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

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**Photo 1.** Mrs. Ito Oda at her Home in the Town of Chitose (1999).



**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 19<sup>th</sup> 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.

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.

The Chitose dialect is relatively well-documented by the Japanese scholars H. Nakagawa and T. Satoo who primarily worked with a very capable informant Nabe SHIRASAWA (1905-1993). Their work resulted in the publication of *Ainugo Chitose hoogen jiten* [A Dictionary of the Chitose Dialect of Ainu] (Nakagawa 1995), and numerous folklore texts and articles on grammar (see Nakagawa 1988; 1997, 2002; Satoo/Sato(o) 1991, 1992, 1995, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003).

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/, /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).

/r/ is a voiced alveolar flap sound [ɾ ], similar to the Japanese /r/. However, in the syllable initial position, /r/ 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 /r/ the preceding vowel is copied, which is, of course, not phonological: *sekor* [sekor o] (quotation marker) (3-85), *utar* [utar a] ‘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).

ʔ/ is a glottal plosive (glottal stop), which starts a syllable unless there is another initial consonant: *ʔar.pa* (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.ʔe.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 *ʔoʔár* ‘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 ʔ/ or some other consonant (the only syllables that are ruled out in Ainu are *ti<sup>l</sup>*, *wi*, *ʔuw*, *ʔiy*). The syllable final C may be any consonant except /c/, /h/, ʔ/.

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

CVC type: *cep* ‘fish’ (12-8); *ʔas* ‘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

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<sup>1</sup> 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-ih*i <2SG.S=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. *hńta* '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: *nú.pe.he* (CV.CV.CV; HIGH. LOW.LOW) 'the tears of' (3-67), *tére* '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  $\emptyset=\emptyset=rán-ke \emptyset=nupe$  <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)  $/-p+w-/ > /-pp-/$ :  $\emptyset=yap pa$  (<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=∅=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* [*anʲ 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 *Poyyaunpe* (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=∅=kor eise* ‘my house’ (10-7).

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

- (10) /-n+s-/ > /-ys-/ cf. a. *∅=pon Samayunkur* ‘Samayunkur the Younger’,

lit. ‘a small Samayunkur (name)’ (14-8);

also in word internal position:

cf. b. *a=pon-sara-ha* <IND.S=be.small-tail-POSS>  
‘my small tail’ (14-13).

(11) */-r+y-/* > */-yy-/*<sup>2</sup> cf.  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor yak-un$  <3.S=3.O=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 *utar tun* (\**utat tun*) below:

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

As my data show, the best conditions for applying regular phonological alternations are either **within words** or in **verbal phrases** (verb + conjunction/auxiliary; cf. (1), (2), (4), (5)) and **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

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<sup>2</sup> As far as I know, there is only one example for this alternation type in Nakagawa’s data (1995: 4): *a=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 intervocalically (Shiraishi 1998: 197); see (14).

(13) a. *Ø=i=y-e-pakasnu*  
 3.S=IND.O=EP-to.APPL-teach  
 ‘he taught me ([how] to work)’ (8-145)

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

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

(14) a. *a=y=y-é-re<sup>3</sup>* (< *a=i=é-re*)  
 PASS=IND.O=EP-eat-CAUS  
 ‘I was fed’ (15-332)

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<sup>3</sup> Sometimes Ito Oda omits one of the identical glides in this form: /a.yé.re/ (8-187), but the form /áyʼere/ which has been reported for the Saru dialect (Tamura 1970: 595) was not registered in her idiolect.

- b. *ko-w-é-peker* (< *ko-ú-e-peker*)  
 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 Sato(o) (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**, Sato(o) (2003: 19) notes that “*i*- and *u*- become *y*- and *w*- when preceded by certain prefixes, as in *ku=i-omap* → *ku=yómap* [*ku=i-omap*

<1SG.S=APASS-love> ‘I love children’ – A.B.] and *ku=u-omare* → *ku=wómare* [*ku=Ø=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 stem<sup>4</sup> (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-í-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-peker*<sup>5</sup> ‘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

<sup>4</sup> Note that there are also several personal prefixes, namely, *a=* <IND.S.TR>, *eci=* <1PL.S/O>, *=ás* <1PL.S.INTR>, *=án* <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.

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

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/-ho/-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. | <i>ku=sapa-ha</i>  | <1SG.S=head-POSS>    | 'my head' (OI)      |
|      | b. | <i>e=setur-uhu</i> | <2SG.S=back-POSS>    | 'your back' (OI)    |
|      | c. | <i>e=kotan-u</i>   | <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=an-te-hoku* <IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS> 'my husband' (poetic)  
 (3-76) instead of  
*a=an-te-hoku-hu* <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.  $\emptyset$ =*sam-a*  
**3.O=close-POSS**>  
 'close to him [the bear]' (15-44)
- b. *i=y-ot*                      *ta*  
**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= $\emptyset$ =kor*                      *kamuy*  
**IND.S=3.O=have**              God  
 'my God', here: 'my dog' (11-17)
- b. *a=aca-ha*                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*kor*                      *cip*  
**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

