Grammar of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu (Idiolect of Ito Oda)

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Photo 2. Mrs. Ito Oda (left) and Anna Bugaeva (right). An Interview Session at the Eniwa Minami Hospital (1999).
1. Introduction

1.1. The Ainu language. It is the language of the Ainus (the self-name meaning ‘person’), a people who lives on the Island of Hokkaido in Northern Japan. The Ainus also occupied a considerable part of the Island of Honshu (until the 19th century), the Kurile Islands (until the beginning of the 20th century), the southern part of Sakhalin (until the middle of the 20th century), and the southern part of Kamchatka. Ainu was a spoken language until the 1960s. At present, there are only a few persons aged 80-90 on Hokkaido who remember their native language. The Ainu language is practically extinct now. All the Ainus speak Japanese.

The genetic relations of the Ainu language are not clear. It is unrelated to Japanese, and it is probably best described as a language isolate, although recently a relation with the languages of South-East Asia has been suggested (Murayama 1992, 1993; Vovin 1993). As Tamura mentions (2000: 4), morphological structures of Ainu resemble even those of Inuit languages, North American Indian languages, and Basque.

The Ainu folklore is extremely rich but Ainu was not a written language. Many Ainu texts were recorded by Japanese (K. Kindaichi, M. Chiri, S. Tamura, K. Murasaki, H. Kirikae, T. Satoo, H. Nakagawa, O. Okuda, S. Kayano and others), English (J. Batchelor), Danish (K. Refsing), Russian (N.A. Nevskij, M.M. Dobrotvorskij, B. Pilsudski - the last two of Polish origin) and Polish (A. Majewicz) linguists.

There are significant regional variations in Ainu and there is no standard variant. Unfortunately, the information on the Ainu dialects is still far from being complete. The most extensive cross-dialectal comparisons are provided by S. Hattori (ed.) (1964. Ainu Hoogen Jiten [Ainu Dialect Dictionary]) and T. Asai (1974. “Classification of Dialects: Cluster Analysis of Ainu Dialects”. Bulletin of the Institute for the Study of North Eurasian Cultures, 8). According to Tamura (2000: 2), Ainu can be roughly divided into Sakhalin, Kurile and Hokkaido dialects, which can be further divided into a number of minor subdialects.

1.2. The Chitose dialect of Ainu. It is one of the South West Hokkaido dialects. The contemporary town of Chitose famous for its airport is located about 40 km to the south east off the city of Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido prefecture. The area of the town of Chitose is 594,65 sq km, the population is 88,679 (“Toshi Deeta Pakku” [An Urban Data Pack]. Tooyoo Keizai, 07.04.2003).

In the old days, there were several Ainu villages concentrated around the Chitose River which used to be an important source of food supplies for the Ainus, another source being the surrounding mountains especially rich in game. Since the middle of
the 19th century the town of Chitose was one of the important Ainu trading posts with the Japanese.

The Ainu name for the area around the Chitose River is *Si-kot* <big-hollow> ‘a big hollow’. In the perception of the Japanese, the place name *Si-kot* was automatically associated with *shi-kotsu* ‘dead bones’ in their own language, so in 1805, the area was renamed into *Chi-tose* <thousand-years> ‘longevity’ by the order of the Hakodate magistrate Masayasu Habuto.

![Fig. 1. The Map of Hokkaido with the Biggest Settlements and the Territory of the Chitose Dialect Marked on it.](image)

Nowadays, there is still a considerable Ainu population in the town of Chitose, mostly the descendants of the Chitose dialect speakers, but they have lost their language and traditions, and their life-style is the same as that of the Japanese. However, recently the Chitose Ainu community headed by the enthusiasts from the Chitose Branch of the *Utari Kyookai* [Ainu Association of Hokkaido – the official English name] got engaged in activities aimed at reviving the Ainu culture by organizing traditional festivals and classes of the Ainu language.

However, the task of writing a complete grammar of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu, similar to the grammar of the Saru dialect (Tamura 1988; English version: Tamura 2000), is still to be performed.

1.3. The author’s work on the Chitose dialect of Ainu. In the period of July 1998-June 2000, I was fully involved in the fieldwork with Ito ODA (1908-2000) whose proficiency in the Ainu language had been just discovered (see Photo 1).

When interviewed in 1989 and 1990 by a group of researchers (see Watanabe et al. 1989, 1990), Ito Oda did not reveal her ability to narrate folk tales and to speak Ainu. She was probably overwhelmed by the presence of a more fluent speaker, Nabe Shirasawa, who was interviewed at the same time. She never claimed she could speak Ainu, saying that it had never been a language of communication for her. But, somehow, she had learned it from her mother and other ladies of the village, who, according to Ito Oda, used to gather around the hearth at the end of the day to exchange news and recite epics and folk tales in Ainu.

When I met Ito Oda first, she had little language confidence, but as soon as we became friends and established a productive working relationship, she started recalling more and more Ainu, surprising me with her in-depth knowledge of various aspects of the Ainu language. The interview sessions were held once a week or once in two weeks and lasted from 30 min. to an hour only because of the poor health condition of Ito Oda, who nevertheless felt very happy about my interest in her language and the opportunity to pass on her knowledge of Ainu. Most of our interviews took place at the hospital where Ito Oda stayed most of the time (see Photo 2).

I recorded from Ito Oda 15 folklore texts, 1 personal narrative, answers to numerous questionnaires for eliciting reciprocals and other grammatical phenomena, and the lexicon concerning parts of the body and body functions.

I have included in the present volume 15 folklore texts (6 kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ and 9 uwepeker ‘folk tales’) with a total recording time of 2 hours 17 minutes 16 seconds. Almost all the texts were transcribed during the lifetime of Ito Oda and
discussed with her. I consulted Mrs. Oda two to five times on each text, in order to make sure about the actual meanings of words and grammatical constructions. For some texts, Ito Oda gave a full Japanese translation. I deciphered and transcribed all of our discussions (held mostly in Japanese) concerning the interpretation of the Ainu folklore texts. Although I could not include all these data here for the lack of space, I have included the most important parts of Mrs. Oda’s interpretations and some interesting textual variations in the footnotes.

An included below brief outline of the grammatical structure of Ito Oda’s Chitose idiolect based on the research of her folklore texts and colloquial speech is believed to assist the reader in the reading of the 15 folklore texts. I would like to emphasize that I could manage to describe only those grammatical phenomena which are particularly essential for understanding texts and those specific of Ito Oda’s Chitose idiolect. There are cross-references between these grammatical notes and the texts which I hope can be useful for the reader. The index of 938 items (mainly words) included in the end of the present volume may also be of some use for the reader.

For recording the Ainu texts, I used a digital audio tape recorder (DAT), which is supposed to provide perfect recording quality, but unfortunately, it sometimes failed me. However, I decided to include the audio-recordings of all the 15 folklore texts in the MP3 format. I would specially like to apologize for the poor audio-quality of the text 8. Kapatcir Kamuy. Uwepeker [The Eagle God. Folk Tale].

Hopefully, the linguistic data obtained from Ito Oda will clarify the whole picture of the Chitose dialect, because her idiolect (Ito Oda was born in the village of Maoi near the town of Naganuma in the lowest reaches of the Chitose River) shows a number of differences from the published data based on the idiolect of the late Nabe Shirasawa who came from the upper reaches of the Chitose River.

2. Notes on symbols. The parentheses ((…)) are used in the Ainu texts to mark the utterances that are considered as redundant or inexplicable.

The square brackets ([…]) are used to mark essential additions in the Ainu texts and translations, as well as phonetic transcription in the notes.

The figure brackets ({{…}}) in the numbered lines of the epics indicate refrains (sakehe) which usually give rhythm to kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ and do not necessarily have a meaning; the symbol V indicates these refrains in the interlinear line.

The hyphen (-) is used as a general purpose morpheme boundary. The equality sign (=) indicates inflectional boundaries.
I use angle brackets (<…>) to mark morphemic glosses in the notes.

I divide words into morphemes almost everywhere, and avoid segmenting when it is not helpful or might obscure the meaning. For instance, *ekimne* i. ‘to go to the mountains to hunt’ (vi); ii. ‘to the mountains to hunt’ (adv) may be divided into morphemes as *e-kim-ne* <head.SUF-mountains-COP>, but I do not segment it for the sake of convenience as a high frequency word.

I give references to the texts (from 1 to 15) by noting the number of the text and the number of the line; for example, (3-15) means that the reader is advised to look up text 3, line 15. The data of Ito Oda’s colloquial language is marked by (OI).

3. Notes on transcription. I use the Latin alphabet for transcribing Ainu texts because it renders the phonetic structure of Ainu more adequately than the Japanese syllabic Katakana alphabet.

My transcription is phonological. In the case of phonological alternations (see 3.4), I transcribe a word in its derived form (rather than its underlying form), i.e. after the alternation rules have been applied.

Alternations do not always occur, as sometimes, mostly in careful speech, they are consciously avoided. But if the base forms were always chosen for transcription, we might lose valuable information about possible alternations in Ainu speech.

I do not use a full stop in Ainu text to signify the end of the sentence because there are no finite verbal forms in Ainu and therefore sentence boundary is not always clear.

3.1. Phonemes. The idiolect of Ito Oda has 5 vowel phonemes /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and 12 consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/, /s/, /r/, /m/, /n/, /w/, /y/, /h/, /', which is exactly the same as in the Hokkaido dialects, e.g. in the close Saru dialect (Tamura 2000: 17).

The pronunciation of the vowels is similar to the respective Japanese vowels.

Unlike the Japanese vowels, both /u/ and /o/ are slightly rounded. Sometimes /u/ may be mistaken for /o/ by an untrained listener for their close articulatory characteristics in Ainu.

The syllable final consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are always pronounced as unreleased. Sometimes the plosives /p/, /t/, /k/ become voiced in intervocalic position.

/c/ in transcription corresponds to a dorsal affricate [tʃ], but never [ts], as in the other dialects or idiolects.

/s/ in transcription corresponds to the sound [s]. As a rule, it is not palatalized, unless it is followed or preceded by /i/. Cf. [mus] ‘a fly’ (6-1), [urayusnai] ‘the name of a village in folktales’ (6-11), [pas] ‘to run’ (4-15), [os] ‘after’ (15-22, 24), but [ʃ ine] ‘one’ (7-113), [ʃ inutapka] ‘the name of a village in folktales’ (8-50), [piʃ ] (14-12), [niʃ pa] (15-13).
/ʁ/ is a voiced alveolar flap sound [ɾ], similar to the Japanese /ɾ/. However, in the syllable initial position, /ʁ/ may be sometimes realized as a voiced alveolar plosive close to [d] which is the same as in the Saru dialect (Tamura 1988: 13). After a syllable final /ʁ/ the preceding vowel is copied, which is, of course, not phonological: sekor [sekor ɾ] (quotation marker) (3-85), utar [utar ɹ] ‘people’; also a plural marker (6-23, 24). Frequently, this copied vowel is not clearly articulated and sounds more like the schwa sound [ə]: sekor [sekor ə] (quotation marker) (5-33), punkar [punkar ə] ‘vine’ (1-2).

/m/ and /n/ are nasals [m], [n]. The allophone [ŋ] appears before /k/.

/w/ and /y/ are glides [w] and [j] respectively.

/h/ is a glottal fricative [h] which is hardly distinguishable in intervocalic position: uwekohopi ‘separately from each other’ (15-94).

/’/ is a glottal plosive (glottal stop), which starts a syllable unless there is another initial consonant: ‘arpə (CVC.CV) ‘to go’ (9-31). For the sake of convenience the glottal stop is left unmarked in texts, except for the cases when it occurs after a syllable with a final consonant, as it may potentially influence syllabification and accentuation processes: wén.’e.kot ‘to die a hard death’ (7-111) (one would expect we.né.kot if there were no glottal stop).

The glottal stop has a tendency to weaken in intervocalic position, but not in accented syllables like ’o’ár ‘completely’ (15-53). The glottal stop is often omitted in the syllable immediately following an accented syllable: ukáomare ‘to put sth on top of one another in one pile’ (7-84) which has been previously reported for the Saru dialect (Tamura 1988: 13).

3.2. Syllable structure. The syllables are either open CV or closed CVC where the initial C may be the glottal stop /’/ or some other consonant (the only syllables that are ruled out in Ainu are ti1, wi, ‘uw, ‘iy). The syllable final C may be any consonant except /c/, /h/, /’/.

CV type: ne (copula) (2-2); ’e ‘to eat sth’ (2-7).

CVC type: cep ‘fish’ (12-8); ’as ‘to stand’ (6-8).

However, there is one instance in Ito Oda’s data which, strictly speaking, cannot be classified as a CV type and is provisionally termed here “quasi-CV”. It is hm.hm ‘eagle

1 When the morpheme final /t/ is followed by the vowel /i/, it is changed into /c/ in order to avoid the impossible sequence */ti/:
sinrit ‘ancestor’ – e=sinric-ihi <2SGS=ancestor-POSS> ‘your ancestors’ (OI).
owl’ (12-72). I suppose that in this case, the nasal /m/ has relatively high sonority value and takes the role of an accent bearing vowel. An analogous case, viz. *hīta* ‘what’, is described by Tamura (2000: 20).

### 3.3. Accentuation

Accent is distinctive. It is a pitch accent; the accentual nucleus syllable is high and the preceding syllables are always low, but the syllables that follow it may be either high or low.

In regular cases, accent falls on the first syllable if it is a closed syllable, and on the second one, if the first syllable is open: *'áp.to* (CVC.CV; HIGH.LOW) ‘rain’ (8-80), *ko.tán* (CV.CVC; LOW.HIGH) ‘village’ (13-1).

There are exceptions from the main accentuation rules: *núpe.he* (CV.CV.CV; HIGH. LOW.LOW) ‘the tears of’ (3-67), *tère* ‘to wait sth’ (CV.CV; HIGH.LOW) (6-42). In the texts, I mark accent only in irregular cases.

Unfortunately, there are no minimal pairs in my data differing in accent only, but they have been previously registered for the Chitose dialect; e.g. *niná* ‘to crush sth’ (NAK 298) and *nína* ‘to collect firewood’ (NAK 298).

Accent is sometimes lost in the case of lexicalized word collocations. For instance, the collocation *Ø=Ø=rán-ke Ø=nupe* <3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS 3.S=tears.POSS>* ‘the tears [he] was dropping’ is pronounced as one breath group, i.e. only the first word bears accent and the second word becomes enclitic. This phenomenon which was first pointed out to me by T. Satoo (p.c.) requires further investigation.

### 3.4. Phonological alternations

There are certain restrictions on the distribution of phonemes, hence phonological alternations occurring at the syllable boundaries to avoid unfavorable sequences of phonemes.

**Regular alternations**

**Progressive assimilation:**

(1) */-m+w-/ > */-mm-/: isam ma (*<wa*) ‘not exist and’ (7-76, 77).

(2) */-p+w-/ > */-pp-/: Ø=yaŋ pa (*<wa*) ‘they went ashore and’ (8-112).

**Regressive assimilation:**

(3) */-r+t-/ > */-tt-/: rot (*<ror*) ta ‘at the place of honour’ (15-24).
Mutual dissimilation:

(4) /-n+w-/ > /-mm-/ : e=sam (≪san) ma (≪wa) ‘You [may] …go down [to the beach] and’ (8-60).

Dissimilation:

(5) /-r+r-/ > /-nr-/ : a=Ø=kon (≪kor) rusuy ‘[Something] we [would] want’ (9-333).

According to T. Satoo (p.c.), so far, the alternation /-p+w- > /-pp-/ has been attested in the Chitose dialect only.

Marginal alternations

Regressive assimilation (the only case at my disposal):

(6) /-n+y-/ > /-yy-/ : ay (≪an) yak-ka ‘even if it is [like this]’ (9-175).

In most of the instances, it is just palatalization that occurs here:

(7) arpa=an yak-ka [an’ jak-ka] ‘even if I went’ (10-10).

Within words, this type of phonological alternation does not seem to occur either, since Ito Oda rejected the form Poryaunpe (name of an Ainu hero) (registered in: NAK 353; NV 26; KUB 210; BAT 376) and approved only Pon-ya-un-pe <young-land-from-person> lit. ‘a young person from the land (as opposed to the sea)’.

Unattested alternations

There are several alternation types which have been reported for the Chitose dialect (Nakagawa 1995: 4), but have not occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect where they might be expected.

(8) /-r+c-/ > /-tc-/ cf. a=Ø=kor eise ‘my house’ (10-7).

(9) /-r+n-/ > /-nn-/ cf. nankor na ‘probably’ (2-5).

(10) /-n+s-/ > /-ys-/ cf. a. Ø=pon Samayunkur ‘Samayunkur the Younger’,
lit. ‘a small Samayunkur (name)’ (14-8);
also in word internal position:

cf.  

b. \(a=pon\)-sara-ha \(<\text{IND.S}=\text{be.small-tail-POSS}>\)
‘my small tail’ (14-13).

(11) \(-r+y/- > -yy/-\) cf. \(\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{ko}r\)-yak-un \(<3.S=3.O=\text{have if-EMP}>\)
‘if he [the village chief] has [a bad will]’ (15-242).

Finally, I would like to note that the regular phonological alternations in Ito Oda’s idiolect seem to be sensitive to certain syntactic boundaries, as it has been recently pointed out with regard to the data of other Ainu speakers (Shiraishi 2001: 141-157). In the case of Ito Oda, phonological alternations do not apply to words belonging to different syntactic phrases, like \(\text{utar tun} (\text{*utar tun})\) below:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(12)} \quad \text{[np [vp \(\emptyset=u-e\text{-tun-us}\)] \(\text{utar}\) [adv tun]} \\
\text{3.S=REC-APPL-two-be.attached.to people two} \\
\text{[vp \(\emptyset=\text{arki kor}\)]} \\
\text{3.S=come.PL and} \\
\text{‘Two people, who were sailing (in a pair) together, came.’ (8-89)}
\end{align*}
\]

As my data show, the best conditions for applying regular phonological alternations are either \textbf{within words} or in \textbf{verbal phrases} (verb + conjunction/auxiliary; cf. (1), (2), (4), (5)) and \textbf{post-positional phrases} (noun/locative noun + post-positional particle; cf. (3)), but not in the case of prehead modifiers (demonstratives, numerals, adjectival verbs) and their head nouns, as Shiraishi (2001: 148) notes in regard of n-alternations (those with /n/ corresponding to (4) and (6) of my data) in the Saru dialect. Besides, Shiraishi’s (2001: 142) “examination of a corpus of the Saru dialect reveals that the n-alternation is sensitive to a certain syntactic boundary…, but r-alternation [those with /r/ corresponding to (3) and (5) of my data – A.B.] is not…”, which shows contrast with my examination of the Chitose idiolect of Ito Oda (cf. (12)) all of whose phonological alternations are sensitive to certain syntactic boundaries, although the degree of sensitivity may vary among the alternation types (the issue of

\[\text{\footnotesize (2)}\text{ As far as I know, there is only one example for this alternation type in Nakagawa’s data (1995: 4):} \]
a=\text{koy (<kor) yupi ‘my elder brother’}, so it can hardly be considered along with the other alternation types.\]
the degree of sensitivity should be more thoroughly investigated in the future).

3.5. Glide insertion and glide formation. Traditionally, both phenomena are treated as purely phonological processes which serve to avoid vowel sequences (hiatus) (Kindaichi 1931: 5; Chiri 1936 (with Kindaichi): 13-14; Chiri 1942: 471; Tamura 1996: 820, 833; Shiraishi 1998: 197). The inserted glides /j, w/ are commonly omitted in transcription (Tamura 1988, Nakagawa 1995 etc.) as they are considered predictable from the phonological environment: /j/ (corresponds to y in transcription) is inserted between two vowels if the first vowel is /i/ (13a, b) and the second vowel is /a, e, o, u/, while /w/ is inserted between two vowels if the first vowel is /u/ (13c) and the second vowel is /a, e, o/; note that in this case the glottal stop /ʔ/ is dropped before the second vowel which is always a syllable initial consonant unless there is any other consonant. When treated in the same manner, glide formation, i. e. the alternation types /i/ > /j/ and /u/ > /w/, is described as a phenomenon taking place when the underlying vowels /i/, /u/ occur intervocally (Shiraishi 1998: 197); see (14).

(13) a. \( \emptyset=i=y\)-pakasnu
    ‘he taught me ([how] to work)’ (8-145)

    b. si-y-oka
       REFL-EP-behind
       ‘behind oneself’ (2-32)

    c. u-w-ekap=’an
       REC-EP-salute=IND.S
       ‘we saluted each other’ (9-148)

(14) a. \( a=y=y\text{-}ré\text{-}re \) (< \( a=i=i\text{-}ré \)
    PASS=IND.O=EP-eat-CAUS
    ‘I was fed’ (15-332)

\[3\] Sometimes Ito Oda omits one of the identical glides in this form: /a.yé.re/ (8-187), but the form /áy’ere/ which has been reported for the Saru dialect (Tamura 1970: 595) was not registered in her idiolect.
b. ko-w'-eper (< ko-ú-e-eper)

to.APPL-REC-with.APPL-become.bright
‘to tell stories to sb’ (OI)

A principally new consistent approach to the problem of glide insertion and glide formation has been recently suggested by Satoo (1996, 1997, 2003) who uses the data of the Chitose dialect to prove that the two phenomena “are related to morphological factors as well” (Sato(o) 2003: 12).

Thus, according to Satoo (2003: 18-19), glide insertion occurs only after particular prefixes (e. g. i= <IND.O>, i- <APASS>; si- <REFL>; u- <REC>, etc.; the glossing is mine – A.B.); some prefixes (e. g. eci= <2PL.S/O>; ru- ‘in a half way’, etc.) and incorporated stems [see ru- ‘trace’ in (15c) below] do not trigger glide insertion, though they end with the same vowels as prefixes triggering glide insertion. Compare (13) and (15).

