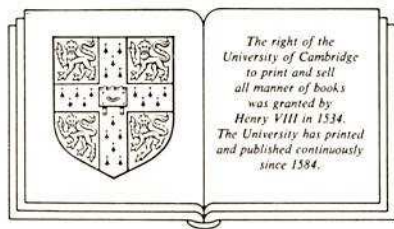


THE LANGUAGES OF JAPAN

MASAYOSHI SHIBATANI

Faculty of Letters,
Kobe University



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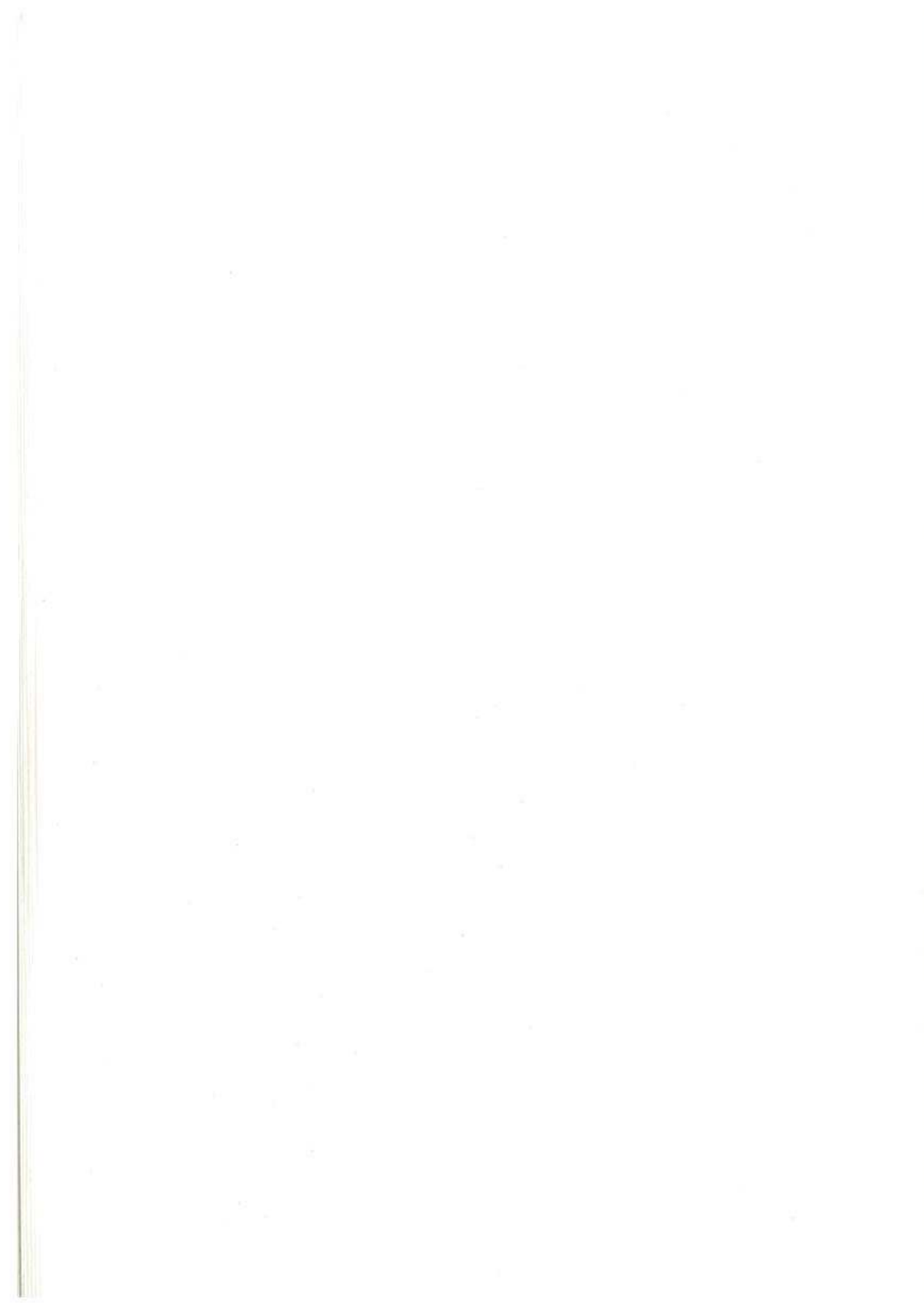
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN GLOSSES

ABL	ablative	INTERJEC	interjection
ACC	accusative	IO	indirect object
ADV	adverb(ializer)	ITERA	iterative
AGT	agent	LOC	locative
AP	adverbial particle	N	noun
APPL	applicative	NEG	negative
ASP	aspect	NOM	nominative
ATTR	attributive	NOMI	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	O	object
COHORT	cohortative	OBL	oblique
COM	comitative	PASS	passive
CONCL	conclusive	PAST	past
COND	conditional	PERF	perfective
CONJ	conjunctive	PL	plural
CONT	continuative	POTEN	potential
COP	copula	POSS	possessive
DAT	dative	PRES	present
DESI	desiderative	PROG	progressive
DO	direct object	Q	question
EXCL	exclusive	REAL	realis
EXPL	expletive	REC	reciprocal
EMPH	emphatic	REFL	reflexive
FP	final particle	S	subject
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
GER	gerundive	SPON	spontaneous
HON	honorific	SU	subject
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
INCL	inclusive	1	first person
IND	indicative	2	second person
INDEF	indefinite	3	third person

PART 1

The Ainu language



Introduction

1.1 People and distribution

The "Ainu" are a people living on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaidō whose ancestors were both physically and culturally distinct from the Japanese. The pre-historical distribution of the Ainu people is not easily ascertainable, but many place names in the northern part of the main Japanese island of Honshū indicate that they might have once lived in that region as well. Ainu place names are also found in the southern part of the Kamchatka peninsula; and a report by Russian explorers in the early eighteenth century notes the presence of the Kamchatka-Kurile, who were believed to be a distinct group of people formed by intermarriage between Kamchadal and Kurile Ainu.

Although more recent history indicates that the Ainu lived on the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, Hokkaidō has nevertheless been the main area of the Ainu habitation. The Kurile Ainu, moved to Shikotan in 1884, were only forty-one in number in 1933, and it is believed that there are no longer any direct descendants of the Kurile Ainu still living. In the 1940 census, the Hokkaidō Ainu numbered 16,170, and the 1935 census reported the population of the Sakhalin Ainu to be 1,512. After World War II, some of the Ainu of Sakhalin were relocated to Hokkaidō. In recent years, as a reflection of the Japanese government policy of advocating assimilation of the Ainu into Japanese society, the Ainu have not been considered as a distinct group for census purposes; accordingly, there are no available figures for the contemporary Ainu population. It is estimated to be around 16,000, but as a result of intermarriage between Ainu and Japanese, pure-blood Ainu are said to number less than 1 percent of that figure.

In the Ainu language, the word *aynu* means 'person'. While the historical distribution of Ainu throughout Hokkaidō is amply demonstrated by the large number of place names that derive from the Ainu language, the language itself is on the brink of extinction. Though ethnically minded Ainu may dispute Hattori's assessment that the Ainu language "has reached the point of complete extinction" (1967:58), it is true that Ainu is no longer used as a means of daily communication and that

it is remembered only partially by a handful of people of advanced age. Despite this regrettable situation, there exist ample data with which to investigate the nature of this remarkable language.

The Ainu vocabulary reflects the Ainu life style of the past, whose economic and social activities were centered largely around hunting, fishing and gathering. Old patterns of settlement show Ainu communities to have been scattered along coastal areas and along rivers toward the inland. It is conjectured from this that fishing and the hunting of sea animals were the primary economic activities of the Ainu in former times (see Map 1, p. 8). Reflecting the settlement patterns, many place names have the endings *-nay* and *-pet* which both have the meaning 'river'. The Ainu's concern with salmon and whales is also obvious from an examination of their lexicon. The different stages in the life cycle of the salmon are finely delineated by numerous words (roughly twenty) referring to the fish. There are also about fifty words referring to harbor seals, and twenty-four words for different types of whales. In addition, there are taboos, taboo words, and rituals referring to fishing.

Among land animals, bears, deer, hares, and badgers were hunted for food. Of these, bears in particular are of central importance in Ainu culture. This is quite clearly evidenced by the fact that the word *kamuy*, which is a generic term for animals, is also used to designate bears, and by the presence of eighty-three distinct words relating to bears. *Kamuy* also means 'god'. Indeed, bears are thought to be mountain gods that bring bear meat to the village. Dogs were also apparently quite significant in Ainu culture, there being forty-four words for them. It is said among other things that dogs were sometimes trained to catch salmon.

1.2 Literature

The Ainu language has not developed a writing system, but it does have a rich tradition of oral literature. In addition to various kinds of songs, e.g. love songs, boating songs, Ainu has both verse and prose types of oral literature. The verse forms are generally called *yukar* in Ainu and *yūkara* in the Japanese tradition of Ainu scholarship. *Yukar* are recited epics that relate the experiences of gods who manifest themselves by assuming various forms of animals, plants, and natural phenomena, or the experiences of love and war by heroes. In a strict sense the term *yukar* refers only to the heroic verse, mythic epics being more specifically referred to as *kamuy yukar*, *mat yukar*, or *oyna*. There are as well prose-style old stories and folktales.

The language of *yukar* differs significantly from the spoken language. The former, called Classical Ainu in this study, is more conservative and has less dialectal variation as compared with the colloquial language. The two types of language show differences in both syntax and vocabulary, although there is a great

deal of overlap. The most salient difference between them is that Classical Ainu tends to be more strongly polysynthetic than its colloquial counterpart.

1.3 Linguistic affiliation and dialects

In terms of genetic classification, Ainu is best described as a language-isolate. Although various suggestions have been made relating Ainu to such language families as Paleo-Asiatic, Ural-Altaic, and Malayo-Polynesian, or to individual languages such as Gilyak, Eskimo, and Japanese, none of them have progressed beyond the level of speculation.

Among Ainu specialists, John Batchelor (1845–1944), sometimes referred to as the father of Ainu studies, is unique in suggesting the “Aryan connection”. In his pioneering work on the Ainu language, *An Ainu–English–Japanese Dictionary*, published first in 1889, Batchelor sets up a section entitled “Ainu and the Aryan connection”, in which he compares a number of Ainu words with Welsh, Cornish, and a few other languages. He then concludes the section by saying: “This chief argument, however, for an Aryan origin of the Ainu language will be found to lie in the Grammar rather than in vocabulary” (p. 25). But, in the grammar section of the dictionary, no extensive discussion of this issue appears.

From their geographic proximity, Ainu and Japanese are likely candidates for a linguistic grouping. Batchelor, for example, suggests in his dictionary that an analysis of certain words indicates a “very close connection between some parts of ancient, and now obsolete, Japanese and present Ainu speech” (p. 16). However, the relating of Ainu to Japanese was a hypothesis rejected by Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935), whose primary interest was in Japanese and in comparative studies of Japanese and other Oriental languages. In “The language, mythology, and geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino studies” (1887), Chamberlain pointed out fifteen reasons for his conclusion that Ainu is related to neither Japanese nor any of the Altaic languages, and that it must be considered a language-isolate. Chamberlain’s points were reviewed and reinterpreted in a new light by one of his successors, Kindaichi Kyōsuke (1882–1971), perhaps the foremost Ainu specialist in the world. Comparison of the two languages indeed reveals that the Ainu language, despite its geographical proximity, has a linguistic structure quite distinct from that of Japanese. To summarize some of the features, including those discussed by Chamberlain (1887) and Kindaichi (1937) in their arguments for considering Ainu and Japanese to be unrelated:

- (a) Ainu makes extensive use of personal affixes (section 3.3).
- (b) Ainu, especially Classical Ainu, exhibits phenomena which characterize it as a polysynthetic language (sections 3.5.3 and 3.5.7).

- (c) There are no verbal inflections.
 (d) There are verbal suffixes as well as suppletive verbal forms for the plural subject and the plural object (section 3.5.4).

Certainly these features are foreign to Japanese.

Hattori (1959, 1964), on the basis of the glottochronological data and the similarities in word order and the related phenomena summarized in section 3.2, maintains the possibility of an affinity between Ainu and Japanese. However, recent studies in syntactic typology (e.g. Greenberg 1963) indicate that these features are universal characteristics of the languages with SOV word order, and have no direct bearing on the question of genetic classification. Indeed, the characteristics summarized in section 3.2 are shared not only by Ainu, Japanese, and Korean but also even by an Indo-European language such as Sinhalese which is also an SOV language.

Hattori (1964), after completing an Ainu dialect dictionary (see below), remarks that his dictionary provides "good material for the comparative study of Ainu with other languages" (p. 40). He then illustrates one such possibility in terms of the Ainu root *kur*:

Ainu:	\sqrt{kur} :	<i>kur</i>	'shadow', etc.
Japanese:	\sqrt{kur} :	<i>kurasi</i>	'dark', etc.
Korean:	<i>kurum</i>	'cloud'	<i>kurim</i> 'soot', etc.
Tungusic:	<i>kurunyuk</i>	'soot', etc.	
Mongol:	<i>?kara</i>	'black'	
Turkic:	<i>kurim</i>	'soot'	
Hungarian:	<i>korom</i>	'soot'	

Hattori then comments that: "Inasmuch as all of these resemblances cannot be viewed as accidental, we have to assume some historical factors, perhaps even a genetic relationship, to account for the resemblance of Ainu to the other languages" (p. 40).

Hattori's lexicostatistical work (1959) suggests to him that even if Japanese and Korean were related, the time of split would be more than 4,000 years ago. In the case of Ainu, his view is that, even if Ainu is related to Japanese, the relationship is a fairly indirect one. First, Japanese and Korean are related – if related at all. Then, these are perhaps related to Altaic languages. If Ainu is related to Japanese at all, it is only at this level (p. 236). Schematically represented, Hattori's conception is as shown in Figure 1.1 below.

Hattori, in other words, is speculating that the Ainu–Japanese split took place roughly 10,000 years ago (p. 235). Considering the time span of 1,500 years for the

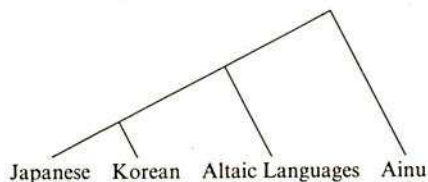


Figure 1.1 The relationship of Japanese to Ainu according to Hattori

split of Romance languages, the Ainu–Japanese connection, if it ever existed, is far beyond our grasp.

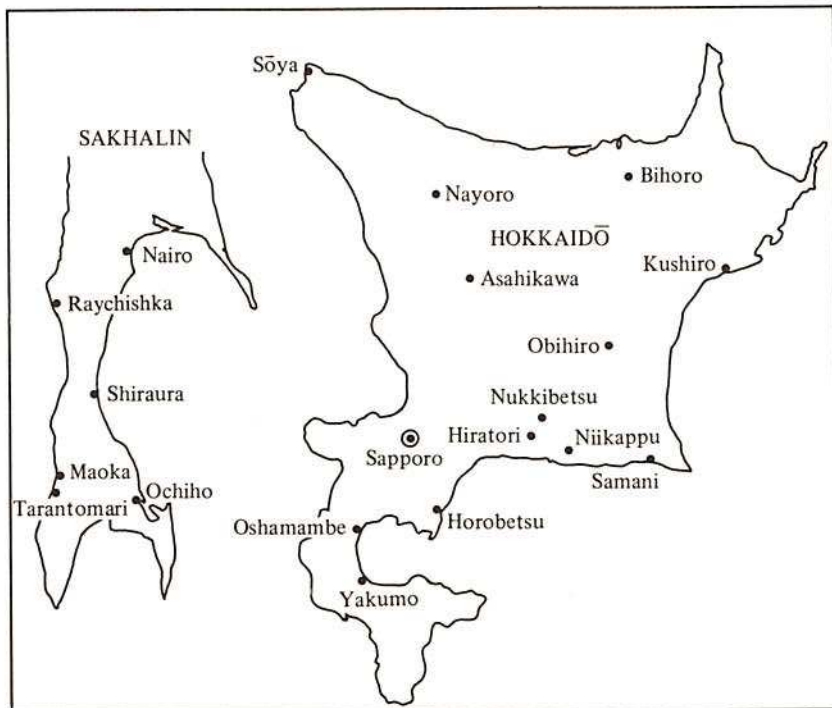
Recently a gallant attempt has been made by James Patrie (1982) to relate Ainu to the Altaic family, and to establish an Ainu–Japanese–Korean subgroup. Patrie, who also gives a good summary of previous attempts in this field, offers 140 Ainu lexical items for his Altaic hypothesis and a total of 221 Ainu lexical items for the above-mentioned subgroup. While Patrie's work is the only serious and substantial comparative and historical work on Ainu, it has received mixed appraisals from the specialists ranging from encouraging (Miller 1983) to quite unfavorable (Street 1983).

Dialects: Paralleling the original regions of Ainu habitation, three large dialect groups are recognized; namely, the Kurile group, the Sakhalin group, and the Hokkaidō group. Among the Sakhalin group, the eastern coastal dialect of Taraika is said to be markedly different from the speech of the other areas. The Raychishka dialect is a representative west coast dialect and has been studied extensively (see below).

The Hokkaidō group is normally sub-divided into southern and eastern groupings. The differences among the dialects are said to be more phonological and lexical in nature than grammatical. In 1955, Hattori Shirō and Chiri Mashiho and their investigative team set out to investigate the various Ainu dialects of Hokkaidō covering nineteen regions, and including data from the Sakhalin expatriates (see Map 1 below).

In the introduction to the resulting dialect dictionary, Hattori summarizes the relationship among the dialects as follows:

- (i) There is a great gap between the Hokkaidō dialects and those of Sakhalin.
- (ii) Sōya is a Hokkaidō dialect which is relatively distinct from and closer to the Sakhalin dialects than the other dialects of Hokkaidō.
- (iii) Among the Hokkaidō dialects, some are closer to each other, forming sub-groups, than others, e.g. Yakumo and Oshamambe; Nukkitabetsu,



Map 1 Ainu dialect map (Adapted from Hattori 1964)

Hiratori and Niikappu; Obihiro, Kushiro and Bihoro; etc. If we choose one from each group and compare them, e.g. Oshamambe, Hiratori, Nayoro and Bihoro, we find that the differences between them are quite substantial.

- (iv) A considerable gap is seen between Samani on the one hand, and Niikappu, Hiratori, Nukkibetsu (and Horobetsu) on the other; and this is of some significance, because there is also a marked difference in other cultural aspects between these districts. It is also to be noted that Samani is lexicostatistically rather close to Obihiro and Kushiro. (paraphrasing Hattori 1964:38)

1.4 Data

The description of Ainu presented here is largely based on data collected and analyzed by Ainu specialists. The foremost of these specialists is Kindaichi Kyōsuke, whose work has concentrated on the collecting, transcribing, and translating of *yukar* and on writing the grammar thereof. Kindaichi's eight-volume

collection of *yukar*, *Yūkarashū* (1959–64), compiled in collaboration with an Ainu speaker and accomplished *yukar* reciter, Mrs. Kannari Matsu, along with his grammar of Ainu, included in his 1960 volume, together constitute perhaps the most comprehensive and accessible materials to be found on Hokkaidō Ainu.

Chiri Mashiho (1902–61) was a Japanese-monolingual Ainu who, under Kindaichi's tutelage, specialized in the language of his people. Chiri (1936) updated Kindaichi's grammar, and wrote grammatical sketches himself, but his contributions are most strongly felt in the area of Ainu lexicography and the etymological studies of Ainu place names.

Recently, a sizable body of data in the form of recording tapes and text, as well as a grammar of Sakhalin Ainu (Raychishka dialect) have been made available by Murasaki Kyōko (1976, 1977). Murasaki's work was carried out largely with the help of perhaps the last fluent speaker of Sakhalin Ainu, Mrs. Fujiyama Haru (deceased in 1974), and it stands as a great addition to the corpus of data on Ainu languages. An English outline of Murasaki's grammar was published in 1978.

Numerous articles on the Saru dialect have been published by Tamura Suzuko. These articles together cover a substantial portion of the grammar of this dialect, which is a main dialect of the Hidaka area and a direct descendant of Classical Ainu as represented by the version of *yukar* "Itadorimaru", described by Kindaichi, Chiri, and below.

While these materials are written mainly in Japanese, a grammar of the Shizunai dialect has been published in English recently. Kirsten Refsing's *The Ainu Language* (1986) is an important contribution to the meager source of Ainu materials in European languages.