<u>1SG</u>	<i>káni</i>	‘I’	(10-17)
<u>1PL.(EXCL)</u>	<i>cóka(y)</i>	‘we’	(OI)
<u>2SG</u>	<i>eani</i>	‘you (SG)’	(3-45), (8-47), (8-152)
<u>2PL</u>	<i>ecioká</i>	‘you (PL)’	(13-68)
<u>3SG</u>	<i>sinuma</i>	‘he/she’	(NAK 216)
<u>3PL</u>	<i>okay</i>	‘they’	(NAK 112)

b. Indefinite pronouns

SG	<i>asinuma</i>	‘someone’	(NAK 7) <sup>6</sup>
PL	<i>aoká(y)</i>	‘some people’	(NAK 4)

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*]      $\emptyset$ =*en=koyki*  
 granny    I            3.S=1SG.O=bully  
 ‘Granny bullied me.’ (OI)

b. *kani*     *anak*     *huci*     *ku=∅=koyki*  
 I        TOP     granny    1SG.S=3.O=bully  
 ‘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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<sup>6</sup> Note that Nakagawa treats the indefinite person as the fourth person, but this seems to be a terminological issue.

(23) a. Personal pronouns

<u>1SG</u>	‘I’	<i>káni</i> ‘I’ < <i>ku=an-i</i> <1SG.S=be.SG-NR> lit. ‘my being’
<u>1PL.(EXCL)</u>	‘we’	<i>cóka(y)</i> < <i>ci=oka(y)</i> <1PL.(EXCL).S=be.PL> lit. ‘our being’
<u>2SG</u>	‘you’	<i>eani</i> < <i>e=an-i</i> <2SG.S=be.SG-NR> lit. ‘your (SG) being’
<u>2PL</u>	‘you (PL)’	<i>ecioká</i> < <i>eci=oka(y)</i> <2PL.S=be.PL> lit. ‘your (PL) being’
<u>3SG</u>	‘he/she’	<i>sinuma</i> < <i>Ø=sir-oma</i> <3.S=nature-be.in.SG> lit. ‘his/her peaceful being’
<u>3PL</u>	‘they’	<i>okay</i> < <i>Ø=okay</i> <3.S=be.PL> lit. ‘their being’

b. Indefinite pronouns

SG	‘someone’	<i>asinuma</i> < <i>a=sir-oma</i> <IND.SG.S=nature-be.in.SG> lit. ‘someone’s peaceful being’
PL	‘some people’	<i>aoká(y)</i> < <i>a=oka(y)</i> <IND.PL.S=be.PL> lit. ‘some people’s being’.

**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**: *kani* ‘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      2SG.S=elder.sister-POSS      even      3.S=be  
           ‘However, for you there is your elder sister.’ (8-47)
- b. *ecioká nep ye<sup>7</sup> 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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<sup>7</sup> Ito Oda omitted personal prefixes on *ye* ‘to say’ probably due to the overt use of the personal pronoun *ecioka* ‘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

SG	<i>asinuma</i>	‘someone’ (NAK 7)
PL	<i>aoká(y)</i>	‘some people’ (NAK 4)

b. Specific usages of indefinite pronouns

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

1995).

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.<sup>8</sup> 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 Refsing (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 *aoka(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 *aoka(y)* as the 1PL.(INCL) pronoun has been discussed along with *cóka(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

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<sup>8</sup> 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.

protagonist-narrator (27).

- (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.’

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)).

- (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)

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.:

- (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)	<i>sir-peker</i>	<appearance-be.light>	‘it gets light, dawns’ (2-24)
	<i>sir-kunne</i>	<appearance-be.dark>	‘it is dark’ (2-25)
	<i>sir-pirka</i>	<appearance-be.good>	‘the weather is good’ (OI)
	<i>mé-an</i>	<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 *peker* ‘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.	? <i>sír</i>	$\emptyset$ = <i>pírka</i>
		weather	3.S=be.good
		‘The weather is good.’	
	b.	<i>sír-pirka</i>	
		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 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 be formally regarded as a clause.

(34) a. *Ø=poro cikuni*  
 3.S=be.big tree  
 ‘a **big** tree’ (14-47, 48)

b. *asinuma ka tane poro=an pe<sup>9</sup> Ø=ne kusu*  
 INDEF even already be.big=IND.S person 3.S=COP because  
 ‘As I already **became** an adult...’ (2-69)

(35) *te-ta nepki=an usi Ø=ne*  
 here-at work=IND.S usual.place 3.S=COP  
 ‘Here is the usual place we **work** at.’ (2-39)

**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,

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<sup>9</sup> 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 proper<sup>10</sup> 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*     $\emptyset$ =*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*             $\emptyset$ =*ne*  
 you            3.S=COP  
 ‘It is you.’ (Tamura 1988: 23)

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<sup>10</sup> 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)	<u>TR</u>	<u>TR/INTR</u>	<u>INTR</u>
		<i>k(u)=</i>	
	<u>1SG.S</u>		
	<u>1PL.S.(EXCL)</u>	<i>c(i)=</i>	<i>=as</i>
	<u>1SG.O</u>	<i>en=</i>	
	<u>1PL.O.(EXCL)</u>	<i>un=</i>	