(15) a. eci=’opitta
2PL.S=all
‘all of you’ (12-15)
*eci=y-opitta

b. eci=’ekanok
IND.S>2SG.O=meet
‘I meet you’ (2-14)
*eci=y-ekanok

c. ru-’oka
trace-back
‘behind the (needle) trace’ (4-65)
*ru-w-oka

d. eramu’an (etymologized as e-ram-u-an <by.APPL-heart-POSS-be>)
‘to realize sth’ (9-171)
*eramu-w-an

Regarding glide formation, Satoo(o) (2003: 19) notes that ‘i- and u- become y- and w- when preceded by certain prefixes, as in ku=í-omap → ku=yómap [ku=í-omap

17
<1SG.S=APASS-love> ‘I love children’ – A.B.] and ku=u-omare → ku=wómare
[ku=∅=u-oma-re <1SG.S=3.O=REC-enter-CAUS> ‘I put sth in order’ – A.B.” “It should be also noted that these are prefixes which assign accent on the following syllable” (p. 28), i.e. (C)V type prefixes which change the position of the accent kernel in the stem⁴ (e.g., ku= <1SG.S>, e= <2SG.S/O>, i= <IND.O>, i- <APASS>, e- <APPL>, e- ‘head of sth’, ko- <APPL>, o- <APPL>, o- <end of sth>; the glossing is mine – A.B.); see (14) and (16).

(16) a. kem-é-y-ki (< kem-e-i-ki)
    needle-by.APPL-APASS-do>
    ‘to do needlework’ (1-20)

b. é-w-ko-itak (< e-ú-ko-itak)
    about.APPL-REC-to.APPL-talk
    ‘to talk to each other about sth’ (OI)

Sato(o) also points out that if one takes into account the cases of interaction between glide insertion and glide formation [or their co-occurrence, as in (14a), – A.B.], it turns out that these glides need not be postulated at a deeper level although they are phonologically distinctive at the surface level (2003: 32). For example, if we include in (14b) the inserted glide /w/ into the underlying form u-w-é-peker <REC-EP-with.APPL-become.bright> ‘to tell stories’ which is an actual phonological form here, it would be rather problematic to write a rule for the derivation of the form ko-w-é-peker⁵ ‘to tell stories to sb’ (OI) with glide formation (? ko- + u-w-e-peker → ko-w-épeker). This becomes even more obvious when the derivation is pursued further on, like in the case of u-kó-u-w-epeker ‘to tell stories to each other’ (OI) derived by means of the prefix u- <REC>: the place of accent changes again, therefore the glide formation disappears while the glide insertion reappears.

As a final remark, Sato(o) (2003: 32) notes that “the glide insertion and glide formation in the Chitose dialect of Ainu (and similar dialects) serve both to maintain the unity of a word and to keep clearer the internal structure of the word”, and the data

⁴ Note that there are also several personal prefixes, namely, a= <IND.S.TR>, eci= <1PL.S/O>, =és <1PL.S_INTR>, =ún <IND.S_INTR>, which do not change the position of the accent kernel in the stem; the former two prefixes are not even prosodic items themselves.

⁵ The glide formation of the accented /u/ into /w/ gives rise to a new syllable /we/. 

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of Ito Oda additionally support the truth of his findings.

4. Grammatical notes. This is a brief outline of the grammatical structure of Ito Oda’s Chitose idiolect based on the research of her folklore texts and colloquial speech. The purpose of the work is to assist the reader in the reading of 15 folklore texts included in the present volume. There are cross-references between these grammatical notes and the texts which I believe can be useful for the reader.

4.1. Sentence structure. Case relations. Number. Possessivity. The basic word order is SOV. Attributes are prepositive. There is no case inflection. The subject and direct object are distinguished by their relative position in sentence structure, the subject preceding the direct object. Other objects (and adverbials) may be marked by postpositions. Note that most of the nouns cannot be used with locative postpositions directly: a **locative noun** (a special morphological class of words) is added between the noun and postposition; cf. *cise ot* (<or) *ta* ‘in the house’ (14-3) where *or* means ‘place’ and *ta* is a postposition meaning ‘in/at’.

**Plural marking** is optional and it is used only on human nouns and on the names of some animals; cf. *okkayo-utar* <young.man-PL> ‘young men’ (11-47), *cep-utar* <fish-PL> ‘fishes’ (12-18).

The **attributive relation** proper is expressed by simply placing the modifier before the head noun (see section 4.7).

**Possessive attributive relations** are expressed by the construction in which the **head noun** (denoting possessee) is marked for the person and number of the possessor with one of the **inflectional personal prefixes** generally used for marking the person and number of the subject of transitive verbs (the 3SG/PL prefix is zero), and with the **derivational possessive suffix** –VhV, its allomorphs most commonly consisting of the epenthetic /h/ and a final vowel: -ha/-hu/-he/-hi used in vowel-final words (17a) or -a(ha)/-u(hu)/-o(ho)/-e(he)/-i(hi) after a consonant (17b-c).

(17) a. *ku=sapa-ha* <1SG.S=head-POSS> ‘my head’ (OI)
b. *e=setur-uhu* <2SG.S=back-POSS> ‘your back’ (OI)
c. *e=kotan-u* <2SG.S=village-POSS> ‘your village’ (OI)

**Possessivity** is the only category obligatorily marked on nouns, including locative nouns. Almost every noun has a notional (base) form and possessive form(s) denoting specifically possessed objects.
Tamura (2000: 85) points out for the Saru dialect that in fast speech the final component -ha/-hu/-ho/-he/-hi of possessive forms is often omitted, especially in polysyllabic words, as an attempt to reduce the number of unaccented syllables; this results in vowel-final words having the same base and possessive forms. This phenomenon is also attested in Ito Oda’s folklore texts and her speech.

(18)  \(a=\textit{an-te-hoku} <\text{IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS}>\) ‘my husband’ (poetic)

(3-76) instead of

\(a=\textit{an-te-hoku-hu} <\text{IND.S=be-CAUS-husband-POSS}>\)

**Locative nouns** differ from common nouns in that they take one of the verbal personal prefixes generally used for marking the person and number of the object (19a, b). Possessive suffixes are attached to locative nouns only in the case of 3SG/PL, i.e. when 3SG/PL is zero marked (19a).

(19) a. \(\emptyset=\textit{sam-a} \quad 3.O=\text{close-POSS}\>

‘close to him [the bear]’ (15-44)

b. \(i=\textit{y-ot ta} \quad \text{IND.O=EP-place at}

‘at my place’ (3-19)

Possessive-attributive relations can also be expressed by means of the verb kor ‘to have sth/sb’ used as an attribute in pre-position to the head word; in this case kor carries the personal verbal affixes (which may be zero (20b)) and the noun is left unmarked.

(20) a. \(a=\emptyset=\text{kor kamuy} \quad \text{IND.S=3.O=have God}

‘my God’, here: ‘my dog’ (11-17)

b. \(a=\textit{aca-ha} \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=\text{kor cip} \quad \text{IND.S=uncle-POSS 3.S=3.O=have boat}

‘my uncle’s boat’, lit. ‘the boat my uncle has’ (2-36)
Roughly speaking, the **possessive form** strategy (17) is preferred in the case of inalienable possession with nouns referring to body parts, bodily excretions, or expressing strength, feelings, also on nouns with a part-whole relation and on several kinship terms, while the **verb kor ‘to have sth/sb’** strategy (20) is preferred in the case of alienable possession with nouns of other semantic types. It is true that there are nouns which do not have any possessive forms (e.g. *kamuy ‘God’* (20a), *cip ‘boat’* (20b)), and the only choice with these is the **verb kor ‘to have sth/sb’** strategy. But in some cases both strategies are applicable (especially with kinship terms), either one of the strategies being more natural or both being equally natural. In the first place, the choice depends on the dialect (for instance, in Sakhalin Ainu, all common nouns have possessive forms) or idiolect, i.e. on the speaker’s individual perception of alienability/inalienability.

### 4.2. Pronouns

There are personal pronouns for the **first**, **second** and **third persons** and **indefinite pronouns** referring to a generalized or indefinite subject/object. In each person, the pronouns are differentiated for number, **singular** and **plural**.

Here is a list of the personal and indefinite pronouns registered in the Chitose dialect of Ainu. The forms registered in the folklore texts by Ito Oda are supplied with corresponding references to the texts, the forms registered in other data of Ito Oda are marked (OI), and the forms lacking in Ito Oda’s data are borrowed from Nakagawa (1995).

#### (21) a. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>káni</td>
<td>(10-17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.(EXCL)</td>
<td>cóka(y)</td>
<td>(OI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>eani</td>
<td>(3-45), (8-47), (8-152)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ecioká</td>
<td>(13-68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>sinuma</td>
<td>(NAK 216)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>okay</td>
<td>(NAK 112)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Indefinite pronouns

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>asinuma</td>
<td>‘someone’</td>
<td>(NAK 7)6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>aoká(y)</td>
<td>‘some people’</td>
<td>(NAK 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In neutral, non-emphatic contexts, pronouns are usually omitted, like *kani* ‘I’ in (22a), because the person and number of the subject and object are also obligatorily marked on predicates by means of agreement markers (cf. *en=*, *ku* = for 1SG in (22a, b)), which are never omitted and thus make the pronouns redundant.

When used, pronouns are often topicalized by means of the adverbial particles *anak-(ne)* <TOP-(COP)> (cf. (22b)) and *ka* ‘also, even’ conveying the sense close to ‘as to [myself]’, ‘if it were [me]’.

(22) a. *huci [kani] Ø=en=koyki*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>granny</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>3.S=1SG.O=bully</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
  ‘Granny bullied me.’ (OI)

b. *kani anak huci ku=Ø=koyki*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>TOP</th>
<th>granny</th>
<th>1SG.S=3.O=bully</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
  ‘I bullied granny.’ (OI)

The pronouns and agreement markers do not materially coincide, but the agreement markers consisting of one morpheme are etymologically included in the corresponding pronouns: cf. the 1SG.S marker *k(u)=* and the 1SG pronoun *káni*, the 1PL.EXCL.S marker *c(i)=* and the 1PL.(EXCL) pronoun *cóka(y)*, the 2SG.S marker *e*= and the 2SG pronoun *eani*, the 2PL.S marker *eci*= and the 2PL pronoun *ecioka*, the IND.SG.S marker *a*= and the INDEF.SG pronoun *asinuma*, the IND.PL.S marker *a*= and the INDEF.PL pronoun *aoka(y)*. All the pronouns are derived from one of several existential verbs, as is shown in (23), so the etymologies in (23) are transparent, except *sinuma*, which is less clear, and the etymology cited, though a very questionable one, has been suggested by Chiri (with Kindaichi; 1936: 53) and reconfirmed by Kindaichi (1960: 76).

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6 Note that Nakagawa treats the indefinite person as the fourth person, but this seems to be a terminological issue.
(23) a. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>káni</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>ku=an-i</td>
<td>‘I’ my being’&lt;1SG.S=be.SG-NR&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.(EXCL)</td>
<td>1PL.(EXCL)</td>
<td>cóka(y)</td>
<td>1PL.(EXCL).S=be.PL&gt;</td>
<td>‘we’ our being’&lt;1PL.(EXCL).S=be.PL&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>eani</td>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>e=an-i</td>
<td>‘you’ your (SG) being’&lt;2SG.S=be.SG-NR&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>ecioká</td>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>eci=oka(y)</td>
<td>‘you (PL)’ your (PL) being’&lt;2PL.S=be.PL&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>sinuma</td>
<td>3.S</td>
<td>Ò=sir-oma</td>
<td>‘he/she’ his/her peaceful being’&lt;3.S=nature-be.in.SG&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>okay</td>
<td>3.S</td>
<td>Ò=okay</td>
<td>‘they’ their being’&lt;3.S=be.PL&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Indefinite pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IND.SG.S=nature-be.in.SG&gt;</td>
<td>asinuma</td>
<td>a=sir-oma</td>
<td>‘someone’ someone’s peaceful being’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND.PL.S=be.PL&gt;</td>
<td>aoká(y)</td>
<td>a=oka(y)</td>
<td>‘some people’ some people’s being’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1. Personal pronouns. See the list of personal pronouns in (21a).

4.2.1.1. First person pronouns. As mentioned above (section 4.2), the first person pronouns are differentiated for number, singular and plural: káni ‘I’ and cóka(y) ‘we’ (21). The first person plural pronoun cóka(y) proper has an exclusive meaning only, i.e. the addressee of speech is not included into the deictic sphere of this pronoun: lit. ‘we and only we’ (24a). However, when there is need to express a “broader we” including the addressee of speech, the indefinite plural pronoun aoka(y) ‘some people’ is used.
as a first person plural inclusive pronoun, i.e. to refer to ‘we and you’ (24b); cf. the discussion over the other specific usages of the indefinite pronouns 4.2.2.2.

(24) a. cóka u-koyki=as
   we.(EXCL) REC-bully=1PL.(EXCL)
   ‘We (and only we) bullied each other.’ (OI)

   b. aoka u-koyki=an
   we.(INCL) REC-bully=1PL.(INCL)
   ‘We (we and you, all of us) bullied each other.’ (OI)
   lit. ‘Some people bullied each other.’

Note that in (24a) the referents of the 1PL.EXCL form cóka are Ito Oda and Anna Bugaeva only, and in (24b) the referents of the 1PL.INCL form aoka are Ito Oda and Anna Bugaeva plus the relatives of Ito Oda who were present at our interview.

4.2.1.2. Second person pronouns. The second person pronouns are differentiated for singular and plural number: eani <2SG> ‘you’ (25a) and ecioká <2PL> ‘you’ (25b).

(25) a. korka, eani anak-ne e=sa-ha ka Ø=an
   but you TOP-COP 2SGS=elder.sister-POSS even 3.S=be
   ‘However, for you there is your elder sister.’ (8-47)

   b. ecioká nep ye7 hike
   you.PL something say although
   ‘Although [all of] you said something…’ (13-68).

4.2.1.3. Third person pronouns. In the third person, the SG and PL pronouns sinuma ‘he/she’ and okay ‘they’ are used with reference to humans only. There is no proper inanimate pronoun like English ‘it’. Instead, tan-pe <this-NR> ‘this, this thing/these things’ (9-253) is used both in the singular and plural. The third person pronouns are extremely rarely used in Ainu, which is also noted by Tamura (2000: 68). And I have not found any of them in Ito Oda’s data, who prefers either to omit them, in spite of the

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7 Ito Oda omitted personal prefixes on ye ‘to say’ probably due to the overt use of the personal pronoun ecioká ‘you (PL)’; the contextually appropriate form is eci=Ø=ye <2PL.S=3.O=say>.
fact that the third person has zero-marking on verbs, or to use common nouns instead.

4.2.2. Indefinite pronouns. The indefinite pronouns asinuma ‘someone’ and aoká(y) ‘some people’ differentiated for number are registered in the southern Hokkaido dialects, including the Chitose dialect. However, eastern and central Hokkaido dialects have only the plural indefinite pronoun and Sakhalin dialects do not have any indefinite pronouns at all.

The peculiarity of the indefinite pronouns is that they are used not only in their proper function to refer to a generalized or indefinite subject and object (26a), but also have a number of special usages distinguished in the literature (26b); in the latter cases they are used to refer to the first (singular or plural) or second person and these usages may be regarded as substitutes for the respective 1SG/PL or 2SG/PL pronouns.

(26) a. Indefinite pronouns

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>asinuma</td>
<td>‘someone’ (NAK 7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>aoká(y)</td>
<td>‘some people’ (NAK 4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Specific usages of indefinite pronouns

| 1PL inclusive | aoka(y) | reference to ‘we and you’ (OI) |
| 1SG in oral literature | asinuma | reference to ‘I’ (1-3), (2-6), (3-29) |
| 1PL in oral literature | asinuma-utar | reference to ‘we’ (9-353) |
| 1SG in quotation | asinuma | reference to ‘I’ (NAK 7) |
| 1PL in quotation | aoká(y) | reference to ‘we’ (NAK 4) |
| 2HON | asinuma, aoká(y) | reference to ‘you (HON)’ (NAK 7), (NAK 4) |

The approach to the indefinite pronouns (and the corresponding agreement affixes; see 4.3.3.4) which is accepted here differs from that generally accepted in Ainu linguistics. Traditionally, the materially identical indefinite pronouns in (26) have been treated as homonymous forms expressing different meanings (Kindaichi 1931, Chiri 1936 (with Kindaichi); Kubodera 1977; Tamura 1970, 1971; Shibatani 1990; Satoo 2004) or as usages of a substitute kind (Tamura 1988, 1996, 2000; Nakagawa 1988,
In my opinion, all the usages in (26) should be equally regarded as **indefinite usages** although their actual references may vary considerably. Generally speaking, the **indefinite strategy** is preferred as there are some pragmatic or stylistic or other restrictions on the use of personal pronouns.\(^8\) The similar point of view regarding the corresponding indefinite agreement affixes can be found in the latter work of Nakagawa (1997: 219) as well as in the work of Refsng (1986: 94, 219)) who deals with the data of the Shizunai dialect which has, however, only a plural indefinite pronoun.

**4.2.2.1. Indefinite pronouns proper.** The indefinite pronouns proper, i.e. *asinuma* ‘someone’ and *aoká(y)* ‘some people’, have not occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect, nor in her folktales, but I have included them above in tables (21) and (26) to complete the picture; the indefinite pronouns proper are cited here according to the data of the Saru dialect (Tamura 2000: 49). There are also indefinite agreement markers (see subsection 4.3.3.4.1) used on the predicate to express the same meanings, in the same way as there are personal agreement markers parallel to personal pronouns. It seems that the indefinite pronouns proper cannot co-occur in one sentence with indefinite affixes on the verb which was also previously pointed out by Satoo (1995: 13), therefore their actual usage poses a lot of questions.

**4.2.2.2. Specific usages of the indefinite pronouns.** The indefinite pronouns *asinuma* (SG) and *aoká(y)* (PL) (as well as the corresponding indefinite agreement markers, cf. subsection 4.3.3.4.2) have a lot of specific usages listed in (26b).

The use of the indefinite plural pronoun *aoká(y)* as the 1PL.(INCL) pronoun has been discussed along with *cóká(y)* 1PL.(EXCL) pronoun in subsection 4.2.1.1.

The usage labeled as “1SG in oral literature” is of great importance here. The folktales are traditionally narrated in the direct speech mode from the protagonist’s (the main character) point of view. But the specific feature of this mode in Ainu folktales is the use of the indefinite SG pronoun *asinuma* ‘someone’ in order to refer to the

\(^8\) Compare an analogy from Russian: the 2PL pronoun *vy* is used as a polite form instead of the 2SG pronoun *ty* when addressing one person and the predicate also follows plural agreement (even if the 2PL pronoun *vy* is omitted). However, in Russian grammar, the pronoun *vy* is not regarded as a form with two meanings, 2PL and 2SG; it has only one meaning ‘you.2PL’, and its use with reference to one person is regarded as a stylistic (honorific) usage.
By using *asinuma*, the informant (in our case, Ito Oda) who recites a folktale dissociates him/herself from the protagonist-narrator within the story whose real name or identity is usually revealed only in the last sentence of the story (see (28)).

The use of the indefinite pronoun for 1SG in oral literature is regarded as the "1SG in quotation" by Tamura (1970: 578; (1971) 2001: 264); in some southern Ainu dialects it also occurs in daily speech when the speaker quotes someone, thus dissociating him/herself from the latter (Tamura 2000: 64).

It is rather natural that in such a situation the indefinite pronoun *asinuma* appears to be the most frequent pronoun in all the folklore texts by Ito Oda. Note that in all these cases *asinuma* requires indefinite agreement markers on the predicate. It is customary to translate *asinuma* and the corresponding indefinite agreement markers in the folktales by the 1SG pronoun and respective verb forms as is shown in (27), and I also follow this tradition, but I use the glosses INDEF for the indefinite pronouns and IND for the indefinite agreement markers in the morphemic line.

Just in the same manner, when the reference within the story is made to the narrator-hero and someone else, the PL indefinite pronoun *asinuma-utar* ‘we’ (or *aoká(y)*, as registered in NAK 4) is used as the 1PL.EXCL pronoun, and the marking on predicates is correspondingly indefinite; cf.:

(27) *asinuma* ka a=Ø=kor kotan un hosipi=an
    INDEF also IND.S=3.O=have village to return=IND.S
    ‘Then I also went back to my home village…’ (12-68)
    lit. ‘Then [some]one also went back to his home village.’

(28) sekor, hmhm(hm) kamuy Ø=isoytak ruwe ne
    QUOT eagle.owl God 3.S=tell.story ASS.NR COP
    ‘That is the story told by the Eagle Owl God.’ (12-72)

(29) *asinuma-utar* anak-ne, onne=an …ruwe ne
    INDEF-PL TOP-COP be.old=IND.S ASS.NR COP
    ‘We [my wife and me] grew old.’ (9-353, 354)
    lit. ‘Some people grew old.’
The honorific usage of the indefinite pronouns *asinuma*, *aoká(y)* referring to 2SG/PL has not occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect, but the indefinite agreement markers referring to 2SG have been registered in the folklore texts (see 4.3.3.4.2, example (55)).

4.3. Verbal system

4.3.1. Introductory. The opposition of nouns and verbs is clear-cut; an exception are some forms of intransitive verbs which can also be interpreted as nouns (sometimes lexicalized) without any change in the morphology; cf. *iku* i. ‘to drink alcohol’ (5-8), ii. ‘a drinking party’ (5-11); *itak* i. ‘to speak/say’ (7-91), ii. *itak* ‘words’ (13-38).

The verbal paradigm is complicated. The verb has no proper tense forms; there is only a tense-aspect marker of Perfect - the auxiliary verb *a* (see 4.3.5.1.1). The predicate may be marked for the categories of mood by particles and auxiliary verbs (see 4.3.7) and for aspect either by periphrastic (=analytical) verbal constructions (see 4.3.5.1) or by serial-verb constructions (see 4.3.5.2).

In the indicative mood, the verb agrees in person and number with the subject and if it is transitive, with the object. The first and second persons and number are marked by affixes (prefixes are more numerous among them than suffixes), and these agreement markers can never be omitted, unlike the corresponding personal pronouns (cf. section 4.2, (22a)), while in the third person the marking is zero. In the imperative mood (in the case of imperatives proper, see 4.6.1, (181-184)) though not in periphrastic imperative expressions (cf. 4.6.2, (185-196)) the verb is unmarked for the person and number of the subject, but it is marked for the person and number of the object if it is transitive.