Finally, Batchelor's *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary* (reprinted in 1981), which has a section on the grammar, and Hattori's *Ainugo hōgen jiten* (An Ainu Dialect Dictionary; published in 1964) provide the lexicographical materials.

Among these materials, the following description and analysis most heavily depend on the works of Kindaichi and Chiri. Additional, new materials were sought in the following two sources. The *yukar* "Kutune Shirka", or "Itadorimaru" in Japanese, is one of the principal *yukar*, which Kindaichi transcribed and translated and upon which he based his grammar. The title refers to a magic sword that protects the hero of the epic, which relates various fightings over the golden sea otter caught by the hero. Those examples indicated as (Itadori) at the end of the cited forms are the ones newly culled from the first version in Kindaichi (1931) of the *yukar* "Itadorimaru", which is about 10,000 (Ainu) words long.

Additional colloquial examples come from the book *Ku sukup oruspe* (My Life Story) by Mrs. Sunasawa Kura. Mrs. Sunasawa, an Ainu born in 1897, wrote down memories of her life in her native language, the Ishikari dialect of Ainu, using the

Japanese *kana* syllabary together with Japanese translation. Her materials of roughly 10,000 words were edited as well as transliterated into near-phonemic form by members of the Linguistics Department of Hokkaidō University before being published in book form in 1983.

The Ishikari dialect of the region that spreads between Sapporo and Asahikawa (see Map 1) differs slightly from Kindaichi's and Chiri's colloquial grammars, which, like Tamura's work on the Saru dialect and Refsing's on the Shizunai dialect, are based on the southern dialects centering around the Hidaka region. A brief sketch of the Ishikari dialect is found in Asai (1970).

In the following discussion, the examples from Mrs. Sunasawa's memoirs are indicated by the notation (Ishikari), whereas those followed by the notations (Sakhalin) and (Saru) are borrowed from the work of Murasaki and Tamura, respectively. Those examples without any indications of regions or source are from the grammars of Kindaichi and Chiri. The transcription of the examples, especially of those from Kindaichi's and Chiri's work, have been regularized in near-phonemic form so as to be consistent with the practice of contemporary Ainu specialists.

Many of the theoretically interesting word-formation processes which characterize Ainu as a polysynthetic language occur in Classical Ainu, and our more theoretically oriented discussion makes many references to the language of *yukar*. In this regard this contribution complements Refsing's recent work on the colloquial language of the Shizunai area.

Sound structure

Ainu has a relatively simple phonology. In what follows only the most salient features of Ainu phonetics and phonology are presented.

2.1 Vowels

Ainu has five vowels, as shown in Table 2.1 below.

There is no contrast between short and long vowels in Hokkaidō Ainu. Diphthongs such as *ai*, *ui*, *au*, etc. involve devocalization leading to the pronunciation [aj], [uj], [aw], etc. and transcribed as *ay*, *uy*, *aw*, etc. in the cited forms in the text. Syllable initial vowels are preceded by a glottal stop, e.g. *aynu* [ʔajnu] 'person', and this fact makes Ainu syllables conform to one of the following types: CV, CVC (for Hokkaidō Ainu), or CV, CVV (long vowel), CVC (for Sakhalin Ainu). The glottal stop is not written in the transliterations below.

2.2 Consonants

The consonantal system is shown in Table 2.2 below.

There is no voicing contrast among the stops. In final position they are unreleased. The combination [ti] does not occur. Since the morpheme final [t] turns to [tʃ] when a suffix beginning in [i] is added, the absence of [ti] can be attributed to the phonetic rule: /t/ → [tʃ] /__i – a rule observed in Japanese as well. (Cf. the alternation in [mat] 'wife' [a-matʃi] 'my wife'.) The affricate /c/ freely varies among [tʃ], [ts], [dʒ], and [dz]. The fricative /s/ is realized either as [s] or [ʃ]; the [ʃ] sound occurs consistently before [i], and in syllable-final position.

The semivowels /w/ and /y/ occur with all vowels except for [u] and [i], respectively; i.e. the sequences [wu] and [ji] do not occur.

The alveolar nasal [n] may optionally velarize and become [ŋ] before [k]. The flap [r] devoices after [k] and [p], while after [t] it not only devoices but also exhibits slight frication, and after [ʃ], it is devoiced and completely fricated.

All consonants occur in syllable-initial position. In syllable-final position, all except /c/, /h/, and /ʔ/ may occur. In Sakhalin Ainu syllable final stops (/p/, /t/,

Table 2.1. *The five vowels of Ainu*

i	u
e	o
a	

Table 2.2. *The consonantal system of Ainu*

p	t	k	ʔ
	s		h
	c		
w	y		
m	n		
	r		

/k/) have turned into /h/, and the final /r/ has become either /h/ or the sequence of /r/ plus a vowel.

2.3 Accent

Ainu has a pitch accent system in which syllables are pronounced with high or low pitch. In words consisting of stems and affixes, the stems have high pitch, e.g.

- (1) *nú-pa* 'hear (plural object)'
nú-re 'hear-CAUS'
ku-nú '1st Person-hear'

In other two- and three-syllable words, high-pitch falls on the first syllable if it is either a diphthong or a closed syllable, e.g.

- (2) *áynu* 'person'
úyna 'ash'
árpa 'to go'
pirka 'pretty'
ókkay 'boy'

In all other words, high pitch occurs in the second syllable, e.g.

- (3) *kirá* 'to flee'
cisé 'house'
netópa 'body'

2.4 Phonological processes

Ainu has a strong tendency to avoid vowel sequences, and a number of phonological processes operate just to effect this tendency. We have already noted that in

diphthongs such as *ai* and *ui* the second vowels are devocalized and pronounced as [aj] and [uj].

The semivowels *w* and *y* are inserted when high vowels are followed by other vowels; *w* is inserted following *u*, and *y* after *i*:

- (4) *u-asur-ani* → *uwasurani* 'talk about rumors to each other'
i-ekarkar → *iyekarkar* 'do something to me'

Other means of avoiding vowel sequences are as follows: (1) Two identical vowels are reduced to one, e.g. *kerā + an* 'taste + exist' → *keran* 'tasty'. (2) When two different vowels come together, the first is normally elided, e.g. *ine + an + kur* 'which + exist + person' → *inankur* 'which person'.

A number of assimilatory and dissimilatory processes are also observed – the most prominent among them involving the sonorant consonants, *n* and the flap *r*.

Syllable final *r* turns into *n* before *n* and into *t* before *t*:

- (5) *akor nispa* → *akon nispa* 'our chief'
pekor nupe → *pekon nupe* 'sparkling tears'
akor tures → *akot tures* 'our sister'
akor totto → *akot totto* 'our mother'

r before another *r* dissimilates and becomes *n*:

- (6) *kukor rusuy* → *kukon rusuy* 'I want to have (something)'
kor rametok → *kon rametok* 'his bravery'

In other words, *rn*, *rt*, *rr* become *nm*, *nt*, and *nr*, respectively.

Final *n* assimilates to following bilabial sounds (*m* and *p*) and becomes *m*:

- (7) *pon-pe* → *pompe* 'small thing'
pon menoko → *pom menoko* 'small girl'

Final *n* is also affected by a following *y* or *s*, in which case it becomes *y*:

- (8) *pon yuk* → *poy yuk* 'small deer'
pon seta → *poy seta* 'small dog'

2.5 Vocalic euphony

Among the phonological phenomena of Ainu, perhaps the one with the most interesting genetic and typological considerations is the possible existence of vowel harmony pointed out by Chiri (1952).

Chiri examined two grammatical categories that involve the suffixation of vowel affixes in their formation. One category is a group of verbs with their transitive affixes, the other category being nouns with pronominal affixes. In the case of

Table 2.3. *The three vowel groups*

A group:	<i>a, u</i>
B group:	<i>o</i>
C group:	<i>i, e</i>

transitive verbs of this group, they are derived either from intransitive verbs or verb roots, which participate in various verbal derivations but do not stand as free morphemes. As can be observed below, all the five vowels are involved here:

(9) intransitive Vs or V roots	transitive Vs
<i>mak-</i>	<i>mak-a</i> 'open'
<i>kay</i>	<i>kay-e</i> 'bend'
<i>as</i>	<i>as-i</i> 'stand up'
<i>kom-</i>	<i>kom-o</i> 'fold'
<i>yak</i>	<i>yak-u</i> 'mash'

Nouns in Ainu are made into personal forms when they are used with reference to a possessor (cf. section 3.4.2). In the formation of the personal forms of nouns, again all the five vowels are used, as is seen below:

(10) basic form	personal form
<i>ka</i> 'string'	<i>ka-a</i> 'his string'
<i>haw</i> 'voice'	<i>haw-e</i> 'his voice'
<i>mon</i> 'and'	<i>mon-i</i> 'his hand'
<i>tom</i> 'inside'	<i>tom-o</i> 'inside of him'
<i>tap</i> 'shoulder'	<i>tap-u</i> 'his shoulder'

In both transitive verbs and the personal forms of nouns, the vowel affixes are not interchangeable, and Chiri set out to examine the co-occurrence relationships between the stem vowels and affix vowels. Chiri's investigation led to the following discovery.

The vowels are classifiable into three groups as shown in Table 2.3. Among the members of these three groups: (i) the members of the same group may co-occur, e.g. *a-a*, *a-u*, *o-o*, *i-i* are possible, (ii) the vowels of C group, *i* and *e* may co-occur with either the A group vowels or the B group vowel, and (iii) the A group vowels and the B group vowel may not co-occur.

Put in the terms used in the literature of vowel harmony, the front vowels *i* and *e* are neutral vowels, occurring with any vowel. Among the back vowels, the peripheral ones *a* and *u* form a harmonic set in opposition to the mid vowel *o*; when the stem vowel is a peripheral vowel, the affixal vowel, if it is a back vowel,

must be one of the two peripheral vowels, and when the stem vowel is *o*, the affixal vowel must be *o*.

Chiri likens the above co-occurrence relationships among these vowels to the vowel harmony phenomena found in Uralic and Altaic languages, as well as to those observed in African and American Indian languages. Indeed, the observation that the front vowels *i* and *e* are neutral is consistent with the facts of Uralic (but not of Altaic) languages, e.g. in Hungarian both *i* and *e* are neutral. However, there are a number of important differences between the situation in Ainu and the prototypical case of vowel harmony.

First, in typical instances of vowel harmony, the harmonic sets have a well-defined phonetic basis. In Uralic and Altaic languages, the harmonic sets are differentiated in terms of the backness and the roundedness of the vowels, while in many African languages the tongue-root position is a basis for harmonic sets. However, in the case of Ainu there is no clear phonetic basis separating the set consisting of *a* and *u* from the one consisting of *o*. In the above description, we used the expression "peripheral" for *a* and *u*, but "peripheral" is itself not an established phonetic feature for vowels, and these vowels simply do not seem to form a phonological class that can be motivated by general phonological phenomena exhibited in other languages. Of course, there is always a possibility that a well-defined system has changed into some form which synchronically lacks clear phonetic motivations. And thus, the Ainu system might have an origin in the tongue-root system.

Secondly, in typical cases of vowel harmony, the suffix vowels alternate according to the stem vowel, and, given a limited amount of information about the suffix vowel, the entire phonetic shape of the vowel is predictable on the basis of stem vowel qualities. However, this is not found to be the case for Ainu. Take, for example, the personal forms of nouns, *ka-a* 'his string' and *tap-u* 'his shoulder'. Even if we know that the suffix vowels are back, non-mid vowels, there is no way to predict that *ka* 'string' takes *-a* and *tap* 'shoulder' *-u*.

Finally, in typical cases, vowel harmony affects root internal vowels as well as the entire domain of a word, the effect often stretching bi-directionally, i.e. affecting both prefix vowels as well as suffix vowels. However in Ainu, the restrictions noted by Chiri are violated in the most productive aspects of word formation: namely in the process of attaching personal affixes to verbs and nouns as well as in the formation of plural forms of a verb by suffixation. For example, *-an* is the first-person singular suffix for intransitive verbs in Classical Ainu, but the vowel consistently remains *a* even if the stem contains *o*: *hosipi-an* 'I returned'. By the same token, the first-person singular prefix for a transitive verb in colloquial Ainu is *ku-*, and this is not affected by the stem vowel either: *ku-kor* 'I have'.

The plural suffix on verbs is consistently *-pa* regardless of the stem vowel, thus permitting forms such as *kom-pa* 'to bend many things', where the *o-a* sequence occurs. In addition, there are non-derived forms such as *kotan* 'village' and *poru* 'cave', in which *o-a* and *o-u* sequences occur, contrary to the restrictions posited by Chiri.

These considerations lead us to conclude that the vocalic euphony noticed by Chiri is characteristically different from typical cases of vowel harmony, thus reducing its value as a typological feature or as a clue for genetic classification.

Grammatical structure

Ainu is a so-called SOV language – a language in which the major constituents, subject, object and verb, occur in that order. The general pattern of modification and other features associated with basic word order are consistent with the characteristics exhibited by other typical SOV languages such as Japanese and Korean. One notable exceptional characteristic of Ainu as an ideal SOV language is the prevalent occurrence of prefixes. Contributing to its polysynthetic character, Ainu verbs are marked by affixes (both prefixes and suffixes) that agree with the subject and object in person and number; voice, reciprocals, reflexives, and other derivational functions are also predominantly marked by affixes. The personal (agreement) affixes that mark verbs are also attached to nouns in possessive expressions.

In traditional Ainu scholarship, Ainu is considered to be an incorporating language based on the fact that both the subject and object have agreement affixes on the verb. However, this would not normally be considered a principal feature characterizing an incorporating language, whose normal defining characteristic is the complete incorporation of object and/or subject nouns into the verb. Leaving aside the problem of the traditional characterization of Ainu as an incorporating language, Ainu does present the characteristics of an incorporating language. Indeed, Ainu verbs incorporate not only nouns but adverbs as well, along with various other relational functions, which are alternatively expressible by means of postpositional particles or by means of applicative affixes. Attributive verbs (adjectives) also appear to be incorporable into the head nouns within noun phrases. And finally, there is an instance of the incorporation of an attributive verb into another attributive verb. This extensive incorporation and concentration of various morphemes in the verb has been correctly recognized as a characteristic of polysynthetic languages by the Ainu specialists. It is in this area that Ainu offers unique, interesting, and sometimes devastating data to those theories of incorporation hitherto offered (see section 3.5.7).

The polysyntheticity, however, is mostly a characteristic of the language of the epics, i.e. Classical Ainu, while in the colloquial language, analytic expressions are

more common. In other words, Ainu, along with Chukchi (see Comrie 1981), offers a case of metamorphosis from a polysynthetic language to an analytic language.

Ainu has no tense distinctions such as the present and past tenses of English. The plain verbal form of action or process is best translated as a simple past tense expression. Thus, for example, *ku-itak* '1SG-speak' is translated as 'I spoke'. The lack of tense distinctions is compensated for by a rich system of aspectual expressions.

3.1 Sentence types

3.1.1 *Simplex sentences*

Since Ainu has person marked on predicates, many sentences do not have overt subjects, e.g.

- (11) a. *Ku-itak*.
1SG-speak
'I spoke.'
- b. *E-itak*.
2SG-speak
'You (SG) spoke.'
- c. *Itak*.
speak
'He spoke.'

The bare verbal form is used for a third-person subject shown in (11c), which indicates that the third-person subject marker is zero, and in an imperative sentence. This type of sentence is of course limited to situations where the subjects are pronominal and their referents are understood from the context. Examples of full intransitive sentences are given below.

(12) Intransitive sentences

- a. *Kuani ku-itak*.
I 1SG-speak
'I spoke.'
- b. *Aynu ek*.
person come
'A person came.'
- c. *Pon turesi ka isam*. (Ishikari)
small sister too die
'The small sister too died.'

Forms corresponding to adjectives in meaning and function of other languages function as predicates in exactly the same way as intransitive verbs. Not only do they share the same personal affixes, but they both function as nominal modifiers in exactly the same way (section 3.3). Furthermore, these forms can have an inchoative reading, as well as their basic stative one. For example, *poro* 'big' can also mean 'become big'. On the basis of this inchoative interpretation, these forms, just like intransitive verbs, yield imperatives, with the reading 'become X', as in *Tunasno pirka!* (quickly good) 'Get well quickly!' Thus, there does not seem to be any need to set up an independent category for adjectives in Ainu.

(13) Stative sentences

- a. *Ku-pirka.*
1SG-good
'I am good./I became rich.'
- b. *Toan nupuri ri.*
that mountain high
'That mountain is high.'
- c. *Rera ruy.*
wind strong
'The wind is strong.'

Transitive and ditransitive verbs take different sets of personal affixes from those of intransitive verbs. Since the copula belongs to the former group of verbs, the distinction between intransitive verbs and transitive verbs is made on the basis of whether a given verb is self-contained semantically with just a subject noun or whether it requires an additional element (complement or object) for semantic completeness.

Transitive sentences, however, also occur without an independent subject and object when these are pronominals, as in (14a) below.

(14) Transitive and ditransitive sentences

- a. *A-e-koyki.* (Itadori)
1SG-2SG-kill
'I kill you.'
- b. *Kindaichi tono nispa ku-nukar.* (Ishikari)
chief sir 1SG-see
'I met Mr. Kindaichi.'
- c. *Kamuy umma rayke.*
bear horse kill
'A bear killed a horse.'

- d. *Kuani pon turesi ku-kay.* (Ishikari)
 I small sister 1SG-carry
 'I carried the little sister on my back.'
- e. *Tampe huci ku-kore.*
 this g. mother 1SG-give
 'I gave this to Grandmother.'
- f. *Ahci mahpooho kosonto müire.* (Sakhalin)
 g. mother girl Sunday best dress
 'Grandmother put the Sunday best on the girl.'

The copula *ne* also takes the same personal affixes as do transitive verbs.

(15) Copular sentences

- a. *Kuani Aynu ku-ne.*
 I 1SG-be
 'I am an Ainu.'
- b. *Eani sisam e-ne.*
 you Japanese 2SG-be
 'You are a Japanese.'
- c. *Tan-kur poro nispa ne.*
 this-person great chief be
 'This person is a great chief.'
- d. *Orwa ku-kor kotan ta oray-as.* (Ishikari)
 then 1SG-have village in be(PL)-1PL
 'And then, we were in my village.'

Like other stative verbs, the copula *ne* can have the inchoative reading, meaning 'to become X', and therefore, sentence (15c) above, can also mean 'This person became a great chief.' Notice the plural suppletive copula form *oray* in (15d), which has been selected by the plural subject (see section 3.5.4).

As in many other languages, expressions referring to meteorological phenomena and ambient states are subjectless, e.g.

- (16) a. *Sirsesek.* 'It's hot.'
 b. *Sirpeker.* 'It dawns.'
 c. *Sirhutne.* 'It's narrow.'
 d. *Mean.* 'It's cold.'

Sir- used in (16a)–(16c) originally referred to 'land' or 'place', but now it is used almost like a prefix for expressions of meteorological or ambient conditions. *Mean* in (16c) can be etymologically analyzed as *me* 'coldness' plus the verb *an* 'exist'. In

fact, all these subjectless intransitive expressions can be analyzed as a case of noun incorporation, where the subject of an intransitive clause is incorporated into the verb (see section 3.5.7).

3.1.2 Compound and complex sentences

Compound and complex sentences consisting of more than two simplex clauses involve various kinds of conjunctions, most of which function as subordinating conjunctions.

Wa is a coordinate conjunctive particle whose function is similar to the English *and*.

- (17) a. *Arpa wa nukar!*
 go and see
 'Go and see!'
- b. *Tunas ipe wa tunas mokor wa tunas hopuni!*
 quickly eat and quickly sleep and quickly get up
 'Eat quickly, sleep quickly, and get up quickly.'
- c. *Ku-kor- kur sinen ne kim ta an wa en-ekari*
 1SG-have- man alone be mountain in be and 1SG/O-meet
san. (Ishikari)
 descend
 'My husband was in the mountain alone and he came down to meet me.'

In the Sakhalin dialect, *wa* is also used to indicate two simultaneous activities that are perceived as one coherent action, e.g.

- (18) a. *ahkas wa eh*
 walk and come
 'come walking (i.e. come on foot)'
- b. *ampa wa eh*
 carry and come
 'come carrying something'

Both of these uses of *wa* correspond to those of the Japanese conjunctive ending *-te*, e.g.