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)	<i>katkemat-utar</i> housewife-PL	“ <i>káni</i> I	<i>ka</i> also	<i>k=arpa</i> <b>1SG.S=go</b>	<i>rusuy</i> want
	<i>k=arpa</i> <b>1SG.S=go</b>	<i>rusuy</i> want	<i>sekor</i> QUOT	<i>∅=haw-e-okay</i> 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 protatonist-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 *aoka(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) *aokay*          *anak-ne*          *u-po-kor*<sup>11</sup>          *oka=an*  
**we.(INCL)**    TOP-COP      REC-child-have      be.PL=**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.<sup>12</sup>

- (43) {*rittunna*}    *aynu*    *kotan*    {*rittunna*}    *ci=Ø=nukan*          *rusuy*  
 V            Ainu    village    V            **1PL.S.EXCL=3.O=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.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 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).

<sup>12</sup> 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): *My, Nikolaj Vtoroj...* ‘We, Nickolaj II...’.

<sup>13</sup> 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)

<u>2SG.S/O</u>	<i>e=</i>	(2-30,31,32), (3-37), (3-49), (4-6), (15-282), (15-298), etc.
<u>2PL.S/O</u>	<i>eci=</i>	(9-218), (9-249), (12-44), (12-96),(14-54), (15-253)

Sentential examples:

(45) a. *or-o*                      *un*               $\emptyset$ =*kunne*              *katak*              *e=∅=osura*,...  
           place-POSS              to              3.S=be.black              clew              2SG.S=3.O=throw

*yak*                       $\emptyset$ =*pirka*                      *na*  
 if                      3.S=be.good                      FIN

‘You should throw the black clew to that place.’ (2-31, 32)

b. *eci=∅=nu*                      *ka*              *somo*              *ki*  
 2PL.S=3.O=listen.to              even              NEG              do

‘You didn’t listen to that.’ (12-44)

c. *a=e=ekanok*                      *kus*              *ne*              *na*  
 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.  $\emptyset$ =*umurek*    *utar...*                       $\emptyset$ =*mina*  
           **3.S=be.husband.and.wife**                      people                      **3.S=smile**  
           ‘**The lovers...** smiled.’ (4-32, 33)

c.  $\emptyset$ =*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= $\emptyset$ =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*                       $\emptyset=i=y$ -*ekanok*                      *kusu*  
 IND.S=be-CAUS-husband.POSS    3.S=IND.O=EP-meet    in.order.to

$\emptyset=ek$

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=* and *e=* 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 (*ó-re* ‘to put sb into a boat’) and both third person objects (the direct object  $\emptyset=po$ -*utar-i* ‘their children’ and the indirect object *cip* ‘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...*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=$ *san-ke*  
 housewife    grandmother-chest    3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS  
 ‘The **housewife** took out **the chest.**’ (15-291)

- b.  $a=\emptyset=kor$                     *utar*                     $\emptyset=\emptyset=e-yay-kopuntek$   
 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.  $\emptyset=po-utar-i$                      $\emptyset=poro$                     *cip*                     $\emptyset=\emptyset=ó-re$   
 3.S=child=PL-POSS    3.S=be.big    boat    3.S=3.O=put.into-CAUS  
 ‘[They] took their children on board the big boat.’ (14-34)
- d.  $\emptyset=\emptyset=e$                     *kor*                     $\emptyset=an$   
 3.S=3.O=eat                    and                    3.S=be  
 ‘[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)	<u>TR</u>	<u>INTR</u>	
	$a=$	$=an$	
	$i=$	—	

The **indefinite subject markers**  $a=$  and  $=an$  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...”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> 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* *wa*  
 IND.S=IND.O(used for 1SG.O)=honour and  
 ‘I [the Fly God] was honoured and...’  
 lit. ‘**They (some people)** honoured me and...’ (6-56)

b. *a=∅=sitoma* *no* *∅=okay* *pe*  
 IND.S=3.O=be.afraid.of and 3.S=be.PL thing

*poro-n-no* *∅=okay*  
 be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=be.PL  
 ‘...The scary things [the things that **people in general** are (usually) afraid of] were in great numbers.’ (2-38, 39)

c. *∅=i=tura* *wa* *∅=paye*  
 3.S=IND.O=accompany and 3.S=go.PL  
 ‘(They) went with **someone**.’ (Tamura 2000: 77)

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

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

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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.).

- (53) a. *a=e-p*  
**IND.S=eat-NR**  
 ‘food’, lit. ‘what people [usually] eat’ (2-5)
- b. *a=eywanke-p*  
**IND.S=use-NR**  
 ‘tool’, lit. ‘what people [usually] use’ (9-8).