The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs which differ both syntactically and morphologically is very important. This distinction is observed in the cases of the 1PL subject and indefinite subject, when transitive verbs take a subject agreement prefix and intransitive verbs take a materially different subject agreement suffix. Generally, on transitive verbs, the subject agreement prefix always precedes the object agreement prefix, which corresponds to the sequence of subject and object in the sentence. Thus, we can distinguish three main sets of personal affixes: a set of affixes (mainly suffixes) for the person and number of the subject of intransitive verbs (*ku* = <1SG.S>, *as* = <1PL.S>; *e* = <2SG.S>, *eci* = <2PL.S>; *=an* = <IND.SG/PL.S>), another set of prefixes for the person and number of the subject of transitive verbs (*ku* = <1SG.S>, *ci* = <1PL.S>; *e* = <2SG.S>, *eci* = <2PL.S>; *a* = <IND.SG/PL.S>), and one
more set of prefixes for the person and number of the **direct object of transitive verbs** (*en* = <1SG.O>, *un* = <1PL.O>; *e* = <2SG.O>, *eci* = <2PL.O>; *i* = <IND.SG/PL.O>). As mentioned above in this subsection, the 3SG and 3PL of subject and object is always zero-marked.

### 4.3.2. Types of verbs

We can distinguish two main types of verbs with respect to their syntactic and morphological characteristics: lexical (often termed notional) verbs, which have a lexical meaning, and the copula. Lexical verbs, in their turn, fall into verbs with zero valency, intransitive verbs and transitive verbs.

#### 4.3.2.1. Verbs with zero valency

Verbs with zero valency are usually termed complete verbs (Tamura 2000: 41), because they cannot take any arguments at all and therefore no personal agreement markers may be attached to them. This is a semantically homogeneous group of verbs referring to natural phenomena and ambient states.

\[(30)\]

- **sir-peker** $<$appearance-be.light$>$ ‘it gets light, dawns’ (2-24)
- **sir-kunne** $<$appearance-be.dark$>$ ‘it is dark’ (2-25)
- **sir-pirka** $<$appearance-be.good$>$ ‘the weather is good’ (OI)
- **mé-an** $<$coldness-be$>$ ‘it is cold’ (OI)

The so-called complete verbs in (30) may be viewed as examples of intransitive subject incorporation: the nouns **sir** ‘appearance’ and **me** ‘coldness’ are incorporated in the respective intransitive verbs **peaker** ‘to be light/bright/clear’, **kunne** ‘to be dark’, **pirka** ‘to be good/beautiful’ and **an** ‘to be’. Cf. (31) without incorporation and (31b) with incorporation:

\[(31)\]

a. $\text{sír } \emptyset=$pirka
   weather 3.S=be.good
   ‘The weather is good.’

b. **sír-pirka**
   appearance-be.good
   ‘The weather is good.’ (OI)

Note that both sentences are identical morphologically and the only proof that incorporation took place is accent: in (31a) both constituents are accented and in (31b)
only the first component is accented. However, most of the derivatives are lexicalized and the underlying sentences without noun incorporation are hardly possible synchronically (a bound form is marked by the hyphen).

4.3.2.2. Intransitive verbs. The verbs of this type are mostly one-place, so they agree with the subject in person and number and thus take a subject agreement marker (32a) which can be zero in the case of the third person (32b).

(32) a. eani anak-ne… e=hosipi… kus ne na
   you.SG TOP-COP 2SG.S=return should COP FIN
   ‘You should return.’ (8-152, 153)

   b. nupuri poro-n-no Ø=an
      mountain be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be
      ‘There were mountains all around.’ (7-77)

Sometimes intransitive verbs take oblique objects which have to be marked with case-postpositions (33); however, such oblique objects cannot influence the verbal marking as the verb does not agree with them (cf. the indirect objects of three-place transitive verbs in 4.3.2.3).

(33) or-o-wa rot ta arpa=an
      there-POSS-from seat.of.honour to go=IND.S
      ‘Then I went to the seat of honour’ (15-224)

There is no morphologically distinct class of adjectives. The content expressed by adjectives in other languages is expressed by intransitive verbs which are semantically stative, i.e. they denote states and qualities. These items are used both as attributes which are are preposed to the head word (34a) and as predicates which are postposed to the head word (34b) just like any other intransitives (cf. (35) and (33)). Note that the agreement markers are retained in the attributive position, which means that in principle any simple attribute in Ainu may by formally regarded as a clause.

(34) a. Ø=poro cikuni
      3.S=be.big tree
      ‘a big tree’ (14-47, 48)
4.3.2.3. Transitive verbs. The verbs of this type are two-place or three-place. Two-place transitives agree with the subject and direct object in person and number and thus bear subject and object agreement markers. Note that in (36a) there are two overt markers - a=, e=, and in (36b) there is one overt marker a= and one covert (zero) marker Ø=.

(36) a. tap-an to pak-no,... a=e=epunkine ruwe ne korka
this-be day till-ADV IND.S=2SG.O=guard ASS.NR COP but
‘Until now I have been guarding you, but…’ (8-41)

b. Ø=kisar-puy-e a=Ø=e-us
3.S=ear-hole-POSS IND.S=3.O=head-attach.to
‘I bent (lit. attached) my head to the village chief’s ear.’ (6-18)

A verb cannot take more than two agreement markers including zero, therefore three-place verbs take the subject and one object agreement marker for both direct and indirect objects neither of which is marked by a case-postposition. In the case of three-place verbs, “it is not known which of the two objects, direct or indirect, takes precedence in object marking in the verb” (Shibatani 1990: 34). But if one of the objects refers to the first or second person which have overt agreement markers on verbs, it will certainly take the priority of being marked over the covert (zero) third person marker of the other object, regardless of which of the objects is direct. Thus, in (37) the object agreement prefix i= marks the dative object ‘to me’ (the indefinite pronoun asinuma used to refer to 1SG in oral literature is omitted on a regular basis,

9 Note that here pe may be also interpreted as a nominalizing particle (NR) expressing the assertive mood (see 4.3.7.2.4), and than the clause preceding pe has to be regarded not as a relative clause but as a nominalized clause (cf. 4.7).
see 4.2.2.2) and the accusative object sake ‘rice-wine’ is viewed as unmarked (i.e. not zero-marked) since there cannot be more than any two agreement markers on the predicate.

(37) sake hene poro-n-no a=i=kor-e
    rice.wine or be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=IND.O=have-CAUS
    ‘I was given a lot of rice-wine and other things.’ (6-57)
    lit. ‘They (some people) gave me a lot of rice-wine and other things.’

4.3.2.4. Copula. There is only one proper10 copula ne ‘to be/become’ in Ainu. Tamura (1988: 23) points out that this Ainu copula should be specially treated, because it has some peculiarities in agreement marking. Being semantically two-place, it requires the subject and a complement (in the grammars of European languages it is often termed a predicative, i.e. the nominal part of a predicate with a copula). It agrees with the subject only, and, which is specific, it takes the subject agreement markers of a transitive verb which are never omitted on the copula (just like in the case of any other verb) regardless of whether the subject is overtly expressed or not; cf.:

(38) asinuma anak-ne Ø=ekas-i ka somo a=ne
    INDEF TOP-COP 3.S=old.man-POSS even NEG IND.S=COP
    ‘I am not an old man.’

Note that the copula in Ainu is never omitted. In (39), the marker on the copula is zero and there is no 2SG marker, although the only nominal in the sentence is the 2SG pronoun eani ‘you’. Since the copula does not agree with it, this pronoun is regarded as a complement rather than subject, the subject being zero (its equivalent in English is the dummy it in sentences like It is you, It is cold, hence the translation):

(39) eani Ø=ne
    you 3.S=COP
    ‘It is you.’ (Tamura 1988: 23)

---

10 Under certain circumstances, one of the existential verbs an ‘to be’ (vi) and un ‘to be somewhere’ (vt) can be used instead of the copula ne but here I will not go into the details of those substitute usages for the lack of space.
4.3.3. Agreement markers. There are overt personal affixes for the **first** and **second person singular** and **plural** of the subject and object and for the **indefinite person** implying a generalized or indefinite subject and object (cf. the pronouns in 4.2). The first and second persons and the indefinite are always **obligatorily** marked on verbs. The **third person** markers for the subject and object are **zero**.

4.3.3.1. First person affixes. As just mentioned, the first person affixes are differentiated for number, **singular** and **plural**. The first person **plural** affixes included here (40) agree with the 1PL.(EXCL) pronoun *cóka(y)* ‘we’ (see 4.2.1.1 and (24a)). In the case of the first person plural subject, **transitive** and **intransitive** verbs require different agreement affixes. Here is a list of the first person affixes which occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect.

(40)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>TR/INTR</th>
<th>INTR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.S</td>
<td>(k(u)=)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.S.(EXCL)</td>
<td>(c(i)=)</td>
<td>(=as)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG.O</td>
<td>(en=)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.O.(EXCL)</td>
<td>(un=)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The affixes listed in (40) occur in everyday speech and very seldom in the folktales in the direct speech of the characters other than the protagonist (41).

(41) *katkemat-utar* “káni ka \(k=arpa\) rusuy
housewife-PL I also 1SG.S=go want

\(k=arpa\) rusuy” sekor \(\emptyset=\text{haw-}e\text{-}\text{okay}\)
1SG.S=go want QUOT 3.S=voice-POSS-be.PL

“I also want to go, [and] I want to go!” Said the [other] housewives.’

(10-17,18)

Recall that the informant uses the indefinite pronoun *asinuma* when referring to the protagonist-narrator and the marking on the predicate is also indefinite (see sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.3.3.4.2).

When the indefinite plural pronoun *aokat(y)* ‘some people’ is used as the 1PL.(INCL) pronoun (see section 4.2.1.1 and (24b), (42)), the indefinite agreement
affixes are required: \( =an \) for the subject of intransitive verbs, \( a= \) for the subject of transitive verbs, and \( i= \) for the direct object of transitive verbs (cf. 4.2.2.2 and 4.3.3.4.2).

(42)  
\[ \text{aokay} \quad \text{anak-ne} \quad \text{u-po-kor}^{11} \quad \text{oka=}an \]  
\[ \text{we.(INCL)} \quad \text{TOP-COP} \quad \text{REC-child-have} \quad \text{be.PL=}\text{IND.S} \]  
‘We (we and you, all of us) have a son-parent relationship.’  (OI)  
lit. ‘Some people have a son-parent relationship.’

The 1PL.S.(EXCL) marker for transitive verbs \( c(i)= \) is sometimes used in kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ (but not in uwepeker ‘folktales’) by Ito Oda in the meaning of the first person singular, when a God is speaking about himself.\(^{12}\)

(43)  
\[ \{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \text{aynu} \quad \text{kotan} \quad \{\text{rittunna}\} \quad \text{ci=}\emptyset=\text{nukan} \quad \text{rusuy} \]  
\[ \text{V Ainu village} \quad \text{V} \quad 1\text{PL.S.EXCL=}3\text{.O}=\text{see want} \]  
‘I wanted to see an Ainu village.’  (1-1)  
(The tale is narrated by kanna kamuy – the Thunder God.)

This prefix usually appears only in the beginning of her narrations, and then she switches to the indefinite affix \( a= \). The 1PL.S.EXCL marker \( =as \) for intransitive verbs corresponding to \( c(i)= \) on transitive verbs did not occur in Ito Oda’s folklore texts in the meaning of the first person singular.

Tamura (2000: 64) notes that the use of the 1PL.S.EXCL markers for 1SG.S and 1PL.S in kamuy yukar ‘epics of Gods’ “appears to be the old form of referring to oneself in sacred epic poems [kamuy yukar]. Recently, depending on the region, in sacred epic poems, as in other tales, the indefinite person plural is used; additionally, during the same sacred epic poem, the first person plural and the indefinite forms may be both used.”\(^{13}\)

---

11 Here \( u-po-kor \) is used as an adverb derived from the corresponding intransitive verb \( u-po-kor \) ‘to have a son-parent relationship’ (TAM 776-777).

12 A similar stylistic usage of the 1PL pronoun with reference to the 1SG (the so-called royal ‘we’) is observed in Russian, in ceremonial addresses of the Russian tsars (=emperors): \textit{My, Nikolaj Vtoroj... ‘We, Nickolaj II...’}.

13 Note that the greater part of S. Tamura’s data were collected in the 1960-1970-ties, i. e. at the time when there were still many fluent and reliable Ainu informants.
4.3.3.2. **Second person affixes.** As mentioned, the second person affixes are differentiated for the *singular* and *plural number*; see (44). The **subject** and **object** are marked by the same affixes, cf. (45a) and (45c). When used as subject markers they are word-initial and precede the object marker and when used as object markers they follow the subject marker.

(44)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{2SG.S/O} & \quad e= & (2-30,31,32), (3-37), (3-49), (4-6), (15-282), (15-298), \\
\text{2PL.S/O} & \quad ecī= & (9-218), (9-249), (12-44), (12-96),(14-54), (15-253)
\end{align*}
\]

Sentential examples:

(45) a. \(\text{or-o un} \ \text{Ø=kunne} \ \text{katak} \ e=\text{Ø=osura,...} \)
place-POSS to 3.S=be.black clew 2SG.S=3.O=throw

\(\text{yak} \ \text{Ø=pirka} \ \text{na} \)
if 3.S=be.good FIN
‘You should throw the black clew to that place.’ (2-31, 32)

b. \(\text{eci=Ø=nu ka somo ki} \)
\(\text{2PL.S=3.O=listen.to even NEG do} \)
‘You didn’t listen to that.’ (12-44)

c. \(\text{a=e=ekanok kus ne na} \)
\(\text{IND.S=2SG.O=meet going.to COP FIN} \)
‘I’ll come and see you.’ (3-55)

4.3.3.3. **Third person markers.** As mentioned above, there can be only two overt or covert agreement markers on the predicate. The agreement marker is **zero**: (a) if the **subject** is **third person**, either overt (a noun or pronoun) or covert (not expressed); (b) if the **object** is **third person**, either overt (a noun or pronoun, etc.) or covert. Thus, there can be **two zero markers** on the predicate, in which case the predicate bears no overt marker. I use the glosses 3.S and 3.O for the third person agreement markers in the morphemic line without mentioning the SG/PL number because number is irrelevant for zero markers.
Examples (46) illustrate the marking of the subject on intransitive predicates, and (47), (48), (49) show the marking of the subject and object on transitive predicates.

**Intransitive verbs**

(46) a. ene po hene ...e=siknak ruwe
   like.this still more 2SG=S=be.blind ASS.NR
   ‘Are [you] that blind?’  (4-6)

   b. Ø=umurek utar... Ø=mina
   3.S=be.husband.and.wife people 3.S=smile
   ‘The lovers...smiled.’  (4-32, 33)

   c. Ø=haw-e-an
   3.S=voice-POSS-be
   ‘Said [the man].’  (9-53)

In (46a), the covert intransitive subject is marked on the predicate by the 2SG marker e=; in (46b), the 3PL intransitive subject is overt and marked on the verb by zero, and in (46c) the covert 3SG intransitive subject is marked on the predicate by zero.

**Transitive verbs (two-place)**

(a) with overt subject and object markers

(47) nisat-ta a=e=sir-’e-pakasnu kusu ne na
dawn-at IND.S=2SG.O=land-about.APPL-teach in.order COP FIN
   ‘Tomorrow [I]’ll show [you] the way [to the place of the evil village chief].’  
   (15-154)

(b) with overt subject marker and covert object marker

(48) ku a=Ø=san-ke wa
bow IND.S=3.O=descend-CAUS and
   ‘[I] took out the bow.’  (9-39)
(c) with overt object marker and covert subject marker

(49)  \[a=an-te-hoku \quad \Theta=i=y-ekanok \quad kusu\]
     IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS 3.S=IND.O=EP-meet in.order.to

\[\Theta=ek\]
3.S=come

‘My husband came to see me.’ (3-76)

In (47), the covert subject and object are marked on the verb by the non-zero second person prefixes \((a=\text{ and } e=\text{ respectively})\). In (48), the covert transitive subject is marked by the non-zero marker \(a=\) and the overt object by zero; in (49), the covert object is marked by the non-zero marker \(i=\) and the overt transitive subject is zero-marked. There seems to be a tendency that the third person arguments which are covertly marked on verbs and may be expressed by common nouns are less frequently omitted (cf. (46b), (48), (49)) than those which are overtly marked on verbs and may be expressed only by first or second person pronouns (cf. (46a), (47)). However, if the context is sufficient any argument can be omitted (46c).

All the predicates in (50) have two zero markers corresponding to the overtly expressed subject and object in (50a), to the overt subject and covert object in (50b), to the covert subject and overt objects in (50c), to the covertly expressed subject and object in (46d). Note that the predicate in (50c) is a three-place transitive \((\acute{o}-re \ ‘\text{to put sb into a boat}')\) and both third person objects (the direct object \(\Theta=po-utar-i \ ‘\text{their children}'\) and the indirect object \(\text{cip} \ ‘\text{boat}')\) are overtly expressed. There is no way we can tell for sure if there is one or two zero object markers on the predicate. If we accept the theory that a verb can take only two markers, we should surmise that there is one zero marker on the predicate in this sentence and it remains unclear which of the two third person objects the zero refers to; however, the animate direct object seems to have some priority (cf. the discussion over (37)).

Transitive verbs (two- and three-place) with two zero markers

(50) a. *[katkemat sut-ketusi… \(\Theta=\Theta=san-ke\)]
    housewife grandmother-chest 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS
    ‘The *housewife took out the chest.’ (15-291)
b. $\emptyset=\text{kor}$ $\emptyset=\text{utar}$ $\emptyset=\text{e-yay-kopuntek}$

IND.S=3.O=have people 3.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about

‘My people are happy about [it ; my rule?].’ (15-216, 217)

c. $\emptyset=\text{po-utar-i}$ $\emptyset=\text{poro}$ $\emptyset=\text{cip}$ $\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{ó-re}$


‘[They] took their children on board the big boat.’ (14-34)

d. $\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{ekor}$ $\emptyset=\text{an}$


‘[The evil village chief] (took the bear meat away from the young men) and was eating [it].’ (15-85)

4.3.3.4. Indefinite affixes. In Ainu, we find the so-called indefinite markers. The markers registered in Ito Oda’s data are:

(51) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{TR} & \text{INTR} \\
\text{IND.SG/PL.S} & a= & =\text{an} \\
\text{IND.SG/PL.O} & i= & - \\
\end{array}
\]

The indefinite subject markers $a=$ and $=\text{an}$ always occupy the position of the subject agreement marker, and the indefinite object marker $i=$ in (51) that of the object agreement marker. As we see, number is irrelevant for the indefinite person markers, but the corresponding indefinite pronouns are differentiated for number (see 4.2.2). For the sake of convenience, I use the glosses IND.S and IND.O for the indefinite agreement markers in the morphemic line without SG/PL.

4.3.3.4.1. Indefinite affixes proper. With regard to the indefinite subject markers, Tamura (2000: 71) notes that the indefinite form is used “when expressing an action generally performed by anyone, or when the one doing the action is not at issue, and it is just the action itself that is of interest…”.

---

14 Ainu constructions with IND.S markers proper and no overt subject correspond to Russian subjectless impersonal constructions with a 3PL predicate implying an indefinite or generalized subject (cf. Tam pojut <there sing.PRES.3PL> ‘They(someone) sing(s) there’, or ‘There is singing
Here are a few textual examples of predicates with the indefinite markers of the subject (52a, b) and object (52c). Note that in (52b) the indefinite marker \( a= \) refers to the subject of the attributive clause.

(52) a. \( a=i=nomi \)
    \( \text{wa} \)
    \( \text{IND.S} = \text{IND.O (used for 1SG.O)} = \text{honour} \) and
    \( \text{I} [\text{the Fly God}] \text{ was honoured and…’} \)
    lit. ‘They (some people) honoured me and…’ (6-56)

b. \( a=\emptyset=\text{sitoma} \)
    \( \text{no} \)
    \( \emptyset=\text{okay} \)
    \( pe \)
    \( \text{IND.S} = 3.0 = \text{be.afraid.of} \) and \( 3.S = \text{be.PL} \)
    \( \text{thing} \)
    \( \text{poro-n-no} \)
    \( \emptyset=\text{okay} \)
    \( \text{be.many-EP-ADV} \)
    \( 3.S = \text{be.PL} \)
    ‘…The scary things [the things that people in general are (usually) afraid of] were in great numbers.’ (2-38, 39)

c. \( \emptyset=i=\text{tura} \)
    \( \text{wa} \)
    \( \emptyset=\text{paye} \)
    \( 3.S = \text{IND.O} = \text{accompany} \) and \( 3.S = \text{go.PL} \)
    ‘(They) went with someone.’ (Tamura 2000: 77)

It is generally accepted in Ainu linguistics that the indefinite person marker \( =\text{an} \) has originated from the existential verb \( \text{an} \ ‘\text{to be (SG)}’, \) (Tamura 1970: 589).

The indefinite subject marker \( a= \) can also be found on nouns derived from verbs, cf.:

(there’), and to English sentences with the 3PL pronoun in subject position also denoting an indefinite or generalized subject referent (cf. They say that he is dead). And constructions with the IND.O marker proper roughly correspond to the so-called absolutive constructions with a deleted object and no special marking on the verb (e.g. English He is singing: the verb is semantically transitive, but the irrelevance of the object is denoted by its absence), or with reflexive marking (e.g. Russian On kusaet-sja ‘He is (in the habit of) biting’) (here, the examples from English and Russian were advised by E. Geniušienė, p. c.)
a. \( a = e - p \)

\[
\text{IND.S=} \text{eat-NR}
\]

‘food’, lit. ‘what people [usually] eat’ (2-5)

b. \( a = \text{eywanke}-p \)

\[
\text{IND.S=} \text{use-NR}
\]

‘tool’, lit. ‘what people [usually] use’ (9-8).

The indefinite object marker \( i = \) is materially identical with the antipassive marker (cf. \( i - \text{ruyke} < \text{APASS-sharpen}> \) (vi) ‘to be engaged in sharpening’ (1-9), cf. also (74b) and (75) in 4.3.4.2.4), which is not accidental: the two prefixes may be of the same origin.

The indefinite subject marker \( a = \) is polysemous because it can also be used as a passive marker (cf. 4.3.3.4.3).