- (19) a. *kat-te kuru*
 buy come
 'buy and come (back)'

b. *arui-te kuru*

walk come

'come walking (i.e. come on foot)'

The conjunctive particle *wa* is limited to the conjoining of sentences and verbal phrases. (Conjoined noun phrases are mediated by the particle *newa* or most likely to be simply juxtaposed without any mediating particle.)

Subordinating conjunctions occur after subordinated clauses, which come before main clauses.

(20) *kusu* 'because, in order to'a. *E-eh kusu anekiroro-an.* (Sakhalin)

2SG-come because happy 1SG

'Because you came, I am happy.'

b. *Ku-siyeye kusu Asahikawa otta ku-kor toy an kusu*

1SG-get sick because in 1SG-have land be because

page-as. (Ishikari)

go-1PL

'Because I got sick (and) because I had land in Asahikawa, we went (there).'

(21) *korka* 'even though'*Ku-kor ku-yupe ku-nukar rusuy korka tuyma-mo an kusu*

1SG-have 1SG-brother 1SG-see want though far away be because

ene ku-kari isam.

any 1SG-do not

'Even though I want to see my brother, I can't do anything because he is far away.'

(22) *yak, yakun* 'if/even if'*A-kor irenka wen a yakun ayanurayke, e-kor irenka wen*

1SG-have heart bad PERF if (I) get killed, 2SG-have heart bad

a yakun aeanunrayke-ki kusu-ne na, hetak itura!

PERF if (you) get killed supposed to be now come

'It is supposed to be the case that if my heart is bad, I get killed, and if your heart is bad, you get killed; now come on!' (from a fighting scene)

3.2 **Word order**

As may be observed in the examples given above, Ainu is an SOV language. Since there are no case inflections on nouns, word order plays as important a role as in

English in determining the grammatical functions of certain nouns. For example, in the following sentences the difference in meaning can be attributed solely to word order:

- (23) a. *Kamuy aynu rayke.*
 bear person kill
 'The bear killed the man.'
 b. *Aynu kamuy rayke.*
 'The man killed the bear.'

However, when the context or the semantics of the sentence prevents an incorrect interpretation, the inversion of the basic word order does occur in both Classical and colloquial Ainu, as shown in the following examples, in which OSV order is observed.

- (24) a. *Kane rakko arespa kamuy ronnu.* (Itadori)
 golden otter raised god kill
 'The god (=hero) raised (by us) killed the golden sea otter.'
 b. *Amam totto esose wa ...* (Ishikari)
 rice mother borrow and
 'Mother borrowed rice and ...'

Ainu exhibits the word-order patterns of various grammatical elements in a manner characteristic of SOV languages such as Japanese and Korean.

- (25) a. noun + postposition
cise ta
 home at
 'at home'
 b. attribute + noun
pirka kewtum
 good heart
 'good heart'
 c. relative clause + noun
[beko reska] sisam (Ishikari)
 cow raise Japanese
 'a Japanese who raises cows'
 d. genitive + noun
sapo ninkarihi
 sister earrings
 'sister's earrings'

- e. demonstrative + noun
toan seta
 that dog
 'that dog'
- f. quantifier + noun
sine aynu
 one
 'one person'
- g. proper noun + common noun
Risa unarpe
 aunt
 'Aunt Risa'
- h. adverb + verb
turasno paye
 quickly go
 'go quickly'
- i. verb + auxiliary
a-e rusuy
 1SG-eat want
 'want to eat'
- j. standard + marker + adjective/stative verb
menoko kasuno okirasnu
 woman than strong
 'stronger than woman'
- k. final question particle
Pirka-p ne ya
 rich-person be Q
 'Is (he) a rich person?'

The only exception to the above SOV pattern is the order of the negative and the verb. In Japanese, the negative follows the verb as in *ika-nai* (go-not) 'do not go', but in Ainu the negative precedes the verb as in *somo ku-oman* (not 1SG-go) '(I) do not go.' Korean, which is a strict SOV language, has preverbal as well as postverbal negative expressions, e.g. *ani kanda* (not go) 'does not go' *kaji antha* (go not) 'does not go'. This difference is due to the existence of two distinct types of negatives; ones that are adverbial and ones that are predicative. That is, the Ainu negative form *somo* is an adverb that negates what a verb expresses by modifying it. The non-predicate status of *somo* is indicated by the fact that it does not take any personal affix. The Japanese negative *-nai*, on the other hand, is a predicative

auxiliary that inflects for tense and other inflectional categories. The Korean negative *an* has both of these functions. In SOV-type languages, the adverbial negative occurs before the verb, following the regular adverb-verb order, and the predicative negative after the negated verb. And this is what we see in Ainu (the preverbal adverbial negative), Japanese (the final predicative negative), and Korean (both types).

Also, notice that the desiderative auxiliary does not generally take a personal affix (see (25i)), though there are certain variations as discussed in section 3.5.9.

3.3 Personal affixes

Ainu makes rather extensive use of personal affixes. It is therefore more than appropriate that we set aside a section describing them and their uses at the beginning of our grammatical description of the language.

In both Classical and colloquial Ainu, intransitive and transitive verbs each have distinct sets of personal affixes indicating person and number of the subject and the object.

The subject-marking affixes of Classical Ainu are shown in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

The second-person and third-person (zero) marking are the same for both intransitive and transitive verbs. The intransitive verb *itak* 'speak' and the transitive verb *kor* 'have' have the following forms with personal affixes in Classical Ainu.

- (26) *itak-an* 'I speak' *itak-an* 'we speak'
e-itak 'you (SG) speak' *eci-itak* 'you (PL) speak'
itak 'he/she speaks' *itak* 'they speak'

Table 3.1. *Classical Ainu intransitive subject marking*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>-an</i>	<i>-an</i>
2nd person	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i>
3rd person	\emptyset	\emptyset

Table 3.2. *Classical Ainu transitive subject marking*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>
2nd person	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i>
3rd person	\emptyset	\emptyset

Table 3.3. *Classical Ainu object marking*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>
2nd person	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i>
3rd person	\emptyset	\emptyset

- (27) *a-kor* 'I have' *a-kor* 'we have'
e-kor 'you (SG) have' *eci-kor* 'you (PL) have'
kor 'he/she has' *kor* 'they have'

Plurality of a third-person subject can be indicated by the suffix *-pa* or the suppletive forms; thus *itak-pa* 'they speak' and *kor-pa* 'they have' are also possible (see section 3.5.4 on the plural verb forms).

The copula *ne* 'be, become, looks like' and its derived transitive verbs (section 3.5.3) all utilize the transitive subject markers, since, as mentioned earlier, the transitivity in Ainu is determined on the basis of whether an expression is semantically complete with one argument or not.

In addition to subject-marking affixes, transitive verbs take object-marking personal affixes as well. They are as shown in Table 3.3.

Just as the difference between intransitive and transitive subject affixes is only observed with the first person, the object affixes and the two systems of the subject affixes also differ only with respect to the first-person marker. That is, the second-person affixes *e-* (SG) and *eci-* (PL) mark both subject and object, and for third-person marking the affix is zero whether it is subject or object. To summarize then, the first-person category makes the greatest distinction; in this category the transitive and intransitive subject markers differ, and these in turn differ from the object marker as well, though the number is not distinguished in any of them. In the second-person category, neither the transitivity of the verb nor the subject-object distinction is indicated, though the number is distinguished. And in the third-person category, none of these distinctions is made.

Again, the plurality of an object noun can be indicated by the suffix *-pa* or the suppletive plural verb forms (see section 3.5.4).

Examples of verb forms marked by the subject and object affixes are given below. The order of affixation is seen to be subject-object.

- (28) a. *a -e -kore* 'I give you'
 1SG -2SG -give
 b. *a-kore* 'I give him/her'

- c. *e -i -kore* 'you give me/us'
 2SG -1SG/PL -give
- d. *e-kore* 'you give him'
- e. *i-kore* 'he/she gives me/us'
- f. *e-kore* 'he/she gives you'
- g. *kore* 'he/she gives him/her'

Because the affix *e-* is used both as a second-person subject marker and as a second-person object marker, and because the third person has no marking, (28d) and (28f) have the same form; in the former, *e-* marks the second-person subject, whereas the third-person object marker is zero, and in the latter, *e-* marks the second-person object, the third-person subject being zero. Indeed, due to the fact that the second person and the third person have the same affixes for subject and object marking, ambiguous forms of this type are numerous.

The personal affixes in Table 3.3 function as "object" markers, and "object" here is to be understood as grammatical objects. This point is important, for semantically oblique adjuncts, such as the benefactive or the abstract goal of an action, can be made object by what is called applicative formation, a mechanism that turns an oblique into an object. The object so derived triggers the object-personal affixes. Thus, the forms in (30) contrast with the one in (29), which has, at some level of representation, a basic object.

- (29) *i- sosiekatta i- nimpa*
 1SG/O- take out 1SG/O drag
 '(He) took me outside and dragged me'
- (30) a. *a- urepet kasi i- ko-oterke*
 1SG- toes -top 1SG/O- APPL-step
 'he stepped (me) on the top of my toes'
- b. *Ci-tunas-rayke i-e-karkar wa i-korpare yan!*
 INDEF-fast-kill 1SG/O-APPL-do and 1SG/O-give IMP
 'Please do the quick killing for me and give me.' = 'Do me the favor of doing the quick killing for me.'

The occurrence of the applicative affixes *ko-* and *e-* in (30) indicates that the unsurfaced first-person nominal was not the basic object. Indeed, the verbs *oterke* 'step on' and *karkar* 'do' are two-place predicates that, in their basic function, take only one object argument each. In (30a), the basic object is "the top of my toes", and in (30b) "quick killing". The first-person object marking in these examples has been made possible by the application of applicative formation, which has turned

Table 3.4. *Colloquial Ainu intransitive subject marking*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-as</i> (EXCL) <i>-an</i> (INCL)
2nd person	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i> (<i>es-</i>)
3rd person	∅	∅

Table 3.5. *Colloquial Ainu transitive subject marking*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>ku-</i>	<i>ci-</i> (EXCL) <i>a-</i> (<i>an-</i>) (INCL)
2nd person	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i> (<i>es-</i>)
3rd person	∅	∅

Table 3.6. *Colloquial Ainu object marking*

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>en-</i>	<i>uni</i> (EXCL) <i>i-</i> (INCL)
2nd person	<i>e-</i>	<i>eci-</i> (<i>es-</i>)
3rd person	∅	∅

((EXCL) and (INCL) refer to “exclusive” and “inclusive” respectively, and the forms in parentheses indicate those suffixes unique to the Ishikari dialect.)

the originally oblique nominals referring to the first person into grammatical objects (see section 3.5.7 on applicative formation).

Colloquial Ainu has the personal affixes shown in Tables 3.4–3.6.

The basic difference between the transitive and intransitive systems lies in the first-person plural affixes, all other forms being neutralized. In both systems the inclusive forms of the first-person plural are used as second-person honorific forms for both singular and plural. The plural suffix *-pa* noted earlier is also used for indicating plurality of the subject (or the object).

Again, the inclusive form of the first-person plural is used as the second-person honorific form for both singular and plural. As was the case for Classical Ainu, the differences in the affixal system in the colloquial language are observed in the

first person. Also notice that the second- and third-person affixes are basically the same in both Classical and colloquial Ainu.

It is noted that the exclusive/inclusive categories in the colloquial language developed using the first-person affixes of the classical language as the inclusive forms. The intransitive inclusive affix *-an* is the intransitive first-person subject affix in the classical language; the transitive inclusive subject affix *a-* is the transitive first-person subject affix in the classical language; and the transitive inclusive object affix *i-* is the transitive first-person object affix in the classical language.

For transitive verbs, combinations of the transitive subject-marking affixes and the object-marking affixes occur as in Classical Ainu. However, in the colloquial language, certain combinations have been collapsed and have thus lost their analyticity. That is, the following combinations have all been neutralized and reduced to *eci-*.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------------|---|-------------|
| (31) | <i>ku-e-</i> | ‘I-you’ | } | <i>eci-</i> |
| | <i>ku-eci-</i> | ‘I-you(PL)’ | | |
| | <i>ci-e-</i> | ‘we-you’ | | |
| | <i>ch-eci-</i> | ‘we-you(PL)’ | | |

Other combinations of transitive subject and object affixes are preserved, e.g.

- (32) a. *ku-i-kore*
 1SG-2HON-give
 ‘I give you (HON)’
- b. *e-en-kore*
 2SG-1SG
 ‘you give me’
- c. *eci-un-kore*
 2PL-1PL
 ‘you (PL) give us’

In the Ishikari dialect, the collapsing of different affix combinations shown in (31) is not seen, but one peculiarity in this dialect is that the intransitive first-person plural suffixes, *-an* and *-as*, are used as transitive subject suffixes in combination with the second-person object affixes. That is, where the combinations of *ku-e-* (1SG/s-2SG/o), *ci-es-* (1PL-EX/s-2PL/o), etc. are expected, the combinations of *e-...-an* and *es-...-as*, etc. occur.

As mentioned earlier, adjectives are subsumed in the category of intransitive verbs and take the same subject-marking personal affixes as do intransitive verbs, i.e. those listed in Tables 3.1 and 3.4.

In addition to subject and object marking, the personal affixes have several other functions. One of them is person marking on the possessive forms of nouns (see section 3.4.2). Here the transitive subject-marking affixes indicate the nature of the possessor, e.g. *mat* 'wife', *a-maci* (Classical) 'my wife', *ku-maci* (Colloquial) 'my wife'.

Certain of the subject-marking personal affixes, in particular the Classical Ainu first-person plural marker *a-* and the colloquial first-person exclusive *ci-*, have other uses as well. (Both of these forms have very similar uses.) *A-* is often used to indicate indefiniteness of the personal reference; e.g. *mi-p* 'things to wear' means 'clothes' in the form of *a-mi-p*, which literally means 'things we wear'. Similarly, *cip a-nukar*, literally 'we see a ship', means something more like 'a ship is visible' and can be used even if only one person sees the ship. It is through this indefinite use of *a-* that it developed into a passive-forming prefix (section 3.5.6).

As for the prefix *ci-*, there are forms such as *ci-ku-p* 'things we drink, i.e. Ainu wine', *ci-ronnu-p* 'things we kill, i.e. foxes'. Middle-voice expressions with *ci-* are exemplified by *maknaraye* 'send backward', *ci-maknaraye* 'go backward' and *riknapuni* 'send upward', *ci-rikunapuni* 'go upward'. The affixation of *ci-* also produces attributive forms of passive force (see section 3.4.6).

Object-marking personal affixes can also mark locational and directional forms such as *orowa* 'from there' and *orota* 'there', e.g. *en-orota* 'to me', *e-orota* 'to you', *e-orowa* 'from you', *orowa* 'from him'.

- (33) *En- orota oka yan!*
 1SG- there come IMP
 'Come to my place!'

- (34) *E- orowa ku-nu.*
 2SG- from there 1SG-hear
 'I heard from you.'

3.4 Nominal constructions

3.4.1 Pronouns

Since Ainu has personal affix marking on the verb, personal pronouns normally do not surface. When they do, they convey added meaning such as "as for me", "if it were me", etc. Chiri (1936) likens the use of the Ainu personal pronouns to those of Latin and French, and contends that the following expressions are parallel in their use of the overt pronoun (Ainu *kuani* 'I', Latin *ego*, and French *moi*).

- (35) a. *Kuani ku-eraman.*
 I 1SG-know
 'I know.'
 b. *Ego scio.*
 c. *Moi je sais.*

Table 3.7. *Ainu personal pronouns*

	Singular		Plural	
	Classical	Colloquial	Classical	Colloquial
1st person	<i>asinuma</i>	<i>kuani</i>	<i>aoka (i)</i>	<i>aoka (i)</i> (INCL)
2nd person	<i>esinuma</i>	<i>eani</i> <i>aoka (i)</i> (HON)	<i>ecioka (i)</i>	<i>ecioka (i)</i> <i>aoka (i)</i> (HON)
3rd person	<i>sinuma</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>oka (i)</i>	<i>oka (i)</i>

The list of personal pronouns is given in Table 3.7.

These personal pronouns are derived from any one of several existential verbs meaning ‘to exist’. The first-person pronoun *kuani*, for example, is analyzable as *ku-* (first-person singular transitive affix), *an* ‘exist’, and *-i* ‘nominalizing suffix’ (see section 3.4.3). *Okay* or *oka* is the plural verb of *an*. *Aoka* ‘we’, therefore, consists of *a-* (first-person plural inclusive transitive subject affix) and *oka* ‘to exist’. By the same token, *e-*, *eci-*, *ci-* in *eani* ‘you (SG)’, *ecioka* ‘you (PL)’, and *cioka* ‘we (EXCL)’ are all personal affixes.

In the case of *sinuma* ‘he’, Chiri (1936) analyzes it as *sir-oma*, where *sir-* is presumably related to the ambient prefix *sir-* (see section 3.7) and *oma* is an existential verb. The other Classical forms *asinuma* ‘I’ and *esinuma* ‘you’ involve the personal affixes *a-* and *e-* for the respective person.

3.4.2 *The noun*

Ainu nouns exhibit neither case inflection nor gender distinctions. However, they do show a formal distinction between the forms denoting generic concepts and those denoting specifically possessed objects. The latter forms are marked by possessive personal prefixes and suffixal endings of varying phonological shapes, which yield special possessed forms of nouns. For example, *ona* ‘father’ is the form expressing the generic notion ‘a father’ and *ona* or *onaha* together with the first-person prefix *ku-*, i.e. *ku-ona* or *ku-onaha* means ‘my father’. The possessive personal affixes are the same as the transitive subject-marking affixes.

The suffixes marking the possessed forms of nouns are of several types. What follow are the most common types involving additions of extra syllables of one kind or another:

- (36) a. *apa: apa, apaha* ‘door’
unu: unu, unuhu ‘mother’
sapa: sapa, sapaha ‘head’

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| b. <i>ak</i> : <i>aki, akihi</i> | 'younger brother' |
| <i>yup</i> : <i>yupi, yupihi</i> | 'older brother' |
| <i>cep</i> : <i>cepi, cepihi</i> | 'fish' |
| c. <i>kisar</i> : <i>kisara, kisaraha</i> | 'leg' |
| <i>tek</i> : <i>teke, tekehe</i> | 'hand' |
| <i>kotor</i> : <i>kotoro, kotoroho</i> | 'mask' |

The noun does not change its form to indicate plural number, i.e. there is no number agreement within a noun phrase (*sine aynu* 'one man', *tu aynu* 'two men', etc.), and there is no grammatical category of number for full nouns. However, a suffix *-utar* can be added to indicate plurality as in *aynu-utar* 'men' and *cip-utar* 'ships'. This suffix also expresses the meaning 'X and others'. The distinction between 'my older brothers', for example, and 'my older brother and so on' is indicated by the position of the suffix for the possessed form in the word; thus, *ku-yup-utar-i* 'my older brothers', *ku-yup-i-utar* 'my older brother and others'.

3.4.3 Nominalizers

There are several suffixes by which nouns are derived from verbs (which include what corresponds to adjectives in other languages). For instance, the suffix *-p(e)* produces a noun that denotes a person or thing characterized by the meaning of the original verb.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|----------------|--------------|
| (37) a. <i>pirka</i> | 'good' | <i>pirka-p</i> | 'good thing' |
| b. <i>husko</i> | 'old' | <i>husko-p</i> | 'old thing' |
| c. <i>wen</i> | 'bad' | <i>wen-pe</i> | 'poor man' |
| d. <i>ray</i> | 'die' | <i>ray-pe</i> | 'the dead' |

Two other noun-forming derivational affixes are the suffixes *-i* and *-ike*. The former generates nouns having the meaning 'X-place' or 'X-time', and the latter generates nouns with the meaning 'thing' or 'person'.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| (38) a. <i>esan</i> | 'go out there' |
| <i>esan-i</i> | 'place that is protruded, i.e. peninsula' |
| b. <i>sinean</i> | 'one, certain' |
| <i>sinean-i</i> | 'one place, a certain time' |
| c. <i>pirka</i> | 'good' |
| <i>pirka-ike</i> | 'goodness, good thing/person' |
| d. <i>poro</i> | 'big' |
| <i>poro-ike</i> | 'bigness, big thing/person' |

While these forms may indicate that these nominalizing suffixes are simply lexical derivational suffixes that turn one lexical form into another, they, especially *-p(e)* and *-i*, in fact function as quite productive and remarkable phrasal as well as clausal nominalizing suffixes.