The indefinite object marker *i=* is materially identical with the antipassive marker (cf. *i-ruyke* <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=*, *=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 *asinuma* (cf. 4.2.2.2.) is used by the informant telling the story; the marking on the predicates is correspondingly indefinite, even if *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) *asinuma anak-ne aynu ka somo a=ne*  
**INDEF TOP-COP human even NEG IND.S=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 *asinuma-utar* ‘we’ (see (29)) or *aoká(y)* (NAK





- (57) a. *i-mi* ‘to wear clothes’ (vi)  
 → *i-mi-re* <APASS-wear-CAUS> ‘to dress sb’ (vt) (4-60)
- b. *kor* ‘to have’ (vt)  
 → *kor-e* <have-CAUS> ‘to give’ (vb) (8-161)
- c. *supuya-at* ‘(for smoke) to rise’ (vi)  
 → *supuya-at-te* <smoke-be.attached-CAUS> ‘to send up smoke’ (vt) (8-151)
- d. *ray* ‘to die’ (vi)  
 → *ray-ke* <die-CAUS> ‘to kill sb’ (vt) (5-27)
- e. *yay-kotom* ‘to match’ (vi)  
 → *yay-kotom-ka* <REFL-match-CAUS> ‘to match sb’ (vt) (3-42)

**4.3.4.1.2. Applicative.** Applicatives are derived by means of the prefixes *ko-*, *e-* and *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 <i>ko-</i>            | Prefix <i>e-</i>                         | Prefix <i>o-</i>             |
|-----------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 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* ‘to be grateful’ (vi)  
→ *ko-yairayke* ‘to be grateful **to sb**’ (vt) (8-171)  
cf.: (60a): *e-yayirayke* ‘to be grateful **for sth**’ (vt) (9-315)
- b. *caranke* ‘to argue’ (vi)  
→ *ko-caranke* <**with.APPL**-argue> ‘to argue **with sb**’ (vt) (15-225)
- c. *ek* ‘to come’ (vi)  
→ *ko-ek* <**to.APPL**-come > ‘to come **to sb**, reach **sb**’ (vt) (4-4)
- d. *sos-o* ‘to take sth off’ (vt)  
→ *ko-sos-o* <**from.APPL**-take.off-TR> ‘to take off sth **from sb**’ (vb) (4-41)
- (60) a. *yayirayke* ‘to be grateful’ (vi)  
→ *e-yayirayke* <**for.APPL**-be.grateful> ‘to be grateful **for sth**’ (vt) (9-315)  
cf.: (59a): *ko-yairayke* ‘to be grateful **to sb**’ (vt) (8-171)
- b. *rayap* ‘to be delighted’ (vi)  
→ *e-rayap* <**at.APPL**-be.delighted> ‘to be delighted **about/at sth**’ (vt) (1-16)
- c. *mina* ‘to laugh’ (vi)  
→ *e-mina* <**at.APPL**-laugh> ‘to laugh **about/at sth/sb**’ (vt) (11-251)
- (61) a. *ahun* ‘to enter’ (vi)  
→ *o-ahun* <**into.APPL**-enter> ‘to enter **somewhere**’ (vt) (8-9)
- b. *ray-e* ‘to move sth’ (vt)  
→ *mak-o-ray-e* <**behind-to.APPL**-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 (*ta/un*), ablative (*wa*), instrumental (*ani*) and comitative (*tura*) meanings; cf. (63a) and (63b):

(63) a. *nispa*    *casi*    *upsor*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=\mathbf{o-ahun}$     *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. *nispa*    *casi*    *ot*    **ta**     $\emptyset=ahun$     *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 *yay-* expresses the **reflexive** meaning **proper**. Note that the reflexive derivative in (64d) is lexicalized.

- (64) a. *huymampa*    ‘to examine sth/sb’ (vt)  
 → *yay-huymampa* <REFL-examine>    ‘to examine **oneself**’ (vi) (4-46)
- b. *e-ynonnoitak*    ‘to pray for sb/sth’ (vt)  
 → *yay-e-ynonnoitak* <REFL-for.APPL-pray>    ‘to pray for **oneself**’ (vi) (7-27)
- c. *sini-re*    ‘to make sb rest’ (vt)  
 → *yay-sini-re* <**REFL**-rest-CAUS>    ‘to make **oneself** rest’ (vi) (15-181)
- d. *tuy-tuy-e*    ‘to winnow sth’ (vt)  
 → *yay-tuy-tuy-e* <**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* ‘to fasten sth to sth/sb’ (vb)  
 → *yay-ko-yupu* <REFL-to.APPL-fasten> ‘to fasten sth to **oneself**’ (vt) (1-3)
- b. *ko-sina* ‘to tie sth to sth/sb’ (vb)  
 → *yay-ko-sina* <REFL-to.APPL-tie> ‘to tie sth to **oneself**’ (vt) (1-2)
- c. *kor-pa-re* ‘to give sth to sb’ (vb)  
 → *yay-kor-pa-re* i. ‘to give sth to **oneself**’;  
 ii. ‘to flush with (e.g. anger)’ (vt) (9-75)
- d. *nu* ‘to listen to sth’ (vt)  
 → *yay-nu* <REFL-hear> ‘to think’ (vi) (7-21)
- e. *kar* ‘to make sth’ (vt)  
 → *yay-kar* <REFL-make> ‘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* ‘to winnow sth’ (vt)  
 → *si-tuy-tuy-e* <REFL-cut-cut-TR> ‘to shake the dust off oneself’ (vi) (3-62)
- b. *turiri* ‘to stretch sth’ (vt)  
 → *si-turi-ri* <REFL-stretch-P.RED> ‘to stretch **oneself**’ (vi) (11-68)
- c. *etaye* ‘to pull sth’ (vt)  
 → *si-etaye* <REFL-pull> ‘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. Reciprocal**<sup>15</sup>. 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=∅=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**  
       → **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)  
       → **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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<sup>15</sup> 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. *rewsi* ‘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-*<sup>16</sup> (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)