4.3.3.4.2. Specific usages of the indefinite affixes. As mentioned above, the indefinite agreement markers \( a =, = \text{an} \) and \( i = \) have a number of so-called specific usages: 1PL inclusive (see sections 4.2.1.1, 4.3.3.1), 1SG/PL in oral literature, 1SG/PL in quotation, 2SG/PL honorific (see 4.2.2.2). The discussion of the use of the indefinite markers with reference to the 1PL.(INCL) is omitted here since this has already been considered in subsection 4.2.1.1. along with the 1PL.(EXCL) markers (see (42)).

As mentioned in 4.2.2.2, the Ainu folktales are traditionally narrated from the point of view of the protagonist, and for reference to the narrator-protagonist the indefinite pronoun \( \text{asinuma} \) (cf. 4.2.2.2.) is used by the informant telling the story; the marking on the predicates is correspondingly indefinite, even if \( \text{asinuma} \) is omitted. This usage of the indefinite markers is usually viewed as 1SG in oral literature and in this function these markers are the most frequent in the folktales; these markers are glossed as IND but translated as 1SG.S; cf. also (27), (33), (34b).

(54) \( \text{asinuma} \ \text{anak-ne} \ \text{aynu} \ \text{ka} \ \text{somo} \ \text{a=ne} \)

\[
\text{INDEF} \ \text{TOP-COP} \ \text{human} \ \text{even} \ \text{NEG} \ \text{IND.S=} \text{COP}
\]

‘I am not a human.’ (3-38)

When reference is made to the narrator-hero and someone else within the story the same indefinite markers are interpreted as 1PL in oral literature because they show agreement with the indefinite pronouns \( \text{asinuma-utar} \) ‘we’ (see (29)) or \( \text{aoká(y)} \) (NAK
4).

The indefinite affixes used for **1SG/PL in quotation** did not occur in Ito Oda’s idiolect; generally, this usage is distinguished in some southern Hokkaido dialects in everyday speech when the speaker quotes someone and dissociates him/herself from the latter, i.e. this usage is quite similar to the **1SG/PL in oral literature** described above.

The **honorific** usage of indefinite affixes for **2SG/PL** is registered in the folktales only once (actually it is the 2SG honorific usage):

(55)  
\[ a=an-te-hoku, \quad nep \quad a=\emptyset=ye \]  
\[ \text{IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS something IND.S=3.O=say} \]

\[ a=\emptyset=ye \quad haw \quad \emptyset=as \quad a \]  
\[ \text{IND.S=3.O=say voice 3.S=stand PERF} \]

‘My husband, it seemed that you were saying something.’  (3-69)

4.3.4.3. **The passive marker** \(a=\).** The indefinite prefix \(a=\) is used as a **passive** marker which is regarded here as a polysemy. The Ainu passive may be regarded as **impersonal** rather than genuine passive because the direct object is not promoted to subject and its object agreement marker is preserved on the predicate; the subject is either deleted (56a), or demoted to the indirect object and is marked by the instrumental postposition **ani** ‘by’, if it is inanimate (56b), or by the ablative postposition **wa** ‘from’ on the locative noun **or-o** ‘the place of’, if it is animate (56c).

(56)  
\[ a=po-utar-i \quad patek \quad \emptyset=ekimne \]  
\[ \text{IND.S=son-PL-POSS only 3.S=go.to.the.mountains} \]

\[ wa \quad a=y=y-e-re \]  
and \( \text{PASS=IND.O=EP-eat-CAUS} \)

‘Only our sons went hunting to the mountains and I was fed [by them].’  (15-331, 332)

b. \[ rera \quad \text{ani} \quad \text{cikuni}, \quad a=\emptyset=kekke \quad \text{wa} \]
\[ \text{wind by tree PASS=3.O=break and} \]

‘The tree was broken by the wind.’  (O1)
A passive construction with overtly unexpressed agent, like (56a), cannot be distinguished from the indefinite construction proper (see section 4.3.3.4.1, cf. (52)): but for the preceding context, the passive marker $a=$ in (56a) could be easily interpreted as the indefinite subject marker (i. e. ‘I was fed by some people (=some people were feeding me).’). Most of the contemporary ainologists (Tamura 1988 (2000: 72); Refsing 1986: 219, 222; Satoo 1995: 13, 16) agree on the complete morphological and syntactic identity of the indefinite and passive constructions if the agent is not expressed; but they prefer to distinguish the passive construction when the agent is specific and overt, as in (56b, c). A more radical view, which is, however, severely criticized by Satoo (1995) and other ainologists, is adopted by Shibatani (1990: 55-60) who claims that “…the $a$-marking in the passive can no longer be considered an indefinite person prefix, for the passive agent is not indefinite, or arbitrary person as in the case of the genuine indefinite person construction […] (p. 60). … The patient in the passive sentence is not really an object and that it is instead a subject (p. 58). Viewed in a broader perspective, the Ainu passive represents a case of change from a transitive construction to an intransitive construction (p. 60).” The data of Ito Oda do not support the point of view of M. Shibatani either.

4.3.4. Valency-changing means

4.3.4.1. Valency-increasing means. There are two devices of valency increase, causative and applicative. If a valency-increasing marker is added to an intransitive verb the latter changes its paradigm (the intransitive personal affixes are replaced by their transitive counterparts) and thus becomes transitive. When added to a transitive verb a valency-increasing marker changes its valency but not the paradigm.

4.3.4.1.1. Causative. There is a productive causative suffix represented by the allomorphs -re/-e/-te (57a-c) whose choice is determined by the preceding phoneme. It transitivizes verbs, and, as a result, intransitive personal affixes are replaced by transitive personal affixes on the causative derivatives. There are also two unproductive causative suffixes -ke and -ka which occur in a limited number of derivatives (57d, e).
a. *i-mi* ‘to wear clothes’ (vi)
   \[\rightarrow \text{*i-mi-re <APASS-wear-CAUS>} \text{‘to dress sb’ (vt) (4-60)}\]

b. *kor* ‘to have’ (vt)
   \[\rightarrow \text{*kor-e <have-CAUS>} \text{‘to give’ (vb) (8-161)}\]

c. *supuya-at* ‘(for smoke) to rise’ (vi)
   \[\rightarrow \text{*supuya-at-te <smoke-be.attached-CAUS>} \text{‘to send up smoke’ (vt) (8-151)}\]

d. *ray* ‘to die’ (vi)
   \[\rightarrow \text{*ray-ke <die-CAUS>} \text{‘to kill sb’ (vt) (5-27)}\]

e. *yay-kotom* ‘to match’ (vi)
   \[\rightarrow \text{*yay-kotom-ka <REFL-match-CAUS>} \text{‘to match sb’ (vt) (3-42)}\]

4.3.4.1.2. Applicative. Applicatives are derived by means of the prefixes *ko-, e-, o-*.

The syntactic role of these prefixes is valency-increasing by itself and the concrete meaning may vary depending on the lexical meanings of the base. They transitivize verbs by introducing a new object and add a variety of meanings except the causative sense. It is the so-called Non-Agent-addition which shows contrast with Agent-addition of the causatives (Ooshima 1982: 214). An applicative prefix on transitive verbs introduces a second (oblique) object (59d). There seems to be no clear-cut semantic difference between the applicative prefixes. However, they are interchangeable on the same verbal stems only in few cases.

In the folktales collected and Ito Oda’s speech, the most common meanings of the prefixes *ko-, e-, o-* are as follows (the order of listing in (58) does not reflect the order of preferential meanings).

(58) Prefix *ko-* Prefix *e-* Prefix *o-

i. ‘in/on/at (sth/sb)’ i. ‘in/on/at (sth)’ i. ‘in/on/at (sth)’ (61a)
ii. ‘to/towards (sb/sth)’ (59a,c) ii. ‘to/towards (sth/sb)’ ii. ‘to/towards (sth)’ (61b)
iii. ‘from/out of (sb)’ (59d) iii. ‘about (sth/sb)’ (60b,c) iii. ‘from sth’
iv. ‘(together) with (sb)’ (59b) iv. ‘with respect to (sth)’

v. ‘for (sth/sb)’ (60a)

vi. ‘by (sth)’, ‘with (the help of sth)’
Compare respectively:

(59) a. yayirayke
  → ko-yairayke
  ‘to be grateful’ (vi)
  cf.: (60a): e-yayirayke
  ‘to be grateful for sth’ (vt)  (9-315)

b. caranke
  → ko-caranke <with.APL-argue>
  ‘to argue with sb’ (vt)  (15-225)

c. ek
  → ko-ek <to.APL-come>
  ‘to come to sb, reach sb’ (vt)  (4-4)

d. sos-o
  → ko-sos-o <from.APL-take.off-TR>
  ‘to take off sth from sb’ (vb)  (4-41)

(60) a. yayirayke
  → e-yayirayke <for.APL-be.grateful>
  ‘to be grateful for sth’ (vt)  (9-315)
  cf.: (59a): ko-yairayke
  ‘to be grateful to sb’ (vt)  (8-171)

b. rayap
  → e-rayap <at.APL-be.delighted>
  ‘to be delighted about/at sth’ (vt)  (1-16)

c. mina
  → e-mina <at.APL-laugh>
  ‘to laugh about/at sth/sb’ (vt)  (11-251)

(61) a. ahun
  → o-ahun <into.APL-enter>
  ‘to enter’ (vi)
  cf.: (62a): ko-ahun
  ‘to enter somewhere’ (vt)  (8-9)

b. ray-e
  → mak-o-ray-e <behind-to.APL-move-TR>
  ‘to put sth aside’  (1-26)
  (mak is a locative noun incorporated via applicative formation).

As we see, the meanings of the applicative prefixes partially overlap. Nakagawa,
who has made an attempt of contrastive study of e- vs. o- and ko- vs. o- in their
locative meanings, describes the difference between e- and o- as follows: “o- refers to
the direction in which the action is taking place” and “e- refers to the place where the action is being performed” (Nakagawa 1979: 144). And the difference between ko- and o- lies in the kind of object each prefix may introduce. If the object introduced by an applicative prefix is a noun with the meaning of place (the nouns which can be used in a locative sense without special locative nouns; cf. 4.1.), then o- is used; otherwise, i.e. if a noun refers to a person or an animal, ko- is used (Nakagawa 1979: 151). However, in practice, there are examples countering these rules.

As to the difference between ko- and e-, according to my own observations, there seems to be a kind of general tendency: the applicative prefix ko- seems to be more frequently used with animate objects, while the prefix e- seems to be more common with inanimate objects (cf. (59a) and (60a)). This fact has probably to do with the respective sets of the meanings of ko- and e- and with the degree of their importance. Thus, the most important meanings of ko- are dative and comitative, and the most important meanings of e- are the meaning of reference (‘about’), instrumental (‘with the help of’), and spatial/locative. However, because of a considerable amount of exceptions (e.g., (60c)) we cannot draw a borderline between the usages of the two prefixes.

An applicative prefix (especially e-) may refer to a previous situation: in a way, it “sums up” what has been said before, thus in (62b) it means ‘about this, because of this’ and indicates the situation described by the first part of the Ainu sentence or by the previous sentence. Compare the following sentences with an underlying verb and its applicative derivative:

(62) a. kamuy-utar opitta Ø=uko-yay-kopuntek kor
   God-PL all 3.S=SOC-REFL-rejoice.at and
   ‘All the [fish] Gods rejoiced together and…’ (12-66)

   b. i-ku=an ki na, {hankirikiri}
   APASS-drink=IND.S do FIN V

   kamuy opitta {hankirikiri} Ø=Ø=e-uko-yay-kopuntek
   God all V 3.S=3.O=at.APPL-SOC-REFL-rejoice.at
   ‘We drank, all the Gods rejoiced at [that] together.’ (5-8, 9)

Some meanings of the applicative prefixes can be paraphrased by means of postpositional particles expressing case relations, with the dative (un), locative (ta),
allative \((\text{ta/\text{un}})\), ablative \((\text{wa})\), instrumental \((\text{ani})\) and comitative \((\text{tura})\) meanings; cf. (63a) and (63b):

(63) a. \textit{nisp\text{a} casi upsor} \(\emptyset=\emptyset=\text{o-ahun}\) ruwe ne
rich.man house inside 3.S=3.O=to.APPL-enter ASS.NR COP
‘The rich man entered inside the house.’ (OI)

b. \textit{nisp\text{a} casi ot} \textit{ta} \(\emptyset=\text{ahun}\) ruwe ne
rich.man house place to 3.S=enter ASS.NR COP
‘The rich man entered the house.’ (OI)

4.3.4.2. Valency-decreasing means. They are used on two-place and three-place transitive verbs making the former intransitive, which finds expression in the change of personal marking and the latter two-place transitives, by deleting an object of the underlying verb. There are four such devices: reflexive, reciprocal, antipassive, and noun incorporation. Sociative derivation does not involve any valency change but it is considered in this section for the sake of convenience and because of the semantic affinity of sociatives and reciprocals.

The reciprocal, the reflexive, the antipassive markers and noun incorporation occupy the same slot (namely Slot 2, see 4.3.4.3) in the morphological structure of a verb.

4.3.4.2.1. Reflexive. The prefix \textit{yay-} expresses the reflexive meaning proper. Note that the reflexive derivative in (64d) is lexicalized.

(64) a. \textit{huymampa} ‘to examine sth/sb’ (vt)
\( \rightarrow \textit{yay-huymampa} <\text{REFL-examine}> \) ‘to examine oneself’ (vi) (4-46)

b. \textit{e-ynonnoitak} ‘to pray for sb/sth’ (vt)
\( \rightarrow \textit{yay-e-ynonnoitak} <\text{REFL-for.APPL-pray}> \) ‘to pray for oneself’ (vi) (7-27)

c. \textit{sini-re} ‘to make sb rest’ (vt)
\( \rightarrow \textit{yay-sini-re} <\text{REFL-rest-CAUS}> \) ‘to make oneself rest’ (vi) (15-181)

d. \textit{tuy-tuy-e} ‘to winnow sth’ (vt)
\( \rightarrow \textit{yay-tuy-tuy-e} <\text{REFL-cut-cut-TR}> \) ‘to shake the dust off oneself’ (vi) (8-70)
The reflexive prefix is polysemous and has a number of other meanings usually expressed by reflexive markers in many other languages, e.g. reflexive-possessive (65a, b, c) and anticausative (65d, e). It also occurs in lexicalized verbs (65c:ii., d, e).

(65) a. ko-yupu
    → yay-ko-yupu <REFL-to.APPL-fasten> ‘to fasten sth to sth/sb’ (vb)
    ‘to fasten sth to oneself’ (vt) (1-3)

b. ko-sina
    → yay-ko-sina <REFL-to.APPL-tie> ‘to tie sth to sth/sb’ (vb)
    ‘to tie sth to oneself’ (vt) (1-2)

c. kor-pa-re
    → yay-kor-pa-re i. ‘to give sth to sb’ (vb)
    ii. ‘to give sth to oneself’
    ‘to give sth to oneself’; ‘to flush with (e.g. anger)’ (vt) (9-75)

d. nu
    → yay-nu <REFL-hear> ‘to listen to sth’ (vt)
    ‘to think’ (vi) (7-21)

e. kar
    → yay-kar <REFL-make> ‘to make sth’ (vt)
    ‘to transform’ (vi) (8-96)

Less commonly the reflexive meaning is expressed by means of the prefix si- (66a) which is also used to mark the autocausative (body move) meaning which is very close to the reflexive proper (see (66b, c)). Note that (66c) is lexicalized.

(66) a. tuy-tuy-e
    → si-tuy-tuy-e <REFL-cut-cut-TR> ‘to shake the dust off oneself’ (vi) (3-62)

b. turiri
    → si-turi-ri <REFL-stretch-P.RED> ‘to stretch oneself’ (vi) (11-68)

c. etaye
    → si-etyaye <REFL-pull> ‘to pull sth’ (vt)
    ‘to pull oneself in [go back inside]’ (vi) (9-140)

The difference between the reflexive prefixes yay- and si- is not enough clear. The generally accepted view is that of Kindaichi (1931: § 209) who describes yay- as a voluntary self and si- as an involuntary self. Kirikae (1994: 316) criticizes
“Kindaichi’s characterization of these prefixes [...] based on only one minimal pair” and claims that “there is a clear distinction in the case in which they [the two prefixes – A. B.] appear in the construction [yay-/si- + transitive verbal stem + verbal suffix], where yay- is ‘the agentive self’ and si- is ‘the patientive self’.” According to the informant Ito Oda, the reflexive prefixes yay- and si- are sometimes interchangeable as in (8-70) where yay-tuy-tuy-e ‘to shake the dust off oneself’ (64d) can be replaced by si-tuy-tuy-e with the same meaning (66a). The problem requires future consideration.

4.3.4.2.2. Reciprocal15. The reciprocal meaning in Ainu is commonly expressed by the prefix u-. In most cases, reciprocal derivation involves intransitivization (note that in (67a), the prefix a= marks IND.S on a transitive verb, while in (67b) the suffix =an marks IND.S on an intransitive verb).

(67) a. ne nispa a=Ø=ko-onkami
this noble.man IND.S=3.O=APPL-greet
‘I came up and greeted this noble man.’ (9-145)

b. u-ko-onkami=an ma
\[\rightarrow\] REC-APPL-greet=IND.S and
‘We greeted each other.’ (9-146)

There are also some reciprocals with the meaning of joining two or more objects together which thus enter into a reciprocal relation. They are marked with the complex prefix uko- composed of the reciprocal prefix u- and applicative ko-. This kind of derivation does not involve intransitivization:

(68) e-kut-kor ‘to fasten with a belt’ (vt) (TAM 95)
\[\rightarrow\] uko-e-kut-kor <REC-with.APPL-belt-have> ‘to fasten with a belt (e.g. several layers of dress) together’ (vt) (13-17).

These reciprocals can be termed **object-oriented** in contrast to reciprocals of type (67) with reciprocal relation between the subject referents which may be termed **subject-oriented**.

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15 A detailed description of reciprocals and sociatives in Ainu, mainly based on the study of the Chitose dialect, may be found in a special work by Bugaeva (2004).
4.3.4.2.3. Sociative. It should be noted that in Ainu there is a way of expressing the sociative meaning of joint action, i.e. the sense ‘together’: it is commonly expressed by the reciprocal prefix u- in combination with the polysemous applicative prefix ko-, sometimes with e- (see 4.3.4.1.2). Compare:

(69) a. onne-pa  ‘to be old.PL’ (vi) (OI)
    → ko-onne-pa  ‘to grow old together with sb’ (vt) (TSO 131)
    → u-ko-onne-pa  <REC-with.APPL-be.old-PL> ‘for everyone to grow old together’ (vi) (TAM 760)

   b. rewsı  ‘to stay the night’ (vt) (OI)
    → ko-rewsi  ‘to stay the night with sb’ (vt) (NAK 424; O 70; OI)
    → u-ko-rewsi  <REC-with.APPL-stay.the.night-PL> ‘to stay the night together’ (vi) (O 157; OI)

(70) a. yay-kopuntek  ‘to rejoice’ (vi) (OI)
    → b. e-yay-kopuntek  <about.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at> ‘to rejoice about sth’ (vt) (15-217)
    → c. uwe-yay-kopuntek  <SOC-REFL-rejoice.at> ‘to rejoice together’ (vi) (15-157)

From a purely morphological viewpoint, sociatives are reciprocals derived by means of the prefix u- from applicatives with the prefix ko- or e-. It might be tempting to treat all sociatives, which are rather numerous, as such, i.e. as reciprocals derived from applicatives. But in most cases, however, the combined prefix uko- ((less frequently, uwe-16) (70) composed of u-, epenthetic glide /w/ (see 3.5) and applicative e-) functions as a single sociative morpheme, i.e. these derivations are semantically related immediately to the non-applicative base verb without the prefix ko- rather than to the formally intermediate applicative form in ko- (this latter form is lacking in most cases); cf.:

(71) a. mismu  ‘to feel lonely/sad’ (vi) (12-2)
    b. *ko-mismu  intended meaning ‘to feel lonely/sad with sb’ (vt)

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16 Derivatives with the sociative meaning marked by the prefix uwe- are rather rare; note that all of them have parallel derivations with the prefix uko-.
c. **uko-mismu** ‘to feel lonely/sad **together**’ (vi)  (10-6)
cf.  d. **u-mismu** is impossible because of the intransitivity of the base verb.

(72) a. **nepki** ‘to work’ (vi) (OI)
b. **ko-nepki** ‘to work **for/instead of sb**’ (vt) (OI)
cf.  **ko-nepki** intended meaning ‘to feel lonely/sad with sb’ (vt) (OI)
c. **uko-nepki** ‘to work **together**’ (vi) (OI)
cf.  **u-nepki** is impossible because of the intransitivity of the base verb.

Thus, semantically, (71c) and (72c) relate to (71a) and (72a) respectively because the applicative verb is either not registered (71b) or its meaning is not comitative (72b).

Another means of expressing the sociative meaning is the reciprocal prefix in combination with the causative suffix, serving as a **sociative circumfix** **u-…-re**.

(73) **sitoma** ‘to be afraid of sb/sth’ (vt) (14-41)
→ **u-sitoma-re <SOC-be.afraid.of-SOC>** ‘(of all) to be scared of sth/sb **together**’ (14-86)

4.3.4.2.4. **Antipassive.** In constructions with derivatives with the prefix **i-** the object cannot be overtly expressed and they denote engagement in an activity without reference to any particular object (74b), i.e. the object is generalized. In the world’s languages, such constructions are often referred to as antipassive or absolutive; in the case of Ainu the former term has not been applied so far (in Ainu linguistics, **i-** is usually termed the marker of the generalized object).

Compare (74a) with an overt object and (74b) with a deleted object:

(74) a. **kotan Ø=Ø=kor kur oruspe a=Ø=nu**
   *village 3.S=3.O=have man story.POSS IND.S=3.O=listen.to*
   ‘I listened to the story about the village chief.’  (9-151)

b. **i-nu=an**
   *APASS-listen.to=IND.S*
   ‘I listened.’  (9-74)

The antipassive derivative may unambiguously imply a definite object, which is deleted for this particular reason, especially in cases of lexicalization:
(75) a. *ku* ‘to drink sth’ (vt)  
→ *i-ku* <APASS-drink> ‘to drink alcohol’ (vi) (5-8)

b. *ri* ‘to tear sth off’ (vt)  
→ *i-ri* <APASS-skin> ‘to skin an animal’ (vi) (11-81).

