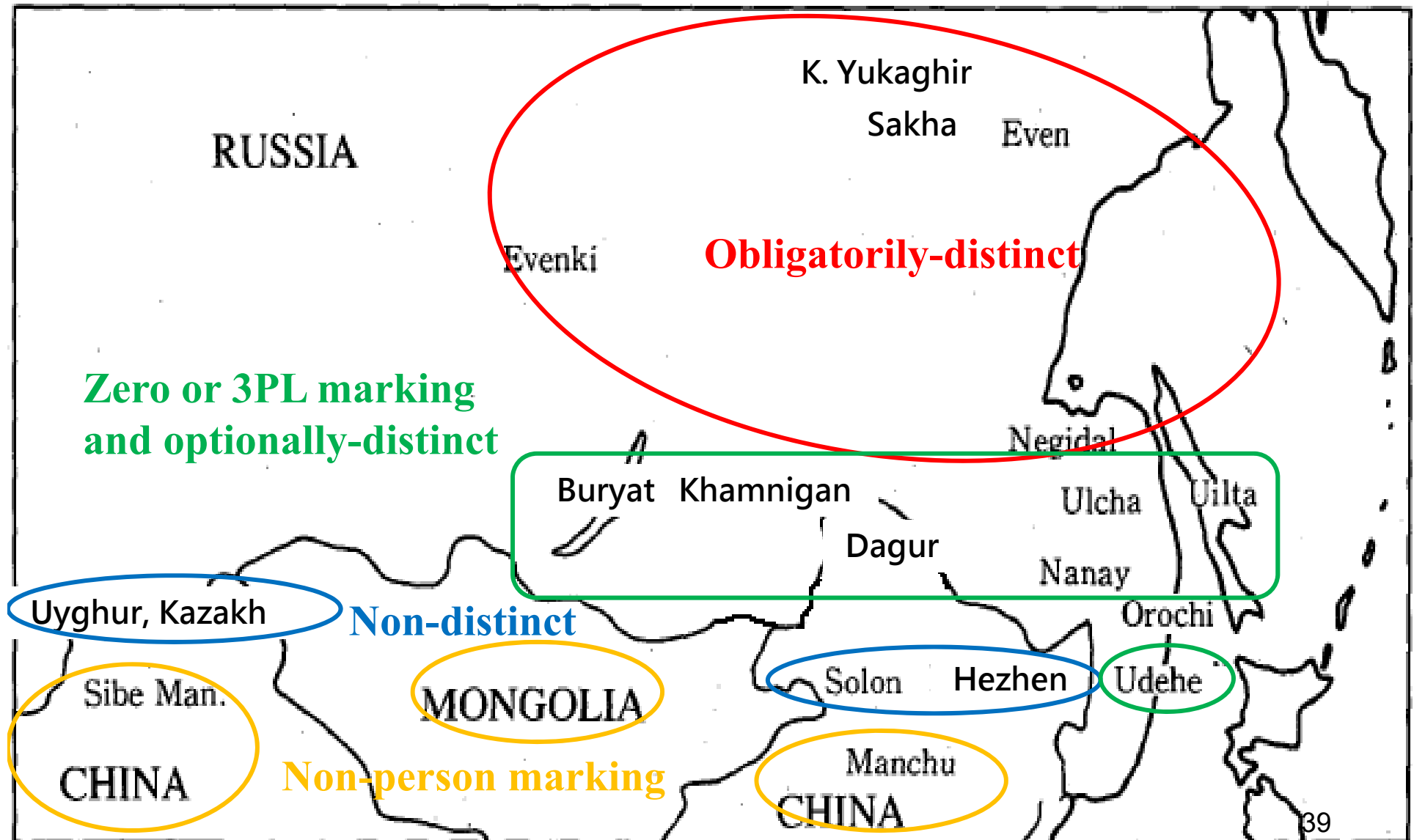
3.2.4. Third person markings in South Tungusic

	Solon	Hezhen	Manchu (Sibe)
3SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>(-n)</i>	-
3PL	<i>-n</i>	<i>(-n)</i>	-
Number-marking	both	both or zero	non-person
Number-distinction	non-distinct	non-distinct	non-person

3.2.5. Summary of Baek (2016)

North ↓ South	3SG	3PL	Number- marking	Number-distinction
Ek (I)	<i>-n</i>	<i>-∅</i>	3SG	obligatorily-distinct
E (I)	<i>-n</i>	<i>(-r)</i>	3SG or both	obligatorily-distinct
N (I)	<i>-n</i>	<i>-∅</i>	3SG	obligatorily-distinct
OI (III)	<i>-∅</i>	<i>(-l)</i>	zero or 3PL	optionally-distinct
Nn (III)	<i>-∅</i>	<i>(-l)</i>	zero or 3PL	optionally-distinct
Ut (III)	<i>-∅</i>	<i>(-l)</i>	zero or 3PL	optionally-distinct
U (II)	<i>-∅</i>	<i>(-du)</i>	zero or 3PL	optionally-distinct
S (I)	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>	both	non-distinct
Hz (II)	<i>(-n)</i>	<i>(-n)</i>	zero or both	non-distinct
M (IV)	Non-person marking type			
Sb (IV)	Non-person marking type			

3.3. Summary of Baek (2016)



3.3. Summary

i) Number distinction between the third person singular and plural in Tungusic shows a clear variation in accordance with its geographical distribution of each Tungusic language, showing remarkable similarities with those of neighboring languages.