---

<sup>16</sup> 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*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$  *kur* *oruspe*  $a=\emptyset=nu$   
 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=∅=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 ∅=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 ∅=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*       $\emptyset=en=reye-re$   
 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’) tranzitivizing 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 <i>e-</i> , <i>ko</i>
Slot 2	reciprocal prefix <i>u-</i> , reflexive <i>yay-</i> , antipassive <i>i-</i>
Slot 3	applicative prefixes <i>e-</i> , <i>ko-</i> 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. | <i>ruska</i>        | ‘to be angry <b>because of sth/sb</b> ’ (vt)  |
| b.      | <i>ko-ruska</i>     | <APPL-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry <b>with sb because of sth/sb</b> ’ (vb) (NAK 420)         |
| c.      | <i>yay-ko-ruska</i> | <REFL-APPL-be.angry.because.of > ‘to be angry <b>with oneself because of sth</b> ’ (vt) (NAK 420) |
| d.      | <i>i-ruska</i>      | <APASS-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry’ (vi)  |
| e.      | <i>ko-i-ruska</i>   | <APPL-APASS-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry <b>with sb</b> ’ (vt) (OI)                          |
| f.      | <i>u-ko-i-ruska</i> | <REC-APASS-be.angry.because.of> ‘to be angry <b>with one another</b> ’ (vi) (OI)                  |
- 
- |         |                   |  |
|---------|-------------------|--|
| (82) a. | <i>kopuntek</i>   | ‘to rejoice <b>at sth</b> ’ (vt) (NAK 190)     |
| b.      | <i>i-kopuntek</i> | <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) <i>a</i>          | Perfect    |
| <i>okere</i>           | Completive |
| <i>ranke...(ranke)</i> | Iterative. |

**4.3.5.1.1. The auxiliary verb *a***<sup>17</sup>. The description of this auxiliary verb given by most ainologists generally agrees with the definition of **Perfect**<sup>18</sup>, 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)  $\emptyset$ =*poon*,             $\emptyset$ =*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

---

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> 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.



durative verbs, the meaning is **durative**, i. e. a non-punctual action is represented as having a certain duration:

(89) *arpa=an a arpa=an a*  
 go=IND.S DUR go=IND.S DUR  
 ‘I **went and went**.’ (11-44)

(90)  $\emptyset=i$ -nonnoitak a  $\emptyset=i$ -nonnoitak a ayne  
 3.S=APASS-pray.Gods.for DUR 3.S=APASS-pray.Gods.for DUR finally  
 ‘[The villagers] **prayed and prayed** and finally...’ (6-34)

When used with terminative verbs, the auxiliary verbs *a...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 *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) *or-o-wa (uwe...) u-w-erankarap='an okere wa*  
 there-POSS-from REC-EP-APPL-greet=IND.S finish and  
 ‘Then we have finished with official verbal greetings and...’ (9-147)

**4.3.5.1.3. The auxiliary verb(s) *ranke... (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) *a= $\emptyset$ =tawki (ranya?) [ranke] a= $\emptyset$ =tawki ranke kor*  
 IND.S=3.O=chop ITR IND.S=3.O=chop ITR while  
 ‘While I **chopped and chopped** [the monster]...’ (7-63)

It has been reported for the Chitose dialect that the auxiliary *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*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=kor$             *kur*    *soy*    *peka*     $\emptyset=omanan$             *kor*     $\emptyset=an$   
 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)

- (95) *a=unu-hu*                      *a=∅=e-re*                      *kor*    *okay='an*  
 IND.S=mother-POSS    IND.S=3.O=eat-CAUS    and    be.PL=IND.S  
 lit. ‘**We fed** our mother and **we were** [still feeding her].’  
 ‘We were feeding our mother.’ (2-60)

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: \*∅=*ne kor ∅=an* <3.S=COP and 3.S=be> with the intended meaning ‘he/she/it is being’ (cf. (108)), \*∅=*an kor ∅=an* <3.S=be and 3.S=be> with the intended meaning ‘he/she is living’, \*∅=*eramuan kor ∅=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.<sup>19</sup>

- (96) *mismu=an*                      *kor*    *okay='an*                      *pe*    *ne*  
 feel.sad=IND.S    and    be.PL=IND.S    NR    be  
 lit. ‘**We felt sad** and **we were** [so].’  
 ‘We were sad.’<sup>20</sup> (7-3)

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.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the corresponding English verb *to be sad* and the Russian verb *toskovat’* which are definitely stative.

<sup>20</sup> 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).