Note that this prefix *i-* is materially identical with the IND.O marker (cf. (52c) in 4.3.3.4.1) and a genetic relationship between them is rather transparent.

4.3.4.2.5. Noun incorporation. Incorporation most commonly involves direct objects of transitive verbs (76b), and much less commonly the subject of intransitive verbs (77b); in the latter case the incorporated noun retains a possessive marker.

(76) a. *usey*  
→ *a=Ø=kar*  
hot.water IND.S=3.O=make  
‘I boiled (some) water.’ (OI)

b. *úsey-kar=an*  
hot.water-make=IND  
‘I boiled (some) water.’ (10-48)

Note that in (76a), the prefix *a=* marks IND.S on a transitive verb, while in (76b) the suffix *=an* marks IND.S on an intransitive verb.

(77) a. *asinuma anak-ne a=kema*  
→ *Ø=pase*  
INDEF TOP-COP IND.S=leg.POSS 3.S=be.heavy  
lit. ‘As to me, my legs became heavy.’  
‘My legs became heavy.’  
(A.B., cf. the analogous example in ST 197)

b. *asinuma anak-ne *kema-pase*  
→ *ka Ø=an*  
INDEF TOP-COP leg.POSS-be.heavy even 3.S=be  
lit. ‘As to me, there was leg-heaviness.’  
‘My legs became heavy.’ (8-122)

The incorporative verb *kema-pase* ‘to have heavy legs’ (vi) used in (77b), is often
interpreted as a lexicalized verb ‘to grow old’; note that here the verb kema-pase is nominalized without a formal nominalizer and the predicate is the existential verb an ‘to be’.

Incorporation of the subject of a transitive verb (see (78b)) has been previously registered in the Chitose dialect (cf. Satoo 1992: 193-201) but it is extremely rare and is limited to inanimate subjects; it did not occur in Ito Oda’s idiolect.

(78) a. Nis Ø=en=reye-re
    cloud 3.O=1SG.O=crawl-CAUS
    ‘The clouds carry me [slowly]’ (ST 197)

    b. [Kani] ku=nis-reye-re
    I 1SG.S=cloud-crawl-CAUS
    ‘I am [slowly] carried by clouds.’ (lit. ‘I am cloud-carried’) (ST 197)
    (the passive is used in the translation to render the original word order).

Oblique objects (typically instrumental or locative) can be incorporated, too, and this always involves the use of an applicative marker (as applicatives are usually transitive, these cases can also be regarded as direct object incorporation); cf.:

(79) a. kani ka ku=nepki kusu k=arpa
    I also 1SG.S=work in.order 1SG.S=go.SG
    ‘I went in order to work.’ (OI)

    b. nepki-e-arpa=an
    work-for.APPL-go.SG=IND.S
    ‘I went to work.’ (OI)

    cf. c. nisat-ta nepki-e-paye=an kus ne na
    dawn-at work-for.APPL-go.PL=IND.S going.to COP FIN
    ‘Let’s go to work tomorrow!’ (2-13)

The underlying verb arpa/paye ‘to go.SG/PL’ is intransitive, so the object nepki ‘work’ could have been incorporated only via applicative formation (e- ‘for’) transzitivizing the underlying verb.
Moreover, adverbs and locative nouns can also undergo incorporation, but only in the case of locative nouns the verbal valency decreases. If an intransitive subject is incorporated the underlying verb retains its intransitivity; in the remaining two cases incorporation results in intransitivity.

4.3.4.3. Combinability of valency-changing means. According to Fukuda (Tamura) (1956: 50-1), there are six slots in the verb structure; affixes taking different slots can co-occur but affixes taking the same slot cannot. The following shows the position of the affixes and root in the verb form:

(80) Slot 1 applicative prefixes e-, ko
Slot 2 reciprocal prefix u-, reflexive yay-, antipassive i-
Slot 3 applicative prefixes e-, ko- which can be repeated
Slot 4 root
Slot 5 suffixes of singularity, plurality, transitivity, intransitivity
Slot 6 causative suffixes.

Combinations of the reciprocal prefix u- with other verbal affixes in the Saru dialect are discussed by Suzuko Fukuda (Tamura): u- can combine with all the causative suffixes but not with the other (valency-decreasing) affixes, viz. with i- and reflexive yay- (Fukuda 1956: 51). The latter rule, however, is violated if u- and i- or yay- are separated by an applicative prefix (see (81f)) or if they are fossilized.

(81) a. ruska ‘to be angry because of sth/sb’ (vt)
    b. ko-ruska <APPL-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry with sb because
          of sth/sb’ (vb) (NAK 420)
    c. yay-ko-ruska <REFL-APPL-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry with
          oneself because of sth’ (vt) (NAK 420)
    d. i-ruska <APASS-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry’ (vi)
    e. ko-i-ruska <APPL-APASS-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry with
          sb’ (vt) (OI)
    f. u-ko-i-ruska <REC-APASS-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry with one
          another’ (vi) (OI)

(82) a. kopuntek ‘to rejoice at sth’ (vt) (NAK 190)
    b. i-kopuntek <APASS-rejoice.at> ‘to rejoice’ (vi) (NAK 190)
c. yay-kopuntek <REFL-rejoice.at> ‘to rejoice’ (vi) (OI)

d. e-yay-kopuntek <about.APPL-REFL-rejoice.at> ‘to rejoice at sth’ (vt) (15-217)

e. uko-yay-kopuntek <SOC-REFL-rejoice.at> ‘to rejoice together’ (vi) (OI)

f. uwe-yay-kopuntek <SOC-REFL-rejoice.at> (same meaning) (vi) (15-157)

g. e-uko-yay-kopuntek <about.APPL-SOC-REFL-rejoice.at> ‘(of more than two people) to rejoice at sth together’ (vt) (5-9).

4.3.5. Aspectual characteristics. Aspect describes the internal temporal structure of the events or states denoted by the verb. The following 6 aspects have been registered in Ito Oda’s idiolect: Perfect, Completive, Iterative, Progressive, Resultative and Perfective. None of those aspects is expressed obligatorily.

In this work, aspect proper is distinguished from the numerous “modes of (verbal) action” (Aktionsart). The latter are not grammaticalized in Ainu and may be optionally expressed by lexical affixes which are consistently glossed in texts but will not be specially considered here (e.g. sirko-etay-e <immediately-pull-TR> ‘to pull sth immediately’ (10-59); hum-rik-ekatta <sound-upper.place-go.with.force.SUF> ‘to let out a loud cry’ (4-47); mew-natara <onomatopoeia)-continue> ‘to be imposing’ (1-15)).

Aspect proper is marked either by periphrastic (=analytical) verbal constructions consisting of the main verbs and auxiliary verbs placed immediately after them or by serial-verb constructions consisting of the first (notional) verb, a conjunction (wa/kor ‘and’) and an auxiliary-like verb.

4.3.5.1. Periphrastic verbal constructions. There are 3 aspectual auxiliary verbs in Ito Oda’s idiolect (83). Their position in the linear sentence structure is permanent: they are always placed immediately after the main verbs comprising with them a periphrastic construction. Being pure auxiliaries, the aspectual auxiliary verbs do not take any personal or derivational affixes, and only the main verbs do.

(83) a Perfect
     okere Completive
     ranke...(ranke) Iterative.
4.3.5.1.1. The auxiliary verb a\textsuperscript{17}. The description of this auxiliary verb given by most ainologists generally agrees with the definition of Perfect\textsuperscript{18}, although there is no terminological consensus in their works. Thus, Kindaichi (1960: §233) terms a a perfective marker , Chiri (1936: §234) – a perfect or past marker (in Japanese) and Tamura (2000: 111) uses the glossing PAST in spite of her very clear description of a as a perfect marker (Fukuda (Tamura) 1960: 71; 1988: 41).

I prefer to term this auxiliary verb a tense-aspect marker of Perfect. All the examples with a in my data share the principal feature that a past situation described by the verb(s) marked by a (those preceding a) has some consequences which are relevant for a present situation described by the verb(s) following a, just as it has previously been pointed out for the Saru dialect (Fukuda (Tamura) 1960: 71). The marker a may be related not only to the immediately preceding predicate but to all the preceding (non-finite and finite) predicates of a clause (cf. (84)).

The auxiliary verb a usually occurs in composite sentences (complex and compound sentences) referring either to the first coordinate clause of a complex sentence (see (84), (85)) or to the subordinate clause of a compound sentence (see (86), (87), (88)); the subordinate clause always comes before the main clause.

In complex sentences with a, the two coordinate clauses may be conjoined by the coordinating conjunctions wa ‘and’ (84), ayne ‘finally’ or by the adversative conjunctions korka ‘but’, p ‘although, but’ (85) which are placed after a.

(84) Ø=poon, Ø=poon cikap ne an=’an ma, 3.S=very.small 3.S=very.small bird as be=IND.S and
rek=’an ma inkar=’an a wa, sing=IND.S and see=IND.S PERF and

\textsuperscript{17} Etymologically, the auxiliary verbs a (SG) and rok (PL) originated from the suppletive verbal pair a (SG) / rok (PL) ‘to sit’ (vi). Note that rok, the plural counterpart of the auxiliary verb a, was not registered in the data of Ito Oda, so it is not considered here.

\textsuperscript{18} Cf. Refsing (1986: 192) interprets “the use of a single a as a weaker expression of duration, while the repeated use [a…a] has overtones of impatience on the part of the speaker”. The opinion of Refsing leaves a lot of questions, and she herself notes that there are very few examples of a in her data on the Shizunai dialect which is, after all, rather different from the Chitose Dialect.
‘I had turned [myself] into a very very small bird and had tried to sing. My voice was a beautiful voice.’ (4-26, 27)

‘Although I had still intended to sleep, I was woken up.’ (4-57, 58)

In the case of compound sentences, the auxiliary verb a marks the predicate(s) of the subordinate clause which may be of three types: a relative clause (86), an adverbial clause with the meaning of reason (87), a complement clause (88).

‘All the [whittled prayer sticks used as offerings to the Gods] I had stood at the hunting hut were fallen down in my direction.’ (7-31, 32, 33)

‘As he had completely denied [everything], I got angry with that.’ (9-209)

‘I don’t remember what happened [next].’ (7-65)
durative verbs, the meaning is **durative**, i.e. a non-punctual action is represented as having a certain duration:

(89)  \text{arpa=an} a \text{ arpa=an} a  \\
\text{go=IND.S} \text{ DUR} \text{ go=IND.S} \text{ DUR}  \\
'I went and went.' (11-44)

(90)  \text{Ø=i-nonnoitak} a \text{ Ø=i-nonnoitak} a  \\
‘[The villagers] prayed and prayed and finally…’ (6-34)

When used with terminative verbs, the auxiliary verbs \text{a}…\text{a} are likely to render the **iterative** meaning (cf. 4.3.5.1.3) which was reported for the Saru (Tamura 1988: 411) and Shizunai (Refsing 1986: 198) dialects; however, this meaning did not occur in my data, probably by accident.

**4.3.5.1.2. The auxiliary verb \text{okere}.** It is used to express the meaning of **completive aspect** implying that the action was finished (91) or the state was achieved completely.

(91)  \text{or-o-wa (uwe…)} u-w-erankanarap=’an \text{ okere} wa  \\
there-POSS-from \text{ REC-EP-APPL-greet=IND.S} \text{ finish} \text{ and}  \\
‘Then we have finished with official verbal greetings and…’ (9-147)

**4.3.5.1.3. The auxiliary verb(s) \text{ranke}…(\text{ranke}).** It is used (once or twice) to express the meaning of **iterative aspect** implying that a punctual action takes place several times in succession.

(92)  \text{a=Ø=tawki} \text{ (ranya?) [\text{ranke]} a=Ø=tawki} \text{ \text{ranke} kor}  \\
\text{IND.S=3.O=chop} \text{ ITR} \text{ IND.S=3.O=chop} \text{ ITR} \text{ while}  \\
‘While I chopped and chopped [the monster]…’ (7-63)

It has been reported for the Chitose dialect that the auxiliary \text{ranke} used once may render the **habitual meaning** (Nakagawa 1995: 411); however, this meaning did not occur in my data.

**4.3.5.2. Serial-verb constructions.** A serial-verb construction contains two (or more)
verbs that are neither compounded nor members of separate clauses. The verbs in a series express various facets of one event (the term “serial-verb” is borrowed from Payne 1999: 307). In Ainu, some aspectual and modal meanings are productively expressed by serial-verb constructions consisting of the first (notional) verb which names an action or process, a conjunction (wa/kor ‘and’) and of the second verb which carries grammatical information but usually retains its original meaning to a lesser or greater degree. The second verb cannot be formally classified as an auxiliary verb proper (cf. the auxiliary verbs employed in periphrastic verbal constructions in 4.3.5.1) because it takes personal affixes and agrees in number with the subject or object by changing the verbal stem (in Ainu, plural number may be expressed either by the affix –pa or by suppletive verbal forms, e.g. an(SG)/okay (PL)‘to be’) just like the first (notional) verb.

4.3.5.2.1. Notional verb + conjunction kor ‘and’ + an(SG)/okay (PL)‘to be’. The construction expresses the meaning of progressive aspect as it describes a situation in progress. The notional verb names an action or process and the second verb denotes continuation of the same action or process. The implied subject of the second verb an(SG)/okay (PL) ‘to be’ is always the subject (SG or PL) of the first (=notional) verb (cf. the agreement markers and the SG/PL form of the second verb). In Ainu, the Progressive is particularly common with actional verbs denoting active actions (93) and motion (94), as well as with causative verbs (95). In most examples at my disposal, the notional verbs are durative.

(93)  u-w-e-newsar=’an  kor  okay=’an  akusu
       REC-EP-to.APPL-talk=IND.S and  be.PL=IND.S when
       lit. ‘When we talked to each other and we continued being [so]…’
       ‘When we were talking to each other…’ (15-69)

(94)  cise  Ø=Ø=kor  kur  soy  peka  θ=omanan  kor  θ=an
       house 3.S=3.O=have man outside at 3.S=walk.about and 3.S=be
       lit. ‘The owner of the house walked about outside and he continued being
       [so].’
       ‘The owner of the house was walking about outside.’ (11-57)
The Ainu Progressive seems to be less common (or less permissible?) with stative verbs; at least examples like the following are not registered in Ito Oda’s folktales: *Ø=ne kor Ø=an <3.S=COP and 3.S=be> with the intended meaning ‘he/she/it is being’ (cf. (108)), *Ø=an kor Ø=an <3.S=be and 3.S=be> with the intended meaning ‘he/she is living’, *Ø=eramuan kor Ø=an <3.S=know and 3.S=be> with the intended meaning ‘he/she knows’. However, despite our expectations the Ainu verb mismu ‘to be/feel sad’ occurs in the progressive construction.19

It should be noted that “verbs with the same lexical meaning may have the formal features of statives in one language and the properties of dynamic verbs in another” (Geniušienė 1987: 35-36), which could be the case with the Ainu verb mismu ‘to be/feel sad’ (and some other Ainu verbs); otherwise we have to assume that the restriction on the use of Progressive with stative verbs in Ainu leaves a lot of questions.

Tamura (2000: 156) notes that “this construction is not just used when the events are actually progressing, but is also used when the events habitually repeat over a long period”, which also agrees with the data of Ito Oda.

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19 Cf. the corresponding English verb to be sad and the Russian verb toskovat’ which are definitely stative.

20 Note that the context sentence (96) appears in does not suggest that ‘We were being sad’ at the moment, i.e. somewhat like nonstative use of stative verbs in the English Progressive; the only claim is that ‘We were/felt sad’ in general, cf. the similar discussion of to be silly in Comrie (1976: 36).
Sometimes the zero-marked subject of the second verb $\theta = \text{an}(SG)$ ‘to be’ is not the same with the subject of the notional verb but rather refers to the entire situation that continues: ‘it is/was [so]’ (= [such] is/was the state of things’). In this case, the two verbs do not compose a single serial-verb construction and should be rather analyzed as two separate clauses where $\theta = \text{an}(SG)$ ‘to be’ is used with emphatic meaning.

4.3.5.2.2. Notional verb + conjunction $\text{wa}$ ‘and’ + $\text{an}(SG)/\text{okay}$ (PL) ‘to be’. Constructions of this type where both verbal components retain their meaning are usually interpreted as indicating that “an action took place and the result continues” (Tamura 2000: 185). The notional verb can be either transitive or intransitive and either terminative or durative, and the interpretation is determined by these properties of the notional verb. It may be useful to consider these types of notional verbs separately.

1) Terminative intransitive verbs. They seem to occur in this construction more frequently than the other verbs.

(99) $u\text{-kor}=\text{an} \quad ma \quad \text{okay}=\text{an}$
REC-have=IND.S and be.PL=IND.S
lit. ‘We had each other and we were [so].’
‘We slept together.’ (3-20)

(100) $\theta = \text{poro} \quad \text{cikuni} \quad \theta = \text{corpok-ke} \quad \text{ta} \quad e=\text{yay-reska} \quad \text{wa}$
3.S=be.big tree 3.O=under-POSS at 2SG.S=REFL-bring.up and
$e=\text{an} \quad \text{ruwe} \quad \text{ne} \quad a \quad \text{pekor}$
2SG.S=be ASS.NR COP PERF as.if
lit. ‘It seems that you had brought up yourself under a big tree and you had
been [like that].’

‘It seems that you grew up alone under a big tree.’ (14-44)

(101) $a=\emptyset=roski$  inaw opitta  $\emptyset=horak$ wa  $\emptyset=an$

$\text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{stand}$  $\text{inaw}$  all  $3.\text{S}=\text{fall.down}$  and  $3.\text{S}=\text{be}$

lit. ‘All the $\text{inaw}$ I placed standing fell down and it was [so].’

‘All the $\text{inaw}$ [whittled prayer sticks used as offerings to the Gods] which I placed standing were fallen.’ (7-41)

(102) $\text{soy}$  ta  sik-etok-o  $a=\emptyset=\text{eramiskari}$  okkaypo

outside  at  eye-in.front-POSS  $\text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{not.know}$  young.man

$\emptyset=ek$  wa  $\emptyset=an$  ruwe  ne

$3.\text{S}=\text{come}$  and  $3.\text{S}=\text{be}$  ASS.NR  COP

lit. ‘A young man whom I don’t know at all came outside and he/it is [so].’

‘A young man whom I don’t know at all has come outside.’ (9-128, 129)

The implied subject of the second verb $\emptyset=\text{an}(\text{SG}/\text{okay}(\text{PL})$ ‘to be’ is the subject (SG or PL) of the first (=notional) verb (cf. the agreement markers and the SG/PL form of the second verb in (99), (100), (102)). In this case, the notional verb names an action and the second verb refers to the continuing resultant state of the subject referent. With the zero-marked third person of the subject several interpretations of $\emptyset=\text{an}(\text{SG})$ are possible: ‘he/she is/was [so]’ (the above mentioned interpretation) or ‘it is/was [so]’ (= [such] is/was the state of things) referring to the entire situation that takes place after the action of the notional verb (101), or both at the same time (102); the choice of interpretation is determined by the context. Note that here and elsewhere $\emptyset=\text{okay}(\text{PL})$ may refer only to the plural of the subject of the notional verb: ‘they were [so]’ while the use of $\emptyset=\text{an}(\text{SG})$ completely eliminates such interpretation (cf. (101)).

2) Terminative transitive verbs

According to my data, the second verb $\emptyset=\text{an}(\text{SG}/\text{okay}(\text{PL})$ ‘to be’ most commonly agrees with the object of (SG or PL) of the first (=notional) verb.

(103) $a=\emptyset=\text{reska}$  wa  $\emptyset=an$  ruwe  ne

$\text{IND.S}=3.\text{O}=\text{raise}$  and  $3.\text{S}=\text{be}$  ASS.NR  COP

lit. ‘I raised her and she/it was [so].’
‘I raised her and she was [grown]/it was [so].’ (10-97)

(104) *paskur* okkyo... *esoyn* a=Ø=osura wa θ=an na
crow man outside PASS=3.O=throw.away and 3.S=be FIN
lit. ‘The Crow Man was thrown away outside and he/it was [so].’
‘The Crow Man was thrown away outside.’ (5-26, 28)

(105) a=Ø=nu wa θ=an a, pe ne
IND.S=hear and 3.S=be PERF NR COP
‘I heard that and it was [so].’ (9-84)

In this case, the notional verb names an action and the second verb refers to the *continuing resultant state of the object referent* (103), (104). Zero marked singular form of the second verb θ=an(SG) along with the above interpretation ‘he/she (=the object of the notional verb) is/was [so]’ allows the interpretation ‘it is/was [so]’ (= [such] is/was the state of things) referring to the entire situation that takes place after the action which can be the only possible interpretation (105).

The examples where the implied subject of the second verb an(SG)/okay(PL) ‘to be’ is the subject (SG or PL) of the first (=notional) verb and the meaning is *continuing resultant state of the subject referent* (cf. (1) terminative vi) were not registered in my data, but they have been previously reported for the Saru dialect; cf.:

(106) sinnayno an amip e=Ø=mi wa e=an
different be clothes 2SG.S=3.O=put.on and 2SG.S=be
‘You put on a different clothes and you are [so].’
‘You are wearing a different clothes.’ (Nakagawa 1981: 133)

3) *Durative intransitive verbs and the copula* ne

The second verb an(SG)/okay(PL) ‘to be’ agrees with the subject (SG or PL) of the first (=notional) verb (107) or of the copula ne (108); note the agreement markers and the SG/PL form of the second verb.

(107) episne inkar=’an ma an=’an
in.the.direction.of.the.beach look=IND.S and be=IND.S
lit. ‘I looked ... and I was [= still looking].’
‘I was looking in the direction of the beach.’ (12-7)
(108) ren a=ne wa oka² an pe ne hike
three IND.S=COP and be.PL=IND.S NR COP and
lit. ‘We were three and continued living [so].’
‘The three of us lived [together].’ (2-2)

(109) ney pak-no Ø=hotke wa Ø=an
when until-ADV 3.S=be.asleep and 3.S=be
lit. ‘He was asleep for a long time and he continued being [so]/it was [so].’
‘(Once, my grandfather didn’t get up), he slept for a long time.’ (8-12)

In this case, the notional verb names an action or process and the second verb denotes **continuation of the same action or process**. Just as it was mentioned above, Ø=an(SG) allows an extra interpretation of the emphatic kind: ‘it is/was [so]’ referring to the entire situation that continues, along with the standard interpretation ‘he/she is/was [so]’.