- (39) a. *a-hanke-tuyu-p* (Itadori)
 I SG-near-slash-NOMI
 'the one who slashes near me'
- b. *a-koyki rok-pe* (Itadori)
 I SG-strike PERF-NOMI
 'the one I have fought'
- c. *tunas ek-pe* (Itadori)
 fast come-NOMI
 'the one who comes fast'
- d. *a-yanene-p yay-kotanoro esina-p*
 I SG-dislike-NOMI REFL-village hide-NOMI
 'what I dislike is hiding one's village (from which one came)'
- e. *a-kitamsuye a-tawki rok-i*
 I SG-slash with a sword I SG-strike PERF-NOMI
 'that I have slashed with a sword'

In addition to *-p(e)* discussed here, there is another suffix *-kur* (apparently related to the full noun *kuru* 'person'), which extensively derives nominal expressions from phrases and clauses that yield both idiomatic forms and those that correspond to relative clause expressions with the noun "person" as the head noun in English.

- (40) a. *ray-kur* (Ishikari)
 die-person
 'the dead'
- b. *kotan kor-kur*
 village have-person
 'the person who has a village = chief'
- c. *Poiyaumpe rayke wa an-kur* (Itadori)
 kill and be-person
 'the person who killed Poiyaumpe and is around'
- d. *ku-kor-kur* (Ishikari)
 I SG-have-person
 'the person I have = my husband'
- e. *Tokaci wa ek pewre-kur* (Ishikari)
 from come young-person
 'the young man who came from Tokachi'

These nominalizing suffixes, then, appear to be functioning as both lexical derivational suffixes and as syntactic clausal nominalizers. In this respect, they are similar to the Japanese nominalizing suffix *-sa*, which also has a comparable dual function (see Part 2, Chapter 10).

3.4.4 *The case particles*

There are no inflections or particles that mark either subject or object, these grammatical functions being primarily indicated by word order (section 3.2). The marking of other grammatical relations is realized through the use of postpositional particles. In addition, there is a set of verbal prefixes that, so to speak, incorporate postposition into verbs. The use of verbal prefixes, characterized as the applicative construction by Kindaichi (1931), is a more conspicuous characteristic of Classical Ainu, accounting in part for its polysynthetic nature, whereas the more analytical use of particles occurs commonly in the colloquial language. The applicative construction interacts with the noun incorporation phenomenon, and thus will be discussed separately in section 3.5.7.

The dative particle: The indirect object of a ditransitive verb is indicated by word order and context, but the dative particle *orun* may also be used to mark the goal noun.

- (41) a. *Tampe huci ku-kore.*
 this g. mother 1SG-give
 ‘I gave this to Grandmother.’
- b. *Huci matkaci orun upaskuma.*
 g. mother girl to tell old stories
 ‘Grandmother told the old stories to the girl.’

Notice that the pronominal personal goal or indirect object is most typically marked in the verb by means of an object-personal affix, as in the following example.

- (42) *Beko tope poronno en-kore.* (Ishikari)
 cow milk a lot 1SG/O-give
 ‘(He) gave me a lot of cow’s milk.’

Since no case involving two personal objects is found, it is not known which of the two objects, direct or indirect, takes precedence in object marking in the verb. Usual cases involve, like (42) above, a personal indirect object and an inanimate direct object, and the indirect object is marked in the verb – since the inanimate

object is categorized as a third person, there is no marking even if it were to trigger verbal agreement.

The locative particle: ta

- (43) a. *Poro cise ta horari.*
 big house in live
 '(He) lives in a big house.'
- b. *Ru piskani ta nupe cikka-p? – niatus.*
 road both sides to tears drop-thing – pail
 'The thing that drops tears at both sides of a road? – A pail.' (riddle)

The allative particle: ta and un

- (44) a. *Poropet kotan un arpa.*
 Horobetsu village to go
 '(He) went to Horobetsu village.'
- b. *Kanesanta ta arki.*
 to come (PL)
 '(They) came to Kanesanta.'
- c. *Tookyoo un hekomo.*
 leave
 'He leaves for Tokyo.'
- d. *Yubet ta sirepa-as. (Ishikari)*
 at arrive-1PL
 'We arrived at Yūbetsu.'

The ablative particle: wa, orwa and orowa (optionally plus -no)

- (45) a. *sapa-kitayna wano wakka a-cari*
 head top from water PASS-throw
 'get thrown water from the top of the head'
- b. *Poropet orwano Shirawoi orpakno*
 from up to
 'from Horobetsu up to Shiraoi'
- c. *Newa-anpe orowa tumi-ne.*
 that thing from fighting-started
 'From that thing, the fighting started.'

The particle *orowa* or *orowano* is also used to mark the agent of a passive sentence (see section 3.5.6).

- (46) *Meko seta orowa a-hospa.*
 cat dog by PASS-chase
 'A cat was chased by a dog.'

The instrumental particle: ari

- (47) a. *tek ari kar-pe*
 hand with make-thing
 'a thing made by hand'
 b. *kaya ari terke*
 sail by run
 'run by a sail'

The comitative particle: tura(no)

- (48) a. *pone tura kuykuy*
 bone with bite
 'bite X together with a bone'
 b. *Totto-utar tura paye-as.* (Ishikari)
 mother-et al. with go-1PL
 'We went with mother and others.'
 c. *Ku-kor-kur ku-tura Aspet ta arki-as.* (Ishikari)
 my husband 1SG-with to go-1PL
 'My husband and I went to Ashibetsu.'

Notice that *tura* takes the personal affix like a verb, as in (c) above. While the form is translatable as something like "me accompanying", the verb is marked by the plural personal suffix, as if the subject were plural (see section 3.5.4).

The particle *newa* is to be used when things are enumerated as in 'X and Y'.

- (49) *Urki newa tayki u-paekoyki.*
 louse and flea REC-quarreled
 'A louse and a flea quarreled.'

The translative particle: ne, derived from the verb 'to be, to become':

- (50) *Su aynu ne yaykar wa rimse.*
 pot man into turn and dance
 'A pot turned into (became) a man and danced.'

The abessive particle: sak or sakno, derived from the verb 'to lack':

- (51) a. *Epetciw sakno pay yan!*
 trouble without go IMP
 'Go without trouble, i.e. Farewell!'

- b. *po-sak menoko*
 child-without woman
 'woman without a child'

The genitive particle: There is no genitive case particle. The possessive expression takes the form of the possessor noun plus the possessive form of the possessed noun.

- (52) a. *nea aynu macihi*
 that man wife
 'that man's wife'
 b. *huci sikihi*
 g. mother eyes
 'grandmother's eyes'
 c. *sapo ninkarihi*
 sister earrings
 'sister's earrings'
 d. *Cita unarpehe*
 aunt
 'Chita's aunt'

The genitive relation of personal pronouns can be expressed by the verb *kor* 'to have' together with an appropriate personal affix followed by the possessed noun.

- (53) a. *ku-kor mat*
 1SG-have wife
 'my wife'
 b. *e-kor mat*
 2SG-have wife
 'your wife'
 c. *kor mat*
 'his wife'

These are essentially relative clause expressions to be translated literally as 'the wife (I) have', 'the wife (you) have', etc. Notice, further, that in this type of expression, which is limited to those cases in which the possessed noun refers to a person, the possessed noun is in the basic (non-possessive) form. The more general possessive expressions are those involving the possessive form of a noun marked by a personal affix (see section 3.4.2).

- (54) a. *a-maci*
 1SG-wife
 'my wife'

- b. *e-maci*
2SG-wife
'your wife'
- c. *maci*
'his wife'

In addition to the above case particles, Ainu has quite a few particle-like elements, (a)–(c), as well as locational nouns, (d)–(g), that indicate spatial orientation, e.g.

- (55) a. *us-or kotan*
lagoon village
'a village inside a lagoon'
- b. *tumpa-orun oka menoko*
inside stay woman
'a woman who stayed inside the room'
- c. *suop-or omare*
box-into put in
'put (it) into a box'
- d. *cise-pok un*
house-below at
'below the house'
- e. *tek-utur*
hand-between
'between hands'
- f. *cise-soy*
house-outside
'outside of a house'
- g. *Kotân-nosiki ta poro cise an.*
village-center at big house be
'At the center of the village, there was a large house.'

3.4.5 Topic particle

Corresponding to the topic markers *wa* and *nun* of Japanese and Korean, Ainu has the particle *anak(ne)*. While use of this particle does not seem to be as prevalent in *yukar* as in colloquial Ainu, its function appears to be quite similar to that of the Japanese and Korean topic particles.

- (56) a. *Otta a-nuye-p anak aynu-itak ne.*
in there PASS-write-thing TOP Ainu-speak be
'What is written there is the Ainu language.'

- b. *Ku-kor hampe anakne isoun-kur ne.* (Ishikari)
 ISG-have father TOP hunting-person be
 'My father was a hunter.'

The particle *anakne* and other particles of emphasis such as *amun* and *easir* can, like their Japanese and Korean counterparts, also mark the object and other types of noun phrases as well as adverbials.

- (57) a. *Sake anakne somo a-ku.*
 wine TOP not ISG-drink
 'As for wine, I don't drink.'
- b. *Ku-turesi anakne unarpe otta ci-hoppa.* (Ishikari)
 ISG-sister TOP aunt at 1PL-left
 'As for my sister, we left (her) at the aunt's place.'
- c. *Poron-no anakne isam.*
 many-ADV TOP don't exist
 'Many, there aren't.'
- d. *E-an-hi kusu anakne somo ku-ek.*
 2SG-exist-NOMI because TOP not ISG-come
 'It is because of your presence that I don't come.'

3.4.6 Nominal modification

As mentioned in section 3.2, modifiers precede the noun they modify. This is consistent throughout the modification pattern.

- (58) a. *ampene pirika sukup aynu* 'very good young man'
 very good young man
- b. *hetuku cup* 'rising sun'
 come out sun
- c. *ci-kaye makiri* 'broken knife'
 INDEF-break knife
- d. *a-tomte itak* 'beautiful voice'
 INDEF-beautify voice
- e. *ramu-an aynu* 'wise man'
 mind-exist man
- f. *ramu-sak aynu* 'foolish man'
 mind-lack man
- g. *siretok-kor kotan* 'beautiful village'
 beauty-have village
- h. *cise-ne sir* 'house-like mountain'
 house-be mountain

Stative verbs (adjectives) and other intransitive verbs modify nouns without any change in form (e.g. (a) and (b) above); but transitive verbs must be put into the middle (or spontaneous) or passive voice with the use of the prefix *ci-* or *a-*, as in (c) and (d) above. Other modifiers are derived from nouns by compounding them with verbs such as *an* 'exist', *sak* 'lack', etc. as in the examples (e)–(g) above.

Modification of a noun by a clause, or relative clause modification, involves no relative pronoun and places the relative clauses before the head noun. Due to the lack of relative pronouns and of the third-person affix, the relative expression is often indistinguishable from a simple prenominal modification pattern seen above. A distinction, however, is clearer in the case involving a transitive verb, which, in the case of relative clause modification, either involves personal affix marking or occurs without the voice prefixes *a-/ci-*.

- (59) a. [*Saru orwa ek*] *sapo* (Ishikari)
 from come aunt
 'the aunt who came from Saru'
- b. [*ku-kor hampe rayke*] *eper* (Ishikari)
 1-SG-have father kill bear
 'the bear that killed my father'
- c. [*sisam oskoni*] *pon pewre-p* (Ishikari)
 Japanese catch small small-NOMI
 'the small things (bears) that a Japanese caught'
- d. [*i-resu*] *casi* (Itadori)
 1SG/O-raise mountain castle
 'the mountain castle in which X raised me'
- e. [*pon ekaci ku-kor*] *nisatke* (Ishikari)
 small child 1SG-have next day
 'the next day when I had a baby'
- f. [*ku-kor-kur orwa icen eikura wa ek*] *kampi* (Ishikari)
 my husband from money send and come money order
 'the money order by which my husband sent money and (by which the money) came'

Notice that, since there is no third-person marking in the verb, forms like (b) and (c) are potentially ambiguous. (b), for example, can mean 'the bear that my father killed', and only the context tells that it was the father who was killed in (b). Forms relativizing on nominals holding oblique relations, such as (e) and (f), begin to resemble the appositive construction, in which the modifying clause is complete with all necessary arguments, as in the following forms:

- (60) a. [*aynu ek*] *hum* (Itadori)
 man come sound
 'the sound of a man's coming'
- b. [*okkayo cis*] *sir* (Ishikari)
 man cry sight
 'a sight of a man's crying'

According to Chiri (1953), the instrumental particle *ari* 'with X' and the delimiting particle *patek* 'only X' function as demonstratives with the meanings of 'with that' and 'only that' when they occur independently, e.g.

- (61) a. *Unuypa wakka a-kar wa ari a-nuye kor*
 tattooing water INDEF-make and with that INDEF-tattoo PROG
okay.
 be
 'Having made tattooing water, (someone) was tattooing *with it.*'
- b. *Penampe ciyehe an wa patek kaskamuy ne a-kor.*
 penis exist and only that protective god be 1SG-have
 'There is Penampe's penis, and I have *only that* as a protective god.'

When these demonstrative forms are left behind in the relative clauses, we obtain forms in which relative clauses appear to contain stranded particles, which indicate the semantic role of the head nominal within a relative clause.

- (62) a. [*ari a-nuye kor okay*] *unuypa wakka*
 with that INDEF-tattoo PROG be tattooing water
 (lit.) 'tattooing water (someone) was tattooing *with that*'
- b. [*patek kaskamuy ne a-kor*] *Penampe ciyene*
 only that protective god be 1SG-have penis
 (lit.) 'the Penampe's penis I have *only that* as a protective god'

Other devices that give clues to the semantic role of head noun within a relative clause are the applicative prefixes, which mark the semantic oblique status of the derived direct object (see section 3.5.7), and the suffixes marking the possessed form of a noun (section 3.4.2). A verb in a relative clause may have the applicative prefix indicating that the variable bound by the head noun within the relative clause bears a semantically oblique relation, as in (a) below. Also, when the noun within a relative clause occurs in the possessed form without the possessor noun, the head noun is likely to be its possessor, as in (b) from Chiri (1956).

- (63) a. [*aw-wen cinkeutarikehe e-hohki-hci*] *an-mosirihi* (Sakhalin)
 1SG-bad parents and others APPL-die-PL 1SG-country
 'my country where my dear parents and others have died'
- b. [*kisar-aha tanne*] *isepo*
 ear-POSS long rabbit
 'a rabbit whose ears are long'

Numerals precede nouns they quantify.

- (64) a. *sine acapo*
 one uncle
 'one uncle' (Ishikari)
- b. *re erum*
 three rat
 'three rats'
- c. *asikne suma*
 five rock
 'five rocks'

Numerals, however, can be nominalized by suffixing the nominalizer *-p(e)* (see section 3.4.3) or *-n*. The nominalized numerals occur after the nominals which they quantify or alone.

- (65) a. *Aynu sine-p an.*
 man one exist
 'There is one man.'
- b. *Suma asikne-p e-yapikir.*
 rock five 2SG-throw
 'You threw five rocks.'
- c. *acapo sine-n*
 uncle one
 'one uncle' (Ishikari)
- d. *Sisam re-n tonoto kor.* (Ishikari)
 Japanese three wine bring
 'Three Japanese brought wine.'
- e. *Sine-p pirka menoko.* (Ishikari)
 one pretty woman
 'One was a pretty woman.'

While the nominalized number and its quantification function appear to be similar to the adverbialized quantifiers, as in the English expression "We are all

happy”, it is not known whether such a number can quantify nominals other than a subject nominal (65a, d) and a direct object nominal (65b) – examination of the texts reveals only those cases in which the subject or direct object is quantified, but since no quantified oblique nominals occur in the texts, nothing conclusive can be said about this.

When more than one modifier occurs, numerals precede the attributive verb.

- (66) a. *sine kunne cikap* (Ishikari)
 one black bird
 ‘one black bird’
 b. *sine ku-kor acapo* (Ishikari)
 one 1SG-have uncle
 ‘one (of) my uncle’

When the personal affix is used to indicate the possessor of a modified noun, there is a possibility of placing the attributive verb before the affixed head noun or after the affix, disrupting the sequence of affix and head noun, as in the following examples.

- (67) a. *pon a-poho* (Itadori)
 small 1SG-child
 ‘my small child’
 a'. *a-wen-yupihi* (Itadori)
 1SG-bad-older brother
 ‘my dear older brother’
 b. *wen ku-matakihi* (Saru)
 bad 1SG-younger sister
 ‘my dear younger sister’
 b'. *ku-wen-matakihi* (Saru)
 1SG-bad-younger sister
 ‘my dear younger sister’
 c. *ku-pon-tresi* (Ishikari)
 1SG-little-younger sister
 ‘my little younger sister’
 d. *ku-pon-kahkemah* (Sakhalin)
 1SG-little-young lady
 ‘my little young lady’

Furthermore, an attributive verb may cut into the sequence of personal affix and the verb *kor* ‘have’, which indicates the possessive relationship between the personal affix and the head noun.

- (68) a. *pon a-kor yupi* (Itadori)
 young 1SG-have older brother
 'my young older brother'
 b. *a-wen-kor sapo* (Itadori)
 1SG-bad-have older sister
 'my dear older sister'

These phenomena, where attributive verbs cut into the sequence of the personal affix and the head noun, can be considered as a case of incorporation of attributive verbs and will be discussed further in section 3.5.7.

3.5 Predicate constructions

3.5.1 Transitive-intransitive correspondences

A great many intransitive and transitive verb pairs are morphologically related in a number of ways. Some representative correspondence relationships are shown below, where the left column lists intransitive verbs and the right column the corresponding transitive verbs.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| (69) a. Vintr <i>-ke</i> | : | Vtr -vowel suffixes |
| <i>mak-ke</i> 'open' | | <i>mak-a</i> 'open' |
| <i>kom-ke</i> 'bend' | | <i>kom-o</i> 'bend' |
| <i>mes-ke</i> 'come off' | | <i>mes-u</i> 'tear off' |
| b. Vintr <i>-ø</i> | : | Vtr -vowel suffixes |
| <i>an</i> 'exist' | | <i>an-u</i> 'put' |
| <i>as</i> 'stand up' | | <i>as-i</i> 'stand up' |
| c. Vintr <i>-ø</i> | : | Vtr <i>-ka</i> |
| <i>hure</i> 'red' | | <i>hure-ka</i> 'redden' |
| <i>mom</i> 'float' | | <i>mom-ka</i> 'float' |
| <i>hosipi</i> 'return' | | <i>hosipi-ka</i> 'return' |
| d. Vintr <i>-ø</i> | : | Vtr <i>-ke</i> |
| <i>ahun</i> 'enter' | | <i>ahun-ke</i> 'send in' |
| <i>sat</i> 'dry' | | <i>sat-ke</i> 'dry' |
| <i>ray</i> 'die' | | <i>ray-ke</i> 'kill' |

Although these transitive-intransitive pairs exhibit both morphological and semantic relationships, each form must be learned separately, for there is no way to predict which suffix a given form takes. Notice, furthermore, that the suffixes of the same shape (*-ke*) are used with one group as an intransitive suffix (69a), and in another group as a transitive suffix (69d). The situation here is similar to that

between intransitive verbs and morphologically related transitive verbs in Japanese, where such forms require their own suffixes, and certain suffixes have the same phonetic shape but opposite functions, e.g. *ak-u* 'to open (intransitive)', *ak-e-ru* 'to open (transitive)', *sak-e-ru* 'to split (intransitive)', *sak-u* 'to split (transitive)'.

Compared to these idiosyncratic suffixes, the affixes that are treated in section 3.5.3 are completely regular, attaching uniformly to various verbs.

3.5.2 Verbalizers

There are a number of verbs that compound with nouns to generate new verbal forms, e.g.

(70) a.	<i>an</i>	'exist'		
	<i>kunneywa</i>	'morning'	<i>kunneywa-an</i>	'become morning'
	<i>paykar</i>	'spring'	<i>paykar-an</i>	'become spring'
b.	<i>ne</i>	'be, become'		
	<i>soy</i>	'outside'	<i>soy-ne</i>	'go outside'
	<i>e-pis</i>	'beach'	<i>e-pis-ne</i>	'go to the beach'
c.	<i>o</i>	'put on, attach, put in'		
	<i>cip</i>	'boat'	<i>cip-o</i>	'row a boat'
	<i>itak</i>	'word'	<i>itak-o</i>	'speak'
d.	<i>as</i>	'stand'		
	<i>apto</i>	'rain'	<i>apto-as</i>	'to rain'
	<i>hum</i>	'sound, feeling'	<i>hum-as</i>	'to feel'
e.	<i>kor</i>	'have, own'		
	<i>mat</i>	'wife'	<i>mat-kor</i>	'take a wife'
	<i>hoku</i>	'husband'	<i>hoku-kor</i>	'take a husband'

Compound verb formation like (70a) and (70e) involves the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb, and can be considered as a case of noun incorporation to be discussed in section 3.5.7.

