



- On this point HA and SA may differ as some 'regular' possessive forms in HA are 'irregular' in SA, like for example *tek* 'hand' > *tekehe* (HA) but *tek* 'hand' > *tekihi* (SA).
- The possessor on these forms is marked again on the noun via a transitive personal agreement prefix in the subject form – e.g. *kusapaha* 'my head' (HA, SA), *eparoho* 'your mouth' (HA), or *tekihi* 'his/her/its/their hand' (SA).
- When the possessor is a third person it can be expressed by a separate noun that always precedes the possessed noun – e.g. *seta paroho* 'the dog's mouth'.

→ *Dataset 1 - Variety of forms*

Among the following example clauses there are some that include other sentence-final expressions like the ones we saw in (1) and (2) above and some others that do not (additional examples are given for you to infer the meaning of words). Besides *siri ne* and *humih* 'an what are the other forms present in HA and SA? Make a list of them. Then make reference to the other examples to understand what is the morphological structure of the forms you have listed and what word classes are involved. After you are done with the morphological analysis return to the examples that include the sentence-final forms – can you make any observations on their syntactic structure? Background context information is given for these examples, but you will need it later for Set 2.

**Set 1.1** (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Sinuma ka korayniwkes siri ne (noyne iki a).*

'It was (like) he couldn't [separate from me] either.' (Kayano 4-4,10)

[The speaker is being hugged by her husband and sees that he cannot let go of her since he is too happy]

2. *Areska wa an.*

'I had raised her [so].' (Bugaeva 2004, 307)

3. *Yuptek menoko ane.*

'I was a hard-working woman.' (Tamura 1984, 16)

4. *Ayupih* *iyekari ek kor an siri iki.*

'It seemed my brother was coming towards me.' (adapted from Tamura 1985, 60)

[A stoat, character of the tale, turns himself into a woman and from afar sees his brother walking in his direction]

5. *Nep humih* [...] *a(n)nu.*

'I heard the sound of something.' (OS 1981, line 798)

6. *Awenmatnepoho purio kasperu siri an.*

'It seems that my degenerate daughter has had too much of a violent temperament.'  
(Tamura 1984, 34)

[The speaker comments like this after the main character of the story recounts the difficult travel he had to make because his mother, the speaker's daughter, had told him to].

7. *Husko nituyru ka an.*

'There was also the trace of an old tree cutting.' (Bugueva 2004, 254)

8. *Usa sisakpe aiyere humi ne.*

'I was given various delicious food.' (Tamura 1984, 42)

[A blind woman comments on the food she was given by her relatives]

9. *Apesamta ek'an.*

'I went next to the fire.' (Bugueva 2004, 270)

10. *Hunakun ka aiyani wa payean humi as.*

'It seemed I was carried and going somewhere.' (Tamura 1985, 4)

[A woman is inside a coffin and from the movements and the voices coming from outside she figures out she is being carried some place up a hill]

11. *Hopuni wa as.*

'[My father] jumped and stood up.' (Bugueva 2004, 204)

12. *Aeramiskari okkaypo ek wa an ruwe ne.*

'A young man, who I don't know, has come.' (Bugueva 2004, 256)

[A young woman says this to the owner of the house after having met an unknown man at the door]

13. *Apoho ene hawe ne ciki, isamun ek.*

‘If you are my child, come next to me.’ (Tamura 1984, 40)

[A woman says this after a young boy introduced himself to her saying that he was her son]

14. *Tanto sirpirka.*

‘Today the appearance is good (= the weather is nice).’

15. *Kantoorun payean yakka ...*

‘Even though we went to heaven ...’ (Bugueva 2004, 149)

16. *Akor sapo pasrota [...] kor ek hawe as.*

‘It seemed my older sister came while swearing’ (Tamura 1985, 19)

[The younger sister just played a prank to the older sister and from inside the house hears her coming back angry]

17. *Kem ruwe.*

‘The trace of a needle.’ (Bugueva 2004, 162)

18. *Neun poka ikian.*

‘I [had to] do something at least.’ (Bugueva 2004, 192)

#### Set 1.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Utara reekoro tohseno humihi ‘an.*

‘It seemed [those] people were really sleeping deeply.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 184)

[The speaker, the character of the tale, is resting in the dark next to some other people who are perfectly still and silent]

2. *Neya ruu kaari san.*

‘He went down through this path.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 328)

3. *Tuhso neeno 'an puy 'ahun sirihi 'an.*

'It seemed a hole like a cave opened [on the side of the mountain].' (Dal Corso 2021, 389)

[The speaker looks from a distance and guesses there is a cave ahead of him from the shape of the mountain]

4. *Cise'onnay neeno 'oseh.*

'It was wide like the inside of a house.' (Dal Corso 2021, 333)

5. *Na sukuh mahtekuh neehci.*

'They were still young women.' (Dal Corso 2021, 305)

6. *'Ehankeno 'an pe ka 'emuyke kehke wa cokoko wa 'isam ruwehe 'an.*

'It must have ended up breaking and felling even all the things (the trees) around.' (Dal Corso 2021, 396)

[The character of the story, after having killed a monster from inside its belly, jumps out and sees the damage it caused while squirming because of the pain.]