4) **Durative transitive verbs**
The implied subject of the second verb an(SG)/okay(PL) ‘to be’ is the subject (SG or PL) of the first (=notional) verb; note the agreement markers and the SG/PL form of the second verb; cf.:

(110) a=Ø=eramusinne wa okay=’an
IND.S=3.O=feel.relieved.about and be.PL=IND.S
lit. ‘We felt relieved about it and continued being [so].’
‘We felt relieved.’ (2-56)

(111) kunne Ø=Ø=tére wa Ø=okay akusu sir-kinne
lit. ‘They waited for nightfall and they were [=still waiting]’
‘They were waiting for nightfall, then it grew dark.’ (6-42)

²¹ Here is the only occurrence of oka <be.PL> (existential verb) in Ito Oda’s folktales; she uses okay elsewhere.
In this case, the notional verb names an action or process and the second verb denotes **continuation of the same action or process**. No examples with the meaning of continuing resultant state of the object-referent (as in the case of terminative transitives, cf. (103-104)) were registered, and they are hardly possible because any new state of the object does not occur in the case of durative verbs. Here, \( \varnothing=\text{an} \) (SG) also allows an extra interpretation of the emphatic kind ‘it is/was [so]’ referring to the entire situation that continues, along with the standard one ‘he/she is/was [so]’ (112).

By way of concluding this, the following should be noted. In the case of **terminative** verbs, the construction \( \ldots \text{wa an/okay} \) renders the meaning which is close to resultative in the other languages although it is not still fully grammaticalized in Ainu. In the case of **durative** verbs, the construction \( \ldots \text{wa an/okay} \) renders the progressive meaning, therefore it becomes synonymous with the construction \( \ldots \text{kor an/okay} \) (cf. 4.3.5.2.1), the latter is, however, more common with durative verbs.

Both **durative** and **terminative** verbs demonstrate usages where the zero-marked subject of the second verb \( \varnothing=\text{an} \) (SG) ‘to be’ is not the same with the subject of the notional verb but refers to the entire situation that either continues or takes place after the action: ‘it is/was [so]’ (=‘[such] is/was the state of things’). In this case, the two verbs do not compose a single serial-verb construction and should be rather analyzed as two separate clauses where \( \varnothing=\text{an} \) (SG) ‘to be’ is used with the above mentioned emphatic meaning (cf. 4.3.5.2.1, (98)).

**4.3.5.2.3. Notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + isam ‘to not exist’**. The construction expresses the meaning of the **perfective aspect** which indicates a **completed action**. These constructions with the meaning of the perfective action are employed only when it is necessary to denote that an **action** (113) or **process** (114) has achieved an **irreversible state** (cf. Tamura (2000: 185): “to finish where something is used up or an activity results in loss”). They are not fully grammaticalized, and both verbal components retain their meanings: the notional verb names an action or process
and the second verb denotes completion (lit. ‘disappearance’) of the same action or process.

(113) \( \text{Ø}=\text{he-etaye} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{Ø} = \text{isam} \)
3.S=head-pull and 3.S=not.exist
lit. ‘[Samayunkur] pulled in his head back [inside] and [Samayunkur] disappeared.’
‘[Samayunkur] pulled in his head back inside.’ (13-16)

(114) \( \text{a}=\text{tumam-aha} \quad \text{opitta} \quad \text{Ø}=\text{munin} \quad \text{ma}, \quad \text{Ø} = \text{isam} \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ne} \)
IND.S=body-POSS all 3.S=rot and 3.S=not.exist NR COP
lit. ‘My [whole] body went rotten and [my body] disappeared.’
‘My whole body went rotten.’ (14-50)

The second verb of the construction \textit{isam} ‘to not exist’ (vi) never takes any overt personal markers, so it is viewed here as being zero marked.

If the first verb of the construction is intransitive, as \textit{he-etaye} ‘to pull one’s head in’ in (113) or \textit{munin} ‘to rot’ in (114), the second verb naturally refers to the subject of the clause: lit. ‘[Samayunkur] pulled his head [back] and (he) did not exist [outside].’

If the first verb of the construction is transitive, as \textit{rayke} ‘to kill sb’ in (115), the subject of the second verb refers to the object of the first verb.

However, in some cases, the subject of \textit{isam} ‘to not exist’ is co-referential neither with the subject nor with object of the first verb, it rather agrees with a covert abstract subject\(^{22}\) referring to an implied action or process preceding the action or process (denoted by the first verb) which has led to the irreversible state, cf. (116), lit. ‘I died and [my being?] did not exist’. Note that the first verb \textit{ray} ‘to die’ (vi) is overtly marked for the subject and the second verb \textit{isam} ‘to not exist’ (vi) is zero-marked for the subject, therefore we cannot interpret (116) as (113), (114) because the personal

\(^{22}\) The covert abstract subject corresponds to the English dummy \textit{it}.

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markers do not coincide.

(116)  
\[\text{ray=’an} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{Ø=isam} \quad \text{ruwe} \quad \text{ne}\]  
die=IND.S and 3.S=not.exist ASS.NR COP  
lit. ‘I died and [it] did not exist.’  
‘[So] I died.’ (7-112)

4.3.6. Miscellaneous. There is another couple of constructions structurally similar to the serial-verb construction type described in 4.3.5.2, but their meanings cannot be classified as properly aspectual. The meanings of these constructions are benefactive, directional, tentative and preparatory.

4.3.6.1. Notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + kor-e ‘to give sth to sb’. The construction has the benefactive meaning: the action expressed by the first verb is performed for the benefit of the person denoted by the object of the second verb kor-e ‘to give sth to sb’: ‘to do something for someone’ (Tamura (2000: 46)), lit. ‘to do sth and give (it) to sb’. The second verb kor-e ‘to give sth/sb to sb’ is bitransitive but when it is employed in the benefactive construction neither of the arguments is expressed overtly by nominals, only the agreement markers of the subject (cf. Ø= in (117) and a= in (118)) and the Benefactive object (‘to sb’; cf. i= in (117) and Ø= in (118)) are retained on it, the Patient object (‘sth/sb) which in this construction can only be the third person is viewed as unmarked (cf. the discussion on the objects of bitransitive verbs in 4.3.2.3 and 4.3.3.3).

(117)  
\[\text{apa} \quad \text{Ø=Ø=cak-a} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{Ø=i=kor-e}\]  
door 3.S=3.O=open-TR and 3.S=IND.O=have-CAUS  
lit. ‘[She] opened the door and [she] caused me have [it =the opened door].’  
‘[My mother] opened the door for me.’ (2-54)

(118)  
\[\text{poro-n-no} \quad \text{kamuy} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{a=Ø=ray-ke}\]  
be.many-EP-ADV bear even IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS  
wa \quad a=Ø=kor-e  
and IND.S=3.O=have-CAUS  
lit. ‘I killed many bears and I caused [him =my host] have [it/them =the bears].’ ‘I killed many bears for [my host].’ (11-84)
It was reported by Satoo (2000: 40) in his study of Ainu discourse that the Ainu construction … *wa kor-e* which is usually characterized as parallel to the Japanese construction …*te kureru* is much less frequent in texts than its Japanese analog; the latter is used almost obligatorily. Moreover, unlike the Japanese construction, the Ainu construction … *wa kor-e* occurs mostly only in imperative sentences (T. Satoo, p.c.), in this regard the declarative sentences (117) and (118) are remarkable.

4.3.6.2. Notional verb + conjunction *wa* ‘and’ + *ek* (SG)/*arki* (PL) ‘to come’. This construction means that the action expressed by the first verb denoting motion has a spatial orientation specified by the second verb *ek* (SG)/*arki* (PL) ‘to come’, i.e. the action is directed towards the speaker (or the protagonist-narrator in the folktales).

(119) \( \text{sinen ne } \theta=\text{hosipi wa } \theta=\text{ek na} \)
alone as 3.S=return and 3.S=come FIN
(The Sparrow who is the speaker, is having a party with the other Bird Gods at the moment of speaking.)
lit. ‘[The Jay Man] returned alone and came.’
‘[The Jay Man] returned alone [to the party].’ (5-15)

(120) \( \text{sintoko ka peka } \theta=\text{terke-terke wa} \)
lacquer-ware on through 3.S=jump-jump and
\( \theta=\text{ran} ma \theta=\text{ek} \)
3.S=go.down and 3.S=come
(The speaker, an Ainu man, is standing on the floor at the moment of speaking.)
lit. ‘[The inaw-prayer stick] jumped on the treasures and came.’
‘[The inaw-prayer stick] jumped on the treasures and came down.’  (15-229)

Note that the directional component is not necessarily reflected in the translation when the context is sufficient (119); cf. (120).

4.3.6.3. Notional verb + conjunction *wa* ‘and’ + *arpa* (SG)/*paye* (PL) ‘to go’. This construction means that the action expressed by the first verb denoting motion has a spatial orientation specified by the second verb *arpa* (SG)/*paye* (PL) ‘to go’, i.e. the action is directed away from the speaker (or the protagonist-narrator in folktales).
(121)  
esoyne inaw-cipa un, 
outside whittled.prayer.sticks.used.as.offerings.to.Gods-altar to

esoyne Θ=terke wa Θ=arpa
outside 3.S=jump and 3.S=go

(The speaker, an Ainu woman, is inside the house at the moment of speaking.)
lit. ‘[My husband] jumped outside to the outside altar with the inaw and went.
‘[My husband] (became a bird and) jumped away to the outside altar with the inaw.’  (3-64)

4.3.6.4. Notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + inkar ‘to see’. This construction
means that the action expressed by the first verb is tentative: the general meaning is
‘to try doing (something)’ (Tamura 2000: 46), lit. ‘to do sth and see’ (cf. 4.3.6.5). The
second verb inkar ‘to see’ is employed to show that the actual performing of the action
involves some visual or inferential evaluation of the situation afterwards: lit. ‘to do
sth and see (or think) [what comes out]’.

(122)  
ekimne=an ma inkar=’an sekor yay-nu=an
  go.to.the.mountains =IND.S and see=IND.S QUOT REFL-hear=IND.S
lit. ‘[I’ll] go to the mountains to hunt and I’ll see [how it goes], I thought.’
‘I’ll try and go to the mountains for a hunt, I thought.’  (7-21)

4.3.6.5. Notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + inu ‘to hear’. This construction also
means that the action expressed by the first verb is tentative: ‘to try doing’ (Tamura
2000: 46; cf. 4.3.6.4). The second verb inu ‘to hear’ is employed to show that the
actual performing of the action involves some auditory, tactile and other sensory
evaluation of the situation afterwards: lit. ‘to do sth and hear sth/hear (or touch, taste,
etc.) [what comes out]’.

(123)  
ipe=an ma i-nu=an hike
  eat=IND.S and APASS-hear=IND.S then
lit. ‘We ate the food and we felt (its taste).’
‘We tried the food.’  (9-324)

4.3.6.6. Notional verb + conjunction wa ‘and’ + anu ‘to put down sth’. This
construction denotes that the action expressed by the notional verb is preparatory
which means that it is not important just by itself but as a prerequisite for some future action desirable for the agent. The general meaning is defined as ‘to do something in preparation’ (Tamura 2000: 46), lit. ‘to do sth and put [it] down (=and leave [it])’.

\[(124) \text{ku ay a=Ø=u-ko-sina wa a=Ø=ani} \]

bow arrow IND.S=3.O=REC-with.APPL-bundle and IND.S=3.O=put.down
lit. ‘I bundled the bow and an arrow together and I put [them] down (for future use).’ ‘I bundled the bow and an arrow together.’ (9-29)

4.3.7. Modal characteristics. Shibatani (1990: 83) notes that Ainu has a well-developed system of mood that allows the speaker to express varying attitudes with respect to the statement he makes. Mood in Ainu is expressed by auxiliary verbs and particles. Several modal markers can co-occur in one sentence if there is no conflict of meanings (cf. (137), (148)).

In the present work, the term mood is used in a broad sense, and includes the categories of evidentiality, reactivity and modality.

The category of evidentiality deals with how languages express relative certainty of truth with reference to the way the speaker has obtained the information (Payne 1999: 251).

The category of reactivity characterizes mental reaction of the speaker to the fact based on the probability of that fact (Mel’čuk 1998: II-197).

The category of modality (this term is used in many different senses in the literature) concerns the relationship between the referent of the subject and the action (Van Valin, LaPolla (eds.) 1997: 41).

4.3.7.1. Evidentiality. In the Chitose folktales narrated by Ito Oda, the following evidential particles are registered:

a) the assertive particle ruwe with the general meaning ‘It is a fact (that ...)’, showing that the speaker is certain about what he is saying;

b) the hearsay (reportive) particle hawe with the general meaning ‘They say (that) ...’, ‘I hear (that) ....;

c) the semblative (the term is borrowed from Shibatani (1990: 84)) particle humi with the general meaning ‘It feels’, ‘It sounds’, ‘It appears’, ‘I gather’;

d) the “eye-witness” participle siri with the general meaning ‘It looks’ is used to affirm a fact which the speaker has witnessed or is witnessing himself.

Etymologically, the evidential particles derive from the possessive forms of the
following common nouns “with the meanings typically associated with the **types of evidence** for the information, the channel through which information is obtained, etc.” (Shibatani 1990: 83):

(125) a. ru-\(w\)-\(e\) <track, trace-EP-POSS> ‘the tracks/traces of’
    b. ha-\(w\)-\(e\) <voice-POSS> ‘the voice of’
    c. hum-i <sound-POSS> ‘the sound of’
    d. sir-i <appearance-POSS> ‘the appearance of’.

In **declarative sentences**, the evidential particles are usually placed after the predicate(s) nominalizing them and followed by the copula **ne** ‘to be’ (or its substitute existential verb *an* ‘to be’ (vi) which is not a copula proper). Syntactically what is nominalized is a complement of the copula **ne** which is, for brevity, not marked for the person of the implied subject (‘it’) with zero (see the examples below).

Sometimes, the nominalizing evidential particles with the preceding predicate(s) are followed by **verbs of thinking or perception** being syntactically the objects of these verbs (see the examples below).

When evidential particles are used in **interrogative sentences**, the final copula is either replaced by the existential verb *an* ‘to be’ (vi) or dropped; in the latter case, the end of the sentence is pronounced with the raising interrogative intonation.

When evidential nominalizers are used in **exclamatory sentences**, the final copula is usually dropped and sometimes **ne** ‘to be’ is replaced by the existential verb *an* ‘to be’ (vi), and the sentence is pronounced with the exclamatory intonation.

### 4.3.7.1.1. The assertive marker ruwe.

Commonly, this nominalizing particle shows that the speaker is convinced that what he says is **true** and he has reliable **inferential** evidence (126).

(126) nep \(\quad\) ka \(\quad\) \(\emptyset\)=omanan \(\quad\) ruwe \(\quad\) an \(\quad\) yak \(\quad\) \(\emptyset\)=wen
    somebody even 3.S=walk ASS.NR be if 3.S=be.bad
    lit. ‘It will be bad if there are **traces** of somebody walking.’
    ‘Someone else will **surely** walk and that will be bad.’ (10-35)

The speaker is also very likely to have **directly witnessed** what happened. The examples in (127) are either provided with explanations showing that the speaker witnessed the reported event him/herself, or they contain an indication of it. Generally
speaking, the nominalizing particle *ruwe* has a much broader meaning than the other three evidential nominalizers and it is also the most frequent one in the folklore texts being often used there with no definite reference to the source of obtained information specified by the preceding context but rather for the assertion of statements (127). Therefore, for the sake of convenience, I prefer to gloss *ruwe* as an *assertive nominalizer* (ASS.NR) everywhere, and for the other three evidential nominalizers I use the glossing *evidential nominalizer* (EVID.NR).

(127)  

a. *tane aynu kotan* \(\emptyset=hanke\) *ruwe ne*  

already Ainu village 3.S=be.close ASS.NR COP  

‘There is/will truly be an Ainu village already nearby.’ (9-112,113) (The speaker is convinced of what he is saying because he saw the stump of an old tree.)

b. *soy ta sik-etok-na-wa* \(a=\emptyset=eramiskari\)  

outside at eye-in.front-in.the.direction.of-from IND.S=3.O=not.know  

\(\emptyset=arki\) wa \(\emptyset=okay\) *ruwe ne*  


‘It is a fact that two men whom I don’t know came and are standing outside.’ (15-195) (The housewife is telling her husband about the arrival of two men whom she saw outside.)

c. \(\emptyset=poro\) kamuy \(\emptyset=setur-u\) \(\emptyset=i=tutanu-re\) wa  

3.S=be.big bear 3.S=back-POSS 3.S=IND.O=turn.to-CAUS and  

\(\emptyset=a\) wa \(\emptyset=an\) *ruwe* \(a=\emptyset=nukar\) wa kusu  

3.S=sit and 3.S=be ASS.NR IND.S=3.O=see and because  

‘As I vividly saw that a big bear was sitting with his back to me...’ (9-38)

(128) *sekor, kanna kamuy* \(\emptyset=isoytak\) *ruwe ne*  

QUOT thunder God 3.S=tell.story ASS.NR COP  

‘That is/was the story told by the Thunder God.’ (1-29)

The particle *ruwe* may appear not only in declarative sentences (126-130), but also in interrogative sentences (129), when the speaker asks about what he believes to
be a true fact, and in **exclamatory sentences** (130).

(129) a. \(a=ona-ha \quad makenak \quad \emptyset=\emptyset=ki \quad \text{ruwe} \quad \text{an}\)

\(\text{IND.S=father-POSS} \quad \text{what} \quad \text{3.S=3.O=do} \quad \text{ASS.NR} \quad \text{be}\)

‘What is my father doing?’ (10-86) (The speaker [the dog] is trying to find out whether his father [his master] has returned from the trading trip. The speaker **knows it for a fact** that the master was away and is about to come back.)

b. \(\text{ene} \quad \text{po} \quad \text{hene} \quad \ldots=e=siknak \quad \text{ruwe}\)

\(\text{like.this} \quad \text{still} \quad \text{more} \quad \text{2SG.S=be.blind} \quad \text{ASS.NR}\)

‘Are [you] that blind?’ (4-6) (The speaker [the Tit] **knows for certain** that the husband of the Fire Goddess is having an affair with the Water Goddess and is trying to give the Fire Goddess a hint about it.)

(130) \(\text{nep-ene-po} \quad \emptyset=u-itak-nu \quad \text{ruwe}\)

\(\text{how-like.this-DIM} \quad \text{3.S=REC-word-listen} \quad \text{ASS.NR}\)

‘Oh, how obedient they are indeed!’ (1-27) (The speaker [the Thunder God] saw that the women had put aside what they had been doing and [thus] acted politely.’)

Most frequently, **ruwe** is used in sentences referring to past events, i.e. prior to the moment of speech (127b, c), (128), and this is quite natural because people tend to be more certain about past events than about present or future events. However, it is still possible to use **ruwe** in sentences referring to the present (127a), (129), (130) and future events (cf. (127a) which can be interpreted as present or future).

4.3.7.1.2. The hearsay-reportive marker **hawe**. This nominalizing particle is used to show that the speaker reports what has already been said: his statement is based on what **he has heard someone saying** (hearsay) (131), (132) or what **he himself has said** (133).

(131) \(\emptyset=i=ko-caranke \quad \text{hawe} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{kusu}, \quad \text{hosipi=}\text{an}\)

\(\text{3.S=IND.O=with.APPL-argue} \quad \text{EVID.NR} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{because} \quad \text{return=}\text{IND.S}\)

‘**The Cuckoo said** that [the Gods] complained about me, so I’ll return.’ (3-52)
(132) $\emptyset=$ekimne wa $\emptyset=$iraye hawe $\emptyset=$\emptyset=nu


‘The village chief heard that they had gone hunting to the mountains and caught [some] game.’  (9-70)

(133) a=$\emptyset=$e-yayirayke hawe ne.

IND.S=3.O=for.APPL-be.grateful EVID.NR COP

a=$\emptyset=$e-yay-kopuntek hawe ne

IND.S=3.O=about.APPL-REFL-be.happy.about EVID.NR COP

sekor itak=’an

QUOT say=IND.S

‘I was grateful [for his speech]. I was happy about [it]. I said.’  (9-283, 284)

All the sentences above (131-133) are declarative; however, it is also possible to use the particle hawe in exclamatory (134) and interrogative sentences, the latter did not occur in Ito Oda’s idiolect but they have been registered in the Saru dialect by Tamura (2000: 233). In the data obtained from Ito Oda, all the sentences containing hawe refer to the past events.

(134) haa, $\emptyset=$iranakka hawe

Oh! 3.S=be.unpleasant EVID.NR

‘Oh! What you said sounds unpleasant!’ (as a reply to my [A.B.] request to tell an Ainu story once again in Japanese)

4.3.7.1.3. The semblative marker humi. This nominalizing particle is used if the speaker’s statement is a kind of inference from what he himself has heard (135) or experienced or felt (136-138), including his bodily sensations or impressions or feelings. Hence the meaning ‘It feels’, ‘I gather’, ‘It sounds’.

sekor itak=’an

QUOT say=IND.S

‘I was grateful [for his speech]. I was happy about [it]. I said.’  (9-283, 284)
(135) ecicikeppo puyar-sik-rap Ø=tok-pa-tok-pa Ø=haw-e

Ø=i=ko-ek humi ene an i
3.S=IND.O=to.APPL-come EVID.NR like.this be NR

‘(Once) what sounded like the voice of a Tit, pecking at the window screen of thatch, reached me, as follows…’ (4-3,4)

(136) a=i=mos-os-o humi an
PASS=IND.O=wake.up-P.RED-TR EVID.NR be

‘It felt as if I was woken up!’ (4-58)

(137) Ø=kera-an pe ne an’an humi a=Ø=eramuan
3.S=taste-be NR COP ADM EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=realize

‘It tasted so delicious!’ I realized that.’ (9-326)

(138) hunak un arpa=an humi ne ya ka
where to go=IND.S EVID.NR COP Q even

a=Ø=eramiskari kor
IND.S=3.O=not.know while

‘I felt that I didn’t know where to go.’ (15-124)

In the data of Ito Oda, humi most frequently occurs in exclamatory sentences (136), (137), and this frequent usage has also been reported by Tamura (2000: 228). However, it is possible to use humi in declarative (135), (138) and interrogative sentences as well.