- (97) *c=o-ype-p*                      *ka*     $\emptyset=\emptyset=ko-uk$                       *kor*     $\emptyset=an$   
 1PL.S=from.APPL-eat-NR    also    3.S=3.O=from.APPL-take    and    3.S=be  
 ‘He also takes away dishes from [his men].’ (9-64)

Sometimes the zero-marked subject of the second verb  $\emptyset=an$ (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  $\emptyset=an$ (SG) ‘to be’ is used with emphatic meaning.

- (98) *asinuma*    *ka*            *a=\emptyset=erampekamam*                      *kor,*     $\emptyset=an$     *korka,*  
 INDEF            also            IND.S=3.O=be.distressed.by            and            3.S=be            but  
 ‘I was distressed by that. It was [so], but...’ (3-29)

#### 4.3.5.2.2. Notional verb + conjunction *wa* ‘and’ + *an*(SG)/*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-kor=’an*                      *ma*            *okay=’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)  $\emptyset=poro$     *cikuni*     $\emptyset=corpok-ke$             *ta*    *e=yay-reska*                      *wa*  
 3.S=be.big    tree            3.O=under-POSS            at            2SG.S=REFL-bring.up            and  
  
*e=an*                      *ruwe*                      *ne*                      *a*                      *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=∅=roski*            *inaw*    *opitta*    *∅=horak*            *wa*    *∅=an*  
IND.S=3.O=stand    *inaw*    all            3.S=fall.down            and    3.S=be  
lit. ‘All the *inaw* I placed standing **fell down** and **it was** [so].’  
‘All the *inaw* [whittled prayer sticks used as offerings to the Gods] which I placed standing were fallen.’ (7-41)

- (102) *soy*            *ta*    *sik-etok-o*                            *a=∅=eramiskari*                            *okkaypo*  
outside    at    eye-in.front-POSS            IND.S=3.O=not.know                            young.man
- ∅=ek*            *wa*    *∅=an*            *ruwe*            *ne*  
3.S=come    and    3.S=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 *an*(SG)/*okay*(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 *∅=an*(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 *∅=okay*(PL) may refer only to the plural of the subject of the notional verb: ‘they were [so]’ while the use of *∅=an*(SG) completely eliminates such interpretation (cf. (101)).

## 2) Terminative transitive verbs

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

- (103) *a=∅=reska*                            *wa*    *∅=an*            *ruwe*            *ne*  
IND.S=3.O=raise                            and    3.S=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 okkayo... esoyne a=Ø=osura wa Ø=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 Ø=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 *Ø=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 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 oka<sup>21</sup>=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-kunne*  
 nightfall 3.S=3.O=wait.for and 3.S=be.PL then appearance-grow.dark  
 lit. ‘**They waited for** nightfall and **they were** [=still waiting]’  
 ‘They were waiting for nightfall, then it grew dark.’ (6-42)

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<sup>21</sup> Here is the only occurrence of *oka* <be.PL> (existential verb) in Ito Oda’s folktales; she uses *okay* elsewhere.

(112)  $\emptyset$ =*po-ho*                       $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*e-punkine*                      *wa*                       $\emptyset$ =*an*  
 3.S=son-POSS                      3.S=3.O=of.APPL-take.care.of                      and                      3.S=be

*ruwe*                      *ne*                      *wa,*                      *akusu*  
 ASS.NR                      COP                      and                      then

lit. '[My husband] **took care of** his son and **he/it was** [so].'

'[My husband] was taking care of his son.' (7-15)

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,  $\emptyset$ =*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 ...*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 ...*wa an/okay* renders the **progressive** meaning, therefore it becomes synonymous with the construction ...*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  $\emptyset$ =*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  $\emptyset$ =*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)  $\emptyset$ =*he-etaye*      *wa*       $\emptyset$ =*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) *a=tumam-aha*      *opitta*       $\emptyset$ =*munin*      *ma,*       $\emptyset$ =*isam*      *pe 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 *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 *he-etaye* ‘to pull one’s head in’ in (113) or *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 *rayke* ‘to kill sb’ in (115), the subject of the second verb refers to the object of the first verb.

- (115) *opitta a=∅=tuye*      *wa a=∅=ray-ke*      *wa ∅=isam*  
 all      IND.S=3.O=cut      and      IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS      and      3.S=not.exist  
 lit. ‘**We** cut and **killed** all of them and [**they**] **disappeared.**’  
 ‘We cut and **killed** all of them.’ (6-44)

However, in some cases, the subject of *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<sup>22</sup> 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 *ray* ‘to die’ (vi) is overtly marked for the subject and the second verb *isam* ‘to not exist’ (vi) is zero-marked for the subject, therefore we cannot interpret (116) as (113), (114) because the personal

<sup>22</sup> The covert abstract subject corresponds to the English dummy *it*.

markers do not coincide.