7. *Tenkorasi yahka pirika, 'ampene an hemata kihci?*

'Even if [one] hugs [bear cubs] it is fine. What do they do, really?' (Dal Corso 2021, 196)

8. *Tani 'onne haw 'ankoroo.*

'Now we have an old voice.' (Dal Corso 2021, 182)

9. *Ta ohacisuye seta humpa hawehe an.*

'It seemed that empty-house-devil crushed the dogs [that were inside the house].' (Pilsudski 1912, 79)

[The speaker is outside the house that his dogs just went into and hears them howling while the devil kills them]

10. *Anhawehe nuu yahka wantehe nee nanko.*

'He [will] probably know if he hears our voice.' (Dal Corso 2021, 182)

11. *'Aynu ka 'emuyke [...] 'ee wa 'isam.*

'[The monster] ended up eating [...] even all the people.' (Dal Corso 2021, 390)

12. *Hemata humihi reekoh nuhci.*

'They heard loudly the sound of something.' (Dal Corso 2021, 316)

13. *Sine too reekoh siripirika.*

'One day the appearance was good (= the weather was nice).' (Dal Corso 2021, 302)

14. *Kuikuu yayne ahun.*

'I smoked and then she entered.' (Dal Corso 2021, 175)

## 9.2 Research

Now look at this other dataset and also read the examples from other languages given after it, which you will need for the third and last activity of this lesson.

→ *Dataset 2 - Structure and meaning*

Consider the sentences given here together with the ones in Set 1 for which background context is given. Do you find any variants of the sentence-final forms you have just listed? Why are the sentences marked with \* ungrammatical? What are the alternative forms you see and what changes in their morphosyntactic structure? On the basis of background context can you explain what is the meaning(s) and function(s) of the different sentence-final forms? How can they be subdivided within each variety and what are the differences between HA and SA?

### Set 2.1 (Hokkaidō Ainu)

1. *Aonaha heru earanukar kor ora ihoppa siri an?!*

'Only once I see my father and then he leaves me?!' (adapted from Kayano 1-8,12)

[The speaker utters this sentence after the father he hadn't seen for a long time walks away from him]

2. *Ukuran ka yaanipo isam [...] siriki.*

'Even in the evening it seemed he was almost [...] dying.' (Tamura 1984, 14)

[The speaker tells about the time she healed a sick person and speaks about their physical conditions]

3. *Okkayo haw [...]* “*ahunke yak pirka wa*” *sekor hawas.*

“You may let him come in” said the voice [of] a young man.’ (Bugueva 2004, 257)

[The speaker hears the woman who just met him at the door say this once she goes back in to inform the owner of the house about who just arrived]

4. *Toop oyakketa ray pe aynu ne sekor hawas.*

‘It’s said that the ones who [go] to a faraway land [when] they die are people.’ (Nakagawa 2001, 87)

[The speaker reports what others have told her]

5. *\*Usa sisakpe aiyere hum ne.*

‘I was given various delicious food.’

6. *Nispa poka sone siknu wa an hawe an?*

‘Truly at least [that] man has survived?’ (adapted from Tamura 1985, 12)

[The speaker asks this to herself after having heard about the casualties and survivors of a famine at her old village]

7. *Pet put an (noyne) siran wa ...*

‘It seemed (like) there was the mouth of a river.’ (Bugueva 2004, 319)

[The speaker observes the surroundings by the seashore from a distance]

8. *Hapo itak ne wa siran.*

‘[Those] had been the words [of my] mother.’ (Kayano 19-4,6)

[The speaker finally realises that what she heard previously, though strange to her, were the words of her mother.]

9. *Sermaka akor hawas.*

‘It seemes I have a protective god [on my side].’ (Kayano 2-6,14)

[The speaker says this after hearing the distinctive cry of a bird that is the embodiment of a protective god]

10. *Tane icire (noyne) humas [...] kusu ...*

‘Because now it seemed (as if) he grilled me ...’ (Kayano 19-4,27)

[The speaker character of the story (an animal) is inside a pot and feels heat coming from below]

## Set 2.2 (Sakhalin Ainu)

1. *Tan husko karauto an ruwehe ‘an.*

‘There was this old box.’ (Pilsudski 1912, 200)

[The speaker looks around the house searching for something his brothers are hiding and finds a box]

2. \* *Pon nayohta ihuraye ruwe ne.*

‘She washed me in a small river.’