The marker hawe is usually used in sentences referring to past events; it can hardly refer to future events.

4.3.7.1.4. The “eye-witness” marker siri. This nominalizing particle is used to affirm a fact which the speaker has witnessed or is witnessing himself. Here is a couple of examples to illustrate the functioning of siri; in my data, siri is registered in declarative and interrogative sentences only.
They said, "It looks as if it is already enough." (6-38)

‘I wanted to see where they did go, so…’ (9-21)

‘Why does it look as if you are pulling at each other?’ (OI)

4.3.7.2. Reactivity. In the Chitose folktales of Ito Oda, the following auxiliary verbs and particles are used to express various reactions of the speaker to a described fact:

a) the probabilitive auxiliary verb nankor with the general meaning ‘probably, perhaps’;

b) the expectative particle kuni with the general meaning ‘It is about to happen (that)…’, ‘It(he/she)/they is/are expected to…’, ‘It must be’;

c) the admirative auxiliary verb anan with the general meaning ‘It turned out (that)…’, ‘It appeared (that)…’;

d) the assertive particle pe/p with the general meaning ‘It is certainly (that)…’, ‘really’.

Auxiliary verbs and particles are distinguished by their relations with the main verb and other words in a sentence, but they are not necessarily translated by the corresponding English parts of speech.

4.3.7.2.1. The probabilitive marker nankor. This auxiliary verb expresses the probabilitive mood implying that the speaker supposes the described fact to be rather probable but there is some room for doubt.

‘You will be probably scolded.’ (8-65)
The auxiliary verb *nankor* ‘probably, perhaps’ is often followed by the sentence final particle *na*; cf.:

(143)  
\[ e=yup-ihi-utar \quad \text{nisat-ta} \quad \emptyset=\text{arki} \quad \text{nankor na} \]  
\[ 2\text{SG.S}=\text{elder.brother/sibling-POSS-PL} \quad \text{dawn-at} \quad 3\text{.S}=\text{come.PL} \quad \text{perhaps FIN} \]  
‘Your elder brother and sister will **probably** come tomorrow.’  \( 8-59 \)

4.3.7.2.2. The expectative marker *kuni*. As an auxiliary verb, *kuni* (cf. the nominalizing particle *kuni* in 4.3.7.3.4) expresses the **expectative mood** implying that the speaker expects the described fact to occur (144) or to be true (145).

(144)  
\[ \emptyset=\text{topattumi} \quad \text{kuni} \quad p \quad \text{poro-n-no} \quad \emptyset=\text{arki} \]  
\[ 3\text{.S}=\text{make.a.night.raid expect person be.many-EP-ADV 3\text{.S}=\text{come.PL} \]  
‘The people who were **expected to** make a night raid had come in great numbers.’  \( 6-7 \)

(145)  
\[ \text{kamuy} \quad \emptyset=\text{ne} \quad \text{kuni} \quad a=\emptyset=(e)\text{ramu} \]  
\[ \text{God 3\text{.S}=\text{COP must.be IND.S=3\text{.O}=\text{think} \]  
‘I thought that he **must be** a God.  \( 3-15 \)

4.3.7.2.3. The admirative marker *anan*. This auxiliary verb expresses the **admirative mood** implying that the speaker is surprised to find an improbable fact to have actually occurred.

(146)  
\[ \text{re pa ka ekimne}=\text{an} \quad \text{ka somo ki} \]  
\[ \text{three year even go.to.the.mountains.to.hunt=}\text{IND.S even NEG do} \]  
\[ \text{no an}=\text{'an} \quad \text{an’an} \quad \text{wa} \]  
\[ \text{and be=}\text{IND.S \text{ADM and} \]  
‘It **turned out** that I have spent three years without going to the mountains to hunt!’  \( 7-20 \)
The auxiliary verb *an’an* (*a-n-an*) can be etymologized as consisting of the perfect auxiliary verb *a* (see 4.3.5.1.1) which has originated from the intransitive verb *a* ‘to sit’, the epenthetic consonant /n/ and the existential verb *an* ‘to be’ (cf. the marker *a-an* with the same meaning in the close Saru dialect (Tamura 1996: 2-3)). The presence of the perfect morpheme *a* in the admirative marker *anan* explains why the speaker’s surprise denoted by *anan* may refer only to the improbable fact which has already occurred, and never to the fact which is occurring at the present moment or is up to occur in the future.

4.3.7.2.4. The assertive marker *pe/p*. This nominalizing particle expresses the assertive mood implying that the speaker is strongly convinced of the described fact being true. The assertive particle *pe/p* is usually placed after the predicate(s) nominalizing them and followed by the copula *ne* ‘to be’. Syntactically what is nominalized is a complement of the copula *ne* which is, for brevity, not marked for the person of the implied subject (‘it’) with zero, just like in the case of nominalizing evidential particles (cf. 4.3.7.1, see the examples below).

(147)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ene} & \text{an} & \varnothing=\text{wen} & \text{irenka-kor} & \varnothing=\varnothing=\text{kor} \\
\text{like. this} & \text{be} & 3.S=\text{be. bad} & \text{will-have} & 3.S=3.O=\text{have} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[pe \quad \varnothing=\text{ne} \quad \text{an’an} \quad \text{ma}\]

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{person} & 3.S=\text{COP} & \text{ADM} & \text{and} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He [just] **appeared to** have such bad will.’

lit. ‘He appeared to be a person having such bad will-having.’  (9-262)

(148)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\varnothing=\text{inne} & \text{kotan} & \varnothing=\text{ne} & \text{an’an} & \text{pe} & \text{ne} \\
3.S=\text{be. numerous} & \text{village} & 3.S=\text{COP} & \text{ADM} & \text{NR} & \text{COP} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘It **really** used to be a big village!’  (8-101)

The assertive particle *pe/p* may be also used to emphasize a retrospective character of narration (149) but such usage is rare in the Chitose folktales of Ito Oda as well as in as in the texts of Nabe Shirasawa (T. Satoo, p.c.).

(149)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
mus & a=\text{ne} & \text{wa} & \text{an’an} & \text{pe} & \text{ne} & \text{hike} \\
\text{fly} & \text{IND.S= COP} & \text{and} & \text{be=} \text{IND.S} & \text{NR} & \text{COP} & \text{but} \\
\end{array}
\]

lit. ‘**It was** that I was a Fly and [so] I lived.’
'I was a fly and [so] I lived.' (6-1)

T. Satoo (p.c.) has noted that his speaker of the Chitose dialect (Nabe Shirasawa) preferred to employ the assertive particle pe/p in generic expressions. This usage is viewed by Tamura (2000: 244) as an implicit imperative form “used by adults and the elderly to tell children and young people about the ways of the world, and to guide them in traditions.” Although there is no doubt that these expressions are pragmatically imperative, semantically, they are the assertive expressions of the type described in this subsection.

\[(150)\]
\[
\text{cep } \emptyset=\text{up-ihi} \quad \text{cep } \emptyset=\text{sapa-ha} \\
\text{fish } 3.S=\text{fish.roe-POSS} \quad \text{fish } 3.S=\text{head-POSS}
\]
\[
a=\emptyset=\text{u-ko-tata} \quad \text{kor} \quad \text{sonno} \quad \emptyset=\text{keran-an} \quad \text{pe} \quad \text{ne}
\]
\[
\text{IND.S}=3.O=\text{REC-with.APPL-chop} \quad \text{when really} \quad 3.S=\text{taste-be} \quad \text{NR COP}
\]
‘It is really delicious when the fish roe and the fish head are chopped up together.’ (OI) (The pragmatic imperative reading: ‘Chop the fish roe and the fish head together because it is really delicious!’)

As has been mentioned above, the assertive meaning may be also rendered by the evidential particle ruwe which is different from pe/p in that it contains reference (specified or unspecified) to the source of the information obtained (cf. 4.3.7.1.1).

4.3.7.3. Modality. In the Chitose folktales of Ito Oda, the following auxiliary verbs and particles are used to express the relationship between the referent of the subject and the action.

a) the desiderative auxiliary verb rusuy with the meaning ‘want’;

b) the intentional particle kusu with the meaning ‘intention’, ‘going to’;

c) the potential auxiliary verbs easkay ‘to be able’ and eaykap ‘to be unable’;

d) the deontic particle kuni with the meaning ‘should’.

4.3.7.3.1. The desiderative marker rusuy. This auxiliary verb expresses the desiderative mood implying the subject referent’s wish to perform the action.
‘I was grateful to my grandfather and I wanted to pay him back but…’

4.3.7.3.2. The intentional marker *kusu*. This nominalizing particle expresses intentional mood implying the intention of the subject referent to perform the action. It is usually placed after the predicate(s) nominalizing them and followed by the copula *ne* ‘to be’. Syntactically what is nominalized is a complement of the copula *ne* which is, for brevity, not marked for the person of the implied subject (‘it’) with zero, just like in the case of nominalizing evidential and assertive particle(s) (cf. 4.3.7.1, 4.3.7.2.4, see the examples below). The sentence final particle *na* is often placed after the copula *ne*.

In most examples at my disposal, the marker *kusu* may be translated into English by future tense forms, and it is probably on the way of grammaticalization as a future tense marker. However, I still prefer to analyze *kusu* as a modal marker, rather than a tense marker, because such interpretation better fits the present system of the Ainu language: there are no pure tense markers in Ainu while there is a well-developed system of mood.

‘I’ll immediately kill [him]!’ (15-243)
The use of the intentional marker *kusu* has been expanded to the imperative which is viewed as the polite imperative by Shibatani (1990: 84) but the Chitose examples of Ito Oda lack the polite interpretation.

(154)  
\[\text{te wa-no anak ... } \emptyset=\text{wen irenka somo } \emptyset=\text{an} \]  
here from-ADV TOP 3.S=be.bad will NEG 3.S=be  
\[\text{ kusu ne na } \]  
intention COP FIN  
‘From now on, there **should** be no bad will!’ (15-235)

The particle *kusu* is polysemous; when used as a conjunctive particle, it has the meanings ‘because’ (cf. (1-7), (1-10)), ‘in order to’ (cf. (2-26)).

4.3.7.3.3. The potential markers *easkay* and *eaykap*. The auxiliary verbs *easkay* ‘to be able’ and *eaykap* ‘to be unable’ express the potential mood implying the ability/disability of the subject referent to perform the action.

(155)  
\[\text{a=}\emptyset=\text{se e-askay pak-no} \]  
IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back of.APPL-be.able till-ADV  
\[\text{poro-n-no a=}\emptyset=\text{se wa} \]  
be.many-EP-ADV IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back and  
‘I put on my back as [much meat] as I **could** carry and’ (15-46)

(156)  
\[\text{kamuy (ee) e=}\emptyset=\text{ko-poy-ke (e)} \]  
God 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-mix-INTR  
\[\text{e=}\emptyset=\text{ki e-aykap na} \]  
2SG.S=3.O=do of.APPL-be.unable FIN  
‘You **won’t be able** to mix with the Gods.’ (3-49)

4.3.7.3.4. The deontic marker *kuni*. This nominalizing particle expresses deontic mood implying an obligation of the subject referent to perform the action.
The particle *kuni* is polysemous; as a nominalizing particle it also has the meaning ‘in order to’ (cf. (9-290)) and the meaning of a quotation marker used for indirect speech (cf. (4-37), (9-156)). When used as a an auxiliary verb, *kuni* expresses the **expectative mood** (cf. 4.3.7.2.2). It is rather common cross-linguistically that an epistemic (probability, expectation) and a deontic (obligation) senses have the same marking; cf. the English modal verbs *must* and *should*.

**4.4. Negation.** In Ainu, negative clauses are formed by adding a **negator** (adverbial particle) to a statement. Two different negators can be distinguished: the commonly used adverbial particle *somo* and the adverbial particle *iteki* used in imperatives. There is also a group of verbs (5 verbs of high frequency) which are **lexical negatives**, i. e. the concept of negation is part and parcel of their lexical semantics.

**4.4.1. The negative marker *somo*.** This adverbial particle is placed before a verb phrase and negates the entire proposition.

(158) \( \emptyset=\text{ar-wen} \quad \text{kur} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{somo} \quad \emptyset=\text{ne} \quad \text{korka} \)  
3.S=completely-be.evil person even NEG 3.S=3COP but  
‘[The village chief] was not a completely evil person, but…’  (9-261)

For emphatic negation the auxiliary verb *ki* ‘to do sth’ is used in combination with the negator *somo*. In such cases, it is the auxiliary *ki* which is formally negated and it is placed after *somo*, while a notional verb preceding *somo* functions as a nominal (cf. the literal translations ‘returning’ (159), ‘eating’ (160)). The examples (159), (160) are not nominalizations proper: most likely they are periphrastic verbal forms. The notional verb is often followed by the restrictive particle *ka* ‘even’ (160).

(159) \( \text{tane} \quad \text{hosipi}=\text{an} \quad \text{somo} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{yak} \)  
now return=2SG.S NEG do if  
lit. ‘If **not** do your returning…’  
‘If you **don’t** return now (you won’t be able to mix with the Gods).’  (3-48)
(160) \( a=an-te-hoku \quad \emptyset=ipe \quad ka \quad somo \quad ki \quad no \)
IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS 3.S=eat even NEG do and
lit. ‘My husband didn’t do even his eating.’
‘My husband didn’t even eat and’ (3-25)

Note that in all negative expressions (see also (169)), the coordinating conjunction no ‘and’ which immediately follows a negated verbal phrase substitutes for the coordinating conjunction wa ‘and’ used in positive clauses (cf. (170) and (155)).

A negated verb after somo may be omitted if it coincides with the verb of the preceding phrase (see kor ‘to have sth’ in (161)). Tamura (2000: 95) notes that in these cases “somo alone can function as a verb phrase […] can be combined with the sentence-final particle wa or the conjunction no”. However, I prefer to view such examples as ellipsis.

(161) \( tan-pe \quad ku=\emptyset=kor \quad pe \quad tan-pe \quad somo \quad a \quad p \)
this-NR 1SG.S=3.O=have  NR  this-NR  NEG  PEFR  NR
lit. ‘This I have had, this have not [had].’
‘This was mine and that was not!’ (9-253)

It is commonly mentioned (see, for instance, Tamura 2000: 240) that the single use of somo may also be found in negative replies to yes/no questions: ‘no’ but such usage did not occur in Ito Oda’s folklore texts, probably by accident.

4.4.2. The negative marker iteki. This adverbial particle is employed to derive negative imperatives (prohibitatives). Iteki is placed before a verb (or before a verb phrase, to be precise) in the imperative form, which means that the verb is unmarked for the person and number of the subject (162-164), but marked for the person and number of the object in the case of transitives (163), (164). The polite imperative marker yan may be optionally added after the main verb (163), (164). There is no structural difference between imperatives and negative imperatives.

(162) \( iteki \quad utcike \)
PROH  be.shy
‘Don’t be shy!’ (OI)
4.4.3. Lexical negatives. Some verbs contain the concept of negation as a part of their meaning. Here is a list of lexical negative verbs which occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect; cf. the corresponding positive verbs below.

(165) a. *e-aykap*  ‘to be unable to do sth; to be bad at sth’ (6-58)
    cf. *e-askay*  ‘to be able to do sth; to be good at sth’ (13-13); (see 4.3.7.3.3)

    b. *eramiskari*  ‘to not remember/know’ (15-2)
    cf. *amkir*  ‘to remember/know’ (OI)

    c. *erampewtek*  ‘to not understand/know’ (10-81)
    cf. *eramuan*  ‘to understand/know’ (11-25)

    d. *isam*  ‘to not be/exist’ (9-12)
    cf. *an*  ‘to be/exist’ (11-30)

    e. *sak*  ‘to not have sth/sb’ (14-19)
    cf. *kor*  ‘to have sth/sb’.

    Positive verbs which have negative counterparts are usually not negated with negative particles with the exception of the existential verb *an*  ‘to be’ (cf. *isam*  ‘to not exist’) which allows both strategies (cf. (166) and (167), (168)) but the lexical negation strategy is still more common (166).

(166) *Ø=cise-he*  *ka*  *Ø=isam*  *rawe*  *ne*  
    3.S=house-POSS  even  3.S=not.exist  ASS.NR  COP
    ‘There is no house [of the Evil Fox]!’ (14-43)
The verb *isam* ‘to not be/exist’ is often used to form negative expressions with evidential particles *ruwe/hawe/siri/humi* which, in assertive clauses, are followed by the copula *ne* ‘to be’ (or its substitute existential verb *an* ‘to be’) (see section 4.3.7.1). In negative sentences, the evidential nominalizing particles *ruwe/hawe/siri/humi* are usually followed by the restrictive particle *ka* ‘even’ (cf. (160); section 4.4.1) and the negative verb *isam* which functions then like the negative copula comes next.

Note that in (169), it is an assertion of the positive proposition that is negated. However, it is also possible to assert a negative proposition (cf. (170)) with no major difference in the meaning of the whole clause.

---

23 This sentence may be interpreted as a periphrastic negative polite imperative expression (cf. 4.6.2.5).

24 This sentence may be interpreted as a periphrastic negative imperative expression (cf. 4.6.2.2).

25 I suggest that *sine cise* <one house> is topicalized (lit. ‘as to one house’) because there is no post-positional locative marking which would be necessary if it were an indirect argument of the intransitive verbs at ‘to rise’.
In ain marker particles and the evidential expressions tends to be either dropped (see (129b)) or replaced by the existential verb an ‘to be’ (vi) (see (129a), (141)); in both cases, the interrogative particle ya is not used

4.5. Interrogatives. Interrogative clauses in Ainu do not involve any distinctive word-order but they do involve distinctive intonation patterns. In the following two subsections three types of interrogative questions will be discussed: yes-no questions requiring a yes or no response in relation to the validity of the question, special content (=question-word) questions which expect a more elaborate reply and alternative questions containing within themselves two (or more) options of the answer.

4.5.1. Yes-no questions. Yes-no questions may be formed simply by using the rising tone (interrogative intonation). In my data the examples of this kind are few. Another way to form yes-no questions which Ito Oda gave priority to is to use the clause-final interrogative particle ya after a verbal phrase and the rising interrogative intonation at the same time.

(171)  
ene an Ø=wen pe Ø=i-ki hi
like.this be 3.S=be.bad person 3.S=APASS-do NR

eci=Ø=erampewtek ya
2PL.S=3.O=not.know Q

‘Didn’t you know that such an evil person behaved [so]?’  (9-218)

(172)  
taŋ-to e=nepki humi Ø=pirka a ya?
this-day 2SG.S=work EVID.NR 3.S=be.good PERF Q

‘Did you work well today?’
but the question is uttered with the rising intonation.

4.5.2. Content questions. There is a set of special question-words which indicate what information is being requested. The question-words (e.g. hunak in (173b)) are not moved to the clause initial position, they occupy the same position as the corresponding non-question constituents (cf. kotan in (173a)) in the respective affirmative sentence. In the Chitose folktales of Ito Oda, most of the content questions are additionally marked by the above-mentioned clause-final interrogative particle ya (173b), (174), although in her colloquial speech, examples with the dropped particle ya are not rare (175). Note that for the Saru dialect, the usage of the particle ya in content questions has been marked as “comparatively rare” regardless of the style (Tamura 2000: 236).

(173) a. \[pon-pe \ Ø=cis \ Ø=haw-e\] \[kotan\] \[un \ Ø=ne\]
lit. ‘It is the voice of a crying baby in the village.’
‘The voice of a crying baby comes from the village.’

b. \[pon-pe \ Ø=cis \ Ø=haw-e\] \[hunak\] \[un \ Ø=ne \ ya\]
‘Where does the voice of a crying baby come from?’ (8-28)

(174) \[sonno \ ka \ inaan \ kur \ inaan \ pe \ Ø=ne \ ya\]
really even which person which thing 3.S=COP Q

\[ka \ a=Ø=erampewtek \ no\]
even IND.S=3.O=not.know and
‘We really didn’t understand [by the bones] who [of the women] was who.’ (10-81)

(175) \[eani \ hunna \ e=Ø=ko-ysoytak?\]
you.SG who 2SG.S=3.O=to.APPL=talk
‘Who are you talking to?’ (OI)

Here is a list of the question-words which occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect. Some of these question-words (e.g. hemanta ‘what?’) may be used alone as questions.
The question-words in (176a), may be generally classified as **interrogative pronouns**, while the question-words in (176b), belong to the class of **non-numeral quantifiers** (or “indefinite interrogatives” using the terminology of Tamura (2000: 235)) included in a larger class of **determiners**. They are occasionally used in questions in the Chitose dialect.26

The non-numeral quantifiers, often in combination with the restrictive particle *ka* ‘even’, are commonly used as indefinite quantifiers with declarative predicates and as negative quantifiers with negative predicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>With declarative predicates</th>
<th>With negative predicates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nen (ka)</em></td>
<td>‘someone/anyone’</td>
<td>‘no one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nep (ka)</em></td>
<td>‘something/anything’</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>neun (ka)</em></td>
<td>‘somewhere/anywhere’</td>
<td>‘nowhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘somehow/anyhow’</td>
<td>‘no way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘something/anything’</td>
<td>‘nothing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ney pak (ka)</em></td>
<td>‘some time/ever’</td>
<td>‘never’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ney ta (ka)</em></td>
<td>‘somewhere/anywhere’</td>
<td>‘nowhere’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 According to Tamura (2000: 235), most Hokkaido dialects do not distinguish between interrogative words (=interrogative pronouns) and indefinite interrogatives (=non-numeral quantifiers), and forms that correspond to the indefinite interrogatives in the southern dialects are used in questions in other dialects, which is never observed in the Saru dialect (southern). In this respect the intermediate position of the Chitose dialect which employs the words of both classes as question-words is worth notice.
It is worth mentioning that, in the Saru dialect, the formation of content questions often involves the replacement of the clause-final copula *ne* ‘to be’ by the existential verb *an* ‘to be’ but, in the Chitose data of Ito Oda, this phenomenon is mainly restricted to evidential expressions with the particles *ruwe/hawe/humi/siri* (see section 4.3.7.1; (129a), (141)). Moreover, in my data, there is a tendency to retain the copula *ne* even in evidential expressions if they fill the position of complements in indirect questions introduced by complement-taking verbs such as *nu* ‘to ask sth’, *eramiskari* ‘to not remember/know’, *erampewtek* ‘to not understand/know’, *eramuan* ‘to understand/know’, etc. In these cases, the interrogative particle *ya* is often followed by the restrictive particle *ka* ‘even’.