- (116) *ray=’an*     *ma*      $\emptyset$ =*isam*     *ruwe*     *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.  $\emptyset$ = in (117) and *a*= in (118)) and the Benefactive object (‘to sb’; cf. *i*= in (117) and  $\emptyset$ = 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) *apa*      $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*cak-a*     *wa*      $\emptyset$ =*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) *poro-n-no*     *kamuy*     *ka*     *a*= $\emptyset$ =*ray-ke*  
 be.many-EP-ADV     bear     even     IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS  
  
*wa*     *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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) *sinen ne Ø=hosipi wa Ø=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) *sintoko ka peka Ø=terke-terke wa*  
 lacquer-ware on through 3.S=jump-jump and

*Ø=ran ma Ø=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 Ø=terke wa Ø=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) *ku ay a=Ø=u-ko-sina wa a=Ø=anu*  
 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*            *ka*         $\emptyset$ =*omanan*        ***ruwe***        *an*    *yak*         $\emptyset$ =*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 Ø=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=Ø=eramiskari*  
 outside at eye-in.front-in.the.direction.of-from IND.S=3.O=not.know

*kur tun Ø=arki wa Ø=okay ruwe ne*  
 person two 3.S=come.PL and 3.S=be.PL ASS.NR COP

‘**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. *Ø=poro kamuy Ø=setur-u Ø=i=tutanu-re wa*  
 3.S=be.big bear 3.S=back-POSS 3.S=IND.O=turn.to-CAUS and

*Ø=a wa Ø=an ruwe a=Ø=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, kannu kamuy Ø=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*                      *makanak*                       $\emptyset=\emptyset=ki$                       *ruwe*                      *an*  
 IND.S=father-POSS    what                      3.S=3.O=do    ASS.NR    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. *ene*                      *po*                      *hene*                      ...*e=siknak*                      *ruwe*  
 like.this                      still                      more                      2SG.S=be.blind                      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) *nep-ene-po*                       $\emptyset=u-itak-nu$                       *ruwe*  
 how-like.this-DIM                      3.S=REC-word-listen                      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)  $\emptyset=i=ko-caranke$                       *hawe*                      *ne*                      *kusu,*                      *hosipi=an*  
 3.S=IND.O=with.APPL-argue    EVID.NR    COP    because    return=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  
 3.S=go.to.mountains.to.hunt and 3.S=catch.game      EVID.NR 3.S=3.O=hear  
 ‘**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’.

- (135) *ecিকেপ্পো পুয়ার-সিক-রাপ ঐ=তক-পা-তক-পা ঐ=হাৱ-ে*  
tit window-eye-feather 3.S=peck-PL-peck-PL 3.S=voice-POSS
- ঐ=ই=কো-এক হুমি এনে এন ই*  
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) *এ=ই=মোস-োস-ও হুমি এন*  
PASS=IND.O=wake.up-P.RED-TR EVID.NR be  
‘**It felt as if** I was woken up!’ (4-58)
- (137) *ঐ=কেরা-এন পে নে এন’এন হুমি এ=ঐ=এরামুএন*  
3.S=taste-be NR COP ADM EVID.NR IND.S=3.O=realize  
‘**It tasted** so delicious!’ I realized that.’ (9-326)
- (138) *হুনাক এন এরাপা=এন হুমি নে যা কা*  
where to go=IND.S EVID.NR COP Q even
- এ=ঐ=এরামিস্করি কর*  
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.





(147) *ene an Ø=wen irenka-kor Ø=Ø=kor*  
 like.this be 3.S=be.bad will-have 3.S=3.O=have

*pe Ø=ne an'an ma*  
 person 3.S=COP ADM and

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

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

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).

(148) *Ø=inne kotan Ø=ne an'an pe ne*  
 3.S=be.numerous village 3.S=COP ADM NR COP  
 ‘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) *mus a=ne wa an='an pe ne hike*  
 fly IND.S=COP and be=IND.S NR COP but  
 lit. ‘**It was** that I was a Fly and [so] I lived.’



(151) *a=ekas-ih*                      *a=∅=ko-yayirayke*                      *wa*  
 IND.S=grandfather-POSS    IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-be.grateful    and

*a=∅=ko-yayattasa*                      *rusuy*    *korka*  
 IND.S=3.O=to.APPL-pay.back    want    but

‘I was grateful to my grandfather and I **wanted** to pay him back but...’  
 (8-101,102)

**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***.

(152) *ne*    *kotan*    *∅=∅=kor*    *kur*    *∅=or-o*    *un* (*ay*)  
 this    village    3.S=3.O=have    person    3.O=place-POSS    to

*a=e=tura*                      *kusu*                      *ne*    *na*  
 IND.S=2SG.S=accompany    intention    COP    FIN

lit. ‘It was the **intention** of my accompanying you to the place of the village chief.’

‘I **am going to** accompany you to the place of the village chief.’ (15-185)

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.

(153) *naani*                      (*sok*) *or-o-ta*                      *a=∅=ray-ke*                      *kusu*    *ne*  
 immediately                      there-POSS-at    IND.S=3.O=die-CAUS    intention    COP  
 ‘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) *te wa-no anak ... Ø=wen irenka somo Ø=an*  
 here from-ADV TOP 3.S=be.bad will NEG 3.S=be

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

(155) *a=Ø=se e-askay pak-no*  
 IND.S=3.O=carry.on.back of.APPL-be.able till-ADV

*poro-n-no a=Ø=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) *kamuy (ee) e=Ø=ko-poy-ke (e)*  
 God 2SG.S=3.O=with.APPL-mix-INTR

*e=Ø=ki (e=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.

