On sentence-final particle *sa* in Hokkaido Japanese

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In this talk, we give a semantic and pragmatic analysis of the sentence-final particle *sa* (or *sā*) in Hokkaido Japanese (JP). Since Standard JP also has a sentence-final particle *sa*, many native speakers of Hokkaido JP are unaware of the differences between *sa* in Hokkaido and Standard JP. There are, however, many differences. (1) and (2) show that (i) *sa* in Hokkaido JP is used in both male and female talk, while *sa* in Standard JP is (stereotypically) used by male; and (ii) *sa* in Hokkaido JP attaches after a copula or an evidential, which is impossible in Standard JP (Ono 1993; Izutsu & Izutsu 2013).

**HEARER-NEW & HEARER-UNRELATED** Previous studies observe several functional/distributive characteristics of *sa* in Hokkaido JP. First, *sa* marks hearer-new information (Ono 1993; Izutsu & Izutsu 2013). (3a) is unacceptable in the situation where the hearer obviously knows the fact: e.g., after the speaker and hearer watched the game together. On the other hand, (3a) is acceptable if the speaker assumes that the hearer knows nothing about the game. Similarly, (3b) can be used as far as the speaker assumes the information is hearer-new. Second, *sa* does not easily attach to an utterance about the hearer (Matsuura & Kishimoto 2016). Even if the information denoted is hearer-new, (4a,b) are unacceptable.

**PREVIOUS ANALYSIS** Based on the characteristics above, Matsuura and Kishimoto (2016) claim that *sa* cannot be attached to the information in the hearer’s territory, in terms of Kamio’s (1990, 1997, 2002) territory of information theory. Although their generalization about hearer-relatedness is important, it is unclear why the information in (4a,b) must be treated as in the hearer’s territory. According to Kamio’s conditions, it seems possible that the information in (4a,b) could be out of the hearer’s territory.

**ADDITIONAL DATA** As empirical support for our analysis, we point out two types of previously unfocused data: (i) *sa* in directives; and (ii) connotation of utterances with *sa*. (5a) and (6a) show that *sa* cannot be attached to a direct order by an imperative form or prohibitive V-*na*. It can be used in a more indirect order by continuative *te*-form, as in (5b), but (5b) implies that the speaker is completely tired of making an order since she already said the same thing. Similarly, (6b) is used in the situation where the hearer already came close to the speaker. Moving on to the second point, the utterance with *sa* usually refers to the unexpected information, as in (7) and (8). Attaching *sa* makes a sentence unnatural, if the speaker regards the fact as unsurprising. On the other hand, (9) carries a different connotation. As noted above, *sa* usually cannot be attached to the information about the hearer, but (9) is an exceptional case. In (9), the speaker makes a fool of the hearer by pointing out the fact that he lost his wallet.

**PROPOSALS** We propose that *sa* basically encodes instructions for the hearer; that is, there is no need to match information denoted by the utterance with information in long-term memory, and there is no need for the hearer to induce inferences based on the utterance, or to add any action to her To-Do list. Compared to Takubo and Kinsui’s (1997) analysis of sentence-final particles in Standard JP, which characterize *ne* as a marker of matching and *yo* as a trigger of inference, *sa* in Hokkaido JP can be regarded as the marker of non-*yo* and non-*ne* condition. Our analysis explains all the features of *sa*. It is unnatural to give the hearer-related information but not to expect her next inference/action, so *sa* with hearer-related information sounds odd, except for the case of making a fool of the hearer. Since *sa* does not require adding actions to the hearer’s To-Do list, directives with *sa* cannot function in simple order. As for unexpectedness, our account adopts relevance theory. Since an utterance with *sa* does not induce further inferences, its cognitive effects are quite small unless the utterance itself is surprising enough.

Our analysis needs no dialect-specific assumption about the hearer’s territory, and covers broader data. Moreover, though our analysis is basically functional, the idea closely related to formal studies, such as McCready (2009) and Davis (2011), so we can easily compare them with our analysis.
Examples
(1) Raisyū kateika no tesuto da sā. (Speaker: Female, age 14)
next.week homemaking.course GEN test COP SA
‘We have a test on homemaking course next week.’ (Izutsu & Izutsu 2013)
(2) Yamada-san nara kyō-kara kyōikuzissyū rassii sā.
Ms.Yamada COND today-from teaching.practice HEARSAY SA
‘I heard that Ms.Yamada is on teaching practice from today.’ (Matsuura & Kishimoto 2016)
(3) a. Ótani, kyō ippon mo utanakatta sā.
Otani today 1.hit even hit.NEG.PST SA
‘Otani [=a famous baseball player] got no hit today.’
b. Kyō ore shukudai wasurechatta sā.
today I homework forgot SA
‘I forgot my homework today.’ (M & K 2016)
(4) a.??Saihu otositeru sā. b. ?? Kami-ni nanika tuiteru sā.
wallet drop.RES SA hear-LOC something stick.CONT SA
‘You dropped your wallet.’ (M&K)
‘Something is on your hair.’
(5) asonde naide gohan { a. *tabere / b. tabete } sā.
play.TE NEG.TE meal eat.IMP eat.TE SA
‘Do not play. Eat up your meal.’
TE = continuative te-form
Note: RES = resultative aspect CONT = continuative aspect
Cf. Sentence-final particle yo in Standard Japanese
Asonde naide gohan {tabero / tabete} yo.
play.TE NEG.TE meal eat.IMP eat.TE YO
here come-PROH SA there go-NEG-COND bad SA
‘Do not come here.’ ‘[lit.] You have to go over there.’
(7) Kinō arubaito-ni itta-kke , masaka-no tannin-ga kita sā. (M&K)
yesterday parttime.job-to went-COND no.way-GEN class.teacher-NOM came SA
‘When I was working part-time yesterday, unbelievably, our class teacher came (to the store).’
(8) (A was absent from the last class. She asks her classmate B)
A: Syukudai-tte nanka atta? ‘Have we got any homework?’
homework-COMP something be.PST
B: Iya, nanmo denakatta sā. ‘No, we’ve got nothing.’ ⇒ It’s surprising!
no anything come.out.PST SA
(9) (Yaai,) saihu otositeru sā.
(making a fool of the hearer) ‘You dropped/lost your wallet!’