ii) However, this research does not include Ainu and Nivkh in its discussion

3.4. Typological parameters

Uilta	Sakhalin Ainu	Nivkh
<i>-l</i>	<i>-hci(n)</i>	<i>-gu(n)</i>

- a) Appearance: nouns and/or verbs
- b) Function: third person plural marking
- c) Usage: obligatory or optional

3.4.1. Uilta

i) Appearance on nouns

-nari-l ‘men, people’

person-PL

-ulaa-l ‘reindeer’

reindeer-PL

-buwaata-l ‘islands’

island-PL

(Tsumagari 2009a: 6)

In general the use of plural forms is somewhat emphatic, and the unmarked form is also employed to refer to plural entities, especially when preceded by a numeral or a quantitative adjective……

(Tsumagari 2009a: 6)

3.4.1. Uilta

ii) Appearance on verbs

Yamada (2013) reports that the nominal element *-l* is an optional element to denote the third person plural in Uilta.

· 3rd person plural

3-8) *sinjeellaa-l* *tari nari-sal.*
come+FUT-3 that person-PL

‘Those persons will come.’

(Ikegami 2002: 134)

3.4.1. Other Tungusic languages -Nanay

i) Appearance on nouns

<i>-ŋəwəə-səl</i>	‘devils’	The suffix <i>-l</i> in Nanay and Ulcha does not synchronically function as a nominal plural marker
devil-PL		
<i>-naonjokaa-sal</i>	‘boys’	
boy-PL		

ii) Appearance on verbs

· 3rd person plural

3-9) *təwəksə ojalani tooko-maari=o biə-l undə*
cloud upside climb-SIM.CVB.PL=CLT be.PRS-3PL say

təi mapakaa-sal=gola.
that small.bear-PL=CLT

‘They say: Those small bears is climbing over the upside of the cloud.’

(Kazama 2001: 58)

3.4.1. Third person markings in East Tungusic

	Nanay (III)	Ulcha (III)	Uilta (III)
Nouns	-	-	+
Verbs	+	+	+
3PL marking	+	+	+
Usage	optional	optional	optional

-plural suffix *-l* can optionally mark 3PL subject.

-however, its synchronic use as nominal plural marker is limited to Uilta.

3.4.2. Sakhalin Ainu

i) Appearance on nouns

: Murasaki (1979: 85) notes that nominal possessive plural suffix *-hcin* is attached to nouns.···In case of a majority of certain person or thing, it is an obligatory element.

(Murasaki 1979: 85)

'eci-seta-ha-hcin

2PL-dog-POS-PL

‘your dogs’

ku-mici-hi-hcin

1SG-grandson-POS-PL

‘my grandsons’

(Murasaki 1979: 85)

3.4.2. Sakhalin Ainu

ii) Appearance on verbs

The plural verb forms in Sakhalin involve both suppletive forms, which are shared by the Hokkaido dialects, and the unique suffix *-hci*, which is apparently related to the nominal plural suffix *-hcin*. ~ Despite this kind of over-marking of the plural suffix, the marking itself still remains optional unlike the number-sensitive agreement of personal affixes.

(Shibatani 1990: 54)

3-10) *Orohko-utah ariki-hci.*
Orokko-PL come(PL)-PL
'Orokos came.'

(Shibatani 1990: 53)

3.4.2. Hokkaido Ainu

In Hokkaido Ainu, there is no nominal plural marker to be attached to verbs in order to distinguish the third person plural subject from the third person singular.

- 3rd person singular

3-11) *itak-∅*.

 speak-3SG

 ‘(S)he speaks.’

(Shibatani 1990: 25-26)

- 3rd person singular

3-12) *itak-∅*.

 speak-3PL

 ‘They speak.’

(Shibatani 1990: 25-26)

3.4.3. Nivkh

Appearance on nouns/verbs

Plural marker on nouns is mostly optional. It is particularly rare in the case forms other than the nominative. *Sometimes, however, native speakers insist on plural marking.* ~ Expression of the plural marking on the nominal subject is not connected with plural marking of the verbal predicate. ...

(Nedjalkov & Otaina 2013:49)

The *-gun* as nominal plural suffix is obligatory, while it is an optional element in verbs.

(Tangiku 2012: 116)

3.4.3. Nivkh

- 3rd person singular

3-13) *qanŋ ve-d.*

dog go-FINIT

‘A dog went.’

(Tangiku 2012: 116)

- 3rd person plural

3-14) *qan-gun ve-d.*

dog-PL go-FINIT

‘Dogs went.’

(Tangiku 2012: 116)

3-15) *qan-gun ve-d-yun.*

dog-PL go-FINIT-PL

‘Dogs went.’

(Tangiku 2012: 116)

3.5. Plural endings in Uilta, Sakhalin Ainu, Nivkh

	Nanay, Ulcha	Uilta	Sakhalin Ainu	Nivkh
nouns	-	+	+	+
verbs	+	+	+	+
3PL marking	+	+	+	+
usage	optional	optional	N:obligatory V: optional	N:obligatory V: optional

4. Conclusion

4. Conclusion

- i) Uilta shows a clear difference from other East Tungusic languages in that the plural element *-l* is synchronically employed in both nouns and verbs.
- ii) Plural suffixes in Uilta, Sakhalin Ainu, and Nivkh show similarities in their appearance in nouns and verbs, functioning as an optional third person plural marker.
- iii) However, its usage as nominal plural marker in nouns whether it is obligatory or optional shows a disparity.

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