3.5.3 Verb affixes

It has been already explained that verbs (including stative verbs (adjectives) and the copula) are marked by personal affixes. In addition to these personal affixes, the Ainu verbal morphology involves a larger number of affixes (both prefixes and suffixes) that have a variety of semantic functions and syntactic consequences.

Generalized object i-: The generalized object prefix *i-* marks the absorption of a generalized object by a verb. When attached to verbs like *ku* 'drink', *i-* is normally understood to refer to alcoholic beverages, just like the case of indefinite null

complements that occur with verbs like *drink* and *eat* in English. In other instances, *i-* means 'do X', where the reference of *i-* is to be inferred from the meaning of the verb.

- (71) a. *Sake a-ku.*
 1SG-drink
 'I drink *sake*.'
- b. *i-ku-an.*
 drink-1SG
 'I drink.'
- (72) a. *Ya a-ske.*
 net 1SG-knit
 'I knit a fishing net.'
- b. *i-ske-an.*
 knit-1SG
 'I do knitting.'
- (73) *Amam ci-hok, ipe-as.* (Ishikari)
 rice 1PL-buy eat-1PL
 'We bought rice, and ate.'

The generalized object prefix decreases the valence of the verb, thereby turning a transitive verb into an intransitive verb. Notice the change of the personal affixes from the transitive verb first-person subject marker *a-* to the intransitive verb marker *-an* in (71) and (72). In (73), where the verb *hok* 'buy' with its object takes the Ishikari transitive first-person plural exclusive subject marker *ci-*, the verb *ipe* 'eat' with a null complement is marked by the intransitive first-person plural exclusive *-as*. It is tempting to analyze the verb *ipe*, which also means food, as consisting of the generalized object *i-* and the transitive verb *pe*. However, such an analysis no longer seems appropriate synchronically, for there is no transitive verb *pe*; the transitive verb 'to eat' is *e*. In other words, the intransitive verb *ipe* 'to eat' is now fully lexicalized.

As one recalls from Table 3.3 in section 3.3, there is a personal affix *i-*, which is used as the Classical first-person singular and plural object marker. However, research in other languages and South Pacific pidgins suggests that the intransitivizing affix denoting a generalized object is more immediately connected with the third-person pronominal (object) form, e.g. *him* > *-im* in South Pacific pidgins. Among various affixes of the *i-* form, Batchelor (1938) lists the third-person singular object form; *Seta i-nospa* 'the dog is chasing him'. The modern form will not have the affix – if it did, it would mean 'the dog is chasing me/us' in Classical

Ainu. Furthermore, since the affix *i-* is also used as an optional third-person possessive affix, e.g. *i-kotan* 'his village', the generalized object affix *i-* may be traceable to a third-person pronominal form (or affix) of one kind or another.

The reciprocal prefix u-: The reciprocal prefix also reduces the valence of the verb. Certain reciprocal forms have highly idiomatic meanings, as shown in (74) below, and these must be treated as independent lexical items. However, in its productive use it expresses the meaning of 'do X to each other' or 'do X together'.

- (74) a. *nukar* 'see' *u-nukar* 'hold a meeting'
 b. *koyki* 'hit' *u-koyki* 'fight'
 c. *yee* 'say' *u-yee* 'quarrel' (Sakhalin)

- (75) a. *Tara merekopo an-koytah.* (Sakhalin)
 those girls 1PL-talk to
 'We talked to those girls.'
 b. *U-koytak-an.*
 REC-talk-PL
 'We talked to each other.'
 (*an-*: 1PL transitive subject prefix,
-an: 1PL intransitive suffix)

The reciprocal *u-* (often in combination with the applicative prefix *ko-*) frequently contributes to the polysynthetic word formation (especially in Classical Ainu), as in the following example:

- (76) *e-u-ram-kotor-mew-pa* (Itadori)
 APPL-REC-breast-horizontally-stretch-PL
 'stretch the breast horizontally together = to arouse a fighting spirit
 in one another'

The reflexive prefix yay-: Again, certain reflexive forms have more idiomatic meanings than others, e.g.

- (77) a. *nu* 'listen' : *yay-nu* 'think'
 b. *ewen* 'become bad' : *yay-ewen* 'become disabled'
 c. *ari* 'put' : *yay-ari* 'live'

The reflexive prefix is another affix that frequently contributes to the formation of polysynthetic words.

- (78) a. *Uwokkane kut a-yay-ko-yupu.*
 fishing belt ISG-REFL-APPL-pull
 'I pulled the fishing belt around myself.'
- b. *Ku-yay-sipore-re.* (Ishikari)
 ISG-REFL-bear-CAUS
 'I made myself bear X.' = 'I persevered.'

Notice that in (78a) the verb complex *a-yay-ko-yupu* is still transitive (as indicated by the first-person transitive subject prefix *a-*). This is so, because there still is a direct object. The effect reflexivization has had here is that it has turned another object, derived by applicative formation (notice the affix *ko-*), into the reflexive prefix form under identity with the subject. The change in the personal affixes is seen only when *yay-* changes a transitive verb into its intransitive counterpart as seen below:

- (79) a. *Seta a-rayke.*
 dog ISG-kill
 'I kill a dog.'
- b. *Yay-rayke-an.*
 REFL-kill-1SG
 'I kill myself.'

There is another less productive reflexive prefix of the form of *si-*. The difference between *yay-* and *si-* is said to be a matter of intentionality, the former occurring in an action in which an effect upon the subject is intended, and the latter in an action in which such an effect is unintended, e.g. *yay-rayke-re* (REFL-kill-CAUS) 'X makes someone kill him': *si-rayke-re* (REFL-kill-CAUS) 'X does things which would entail the effect of someone's killing him'.

Causative suffixes -(r)e/-te/-(y)ar: While all the previous prefixes have the valency decreasing effect, the causative suffixes have the opposite effect of increasing the valence of the verb, turning one-place (intransitive) verbs into two-place (transitive) verbs, and two-place verbs into three-place (ditransitive) verbs. The variations in the realization of the *-(r)e/-te* suffix are conditioned phonologically: *-re* attaches to a vowel-final verb, *e-* to a *r*-final verb, and *-te* to verbs that end in other consonants.

- | | | | | |
|---------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (80) a. | <i>ne</i> | 'become Y' | <i>ne-re</i> | 'cause X to become Y' |
| b. | <i>e</i> | 'eat' | <i>e-re</i> | 'cause X to eat' |
| c. | <i>kor</i> | 'have' | <i>kor-e</i> | 'give' |
| d. | <i>kar</i> | 'make' | <i>kar-e</i> | 'cause X to make' |
| e. | <i>ahup</i> | 'enter' | <i>ahup-te</i> | 'cause X to enter' |
| f. | <i>komuy</i> | 'catch a louse' | <i>komuy-te</i> | 'cause X to catch a louse' |

- (81) a. *U-iku-re wa u-ipe-re wa ...* (Itadori)
 REC-drink-CAUS and REC-eat-CAUS and
 'Making each other drink and making each other eat, and ...'
- b. *Pon ike ku-hotke-re.* (Ishikari)
 little daughter 1SG-sleep-CAUS
 'I put the little daughter to bed.'
- c. *Ku-kor-kur utari opitta poronno kam e-re.* (Ishikari)
 my husband in-law all lot meat eat-CAUS
 'My husband had the in-laws eat a whole lot of meat.'

As we saw in section 3.5.1, there are many intransitive and transitive verb pairs, and we listed there some transitive forms derived from the intransitive verbs by means of the causative suffix. Since the causative suffix has the effect of converting intransitive verbs into transitive verbs, it is reasonable to ask whether intransitive verbs with independent transitive counterparts might take the causative suffix yielding competing forms comparable to the Japanese forms *korosu* 'kill' vs. *sinase-ru* 'cause to die' (derived from *sinu* 'to die') or to their English equivalents. Many other languages, e.g. Turkish and Quechua, do not have such competing transitive and causative forms – the causative forms being the only possible two-place counterparts for intransitive verbs, e.g. Turkish *öl-* 'die': *öl-dür* 'kill', Quechua *wañu-* 'die': *wañu-či* 'kill'.

In the case of Ainu, Chiri (1942) lists *ray-re* as 'cause to die', which has the transitive form *ray-ke* related to the intransitive verb *ray* 'die'. Also, Murasaki (1978) contrasts the Sakhalin forms *hosipi-ka* 'return (tr)' and *hosipi-re* 'to cause to return' – the former meaning something like 'to send back' and the latter 'have someone go home'. The extent to which these pairs are possible is, however, not made clear.

The suffix *-(y)ar* is the plural suppletive causative suffix, which marks the plurality of the causee.

- (82) a. *hopum-pa* 'people get up'
 get up-PL
hopum-pa-yar 'cause people to get up'
- b. *sitoma* 'to be afraid'
sitom-yar 'cause people to become afraid'
- c. *nukar* 'see'
nukar-ar 'cause people to see'

Since the plural-marking suffix *-pa* seen in (82a) typically has the effect of selecting a plural object, we can imagine different combinations of the plural marker *-pa* and the causative suffixes since the plurality can be independently expressed on the object or the causee. Indeed, the regular causative suffix is used

when the causee is singular and the object is plural, whereas both the plural suffix and the plural causative form occur when both direct object and causee are plural, e.g.

- (83) a. *kor* 'to have' : *kor-pa* 'to have many things' : *kor-pa-re* 'cause X to have many things' : *kor-pa-yar* 'cause people to have many things'
 b. *A-e-hosip-pa-re*. (Itadori)
 I SG-APPL-return-PL-CAUS
 'I made them return there.'
 c. *Inunkuri-ram a-yay-kor-pa-re*. (Itadori)
 unbearable-feelings I SG-REFL-have-PL-CAUS
 'I made myself have unbearable feelings.'

The pattern seen in (83b) shows that the causee deriving from the intransitive subject is treated differently from the causee deriving from the transitive subject, for it does not trigger the plural causee suffix *-yar*. The comparison between (83a) and (83b) indicates that the causee deriving from the intransitive subject is treated like the direct object of the transitive clause.

Fukuda (1956) notes that the plural causative *-(y)ar* is used when the causee is indeterminate and not overtly expressed. She further points out that in this use, the valence of the verb is not increased. Just as the plural form of a verb is used as an honorific (see section 3.5.5), the *-(y)ar* causative is used as an honorific causative expression, with respect being directed toward the causee.

On the other hand, Asai (1970) reports that the suffix *-yar* in the Ishikari dialect attaches to the causative form derived by the suffixation of the regular causative suffixes, *-re/-te*, and is used for a causative situation involving an intermediary such that the causer uses someone to make the causee do something; i.e. as a double causative expression.

- (84) (*Ku-aki ku-ytek wa*) *keri ku-us-te-yar*. (Ishikari)
 I SG-brother I SG-use and shoe I SG-wear-CAUS-CAUS
 '(Using my younger brother) I had the shoes put on.'
 (lit.) 'I made X make Y wear the shoes.'

3.5.4 Plural verb forms

Ainu has a verbal category distinguishing singular and plural forms. Both transitive and intransitive verbs are sensitive to this distinction, the plural forms co-occurring with a plural object or subject; e.g.

- (85) a. *An-an*. (Itadori)
 be-1SG
 'I was (there).'

- b. *Oka-an.* (Itadori)
 be (PL)-1PL
 'We were (there).'
- c. *Sisam ren tonoto kor wa paye.* (Ishikari)
 Japanese three wine have and go (PL)
 'Three Japanese had (carried) wine and went.'
- d. *Icen poronno kor-pa.* (Ishikari)
 money lot have-PL
 '(They) had a lot of money.'

There are a number of ways in which plural verb forms are derived. The most regular is the addition of the suffix *-pa* to the verbal roots, while some forms simply replace their last segment with *p*.

- (86) Singular : Plural
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|----------------|-------------|
| a. <i>kom-o</i> | : | <i>kom-pa</i> | 'bend' |
| b. <i>kot-e</i> | : | <i>kot-pa</i> | 'tie' |
| c. <i>tur-i</i> | : | <i>tur-pa</i> | 'stretch' |
| d. <i>kor</i> | : | <i>kor-pa</i> | 'have' |
| e. <i>tura</i> | : | <i>tura-pa</i> | 'accompany' |
| f. <i>ahun</i> | : | <i>ahup</i> | 'enter' |
| g. <i>asin</i> | : | <i>asip</i> | 'exit' |

Suppletion occurs with certain verbs:

- (87) Singular : Plural
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------|---------------|
| a. <i>rayke</i> | : | <i>ronnu</i> | 'kill' |
| b. <i>arpa</i> | : | <i>paye</i> | 'go' |
| c. <i>ek</i> | : | <i>arki</i> | 'come' |
| d. <i>an</i> | : | <i>oka(y)</i> | 'exist' |
| e. <i>uko</i> | : | <i>uyna</i> | 'pick' (Saru) |

Both Kindaichi (1931) and Chiri (1936) set up inflectional categories for plural verb forms on a par with those categories determined by the person of the subject and object, which makes a number distinction. However, the two systems are characteristically different, as correctly observed by Durie (1986), who has examined the nature of plural verb forms in a large number of languages. Whereas the choice of the personal affixes in the verb can be considered to be a case of (number) agreement between the nominal argument and the verb, the plural marking (or suppletion) needs to be considered as a separate verbal category which selects a plural nominal argument. That is, as convincingly shown by Durie (1986),

the occurrence of plural verb forms should not be considered as an agreement phenomenon; instead it should be treated like a case of selectional restriction. In Ainu this distinction is clear. For one thing, whereas plural agreement between the nominal argument and the verb indicated by means of personal affixes is strictly observed, the selection of plural arguments by the plural verb forms is quite optional. For another, the plural verb forms are selected in the syntactic context, e.g. imperatives, in which number agreement is absent. In the following example, the transitive verb *hok* 'buy' has the first-person exclusive plural affix agreeing in number with the subject argument; the verb form is singular, despite the plurality of the object argument, by which the transitive plural verb forms are typically triggered (see below). (Notice that the intransitive verb *osipi* 'return' has both plural personal affix and the plural verbal suffix.) (88b) is an imperative sentence in which plural verb forms are selected – for it is directed to the plural addressee – despite the fact that the imperative construction involves no number agreement (i.e. no personal affixes occur in the construction).

- (88) a. *Pon pewrep tup ci-hok wa osip-pa-as.* (Ishikari)
 small bear two 1PL-buy and return-PL-1PL
 'We bought two small bears and came back.'
- b. *Te un arki wa mono rok yan!* (Saru)
 here to come(PL) and quietly sit(PL) IMP
 'Come here and sit quietly!'

Indeed, Kindaichi (1931: 208–9) specifically notes that when the plurality of the subject and object is specified by numerals, only the singular verb forms are usable, as in the case of the first verb in (88a). Fukuda (1956: 50 fn 6) remarks that the plural forms express the plurality of the activity rather than that of the actor or the object. Thus, even if more than one actor is involved, a plural form may not occur if the event is perceived as a unitary activity. In reality, however, it is not easy to see how one determines a given activity to be unitary or not. In the above example, (88a), the husband and wife were coming home together, and yet the plural verb form is chosen. Likewise, an existential expression like (84b) seems difficult to construe in terms of the account based on the number of activity. Examination of various texts reveals that the plural verb forms are most regularly chosen when the intransitive subjects are plural, as in (84b) and the second clause in (88a), whereas the plurality of objects is often ignored, singular verb forms co-occurring frequently with plural objects.

As the last remark above suggests, the plural verb form typically co-occurs with a plural subject when the verb is intransitive and with a plural object when it is transitive. The exclusion of the transitive subject from the plural selection seems

to be a regular pattern across languages. Indeed, Durie, who “unearthed more than 40 languages [with plural verb forms] from diverse parts of the world,” tells us that “in every observed case of stem suppletion for number it is the number of the principally affected argument [the intransitive subject or transitive object] for which the verb suppletes” (1986: 356–7). Ainu, then, is a rare language which shows cases of plural verbs co-occurring with plural transitive subjects. For example, Batchelor’s dictionary (1938:426) includes these entries: *ronnu* ‘to kill pl. of *raige* [*rayke*]’, *ronnupa* ‘to kill pl. of the person as well as the object.’ (Tamura Suzuko, p.c., believes this to be a mistake on the part of Batchelor.) Indeed, sentences in which plural verbs and plural transitive subjects co-occur are found in both Classical Ainu and the colloquial languages.

- (89) a. *Iresu yupi iresu sapo i-res-pa hine oka-an.* (Itadori)
 foster brother foster sister ISG/O-raise-PL and be(PL)-1PL
 ‘My foster brother and my foster sister raised me and we were (living).’
- b. *Sisam so kor goza sinep hok-pa wa arki.* (Ishikari)
 Japanese from mat one buy-PL and come(PL)
 ‘(They) bought one mat from a Japanese and came.’

Among the colloquial languages, the Sakhalin dialect appears to show a more consistent pattern of plural verb forms, which co-occur with plural subjects (of both intransitive and transitive clauses) and objects.

- (90) a. *Reekoh orohko okay.* (Sakhalin)
 many Orokkos be(PL)
 ‘There were many Orokkos.’
- b. *Orohko-utah ariki-hci.* (Sakhalin)
 Orokkos-PL come(PL)-PL
 ‘Orokkos came.’
- c. *Nean henke ... pooho-hcin kira-re-hci.* (Sakhalin)
 that old man kid-PL escape-CAUS-PL
 ‘That old man let the kids escape.’
- d. *Nean orohko-utah nean tumi ki-hci kusu ...* (Sakhalin)
 those Orokkos-PL that war do-PL in order to
 ‘In order for those Orokkos to start that war ...’
- e. *Uriwahne hekaci-utah ... sine wen henke usiwnekororo-hci*
 brothers child-PL one poor old man retain-PL
manuyke nean wen henke rayki-hci-teh ... (Sakhalin)
 and that poor old man kill-PL-and
 ‘The brothers kept (in their service) one poor old man and killed that poor old man.’

The plural verb forms in Sakhalin involve both suppletive forms, which are shared by the Hokkaidō dialects, and the unique suffix *-hci*, which is apparently related to the nominal plural suffix *-hcin* (see (90c)). Notice that in (90b), the suppletive plural verb *ariki* 'come' is further marked by the plural suffix. Despite this kind of over-marking of the plural suffix, the marking itself still remains optional unlike the number-sensitive agreement of personal affixes. Thus, where plural forms are expected, unmarked verbs occur as in the following example.

- (91) a. *Taa nay ohta reekoh hemoy ka usaan ceh renkayne*
 this river into many herring too various fish a lot
ahun. (Sakhalin)
 enter
 'Many herrings and a lot of various other kinds of fish entered into
 this river.'
- b. ... *keeraan cep-uta naa an-ee* ... (Sakhalin)
 delicious fish-PL too 1SG-eat
 'I eat delicious fish.'

In the Sakhalin dialect, *-pa* indicates iterative action as in one use of the same suffix in Classical and Hokkaidō Ainu.

- (92) a. *A-ko-tam-etay-pa.* (Itadori)
 1SG-APPL-sword-draw-ITERA
 'I drew the sword against (the surface of the bodies) many times.'
- b. *A-si-kopa-yar-pa.* (Itadori)
 1SG-REFL-misread-CAUS-ITERA
 'I made myself misread earnestly = I pretended to be X earnestly'

The iterative suffix differs from the plural suffix in that the former occurs at the very end of a word, whereas the latter occurs before other suffixes such as the causative. (Cf. (83c) and (92b) above; in the former the plural suffix occurs before the causative suffix, whereas in the latter the iterative suffix occurs after the causative suffix.)