(178) *makanak ne wa sinen ne Ø=an hekaci a=ne wa*
 why COP and alone as 3.S=be boy IND.S=COP and

*an=’an ruwe ne ya ka a=Ø=eramiskari kor*
be=IND.S ASS.NR COP Q even IND.S=3.O=not.know and

‘I didn’t know why was I a lonely boy.’ (9-1,2)

4.5.3. **Alternative questions.** An alternative question consists of two juxtaposed simple questions; the second question may be elliptical. Each simple question is marked with the particle *he* ‘or’ placed after the questioned constituent which can be a verb, a noun or an adverbial. Structurally, each of the two questions (i.e. both of them simultaneously) may be either of the yes-no question type or the content question type involving the use of question-words, but semantically, any single alternative question is always a content question because in order to answer it one has to choose between two (or more) options and the answer cannot be simply yes or no.

(179) *seta he Ø=ne ya kamuy he Ø=ne ya*
dog or 3.S=COP Q God or 3.S=COP Q

‘Is it a dog or a God?’ (OI)

The particle *he* ‘or’ is employed not only in alternative questions but in other

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27 Indirect questions do not belong to a distinct type of questions with regard to their syntax and semantics. It just means that the interrogative clauses of the above described types (see subsections 4.5.1, 4.5.2, 4.5.3) can be parts of larger sentences.
expressions with alternative choices as well.

(180)  
\[ \text{tu} \quad \text{su} \quad \emptyset=at \quad \text{pak} \quad \text{he} \]
\[ \text{two} \quad \text{pan} \quad \text{3.S=boil.up} \quad \text{till} \quad \text{or} \]
\[ \text{re} \quad \text{su} \quad \emptyset=at \quad \text{pak} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{ray='an} \quad \text{ma} \quad \text{an='an} \]
\[ \text{three} \quad \text{pan} \quad \text{3.S=boil.up} \quad \text{till} \quad \text{Q} \quad \text{die=IND.S} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{be=IND.S} \]
\[ \text{‘For a while (lit. ‘until two or three pans boiled up’) I was unconscious.’ (OI)} \]

4.6. Imperatives. There are two major types of imperative expressions in Ainu: 
**imperatives proper** requiring special imperative mood forms, and **periphrastic imperatives** which are formed in the declarative mood.

4.6.1. Imperatives proper. In the imperative mood, the verb is unmarked for the person and number of the subject (181), (182), but it is marked for the person and number of object if it is transitive (182). The polite imperative is formed by adding the sentence-final particle *yan* after a verbal phrase; in this case, the last verb often takes a plural form in order to express respect toward the addressee who may be singular or plural (183).

(181)  
\[ \text{sinī!} \quad (\text{vi}) \]
\[ \text{rest} \]
\[ \text{‘Have a rest!’ (OI)} \]

(182)  
\[ \text{i=siknu-re!} \quad (\text{vt}) \]
\[ \text{IND.O=be.alive-CAUS} \]
\[ \text{‘Leave me alive!’ (OI)} \]

(183)  
\[ \text{eci=Ø=kor-pa} \quad \text{p} \quad \text{pirka-no} \quad \emptyset=\text{nukar} \quad \text{wa} \]
\[ \text{2PL.S=3.O=have-PL} \quad \text{thing} \quad \text{be.good-ADV} \quad \text{3.O=look.at} \quad \text{and} \]
\[ \text{an='an} \quad (\text{usi}) \quad \text{hi} \quad \text{ta} \quad \emptyset=\text{kor} \quad \text{wa} \quad \text{hosip-pa} \quad \text{yan} \]
\[ \text{be=IND.S} \quad \text{place/time} \quad \text{time at} \quad \text{3.O=have} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{return-PL} \quad \text{IMP.POL} \]
\[ \text{‘Look well at the things you owned and take them home while I am here!’ (15-253, 254)} \]
The sentence-final particle *hani* may be optionally used in imperative sentences after verbal phrases. The particle *hani* in the Saru dialect is characterized as “a gentle reminder [which is] often used when speaking to children, those younger than oneself, and to the ill” (Tamura 2000: 242). This description seems to fit the Chitose data of Ito Oda: in the example below a daughter is recalling what her mother advised.

(184) *iyotta iyos cip Ø=sina hani*

   most   after  boat  3.O=tie   FIN

‘Tie down the boat after [everyone]!’ (10-28)

Negative imperatives (prohibitatives) are expressed with the adverbial particle *iteki* (see 4.4.2, examples (162-164)). There is no structural difference between imperatives and negative imperatives.

**4.6.2. Periphrastic imperative expressions.** Imperatives of this type do not involve a change in the verbal paradigm; they are in the declarative mood unlike imperatives proper. Periphrastic imperative expressions may render requests, instructions, demands, permissions and invitations. The corresponding periphrastic negative imperative (prohibitive) expressions (see (154), (167), (168), (190)) are derived by means of the negative particle *somo* which is commonly used as a negator in declarative sentences and is placed before verbal phrases (see 4.4.1; cf. 4.4.2). An exhaustive description of imperative expressions in the Saru dialect is provided in a special work by Tamura (1976: 82-201). Here, I will give a brief outline of those periphrastic imperative expressions which actually occurred in Ito Oda’s idiolect of Chitose.

**4.6.2.1. The imperative expression with *nankor na*.** The probitative auxiliary verb *nankor* (cf. 4.3.7.2.1) in combination with the sentence-final particle *na* is employed to express soft commands and demands; the verb is marked for the second person of the subject. This expression is often used when the speaker’s implicit pragmatic intention is to persuade the listener out of doing something: in the example below, the speaker, the Ainu hero *Okikurmi*, is trying to talk the Green Pigeon God out of going to a village of the Japanese.
4.6.2.2. The imperative expression with na. This imperative expression may be formed by the sole use of the sentence-final particle na; the verb is marked for the second or third person (see (168)) of the subject.

(185) \( e=Ø=ki \) \( kusu \) \( e=pirka \) \( siri \)
\[
2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{do} \quad \text{because.of} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=\text{be.good} \quad \text{EVID.NR}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{e}=Ø=nukar \quad \text{nankor} \quad \text{na} \\
2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{look} \quad \text{probably} \quad \text{FIN}
\end{array}
\]

‘See how much you’ll gain (lit. ‘how well you be) because of what you do!’ (OI)

4.6.2.3. The imperative expression with kus(u) ne na. The intentional nominalizing particle kus(u) (cf. 4.3.7.3.2) in combination with the copula ne ‘to be’ and the sentence-final particle na is rather commonly employed to express the imperative sense in Ito Oda’s folktales. The preceding verb(s) may be marked for different persons of the subject: the second person (187), (188), the third person (154) or the first person plural inclusive (=indefinite) (189), which causes some difference in the imperative meaning.

(186) \( e=omanan \) \( yak-ka \) \( cip \) \( hoski \) \( e=Ø=sina \) \( na \)
\[
2\text{SG.S}=\text{travel} \quad \text{if-even} \quad \text{boat before} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{tie} \quad \text{FIN}
\]

‘If you travel, tie down the boat before [everyone]!’ (OI)

4.6.2.4. The imperative expression with sako ne na. The intentional nominalizing particle sako (cf. 4.3.7.3.2) in combination with the copula ne ‘to be’ and the sentence-final particle na is rather commonly employed to express the imperative sense in Ito Oda’s folktales. The preceding verb(s) may be marked for different persons of the subject: the second person (187), (188), the third person (154) or the first person plural inclusive (=indefinite) (189), which causes some difference in the imperative meaning.

(187) \( Ø=pirka \) \( suke \) \( e=Ø=ki \) \( wa \)
\[
3\text{.S}=\text{be.good} \quad \text{cook} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.S}=\text{do} \quad \text{and}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{a}=Ø=kor \quad \text{kamuy} \quad \text{e}=Ø=ipe-re \quad \text{kus} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{na} \\
\text{IND.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{have} \quad \text{God} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{eat-CAUS} \quad \text{intention} \quad \text{COP} \quad \text{FIN}
\end{array}
\]

‘Cook well [lit. ‘do good cooking’] and feed my dog (lit. ‘God’).’ (11-17,18)

(188) \( nep \) \( ka \) \( e=Ø=sitoma \) \( no \)
\[
\text{something also} \quad 2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{be.afraid.of} \quad \text{and}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{e}=Ø=nukar \quad \text{yak-un} \quad Ø=kunne \quad \text{katak} \quad \text{or-o} \quad \text{un} \\
2\text{SG.S}=3\text{.O}=\text{see} \quad \text{if-EMP} \quad 3\text{.S}=\text{be.black} \quad \text{clew} \quad \text{place-POSS} \quad \text{to}
\end{array}
\]
When the main verb is used in the form of **1PL inclusive (=indefinite)**, the sentence gets **cohortative** (=inclusive imperative) interpretation (cf. 4.6.2.6). As noted by Tamura (1976: 180-181), cohortatives of this kind imply a rather strong recommendation to join the speaker and are usually addressed to a person of younger age or lower status.

(189)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{nisat-ta} & \text{nepki-e-paye=} & \text{an} & \text{kus} & \text{ne} & \text{na} \\
\text{dawn-at} & \text{work-for.APPL-go.PL=IND.S} & \text{going.to} & \text{COP} & \text{FIN}
\end{array}
\]

‘Let’s go to work tomorrow!’ (2-13)

4.6.2.4. **The imperative expression with** \textit{kuni p ne na/ kuni p tap an ne na}. Another way to express the imperative sense is to use the **expectative** auxiliary verb \textit{kuni} (cf. also the deontic nominalizing particle \textit{kuni} in 4.3.7.3.4) in combination with the nominalizer \textit{p}, the copula \textit{ne} ‘to be’ and the sentence-final particle \textit{na}. A slightly modified construction additionally contains the emphatic particle \textit{tap} ‘just like this’ which cannot co-occur with the copula \textit{ne} ‘to be’, hence it is replaced by the existential verb \textit{an} ‘to be/exist’ (which is not a copula proper). The preceding verb(s) may be marked for the **second** or the **third persons** of the subject.

(190)  
\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{e=kotan-u} & \text{Ø=} & \text{u-w-oma} \\
\text{2SG.S=village-POSS} & \text{3.S=REC-EP-enter}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{kuni} & \text{p} & \text{somo} & \text{tap} & \text{an} & \text{na} \\
\text{should} & \text{NR} & \text{NEG} & \text{just.like.this} & \text{be} & \text{FIN}
\end{array}
\]

‘Won’t your village be in safety!’ (OI)

4.6.2.5. **The imperative expression with** \textit{yak pirka (na)/ wen (na)}. Conditional sentences with the conditional conjunction \textit{yak} ‘if’ which literally mean ‘It will be good if’/‘It will be bad if’ are commonly employed to express the **polite imperative** meaning. The imperative meaning most naturally arises when predicate(s) of the conditional clause preceding the conjunction \textit{yak} ‘if’ are marked for the **second person** of the subject, however, the **third person** marking has been also registered in my data.
(cf. (167)). Depending on the predicate of the main clause: *pirka* ‘to be good’ (vi) or *wen* ‘to be bad’ (vi), the sentence may be interpreted either as imperative or as negative imperative (the implied subject of the main clause is always zero-marked and corresponds to the English dummy ‘it’). Sometimes *pirka/wen* are followed by the sentence-final particle *na*.

(191)  
\[
\begin{align*}
e &= \text{suke wa} & e &= \text{ipe wa, pis ta e=} \text{san} \text{ ma,} \\
2SG.S=\text{cook and 2SG.S=eat and beach to 2SG.S=go.down and} \\
e &= \text{sinot kor e=} \text{an} \text{ yak } & \Theta & \text{=pirka} & \text{ na} \\
2SG.S=\text{play and 2SG.S=be if 3.S=be.good FIN} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘You’d better cook and eat, and go down to the beach and play.’ (8-60, 61)  
lit. ‘It will be good if you cook and eat, and go down to the beach and play.’

(192)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aynu } & \Theta=\text{ye itak} \text{ … eci=} \Theta=\text{nu somo ki} \\
\text{man/Ainu 3.S=3.O=say words 2PL.S=3.O=listen.to NEG do} \\
\text{yak } & \Theta=\text{wen} & \text{ruwe ne} \\
\text{if 3.O=be.bad ASS.NR COP} \\
\text{‘Listen to what the Ainu say!’} & \text{ (14-54)} \\
\text{lit. ‘It will be bad if you don’t listen to the words the Ainu say.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Note that in (192), the negative imperative interpretation is neutralized by the use of negation in the conditional clause; therefore we have a regular (positive) imperative.

The same construction may render the **permissive** or **jussive** meanings. In these cases, there seem to be no restrictions on the person of the subject of the conditional clause.

(193)  
\[
\begin{align*}
onuman & \text{suy arki=} \text{an} \text{ yak } & \Theta & \text{=pirka} & \text{ na} \\
in.the.evening again come.PL=IND.S if 3.S=be.good FIN \\
\text{‘We may come [here] in the evening again.’} & \text{ (9-90)} \\
\text{lit. ‘It will be good if we (you and me) come [here] in the evening again.’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(194)  
\[
\begin{align*}
a & = \Theta=\text{ahun-ke} \text{ yak } & \Theta & \text{=pirka} & \text{ ya} \\
\text{IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS if 3.S=be.good Q} \\
\text{‘May I let him in?’} & \text{ (9-130)} \text{ lit. ‘Is it good if I let him in?’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
4.6.2.6. The cohortative expression with ro. Cohortative expressions are formed by means of the sentence-final particle ro. The preceding verb(s) take the form of the first person plural inclusive (=indefinite).

(195) suy u-nukar='an ro
again REC-see=IND.S COHR
‘Let’s meet again.’ (OI)

(196) nep a=Ø=ye yak a=Ø=eramiskari korka
something IND.S=3.O=speak INDR IND.S=3.O=not.know but
u-ko-ytak='an ro
REC-to.APPL-talk=IND.S COHR
‘I don’t know what to speak about, let’s talk to each other.’

4.7. Relative clauses. There are only headed relative clauses in Ainu. All relative clauses are prenominal, i.e. occur before the head; within the noun phrase they have an attributive function (see (197a); cf. (197b); verbs in predicative function are always postnominal). Ainu does not make use of relative pronouns (like the English which) or relativizers (=relative markers; like the English that). The agreement markers of the embedded sentences are retained in situ on the predicates of relative clauses without any special marking on them, therefore the simplest relative clause may consist just of one verb preposed to the head noun (197a).

(197) a. Ø=pirka menoko a=Ø=etun
3.S=be.good/beautiful woman IND.S=3.O=get.as.a.bride
‘I got a beautiful woman as a bride.’ (2-70)

b. menoko Ø=pirka
woman 3.S=be.good/beautiful
‘The woman is beautiful.’

Here, relative clause formation is analyzed with particular reference to the function of the relativized NP in the relative clause. According to Keenan and Comrie (1977), there is the following hierarchy of relativization implying that in any given language, if one position on this hierarchy is relativizable, all positions to the left will also be
relativizable, though not necessarily with the same strategy:

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > possessor.

Ainu allows relativization on all positions on this hierarchy, but the arguments in the positions to the right are relativized with more explicit strategies than those in the positions to the left.

Relativization of subjects ((198); see also (94), (152)) and direct objects ((199); see also (86), (101)) involves the gap strategy leaving a “gap” (O) in the position where the NP_rel would be if it were overtly expressed. Remember that in Ainu subjects and objects are not marked with postpositions and are distinguished only by their order SOV.

(198) [O cise soy pak-no Ø=arki] utar
    house outside till-ADV 3.S=come.PL men
    ‘the men who came up to the doorway’ (8-195)

    cf. [utar, cise soy pak-no Ø=arki] utar_i

(199) [a=ekas-ihi ka O Ø=Ø=ran-ke]
    IND.S=grandfather-POSS even 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS

Ø=nupe
    3.S=tears.POSS
    ‘the tears my grandfather was dropping’ (8-79,80)

    cf. [a=ekas-ihi, ka Ø=nupe_i Ø=Ø=ran-ke] Ø=nupe_i

Relativization of indirect objects involves postposition retention which explicitly references the grammatical relation of the NP_rel. In (200), the instrumental postposition ani ‘by/with’ is retained within the relative clause, and in (201), the comitative postposition tura-no ‘with’ is retained within the relative clause. In general, examples of this type are rather rare, and I could not find any of them in the data of Ito Oda; but the examples below belong to the Chitose dialect.

(200) [ani ku=yupo kamuy Ø=Ø=tukan] teppo
    by 1SG.S=elder.brother.POSS bear/God 3.S=3.O=shoot gun
    ‘the gun by which my elder brother shot the bear’ (SN; T. Satoo, p. c.)
Relativization of locative arguments (adverbials) involves retention of the corresponding **locative nouns** and **locative postpositions** within the relative clause. Remember that normally most of the nouns cannot be used with locative postpositions directly: a locative noun (a special morphological class of words) is added between the noun and postposition (see section 4.1). Note that, in (202), the locative noun or-o ‘the place of’ is retained within the relative clause in the possessive form, therefore it contains reference to the NP_{rel}. Compare the underlying clause in which the same locative noun is used in the notional form (ot (<or) ‘place’) as it is common in the case of inanimate objects (pet ‘river). Syntactically, this type of relativization is close to the relativization of possessor type discussed below (cf. (204)).

(202) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{[} & \text{or-o} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{cep} \quad \text{poro-n-no} \quad \text{hemesu}] \quad \text{pet} \\
& \text{3.O=place.POSS at fish be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=go.upstream river} \\
& \text{‘the river where a lot of fish go upstream’ (SN; T. Satoo, p. c.)}
\end{align*}
\]

Relativization of the possessor involves retention of the **possessive form** of the possessee within the relative clause (203), (204). The use of the possessive affix (see –u in (203)) serves to clarify the grammatical relations of the possessee (\(\text{asur-u} \) ‘the rumours of’) with the possessor (kamuy ‘God’, here: ‘dog’) which is the NP_{rel}.

(203) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{[} & \text{ene an i ene} \quad \text{asur-u} \quad \text{as a} \\
& \text{like.this be NR like.this 3.S=rumour-POSS 3.S=stand PERF} \\
& \text{God} \\
& \text{‘such a famous dog’; lit. ‘the dog whose rumours were standing like this’}
\end{align*}
\]
cf. [ene an i ene kamuyi \( \emptyset = \text{asur-u} \) \( \emptyset = \text{as a} \) kamuyi]

In (204), the possessive affix (-o) of the possessee (or-o ‘the place of’) which, in this case, appears to be a locative noun, gives reference to NP_rel-the possessor.

(204) ne [\( \emptyset = \text{or-o} \) ta rewsi=an] kur

that 3.O=place-POSS at spend.a.night=IND.S person

‘that man at whose place I had spent the night [said]’

cf. ne [kur, \( \emptyset = \text{or-o} \) ta rewsi=an] kur

Relativization in Ainu has to be distinguished from nominalization although the two phenomena look rather similar as they share the same order of constituents: the nominalized clause precedes the nominalizing particle which is a noun just like the restricting clause precedes the head noun. As was pointed by Okuda (1989: 182), unlike relativization, nominalization lacks the element (=NP_rel) within the nominalized clause that is co-referential with the nominalizer. In (205), (206), the words in bold type are nominalizers placed after the nominalized clauses in which they cannot be inserted.

(205) \( \emptyset = \text{pon} \) menoko nep ka \( \emptyset = \emptyset = \text{ye} \) siri

3.S=be.young woman something even 3.S=3.O=say EVID.NR

ka a=\( \emptyset = \text{nukar} \)

even IND.S=3.O=see

‘I saw that a young woman said something.’  (8-275)

lit. ‘I saw the sight of a young woman saying something.’
(206) *tan-pe ne-no kotan a=Ø=ar-us-tek-ka*

this-NR COP-ADV village PASS=3.O=entirely-extinguish-instantly-CAUS

*hí ta anak-ne u-hotanukar ka nisap Ø=Ø=e-aykap*

time at TOP-COP REC-call.upon even suddenly 3.S=3.O=APPL-be.unable

‘At the time when the village [of your mother] was extinguished [by an infectious disease], all at once communication [between your villages] became impossible.’ (8-52, 53)
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Symbols and Abbreviations (in the Texts and Gloses)

() considered as redundant or inexplicable
[] essential additions in the texts and translation; phonetic transcription in the notes
1 / 2 / 3 first / second / third person
' glottal stop (marked only when it occurs after consonants, as it may influence syllabification and accentuation processes)
= inflectional boundary in the morphemic line
… interrupted or unfinished utterance
<> morphemic division in the notes
- morphological boundary in the morphemic line
, pause or hesitation of the speaker
/// phonemic transcription
“ ” quotation
{} refrains in the Ainu texts
V refrains in the glosses
. syllabic boundary
? unclear morphemes in the gloss line
: vowel lengthening in the notes
Ø zero-marked 3rd person

ADM admirable
ADV adverbial
APASS antipassive
APPL applicative
ASS.NR assertive nominalizer
AUX auxiliary verb
CAUS causative
COHR cohortative
CONJ conjunction
DIM diminutive suffix
EMP emphatic suffix
EP epenthetic consonant
EVID.NR evidential nominalizer
FIN final particle
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Sources

OI  Ito Oda (informant)


HAT  Hattori (1964)


NAK  Nakagawa (1995)


SN  Nabe Shirasawa (informant)

ST  Satoo (1992)

TAM  Tamura (1996)


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28 Some of the items from the list of Sources and References (see below) are used in Folklore Texts only.
References