3. *Reekoh etoorohci ‘ani mokoro hawehehcin ‘an.*

‘It seemed they were sleeping while snoring loudly.’ (Dal Corso 2021, 318)

[The speaker is lying nearby some people who are sleeping]

4. \* *‘Usahpa ‘usahpa cisehehcin ‘onne [...] ‘ampahci.*

‘[The man] took [the bears] one by one to their house (=cage).’ (Dal Corso 2021, 202)

5. \* *Ta ohacisuye seta humpa haw an.*

‘It seemed that empty-house-devil crushed the dogs [that were inside the house].’

6. *Oropekano inkaran yako, osomaciseohta ahupan ruhe an.*

‘When I looked around, [I realised] I must have entered a privy.’ (adapted from Pilsudski 1912, 160)

[The speaker is lured into a dark privy by two gods. After smelling a foul smell and not understanding where it came from, he finally realises where he is.]

## Examples from Other Languages...

*Ngiyambaa* (Pama-Nyungan, Australia) (data from Donaldson 1980 in Aikhenvald 2004, 34)

*ŋindu-gara girambiyi.*  
you.NOM-SENS.EV sick.PAST  
‘You were sick (one could see it).’

*Dhagun-gir-gara ŋina dhinga: ga-ɾa.*  
earth-NASTY.WITH- this.ABS meat.ABS be-PRES  
SENS.EV  
‘This meat tastes nasty with earth (I have tasted it).’

*Foe* (Austronesian, Papua-New-Guinea) (data from Rule 1977 in Aikhenvald 2004, 62)

*Aiya bare wa-boba’ae.*  
plane come-EV.VIS  
‘A plane is coming (I can see it).’

Many languages of the world have a system of forms dedicated to indicate how the speaker acquired the information that is the content of what she says and, additionally, what was the physical or non-physical means through which this acquisition happened. These forms are called **evidentials** and the category to which they belong is called **evidentiality** (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004). One type of evidentials are the ones that indicate that the content of information is acquired directly (or first-hand) by the speaker – these are usually called **direct evidentials**. A language may not have separate direct evidentials depending on the kind of source through which information was acquired, like *Ngiyambaa* where the form *-gara* can be used regardless of the stimulus at the basis of the acquisition (in the first sentence the speaker knows that ‘you were sick’ from sight but in the second sentence she knows that ‘the meat tastes nasty’ from taste). Direct evidentials may otherwise differ according to the stimulus at the basis of the acquisition, like in *Foe* where the form *-boba’ae* specifically indicates that information is acquired directly through a visual stimulus.

*Amdo Tibetan* (Tibeto-Burma, China) (data from Sun 1993 in Aikhenvald 2004, 45)

*Tʂaʂ<sup>hi</sup>=kə<sup>h</sup>tæ n<sub>u</sub>=zəg.*  
Bkra-shis=ERG horse buy=INFR  
‘Bkra-shis bought a horse (speaker inferred it).’

Another kind of evidentials are the ones that indicate that information was acquired indirectly – these are called **indirect evidentials** or also **inferentials**. In many languages of the world the stimulus or means of acquisition of inferentials is left unspecified, like in Amdo Tibetan. In the sentence above the inferential =zəg only indicates that acquisition of the fact that ‘Bkra-shis bought a horse’ happened indirectly, but does not specify whether this happened through a visual stimulus (i.e. the speaker seeing that Bkra-shis built a stable), an auditive stimulus (i.e. the speaker hears a horse neighing) or else. In this case only context may provide clarification.

Lezgian (Caucasic, Azerbaijan) (data from Haspelmath 1993 in Aikhenvald 2004, 31)

*Baku.d-a irid itim gülle.di-z aqud-na-lda.*  
Baku-INESS seven man bullet- take.out-AOR-REP  
DAT

‘They say that in Baku seven men were shot.’

Finally, some languages have evidentials dedicated to mark verbal report – these are called **hearsay evidentials**. Hearsay evidentials mark that the information content of the utterance was acquired from someone else and it is being reported as it is. Some languages may distinguish **quotatives** and **reportatives** within hearsay evidentials. With quotatives the speaker reports an information repeating, or somehow ‘quoting’, the person who originally said those words. With reportatives the speaker reports an information indirectly, most times without specifying the original source of the statement. The Lezgian *-lda* is used above in this latter function.

### 9.3 Analysis and Description

In no less than 400 words, list all forms used in HA and SA to mark source of information (if present, indicate the variants of one same form). Making reference to the examples in the sets above, describe in your own words the meaning(s) and function(s) of each form. If necessary, make reference to the examples from other languages in your argumentation.

- How would you call these forms?
- Would you subdivide them into separate classes? How many? How would you define them and why?
- Would you propose the same subdivision in HA and SA and, more in general, what are the differences between the two language varieties?
- What is the morphosyntactic structure of the constructions when these forms are used?
- Are there any forms or any uses of one particular form that are difficult to analyse? Why are they so?
- How would you think of resolving the problem?