3.5.5 *Honorifics*

The use of plural forms as honorific expressions is wide-spread across languages. Plural forms of both nominal and verbal forms are used as honorifics: e.g. the French *vous*, the German *Sie*, the Turkish plural marking in the verb. The agent defocusing by means of pluralizing referential forms or action as a way of expressing deference toward the addressee or the referent of a sentential nominal argument is also exploited in Ainu, but not as commonly as in other languages – Classical Ainu

exhibits more instances of honorifics than the colloquial language. The first-person inclusive personal pronouns and personal affixes are used as second-person honorific forms. The plural verb forms (including the suppletive forms) are also used as honorific expressions. Since this use of plural verb forms appears to be restricted to the expression of deference toward the referent of the subject nominal, it gives us a clue in determining whether a given nominal is subject or not. Despite the theoretical importance of the honorific phenomenon, the whole picture is rather unclear, for, in addition to the scarcity of the honorific plural forms, the plurality condition discussed above enters into picture. The fact that the first-person affixes for both singular and plural categories are the same form *a-* in Classical Ainu also complicates the matter. The following are clearer instances of the honorific use of plural verb forms found in the *yukar* "Itadorimaru".

- (93) a. *a-kor sapo apa otta arki siri*
 my sister door to come(PL) sight
 'the sight of my sister's coming to the door'
- b. *Kane rakko a-res-pa kamuy ronnu.*
 golden otter 1PL-raise-PL god kill (PL)
 'Our honorable (hero), whom we have raised, killed the golden sea otter.'

The first sentence, uttered by the hero of the epic, is a straightforward case involving the intransitive suppletive plural form as expression of the hero's deference toward his foster sister. The form in (b) is uttered by the hero's foster sister. The first plural form here is non-honorific plural, referring to the plurality of the people (the foster sister and foster brother) who have raised the hero, here referred to as *kamuy* 'god', whereas the suppletive plural form *ronnu* 'kill' is used as an honorific in reference to the hero – notice here that both subject (the hero) and object (the golden sea otter) are singular.

These clear examples of the subject honorific use of plural verb forms and apparent lack of object honorific usage will give us some guidance in ascertaining the nature of the Ainu passive construction to which we now turn.

3.5.6 *Passive and related constructions*

In many languages of the world the passive construction is related to a number of other constructions such as the reflexive, the reciprocal, the plural, the spontaneous, etc. (see Shibatani 1985). In Japanese the passive morpheme *-(ra)re* figures in the construction types of the spontaneous, the honorific, and the potential (cf. Part 2, Chapter II section 4.2). Ainu is no exception to this kind of continuum phenomenon that the passive and other constructions exhibit. In fact, the passive in Ainu

shows continuum of another dimension, namely the transitive-intransitive continuum. The affixes involved in the Ainu passive and related constructions are the first-person plural inclusive affixes, *a-* (transitive) and *-an* (intransitive) and the corresponding dialectal forms. We have mentioned already that these plural affixes are used as the second-person honorific markers. The following examples show these two uses of the relevant affixes.

- (94) a. *Itak-an.*
 speak-1PL
 'We (INCL) speak.'
- b. *A-e-kore.*
 1PL-2SG-give
 'We (INCL) give you (something).'
- c. *A-en-kore.*
 2HON-1SG-give
 'You (HON) give me (something).'

In addition, the first-person plural inclusive affixes are involved in the indefinite-person construction, the spontaneous construction, and the passive construction.

The indefinite-person construction corresponds to those involving the indefinite pronouns *one* in English or *on* in French or to those involving the zero pronoun that is interpreted as referring to an arbitrary person, PRO_{arb} (see Part 2, Chapter 11 section 6.1). Both transitive and intransitive affixes occur in this construction, as below, where (a) has the intransitive affix and (b) the transitive affix.

- (95) a. *Tepeka paye-an yak Sat ta paye-an.*
 here go(PL)-INDEF if Saru to go(PL)-INDEF
 'If we go here, we go to Saru.'
- b. *Tan cep anakne a-satke wa a-eiwanke-p un.*
 this fish TOP INDEF-dry and INDEF-use-thing be
 'This fish is a thing that we dry and use.'

The transitive *a-* is also used as a marker for the spontaneous construction. Since this use has the effect of deriving intransitive verbs from the transitive verbs, Kindaichi (1931) calls the relevant construction "middle passive".

- (96) a. *Cip a-nukar.*
 ship SPON-see
 'A ship is visible/seen.'
- b. *Pirka have a-nu.*
 beautiful voice SPON-hear
 'A beautiful voice is audible/heard.'

Finally, the affixes in question are used in passive sentences like these:

- (97) a. *Kamuy umma rayke.*
 bear horse kill.
 'A bear killed a horse.'
- b. *Umma kamuy orowa a-rayke.*
 from PASS-kill
 'A horse was killed by the bear.'
- (98) a. *Nuca Aynu rayke.*
 Russian kill
 'A Russian killed an Ainu.'
- b. *Aynu Nuca orowa a-rayke.*
 from PASS-kill
 'An Ainu was killed by a Russian.'

These are sentences apparently constructed by Kindaichi and Chiri; here are examples from the texts we have consulted:

- (99) a. *Kamuy kat casi upsororke a-i-o-resu.* (Itadori)
 god build mountain castle inside PASS-1SG/O-APPL-raise
 'I was raised inside the god-built mountain castle.'
- b. *Inukuri-ram a-yay-kor-pa-re.* (Itadori)
 unbearable-feeling PASS-REFL-have-PL-CAUS
 'I was made to have unbearable feelings.'
- c. *E-kor hampe eper orwa an-rayke.* (Ishikari)
 2SG-have father bear from PASS-kill
 'Your father was killed by a bear.'
- d. *Ne anpe anak ... sonno nispa orwa an-omap.* (Ishikari)
 that one TOP really master from PASS-love
 'That one (woman) was really loved by the master.'

The construction we have identified above as passive poses a number of theoretically interesting questions. The problem is raised by the fact that the verbal morphology is unmistakably transitive. Notice that in all the examples above, the transitive subject prefix *a-* is used. We saw in (95) that in the indefinite use of the affixes in question, both transitive and intransitive affixes are used appropriately. However, in the passive construction, the transitive version is invariably used. Furthermore, as seen in (99a), the patient is marked by the transitive object prefix in the verb. Thus, the Ainu passive poses a very basic question: are the sentences in (99) above really passive? This question can be adequately answered only if we have a good definition of a passive construction. The discussion in Shibatani (1985)

indicates that the most feasible way of defining a passive construction is in terms of prototype definition, which enumerates grammatical properties of prototypical passives. Indeed, it was a set of data like the one we have been examining here that motivated Shibatani to adopt a prototype approach to passives.

The relevant sentences in Ainu are passives to the extent that they share the primary function of the prototypical passive identified by Shibatani, namely that of_i agent defocusing function. While the colloquial examples from the Ishikari dialect given above encode agents, Ainu passives typically lack an agentive nominal in the surface. Non-encoding of an agent is an ultimate answer to the idea of agent defocusing. Even if an agent is encoded in a passive clause, it is still defocused to the extent that it is encoded in the oblique relation, as opposed to the prominent subject relation in the active voice. Ainu shares this important characteristic of passives with other languages by encoding (if this option is taken) an agent in the oblique ablative role marked by the postposition *or(o)wa* 'from', the pattern reminiscent of the preposition *von* in the German passive (see (99c,d)).

The status of the agent in the passive is, thus, perfectly clear. But the syntactic status of the patient is unclear. In forms like (99a), in which the verb encodes the patient, it is encoded by the object affixes. This indicates that the patient is encoded as an object syntactically. However, in the case of the passive the verbal morphology is not a good indication for the syntactic role of a nominal expression. We know this by the fact that in the case of the agent, the transitive affix does not agree with the agent in person and number – in (99d) the agent is third-person singular, whereas the affix *an-* in other regular uses is either first-person plural inclusive, second person (the honorific use), or indefinite person. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, this affix is a transitive subject marker, whereas the agent is in the oblique role. Thus, the passive prefixes *a-*, *an-*, etc. have no syntactic correlation with the agentive nominal. By the same token, the object marking in the passive verb may not correlate with the patient perfectly. As far as the categories of person and number are concerned, the object affix and the patient agree. Our question, therefore, is focused on the correlation of the syntactic role of the patient and the object affix; that is, is the passive patient a syntactic object as the verbal morphology suggests?

There are at least two kinds of indication that the patient in the passive sentence is not really an object and that it is instead a subject. One is word order. When oblique nominals marked by postposition are involved, word order seems to be fairly flexible. However, perusal of the relevant data indicates that normally the subject occurs before the ablative nominal, whereas the object follows such a nominal occurring immediately before the verb. Now in the passive, the typical position in which the patient nominal occurs is at the very beginning of the sentence or at least before the ablatively marked agentive nominal rather than immediately

before the verb (see (97b), (98b), (99c)). This word order fact indicates that the patient in the passive clause is treated more like a subject.

The other phenomenon that indicates the subject status of the patient of the passive has to do with the honorific use of the plural verb forms. As discussed in the preceding section, the plural verb forms can be used to show the speaker's deference toward the referent of the subject nominal. Since there is no independent case of the object honorific use of the plural verb forms, the honorific plural verbs used in reference to the passive patient indicate that it is treated like a subject. The following pair of sentences highlights the contrast between the two forms:

- (100) a. *Amset-kasi a-i-o-resu.* (Itadori)
 bed-top PASS-1SG/O-APPL-raise
 'On top of (this) bed I was raised.'
- b. *nekonan-kur a-o-res-pa ...* (Itadori)
 what kind of person PASS-APPL-raise-PL
 'What kind of person is being raised.'

These two forms, uttered by the hero of the epic, occur separated by one sentence in the beginning portion of "Itadorimaru" where the hero is describing the immediate environment in which he was raised (see the text in Appendix 1). The second form comes from the description of a splendidly decorated room visible from the high bed on top of which the hero had been raised. The hero, viewing the room from his bed, is wondering what kind of noble person is being raised in that gorgeous room. (The hero's elder brother emerges from the room.) Now, in (100a) the hero, referring to himself, uses the plain, non-honorific form. (100b), on the other hand, refers to someone who, on the basis of the splendiddness of the room in which he is being raised, seems to be quite noble, and the hero uses the plural form to indicate his respect to this unknown person. The honorific trigger here is the semantic patient of the passive clause, but the fact that it triggers the honorific plural marking indicates that it is syntactically a subject.

Thus, contrary to the verbal morphology, the passive sentence seems to have made the patient a syntactic subject. What is really happening here is a case of syntactic change – a change from the transitive indefinite person construction to the passive intransitive construction. The verbal morphology shows the pre-changed form, whereas the syntax has already undergone the relevant change of making the patient a subject and allowing optional encoding of the agent as an oblique phrase. The rise of passives from indefinite-person constructions is not an isolated case found only in Ainu. The Indonesian passive appears to be an instance of this kind of development, but the passives in Kimbundu and Trukic almost perfectly parallel the Ainu passive, which can be rendered in an analogous manner, as in (103) below.

- (101) Kimbundu
Nzua a-mu-mono (kwa mame). (Givón 1979:211)
 John they-him-saw by me
 'John was seen (by me).'
- (102) Trukic
Waan re-liila-o ree-i. (Jacobs 1976:121)
 John they-kill-him by-me
 'John was killed by me.'
- (103) Ainu rendered in the manner of Givón and Jacobs
Umma kamuy orowa a-ø-rayke.
 horse bear from we-it-kill
 'The horse was killed by the bear.'

The Ainu passive thus instantiates the fairly widely attested development of passives from indefinite or impersonal constructions, in which verbal marking typically involves a third-person singular or plural form, and it also shows a typical development characteristic of such a change: namely that the verbal morphology lags behind the syntactic reorganization. (See Cole et al. (1980) for a relevant discussion.) In this kind of situation, the verbal morphology also betrays the semantics of the construction. In Classical Ainu, the *a*-marking in the passive can no longer be considered an indefinite person prefix, for the passive agent is not an indefinite, or arbitrary person as in the case of the genuine indefinite-person construction seen in (95); in most cases of the passive the identification of an agent is quite clear from the context or from the overt specification in the *orowa*-phrase, though there are some instances where the identification is vague. Thus, while the Ainu passive has developed from the indefinite-person construction (or ultimately the first-person plural inclusive transitive construction), it has severed its historical connection with the latter both syntactically and semantically; only the verbal morphology retains its historical relics – thus, glossing the passive in the manner of (103) is only meant to reveal its historical past. Viewed in a broader perspective, the Ainu passive represents a case of change from a transitive construction to an intransitive construction. That the syntax and the morphology disagree in the aspect of transitivity is a consequence of a gradual change along the transitive-intransitive continuum.

3.5.7 *Incorporation and polysynthesis*

As observed already, a fairly large number of elements are concentrated on the Ainu verb. They include personal affixes, a prefix marking a generalized object, and a suffix expressing the plurality of object. Voices (passives and causatives), recipro-

als, and reflexives are also expressed by the affixes that attach to the verb. In addition, Ainu verbs incorporate full nouns. We have already seen one instance of noun incorporation in section 3.5.2, in which certain verbs with basic meanings incorporate nouns and result in verbs of specific meanings. In this section we examine more general instances of incorporation, and observe how incorporation phenomena and the concentration of various affixes in the verb complex contribute to the polysynthetic nature of the Ainu language – especially that of the classical language. The incorporation phenomena in Ainu constitute a rich domain of theoretical interest, for their variety seems to be unmatched by other languages that exhibit similar phenomena, with a consequence that most of what has been said about incorporation is contradicted by the Ainu data. Thus, our examination of various cases of Ainu incorporation involves some theoretical discussion along the way.

Noun incorporation: As already mentioned, incorporation phenomena are more the property of Classical Ainu than the colloquial language, and our discussion largely dwells on the phenomena exhibited by the classical language. In the case of colloquial speech, more analytic expressions are favored, though a few apparently lexicalized complex expressions are frequently encountered. In the memoirs of Mrs. Sunasawa, which reflect the Ishikari colloquial form, only one pair of parallel incorporated and unincorporated expressions, given below, is found.

- (104) a. *Asir cise ci-kar kor ...* (Ishikari)
 new house 1PL (EXCL)-make and
 'We made a new house and ...'
 b. *Ney ta cise-kar-as.* (Ishikari)
 there at house-make-1PL (EXCL)
 'We made a house there.'

The above example is a case of noun incorporation incorporating a full direct object nominal. A major area of theoretical controversy in the incorporation phenomenon centers around the target of incorporation: i.e. what kind of nominal can be incorporated and how to state the observed restrictions? In perhaps the most thorough investigation of noun incorporation phenomena, Mithun (1984) states the target of incorporation as follows:

If a language incorporates N's of only one semantic case, they will be patients of transitive V's ... If a language incorporates only two types of arguments, they will be patients of transitive and intransitive V's ... The majority of incorporating languages follow this pattern. Many languages additionally incorporate instruments and/or locations ... (p. 875)

Mithun's characterization of the target of incorporation is in terms of semantic case (or relations/roles) rather than in terms of grammatical relations such as subject and object. A major reason for this is that both transitive subject and agentive intransitive subject are systematically excluded from incorporation in most incorporating languages, and this is confirmed by Ainu as well. However, Ainu does present a situation in which the grammatical relation object must be invoked. This has to do with incorporation of obliques represented by instrumental and locative nominals. These nominals too are incorporated in Ainu but only via applicative formation (or postposition incorporation), which has the effect of making these oblique nominals direct objects. That is, instrumentals and locations cannot be incorporated directly; they are susceptible to incorporation only when they are syntactic direct objects. Since incorporation of oblique nominals interacts with applicative formation, they will be discussed separately below. Additionally, Ainu incorporates adverbs as well as noun-modifying verbs. (Remember, Ainu makes no distinction between verbs and adjectives.) Thus, Ainu allows a far wider range of elements than is commonly the case. Among those reported, Chukchi appears to be comparable to Ainu in its range of incorporable elements (see Comrie (1981: Chapter 6) for a brief survey).

We have already seen cases of incorporation of intransitive subjects (see section 3.1.1). While most of these are expressions of meteorological and ambient conditions, the incorporated subjects are indeed semantically patient, and there appears to be no agent incorporation. A few examples are repeated below:

- (105) a. *Sir-pirka*.
 weather-good
 'It's fine.'
- b. *Sinnam-an*. (Sakhalin)
 coldness-be
 'It's cold.'
- c. *Kunneiva-an*.
 morning-become
 'It dawns.'

A difficult problem with these forms is that since they involve no verbal affix (third-person subject and object are zero-marked in the verb), it is not clear whether they are really a case of incorporation or simply a case of regular intransitive sentences. Indeed, Kindaichi (1931) is not quite consistent in his transcription of *yukar* regarding these forms; sometimes the noun and the verb are separately written and sometimes together with an intervening hyphen. The same problem arises with respect to the incorporation of an object, which again immediately

precedes the verb. If there are personal affixes, recognition of incorporation is easier; if the affix is in the verb, then incorporation has not taken place, whereas if the affix is prefixed in the noun which is immediately followed by a verb, the incorporation is assumed to have taken place. The same kind of indication for incorporation is obtained through the applicative prefixes. Since the applicative prefix does not attach to a noun, a noun-verb sequence preceded by an applicative prefix marks a case of noun incorporation. For example, in a simple sequence of *tumi osma* 'war began', it is not clear whether incorporation has taken place or not, but if the noun *tumi* 'war' has an applicative prefix, as in the following example, then we have a clear case of noun incorporation. (Applicative prefixes will be detailed below.)

- (106) *Kane rakko o-tumi-osma.* (Itadori)
 golden otter APPL-war-begin
 'The war started because of the golden sea otter.'

(106), then, is a clear instance of incorporation of an intransitive patient subject. With the incorporation of direct objects, we might anticipate a decrease in valency, and the following examples illustrate just such an effect.

- (107) a. *Inaw a-ke* 'I make a wooden prayer symbol.'
 ISG-make
 b. *Inaw-ke-an.*
 make-ISG
- (108) a. *Wakka a-ta-re.* 'I make X draw water.'
 water ISG-draw-CAUS
 b. *Wakka-ta-re-an.*
- (109) a. *Kina a-e rusuy.* 'I want to eat herbs.'
 herbs ISG-eat want
 b. *Kina-e-rususy-an.*

Notice in these examples that the incorporated versions have been turned into intransitive clauses – the transitive subject affix *a-* in (a) being replaced by the intransitive subject affix *-an* in the incorporated versions in (b). Also the examples from the Ishikari dialect in (104) given earlier show the same change; *ci-* is the first-person plural exclusive transitive subject affix, whereas *-as* is the intransitive subject counterpart. This shift from transitive to intransitive does not seem to be a general property of object incorporation in a number of other languages. In Ainu too, there appear to be some variations. Kindaichi and Chiri cite (107)–(109) as examples seen in the Iburi dialect – and we now note that the Ishikari dialect shows

the same pattern – while also citing examples in which the incorporated forms still retain their transitive subject affix. Compare the (b) examples of (107)–(109) with the following:

- (110) a. *Wakka a-ta-re.* ‘I make X draw water.’
 water ISG-draw-CAUS
 b. *A-wakka-ta-re.*
 ISG-water-draw-CAUS
- (111) a. *Mukcaraha a-tuye.* ‘I cut his chest.’
 his chest ISG-cut
 b. *A-mukcar-tuye.*
 ISG-chest-cut
- (112) a. *Kina-tuy-hosi ari yay-pokisir a-karkar.*
 grass-woven leggings with self’s-legs ISG-wrap
 ‘I wrapped my legs with grass-woven leggings.’
 b. *Kina-tuy-hosi a-e-yay-pokisiri-karkar.*
 ISG-APPL-self-legs-wrap

In certain incorporated forms, the transitive subject affix is independently motivated. (112b) above is just such a case. Here, through the use of the applicative prefix *e-* instead of the particle *ari* ‘with’ in (112a), the original instrumental noun *kina-tuy-hosi* ‘grass-woven leggings’ has been made into a direct object (see below). Thus even though the original direct object *yay-pokisir* ‘self’s legs’ has been incorporated, there is a derived direct object.

There are instances in which it might appear at first glance that oblique nouns have been incorporated, e.g. *kaye-e-terke* (sail-APPL-run) ‘run by a sail’. However, these forms arise in interaction with the process of applicative formation. Since there is no case of directly incorporating obliques, we shall now turn to the phenomenon of applicative formation which feeds into noun incorporation.

Applicative formation: Kindaichi (1931) first recognized the applicative construction in Ainu, which stands in the paraphrase relationship with the postpositional expressions. Applicative formation, involving the prefixes *e-*, *o-*, or *ko-*, again takes place more prevalently in Classical Ainu than the colloquial language. As the following paraphrases show, applicative formation, so to speak, absorbs postpositional particles, and though the applicative prefixes show no morphological resemblance to the postpositional particles, they nonetheless indicate the semantic relations of the stranded (i.e. particleless) oblique nominals just like the postposi-

tional particles. Because of this characteristic, Baker (1988) considers applicative formation as a case of P (pre- or postposition) incorporation.

(113) Dative or goal relation

- a. *Huci matkaci orun upaskuma.*
 g. mother girl to tell old stories
 'Grandmother told the old stories to the girl.'
- b. *Huci matkaci ko-paskuma.*

APPL

(114) Locative relation

- a. *Poro cise ta horari.*
 big house in live
 'He lives in a big house.'
- a'. *Poro cise e-horari.*

APPL

- b. *Ru riskani ta nupe cikka-p? – Niatus.*
 road both sides at tears drop-thing pail
 'The thing that drops tears at both sides of a road? – A pail.' (a riddle)
- b'. *Ru riskani o-nupe-cikka-p?*

APPL-tear-drop-thing

(115) Allative relation

- a. *A-kor kotan ta sirepa-an.*
 ISG-have village to arrive-1SG
 'I arrived at my village.'
- a'. *A-kor kotan a-e-sirepa.*

ISG-APPL-arrive

- b. *Tookyoo un hekomo.*
 for leave
 'He leaves for Tokyo.'
- b'. *Tookyoo ko-hekomo.*

APPL

(116) Ablative relation

- a. *Newa anpe orowa tumi-ne.*
 that thing from war-become
 'From that thing, the war began.'
- b. *Newa-anpe o-tumi-ne.*

APPL

- (117) Instrumental relation
- a. *tek ari kar-pe*
hand with make-thing
'things made by hand'
- a'. *tek-e-kar-pe*
hand-APPL-make-thing
'hand-made goods'
- b. *kaya ari terke*
sail with run
'run by a sail'
- b'. *kaya-e-terke*
sail-APPL-run

- (118) Comitative relation
- a. *pone tura kuykuy*
bone with bite
'bite X together with a bone'
- b. *pone ko-kuykuy*
APPL

Applicative formation may apply with respect to two different nominal adjuncts, as in the following example, where the first applicative prefix *e-* indicates a more abstract meaning relation of "about/regarding".

- (119) *Asinuma ekasi matkaci a-e-ko-paskuma.*
I g. father girls 1SG-APPL-APPL-tell an old story
'I told girls an old story about Grandfather.'

One of the claims made by Baker (1988) regarding applicative formation or P incorporation is that no inactive intransitive clause undergoes this process. This claim comes from the assumption that inactive (or the so-called "unaccusative") verbs do not assign an abstract Case to a nominal, while an abstract Case is required of every overt noun phrase in the particular theoretical framework (the so-called GB framework) in which Baker is working. This claim is falsified in the Ainu data. For example, forms (106), (115a'), and (116b) illustrate a case of applicative formation involving an inactive intransitive clause. Additional examples of the same kind include the following:

- (120) a. *cip o-ika turse*
ship APPL-overflow fall
'fall from a ship'

- b. *ni o-pici*
 tree APPL-miss footing
 'miss one's footing from a tree'
- c. *tu repun mosir e-an rok nispa* (Itadori)
 many offshore country APPL-be PERF master
 'the masters who are (exist) in many offshore countries'
- d. *Mokor a-e-wen.*
 sleep 1SG-APPL-bad
 'I missed sleeping.'
- e. *Sake a-e-niste.*
 wine 1SG-APPL-strong
 'I am strong in (drinking) wine.'
- f. *Iyoype-nupek cise-upsor ko-maknatara.*
 treasure-light house-inside APPL-gleam
 'The lights of the treasure were gleaming in the room.'

The forms in (115a, a') clearly indicate that applicative formation increases the valence of the verb, turning an intransitive verb to a transitive verb, as evidenced by the change of the intransitive subject affix *-an* in (a) to the transitive subject affix *a-* in (a'). Whether applicative formation turns an intransitive verb to a transitive verb that assigns the abstract objective Case to the stranded nominal is an interesting question, which cannot be readily answered in the case of Ainu, which has no overt case marking for an object nominal. However, there are two facts that indicate that the stranded nominal indeed turns into an object. One is the fact that the personal affixes in the verb change from the intransitive forms to the transitive forms, and the other is that the stranded nominal incurs the object-personal affix marking in the verb (cf. the discussion on the examples in (30) on pp. 27–8 above). Furthermore, it is just such an object that can be incorporated into the verb.

Interaction of applicative formation and noun incorporation: We have concluded earlier that no nominal holding an oblique semantic relation can be directly incorporated. This conclusion comes from the fact that whenever such a nominal is incorporated, the verb is always marked by one of the applicative prefixes. In other words, an oblique nominal – typically instrumental or locative – can be incorporated only after being made an object via applicative formation. Most cases of incorporation of an oblique nominal via applicative formation reflect morphologically the order of application of these two processes – the applicative prefix occurs first (internally), and then the incorporated noun is added. This interaction of applicative formation and noun incorporation is illustrated by the following examples:

- (121) a. *tek-e-kar-pe*
 hand-APPL-make-thing
 'hand-made goods'
- b. *Ratki apa a-sapa-e-puni.* (Itadori)
 hung door 1SG-head-APPL-lift
 'I lifted the suspended door with my head.'
- c. *Pon akor sapo a-at-e-uk.* (Itadori)
 young my sister PASS-rope-APPL-tie
 'My young sister was tied up with a rope.'
- d. *Yaopiwka a-rep-o-cari.* (Itadori)
 stony river-bed 1SG-offing-APPL-scatter
 'Scattering (the stones of) the stony riverbed in the offing (offshore place).'
- e. *Nea cep a-pone-ko-kuykuy.*
 that fish 1SG-bone-APPL-bite
 'I bit that fish together with bones.'

With the last example, we can illustrate the derivational steps, which involve a stage in which an oblique has become an object prior to incorporation.

- (122) a. *Nea cep pone tura a-kuykuy.* (with a comitative adjunct)
 that fish bone with 1SG-bite
 'I bit that fish with its bones.'
- b. *Nea cep pone a-ko-kuykuy.* (applicative formation)
 that fish bone 1SG-APPL-bite
- c. *Nea cep a-pone-ko-kuykuy.* (incorporation of the originally
 that fish 1SG-bone-APPL-bite oblique N)

While the (b) stage above is an artificially constructed form following Chiri's illustration of such a form, there are actual forms in which two objects obtain due to applicative formation, e.g.

- (123) a. *Oanray kewe sanota-kurka a-ko-osura.* (Itadori)
 dead body beach-surface 1SG-APPL-throw
 'I threw the dead body on the surface of the sandy beach.'
- b. *Iyoykir-ka kane rakko a-e-sitayki.* (Itadori)
 implement-top golden otter 1SG-APPL-dump
 'I dumped the golden sea otter on top of the row of the implements of rites.'
- c. *Kane rakko riraskitay a-e-orawki-re.* (Itadori)
 golden otter high beam 1SG-APPL-escape-CAUS
 'I let the golden sea otter escape to the high beam.'

These double-object constructions typically involve an original patient object and a derived locative object – the derived instrumental object tends to be incorporated as in the examples in (121). Notice that these locative nominals would be marked by the postpositional particle, e.g. *ta*, as in the following example, had they not been advanced to the object role via applicative formation.

- (124) *Omayse-ka ta u-uk-rorumpe hopuni.* (Itadori)
 floor-top on REC-grapple-fight arise
 'Rough-and-tumble fights started on the floor.'

Now, those forms in (121) are derived via application of applicative formation and noun incorporation in this order to the same semantically oblique nominal. It is, however, possible that incorporation and applicative formation apply with respect to different nominals, the former to the patient, basic object and the latter to the oblique nominal. Though the application of incorporation to the patient object in the forms such as (123) is a theoretical possibility, the morphological shape indicates that incorporation of the patient object takes place prior to applicative formation. That is, as observed in the following examples, the incorporated patient noun occurs prior (internally) to the applicative affix.

- (125) a. *Siatuy-noski ko-cip-terke-re.* (Itadori)
 ocean-middle APPL-ship-run-CAUS
 '(They) ran the ship in the middle of the ocean.'
- b. *Tam-kurpoki a-ko-tam-etaye.* (Itadori)
 sword-underneath ISG-APPL-sword-draw out
 'I drew out the sword underneath the sword.'
- c. *Wen Iskarunmat i-kosunke have ne rok oka...*
 bad Ishikari-woman ISG/O-lie voice be PERF be (PL)
a-ko-tam-enere. (Itadori)
 ISG-APPL-sword-swing
 'There were voices of the Ishikari-woman lying to me. I swung the sword at them.'

To summarize the two instances of the interaction of noun incorporation and applicative formation, we obtain the following situations:

- (126) Applicative > Incorporation (involving the same nominal)
Aynu cuporo sikanna kamuy sar-e-ciw. (Itadori)
 man belly dragon god tail-APPL-pierced
 'The dragon-god pierced the man's belly with the tail.'
 (cf. (121) for additional examples)

(127) Incorporation > Applicative (involving different nominals)

I-turen kamuy utarorkehe tu piskan nissut

1SG/O-bless god comrades many surrounding clouds

ko-hum-paye-re. (Itadori)

APPL-sound-go-CAUS

'The gods blessing me sent the sounds to all those surrounding clouds.'

(cf. (125) for additional examples)

The order of application of the processes in (126) is a natural consequence of the restriction that obliques cannot be incorporated directly. As for the order in (127), we might entertain a hypothesis that applicative formation is easier to apply after incorporation of the basic object. The latter has the effect of turning a transitive clause into an intransitive clause, at least in the sense that it creates an empty object slot which can be filled by a subsequently created object via applicative formation. (See pp. 63–4 on the variability in dialects over the transitive-intransitive shift in the verbal morphology accompanying noun incorporation.) This ordering, thus, maintains the valency of the verb to the two basic patterns (transitive and intransitive) throughout the derivation, whereas the opposite application involves a stage in which a less common pattern of double objects arises. Though double objects are permitted, as in (120) or with a limited number of three-place predicates, they do not seem to be favored as there aren't many examples of them.

Thus, the two ways of ordering noun incorporation and applicative formation illustrated in (126) and (127) seem to be motivated, and the different orders are reflected in the order of affixes in the verb – what is applied first attaches an affix or a noun closer to the stem. This happy situation obeying Baker's Mirror Principle (Baker 1985) – that the order of formatives mirrors the order of application of the rules responsible for them – however, is marred by a number of forms found in Chiri (1936:93), which includes the forms consistent with our discussion but also the following paraphrases.

- (128) a. *ni o-pici* = *o-ni-pici*
 tree APPL-miss step APPL-tree-miss step
 'fall from a tree'
- b. *sik o-poso inkar* = *o-sik-poso inkar*
 eye APPL-through see APPL-eye-through see
 'to see through narrowly opened eyes'
- c. *cip o-ika turse* = *o-cip-ika turse*
 ship APPL-spill fall APPL-ship-spill fall
 'fall (spilling) from a ship'

All these are cases of the application of applicative formation and noun incorporation to the same nominals, and in such cases we expect the order of applicative formation first and then noun incorporation, but the morphological derivations do not mirror these syntactic derivations. The order of the formatives suggests either (1) that noun incorporation has taken place first incorporating the oblique nominals directly, and then applicative formation has applied, or (2) that the order of the application is the same as the other cases of both rules affecting the same oblique nominals (i.e. applicative > incorporation), but, for some reason, the incorporated nouns have cut into the sequence of the applicative affix and the verb stem. The first possibility is inconceivable, because after the incorporation of an oblique nominal, there is no oblique adjunct to which applicative formation can apply. Of course, if one assumes that applicative formation can also affect the stranded postpositional particles alone, the first possibility is feasible, but such an assumption grossly undermines the function of applicative formation, which is to advance an oblique nominal adjunct to the status of direct object. Thus, there appears to be a case in which an incorporated noun cuts into the sequence of the applicative affix and the verb stem with the result that betrays the order of syntactic derivations. Whatever the ultimate explanations for this may be, those forms listed in (128) remain a minor irregularity, as the examination of the *yukar* "Itadorimaru" has failed to uncover any such form. (There is a possibility that the *o*-prefix in (128) is that of the direction-indicating prefix (*h*) *o*- discussed in section 3.5.12.)

Adverb incorporation: Whereas oblique nominal adjuncts do not incorporate directly, adverbs incorporate rather freely with the following qualification. What is incorporated is a basic (root) form of a noun, adverb, or verb. Thus, in the case of noun incorporation, the possessive form (see section 3.4.2) will never be incorporated. For example, the noun *sik* 'eye' in (128b) is the basic form, which is used in a generic sense. In typical occurrences nouns assume the possessed forms *sik-i* or *sik-ih*, as in *ku-sik-i* 'my eye', *o-sik-i* 'his eye', etc. Thus, despite the fact that many incorporated nouns appear to represent specific, referential entities (see e.g. the incorporated nouns in (125)–(127)), the possessive forms do not incorporate. The same is true with adverb incorporation. When the adverbial form is itself a basic form, its full form incorporates. However, when adverbs are derived from stative verbs by means of suffixing the adverbial ending *-no*, as in *pirka* 'good' > *pirka-no* 'well', *moire* 'slow' > *moire-no* 'slowly', etc., what is incorporated are basic verb forms. Some cases of adverb incorporation are given below:

- (129) a. *Toyko a-kikkik.*
 thoroughly 1SG-beat
 'I beat (him) up thoroughly.'

- a'. *A-toyko-kikkik.*
 1SG-thoroughly-beat
- b. *Ratki apa a-moyre-caka.* (Itadori)
 hung door 1SG-slow(ly)-open
 'I opened the suspended door slowly.'
- c. *Hanke ek ay ... a-i-ko-tunas-rap-te.* (Itadori)
 near come arrow PASS-1SG/O-APPL-fast-fall(PL)-CAUS
 'The arrows coming near were made to fall fast toward me.'

While no more than one noun can be incorporated into the verb at a time, a noun and an adverb can be incorporated into one verb base at the same time.

- (130) a. *Pinne kamuy kiraw-riki-kur-roski.* (Itadori)
 male god horn-high-EXPL-raise
 'The male (dragon) god raised the horns high.'
- b. *Pirka pon menoko ... okkew-maka-atte.* (Itadori)
 pretty young woman neck-backward-drop
 'The (dying) pretty girl dropped her neck backward.'

When these forms involving a noun and an adverb are combined with the reflexives and other affixes, we obtain a truly polysynthetic word like the following:

- (131) *Usa-oruspe*
 various-rumors
a- e- yay-ko- tuyma-si-ram- suy-pa.
 1SG-APPL-REFL-APPL-far-REFL-heart-sway-ITERA
 (lit.) 'I keep swaying my heart afar and toward myself over various rumors.' = 'I wonder about various rumors.'

Incorporation within the noun phrase: We saw in section 3.4.6 that an attributive verb occurs in two positions – either before the affixed head noun or between the personal affix and the head noun, e.g.

- (132) a. *pon a-poho*
 little 1SG-child
 'my little child'
- b. *a-wen-yupihi*
 1SG-bad-older brother
 'my dear older brother'

We shall examine here the possibility of considering the (b) form as a case of incorporation of an attribute into the head noun. While these two forms are from Classical Ainu, the colloquial languages of different dialectal areas show the forms

of the (b) pattern, in which an attribute cuts into the sequence of the possessive personal affix and the head noun.

- (133) a. *ku-pon-turesi* (Ishikari)
 1SG-little-sister
 'my little sister'
 b. *k-arka-sikihi* (Saru)
 1SG-hurt-eye
 'my hurting eye'
 c. *ku-pon-kahkemaha* (Sakhalin)
 1SG-little-young lady
 'my little young lady'

Given the fact that these forms co-exist with paraphrases in which attributes occur before the affixed nouns, it appears that we can easily conclude that the above forms are derived via incorporation of attributes into head nouns. However, the actual situation is slightly more complex. Tamura (1970) points out that only one attribute can be incorporated, illustrating this by the impossibility of the forms such as (b) below, while the phrasal paraphrases like (a) are perfectly well-formed.

- (134) a. *earkinne arka ku-sikihi* (Saru)
 awfully hurt 1SG-eye
 'my eye which hurts awfully'
 b. **k-earkinne-arka-sikihi*

Based on this restriction and others of similar kinds, Tamura concludes that those forms represented in (133) are words rather than phrases. Tamura's point is well taken in view of the general fact that word formation does not involve a phrasal category, and her conclusion lends support to the analysis that derives the forms in question by a word-formation process of incorporation. However, actual situations, at least in the Sakhalin dialect, are not as straightforward as Tamura's description.

Hattori (1961) presented his native informant of the Sakhalin dialect with various combinations of the personal affixes, attributes, and head nouns to see which combinations and orders are permitted. His results, though not exhaustive, at least show that the following orders are generally permitted.

- (135) a. *kurasno poro e-setaha*
 black big 2SG-dog
 'your big black dog'
 b. *e-kurasno poro setaha*
 2SG-black big dog

- (136) a. *pon-no poro e-setaha*
 slightly big 2SG-dog
 'your slightly big dog'
 b. *e-pon-no poro setaha*
 2SG-slightly big dog

The possibility of the (b) forms presents some problem for the incorporation analysis, for in (136b) an attributive phrase consisting of an adverb *pon-no* 'slightly' and an attributive verb *poro* 'big' has been incorporated, contrary to Tamura's observation in her Saru data. Somewhat similar forms to Hattori's concocted forms are found in the natural Sakhalin data collected by Murasaki (1976).

- (137) *ku-wen pon kahkemacihi* (Sakhalin)
 1SG-bad little young lady
 'my dear young lady'

Here the form *wen* 'bad/dear' does not assume the adverbial form of *wen-no* 'very, excessively', but the expression can be taken to involve the adverbial force with the meaning of 'my very cute young lady'. Recall that incorporation involves the root forms of nouns and adverbs. Thus, (137) too can be construed as involving phrasal incorporation.

The incorporation of an attribute within the noun phrase is thus somewhat ambiguous. Hattori (1961) too is wary of considering the forms such as (135b) and (136b) as "compound words", on the basis of the fact that each unit has its own prosodeme and that a variety of adjectives can occur in such forms. A similar view is expressed by Asai (1970) for the similar forms in the Ishikari dialect. Hattori suggests that these forms should be described as consisting of four words (e.g. *e-, kurasno, poro, setaha*) and as constituting a unit he calls "word concatenation". This is basically a phonological unit, like a phonological phrase, consisting of words that are pronounced as a unit. The problem with this suggestion is that it fails to identify the forms in question in syntactic terms: are they words or phrases? If these forms are phrases, as implied by Hattori's suggestion that they should not be considered as compound words, then we still face a number of problems. One is that too many attributive elements cannot be inserted between the personal affix and the head noun, as Hattori's informant rejects a form like *e-sine kurasno poro setaha* intended as meaning 'your one black big dog'. If the forms are indeed phrases, we would not expect such a limitation on the length – presumably a real phrase like *sine kurasno poro e-setaha* (one black big 2SG-dog) 'your one big black dog' is perfectly well-formed. Secondly, Hattori's survey also indicates that the distribution of the personal affixes is limited in such a way that only one of them

can occur per unit; i.e. a form like *e-kurasno poro e-setaha* (2SG-black big 2SG-dog) is not permitted. That is, a personal affix cannot be attached to both attributive verb and head noun. A restriction like this can be most straightforwardly accounted for by positing an incorporation rule that inserts an attributive element into the basic head unit consisting of a personal affix and the head noun. Thus, notwithstanding an indication that a phrase may be incorporated against a general rule of word formation, the forms under consideration should be considered as a case of word formation involving the incorporation of the attributive elements into the head noun.

Also ambiguous are the cases involving attributes within the possessive phrase with the verb *kor* 'have' of the following forms:

- (138) a. *pon a-kor yupi* (Itadori)
 young 1SG-have older brother
 'my young older brother'
- b. *a-wen-kor sapo* (Itadori)
 1SG-bad-have older sister
 'my dear older sister'
- c. *an-koro pon kahkemah* (Sakhalin)
 1PL-have little young lady
 'our cute young lady'

The question here is whether a sequence such as *a-kor yupi* (lit.) 'an older brother I have' is to be considered a word unit. A similar unit such as *ku-kor-kur* (1SG-have-person) 'my husband' is clearly a unit, for the form *kur* is a nominalizing suffix denoting a person. If the sequence of Affix-*kor*-Noun were a word unit, then an attribute gets incorporated in two slots, as in (b) and (c), but if only the portion of Affix-*kor* is to be considered a word unit, then only (b) would constitute a case of incorporation. The latter, more intuitively satisfying, analysis leads to the discovery of a new type of incorporation where an attributive verb gets incorporated into another attributive verb.

3.5.8 Summary of valency changes and morphological effects

Noun incorporation and the use of certain verbal prefixes have the effect of decreasing the valence. Among the prefixes, the generalized object marker *i-*, the reciprocal *u-*, and the reflexive *yay-* and *si-* all effect a morphological change – transitive personal affixes are replaced by intransitive personal affixes. In the case of noun incorporation, there may be dialectal variation; however, the general pattern is that the incorporative transitive verb exhibits intransitive morphology. The indefinite-person prefix *a-* gave rise to the passive construction, but the

personal affix marking the patient remains an object affix, the verbal morphology still exhibiting the older transitive configuration, while the clausal syntax has acquired the intransitive characteristics.

The applicative prefixes *e-*, *o-*, and *ko-* as well as the causative suffixes *-(r)e/-te/-*(*y*)*ar* all produce an increase in valence, and the resulting constructions are all morphologically transitive. The interaction of applicative formation and noun incorporation often has the effect of canceling out the valency-changing effects on the basic verb morphologically or as reflected in the number of bare nominal arguments within the clause.

3.5.9 The order of verbal affixes

A large number of affixes that are concentrated in an Ainu verb complex are ordered with respect to one another. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 provide a summary of possible orderings.

Among the prefixes, an object prefix does not co-occur with the generalized object prefix, the reflexive prefix, or the reciprocal prefix, and these latter three prefixes are also mutually exclusive. Applicative prefixes, on the other hand, may occur twice, although occurrences of a second applicative prefix seem to be very limited. The following is an example of a form with two applicative prefixes:

- (139) *earkaparpe e-yay-ko-noye.*
 only-thin-clothes APPL-REFL-APPL-turn
 'wrap oneself with only thin clothes'

This expression etymologically means something like 'one turns around the person with thin clothes', and thus the prefix *ko-* here makes the person, around whom the one wrapping him turns, a direct object, which has been reflexivized,

Personal prefix		APPL	Generalized Object	APPL	Verb
Subject prefix	Object prefix		Reflexive		
			Reciprocal		

Figure 3.1 The order of prefixes (personal prefixes occur before all others)

Verb	Plural	Causative	Iterative
------	--------	-----------	-----------

Figure 3.2 The order of suffixes

and the other prefix *e-* makes the instrumental expression "with only thin clothes" a new direct object.

3.5.10 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are not generally marked by personal affixes, which are attached to the main verbs.

- (140) a. *Icen ku-kon rusuy.* (Ishikari)
 money 1SG-have want
 'I want to have money.'
 b. *Ku-ype kaska.* (Saru)
 1SG-eat surpass
 'I ate excessively.'
 c. ... *niicayteh ... tani an-tuye hemata.* (Sakhalin)
 firewood now 1PL-cut finish
 'We have chopped up the firewood now.'

Certain auxiliary verbs have main-verb counterparts, perhaps being derived from the latter. Examples of them seen frequently are *easkay* 'can (do)' and *eaykap* 'can't (do)'. When these forms function as main verbs, they take personal affixes, whereas in their auxiliary function, they do not, as in the following examples:

- (141) a. *Kampi ku-easkay.* (Ishikari)
 study (N) 1SG-can do
 'I could do the study (well).'
 b. *Ku-man easkay.* (Ishikari)
 1SG-swim can
 'I could swim.'
 (142) a. *Sisam itak ku-eaykap.* (Ishikari)
 Japanese speech 1SG-can't do
 'I couldn't speak the Japanese language.'
 b. *Ku-yanke eaykap.* (Ishikari)
 1SG-pull up can't
 'I couldn't pull (it) up.'

Though not observed in the Ishikari dialect data, Hattori (1961) reports that his Sakhalin dialect informant told him that in the case of these auxiliaries, it would be better to attach personal affixes to both main and auxiliary verbs. While the forms with personal affixes attached to either the main verb or the auxiliary are possible, they are characterized as sloppy speech.

In the Sakhalin dialect, some speakers also attach a personal affix to the auxiliary *rusuy* 'want'. Also, in this dialect, the plural verbal suffix *-hci* may be attached to auxiliary verbs as well.

- (143) a. Speaker F: *Pon kahkemah ooya'an itah i-ko-nuu*
 little lady various words 1PL/O-APPL-hear
rusuy. (Sakhalin)
 want
 'The cute young lady wants to hear various words from us.'
- b. Speaker O: *Taa keera'an cep uta naa an-ee ranke orowa*
 those delicious fish PL too 1PL-eat and then
simakoray rusuy-an.
 pass away want-1PL
 'We want to pass away after eating those delicious fish.'
- c. *Rayciska onne reekoh nean tumikoro e-ariki*
 to really that war APPL-come (PL)
rusuy-a-hci. (Sakhalin)
 want-?-PL
 '(They = Orokkos) really wanted to come to Raychishka for that war.'

One example of the affix-marked auxiliary *rusuy* 'want' was found in "Itadori-maru", and both Kindaichi (1931) and Chiri (1936) also give examples of it as the incorporative main verb – notice in these that the occurrence of the intransitive subject *-an* indicates that noun incorporation has taken place. While (144b,c) appear to indicate a case of incorporating a phrase, e.g. *wakka ku* 'drink water', by the verb *rusuy*, perhaps a better interpretation is that a verbal compound, e.g. *ku-rusuy* 'want to drink', has occurred first, after which the object is incorporated into the compound verb.

- (144) a. *Ekimne rusuy-an*. (Itadori)
 go to the mountains want-1SG
 'I wanted to go to the mountains (to hunt).'
- b. *Wakka-ku-rusuy-an*.
 water-drink-want-1SG
 'I want to drink water.'
- c. *Kina-e-rusuy-an*. (Iburi)
 herbs-eat-want-1SG
 'I want to eat herbs.'

These variations in affix marking in auxiliary verbs seem to reflect the difference

in the degree of change from main verbs to auxiliaries; those that have completely become auxiliaries do not take a personal affix, whereas those on their way to becoming auxiliaries may or may not be affixed.

3.5.11 Tense and aspect

The Ainu verbal system does not possess any affix that would mark tense. Indeed, Ainu makes no tense distinction such as that of present and past in English. The simple verb form refers to events irrespective of their time in relation to the time of utterance. However, as is the practice in this text, sentences with plain verb forms are best translated in the English past tense. On the other hand, Ainu has a rather rich aspectual system. There are both auxiliary-type aspect markers and aspectual suffixes. Examples of these are given below, where the glosses indicate the etymological meanings, many of which are retained when these elements function as independent verbs:

- (145) Perfective: *a* (SG), *rok* (PL) 'to sit'
- a. *Nep kamuye i-turen rok kus.* (Itadori)
 what god 1SG/O-bless PERF perhaps
 'Perhaps some god has blessed me.'
- b. *Arki rok a?* (Saru)
 come (PL) PERF Q
 'Have they come?'
- (146) Incipient: *oasi* (*o-* 'hip' *asi* 'stand/appear/arise')
- a. *Eci-uwekot oasi.*
 2PL-fall about to
 'You are about to fall.'
- (147) Progressive: *kor* 'have'
- a. *A-i-ku-re-pa kor i-ko-pakes-kor-pa.* (Itadori)
 PASS-1SG/O-drink-CAUS-PL PROG 1SG/O-APPL-cup-have-PL
 'I was being made to drink and they all gave me the half-drunk cups of wine.'
- b. *Ku-paraparak kor hoyupu-as.* (Ishikari)
 1SG-cry PROG run-1PL
 'We ran while I was crying.'
- (148) Terminative: *okere* 'finish'
- Kampi a-nukar okere.*
 letter 1SG-see finish
 'I finished reading the letter.'

It is noted that these aspectual auxiliaries do not take personal affixes.

(149) Aspectual suffixes:

- a. *-kosanu* Instantaneous
mat-kosanu 'it happened all at once'
- b. *-rototo/-rototke* Successive
keu-rototo 'sounds of thunder occurring successively'
- c. *-hitara/-natara* Durative
raye-hitara 'push continually'
- d. *-osma* Momentary
rik-osma 'go up suddenly'
- e. *-tek* Trivial
ran-tek 'go down a little'

3.5.12 *Adverbs*

Adverbs occur before the verbs they modify, e.g.

- (150) *Tunas ipe wa tunas mokor wa tunas hopuni!*
quickly eat and quickly sleep and quickly get up
'Eat quickly, sleep quickly, and get up quickly!'

Adverbs are generally derived from other parts of speech, such as nouns and verbs. Stative verbs (adjectives) are used as adverbs without any formal modification, especially in Classical Ainu. In the colloquial language the suffix *-no* is generally used in deriving adverbs from verbs.

- (151) a. *kosne suma* 'light rock'
light rock
b. *kosne terke* 'jump lightly'
jump
c. *kosne-no terke* '(ditto)'
- (152) a. *pirka menoko* 'pretty woman'
pretty woman
b. *pirka inu* 'listen well'
listen
c. *pirka-no inu* '(ditto)'

Ainu has a systematic way of indicating motion toward or away from various locations. There are two productive prefixes for this purpose, *(h)e-* 'face' and *(h)o-* 'hip', with their associated meanings 'facing', and 'away from'.

- (153) a. *pas* 'downstream'
he-pas san 'go downstream'
 go down
ho-pas ek 'come from the shore (down stream)'
 come
- b. *pes* 'upstream'
e-pesne arpa 'go upstream'
 go
o-pesne san 'go downstream'
 go down
- c. *mak* 'mountain side'
he-makasi oman 'go toward the mountain side'
 go
ho-makasi ek 'come from the mountain side'
 come
- d. *cupka* 'east'
e-cupkaun arpa 'go to the east'
 go
o-cupkaun ek 'come from the east'
 come

3.6 Imperatives, negatives, and interrogatives

Imperative sentences are formed using bare verb forms, i.e. without personal affixes. The particle *hani* can optionally be added.

- (154) a. *Ek hani!*
 'Come!'
- b. *Arpa wa inkar wa ek!*
 go and see and come
 'Go, see, and come!'
- c. *En-nur-e wa en-kor-e!*
 ISG/O-hear-CAUS and ISG/O-have-CAUS
 'Let me hear and let me have; i.e. Do me the favor of letting me hear!'

When the addressee is plural, *yan* is added in final position.

- (155) a. *Arki yan!*
 come (PL)
 'Come on!'

- b. *Apunno oka yan!*
 peacefully exist (PL)
 'Live peacefully; i.e. Good bye!'

Expectedly, the plural imperative form is also used as a polite command.

The cohortative expression "Let's ..." is formed with the final particle *ro*, e.g.

- (156) a. *Paye-an ro!*
 go-1PL
 'Let's go.'
 b. *Mokar-an ro!*
 'Let's go to sleep.'

Negative sentences are produced with the adverb *somo*, e.g.

- (157) *Tampako anakne somo ku-ku*
 tobacco TOP NEG 1SG-smoke
 'As for tobacco, I don't smoke.'

Negative imperatives use the *iteki* 'never'.

- (158) *Iteki iku!*
 'Don't drink (wine)!'

Interrogatives do not involve word-order change. The final interrogative particle *ya* or rising intonation alone suffices to form interrogatives, e.g.

- (159) a. *Eci-ye?* (with a rising intonation)
 2SG-say
 'Did you say?'
 b. *pirka-p ne ya?*
 rich thing be Q
 'Is (he) a rich person?'

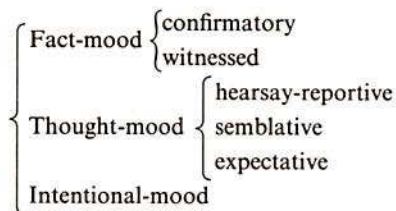
The interrogative pronouns listed below tend to occur sentence initially because the subject pronoun is often deleted; but there is no need to move the wh-element to sentence initial position – see (161c,d) below.

- (160) *humna* 'who' *hemanta* 'what' *hunak(-ta)* 'where' *inan-pe* 'which' *hempar*
 'when' *hempak* 'how many'
- (161) a. *Humna eci-ne?*
 who 2SG-be
 'Who are you?'

- b. *Hemanta eci-nu rusuy ya?*
 what 2SG-hear want Q
 'What do you want to hear?'
- c. *Eani hemanta e-e?*
 you what 2SG-eat
 'What do you eat?'
- d. *Ekasi hunak ta an?*
 g. father where at exist
 'Where is Grandfather?'

3.7 Mood

Ainu has a well-developed system of mood that allows the speaker to express varying attitudes with respect to the statement he makes. Chiri (1936) summarizes the Ainu mood system as follows:



The modal expressions, most of which are evidential in nature, in general assume the form of the appositively nominalized expressions with the head nouns plus the copula *ne* or *an*. Etymologically the head nouns derive from nouns with the meanings typically associated with the types of evidence for the information, the channel through which information is obtained, etc.

Confirmatory mood: The particle *ruwe* 'trace' together with the copula *ne* confirms the truthfulness of the statement. This form is used in story-telling and more often by men than women.

- (162) *Hapo ray ruwe-ne.*
 mother die it is
 'It is (a fact) that his mother died.'

Witnessed mood: The particle *sir*, related to the noun *siri* of the typically ambient meanings 'weather, time, space, land', is used to affirm a fact that has been witnessed by the speaker.

- (163) a. *Apto as anke sir-an.*
 rain fall about to
 'It is about to rain.'
 b. *Apto as siri-ne.*
 'It has just rained.'

Hearsay-reportive mood: The particle *hawe* is related to the noun *haw* 'voice', and this mood thus expresses the meaning of 'They say that ...' or 'I hear that ...'

- (164) *Hapo ray hawe-ne.*
 mother die
 'I hear that his mother has died.'

Semblative mood: *Humi* is derived from the noun *hum* 'sound', and expresses the meaning 'it sounds', 'it appears', 'I gather', etc.

- (165) *Apto as humi-ne.*
 rain fall
 'It seems to be raining.'

Expectative mood: The meaning 'it must be' comes under the heading of expectative mood and is expressed by the particle *kuni*, which also has the meaning of 'in order that'.

- (166) *Kamuy ne kuni a-ramu awa.*
 god be must 1SG-think then
 'Then I thought that (it) must be a god.'

Intentional-mood: The speaker's intention is expressed by the use of the particle *kusu*, which is also used as a subordinating conjunctive with the meaning of 'because' and 'in order to'.

- (167) *ku-oman kusu-ne.*
 1SG-go
 'I intend to go.'

The use of this mood particle has been extended to the future tense and to the polite imperative, as in the following expressions:

- (168) a. *Penampe hopuni kusu-ne ko ...*
 get up
 'As Penampe is to get up ...'
 b. *e-ere kawe e-oman kus-ne na.*
 2SG-feed while 2SG-go please
 'Please go while feeding X.'

APPENDIX 1

Classical Ainu text

1. *I-resu yupi i-resu sapo i-res-pa hine oka-an ike:-*
 ISG/O-raise brother foster sister ISG/O-raise-PL and be (PL)-ISG then
2. *Kamuy kat casi casi-upsor a-i-o-resu.*
 god build castle castle-inside PASS-ISG/O-APPL-raise
3. *Tapan inuma ran-pes kunne cirikinka, enkasike nispa-mut-pe*
 such treasure cliff like rise high over there master-wear-thing
otu-santuka o-uka-uyru otu-pusa-kur suyva kane asso-kotor mike
 many-hilt APPL-REC-exist many-knot-shadow sway gold wall glitter
kane anramasu auwesuye.
 gold pleasing interesting
4. *Inuma-koca ci-tuye amset amset-kasi a-i-o-resu.*
 treasure-front PASS-cut bed bed-top PASS-ISG/O-APPL-raise
5. *Oharkisi un retan-ni tumpu asrukonna meunataru.*
 left-side in white-wood room stood splendid
6. *Nekonan-kur a-o-res-pa tumpu ci-tomte ruwe*
 what kind of person PASS-APPL-raise-PL room PASS-beautify that
oka nankor a a-eramisikari rayap kewtum
 be perhaps be ISG-not to understand surprised feelings
a-yay-kor-pa-re.
 ISG-REFL-have-PL-CAUS
7. *Pakno-nekor amset-ka ta tomi-ka nuye ikor-ka nuye, tampe patek*
 and then bed-top at sword-top carving sheath-top carving that only
a-ko-sine-an-i-nan-tuye-re.
 ISG-APPL-one-be-place-face-turn-CAUS

(From Yukar "Kutune sirka" (Itadorimaru)
 in Kindaichi (1931))

Translation:

(1) My foster brother and foster sister raising me, we lived then. (2) The god-built mountain castle, inside the mountain castle, I was raised. (3) The pile of treasure was heaped like a cliff, and above it the master's swords were crossing their hilts, and when the shadows of the sword knots swayed, the walls glittered in gold. How beautiful and how interesting! (4) In front of the treasure, there was a specially made bed, and I was raised on the top of the bed. (5) Toward the left, a white-wood room stood splendidly. (6) Not knowing what kind of person was being raised in the room so beautifully decorated, I was struck with wonder. (7) And then, on the top of the bed, I was making-my-face-turn-to-one-place (i.e. concentrating) on the carving on the surface of the sword and on the carving on the surface of the sheath.

APPENDIX 2

Ainu colloquial text (Ishikari dialect)

1. *Hampe isam, oya-paykar orwa gakkoo¹ otta somo ku-oman.*
 father die next year from school to not ISG-go
2. *Pon turesi siko kusu kesto an kor ku-pakkay.*
 little sister born because daily be PROG ISG-carry

3. *Ku-aki ku-turesi tura okay-as kor totto kim ta oman wa*
 ISG-brother ISG-sister with be-1PL PROG mother mountain to go and
takenoko² uk wa se wa san, eiyok.
 bamboo shoot take and carry and descend sell
4. *Totto ekimne kor pon turesi mamma ku-rusuy kusu*
 mother go to mountain when little sister milk ISG-want because
paraparak, ene ku-kar-i ka ku-erampetek.
 cry what ISG-do-NOMI too ISG-not to know
5. *Unarpe sinen ene itak-i, "Beko³ reska sisam otta oman wa beko*
 aunt one thus speak-NOMI cow raise Japanese to go and cow
tope hok wa kore ya," sekor itak kusu ku-pon-turesi ku-kay,
 milk buy and give IMP so speak because ISG-little-sister ISG-carry
ku-aki teke ku-ani, ku-turesi, inen ci-ne wa beko an-reska-i
 ISG-brother hand ISG-take ISG-sister four 1PL-be and cow INDEF-raise-NOMI
tapaye-as.
 go-PL
6. *Sisam nispa ene awki, "Totto ney-ne oman ruwe an?" sekor en-kopi*
 Japanese master thus say mother where go that be so ISG/o-ask
kusu "Hampe ray, ora⁴ totto ekimne takenoko kar kusu
 because father die my mother go to Mt. bamboo shoot take so as
oman," sekor hawki.
 go so say
7. *Ku-cis kor sonno en-erampokinu, beko tope poronno en-kore.*
 ISG-cry PROG really ISG/o-pity cow milk lot ISG/o-give
8. *Pon turesi ku-kore kor onuman pakno haw sak.*
 little sister ISG-give PROG evening until voice without
9. *Totto takenoko eiyok wa amam hok wa keray-kusu ipe-as.*
 mother bamboo shoot sell and rice buy and with thanks eat-1PL

(¹ a Japanese word for "school", ² a Japanese word for "bamboo shoot", ³ a Japanese word for "cow", ⁴ a Japanese word for "I")

(From *Ku sukup oruspe* [My life story]
 by Sunasawa Kura)

Translation:

(1) Father died, and from the year after that I didn't go to school. (2) Since a sister was born, I was carrying her on my back every day. (3) While my younger brother, younger sister, and I stayed, mother went to the mountain, took bamboo shoots, carried them, came down, and sold them. (4) When mother went to the mountain, the little sister cried wanting milk, but I didn't know what to do. (5) An aunt said this way, "Go to where the Japanese raise cows, buy cow's milk, and give it to her." That being said, I carried the little sister on my back, took the little brother's hand, and my younger sister; being four of us, we went to where the Japanese raised cows. (6) The Japanese master said, "Where did your mother go?" Thus asked, "Father died. My mother went to the mountain to take bamboo shoots," said I. (7) I was crying, and he pitied me, and gave me a lot of cow's milk. (8) Having given it to the little sister, she didn't cry until evening. (9) Mother sold bamboo shoots, bought rice, and with thanks we ate.