- (157) *rewsi=an*                      *kuni*      *a=∅=ramu*  
 stay.overnight=IND.S    should    IND.S=3.O=think  
 ‘I thought that I **should** stay overnight.’ (9-156)

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) *∅=ar-wen*                      *kur*      *ka*      *somo*      *∅=ne*      *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) *tane*      *hosipi=an*                      *somo*      *ki*      *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)



(163) *iteki*     $\emptyset=e$     *yan*  
 PROH    3.O=eat    IMP.POL  
 ‘Please **don’t** eat that!’ (2-7)

(164) *iteki*    *i=ray-ke*    *yan*  
 PROH    IND.O=die-CAUS    IMP.POL  
 ‘Please **don’t** kill me! (15-236)

**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)  $\emptyset=cise-he$     *ka*     $\emptyset=isam$     *ruwe*    *ne*  
 3.S=house-POSS    even    3.S=not.exist    ASS.NR    COP  
 ‘**There is no** house [of the Evil Fox]!’ (14-43)

(167) *ney ene an Ø=wen puri anak*  
 some.day like.this be 3.S=be.bad behavior TOP

*somo Ø=an yak Ø=pirka na*<sup>23</sup>  
 NEG 3.S=be if 3.S=be.good FIN  
 ‘There may **be no** such wrong doing ever!’ (9-240)

(168) *iteki i-cakke-re i-ko-ysanpa anak*  
 PROH APASS-be.dirty-CAUS APASS-of.APPL-copy TOP

*somo Ø=an na*<sup>24</sup>  
 NEG 3.S=be FIN  
 ‘There **should be no** such dirty imitating of people.’ (OI)

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.

(169) *sine cise*<sup>25</sup> *poka supuya Ø=at ruwe ka Ø=isam no*  
 one house even smoke 3.S=rise ASS.NR even 3.S=not.exist and  
 ‘[Now] **no** smoke rose even [above] a single house.’ (8-101)  
 lit. ‘**It is not even a fact** that the smoke rose even [above] a single house.’

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.

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

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

<sup>25</sup> 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’.

(170) *eani pakno a=∅=yay-kotom-ka p ∅=isam*  
 you as IND.S=3.O=REFL-match-CAUS person 3.S=not.exist

*ruwe ne wa*  
 ASS.NR COP and

‘There was **no** one matching myself as you do.’ (3-45)

lit. ‘It is a fact that **there was no** person matching myself as you do.’

**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 ∅=wen pe ∅=i-ki hi*  
 like.this be 3.S=be.bad person 3.S=APASS-do NR

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

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

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

‘Did you work well today?’

In interrogative sentences containing the evidential particles *ruwe/hawe/humi/siri* (see section 4.3.7.1), the final copula *ne* ‘to be’ which is a part of 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

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*             $\emptyset$ =*cis*    $\emptyset$ =*haw-e*]            ***kotan***    *un*     $\emptyset$ =*ne*  
           be.small-person    3.S=cry 3.S=voice-POSS    village    from 3.S=COP  
           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*             $\emptyset$ =*cis*    $\emptyset$ =*haw-e*]            ***hunak*** *un*     $\emptyset$ =*ne*    *ya*  
           be.small-person    3.S=cry 3.S=voice-POSS    where    from 3.S=COP Q  
           ‘**Where** does the voice of a crying baby come from?’ (8-28)

(174) *sonno*    *ka*        ***inaan***    *kur*        ***inaan***    *pe*         $\emptyset$ =*ne*        *ya*  
           really    even    which    person    which    thing    3.S=COP    Q

*ka*            *a*= $\emptyset$ =*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*= $\emptyset$ =*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.

- (176) a. *hunak* ‘where’ (8-28)  
*hemanta* ‘why, for what reason’ (11-49), (OI)  
*hempara* ‘when’ (15-110)  
*hunna* ‘who’ (OI)  
*inaan* ‘which’ (10-81)  
*makanak* i. ‘in what way’ (4-24), ii. ‘why’ (11-51),  
iii. ‘how’ (9-131)
- b. *nep* ‘what’ (12-57)  
*neun* ‘how’ (12-41)  
*nep (kusu)* ‘why’ (15-150).

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.<sup>26</sup>

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:

(177) form	with declarative predicates	with negative predicates
<i>nen (ka)</i>	‘someone/anyone’	‘no one’
<i>nep (ka)</i>	‘something/anything’	‘nothing’
<i>neun (ka)</i>	‘somewhere/anywhere’	‘nowhere’
	‘somehow/anyhow’	‘no way’
	‘something/anything’	‘nothing’
<i>ney pak (ka)</i>	‘some time/ever’	‘never’
<i>ney ta (ka)</i>	‘somewhere/anywhere’	‘nowhere’.

<sup>26</sup> 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<sup>27</sup> 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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<sup>27</sup> 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) *tu su Ø=at pak he*  
 two pan 3.S=boil.up till or
- re su Ø=at pak he ray='an ma an='an*  
 three pan 3.S=boil.up till Q die=IND.S and be=IND.S  
 '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) *sini!* (vi)  
 rest  
 'Have a rest!' (OI)

- (182) *i=siknu-re!* (vt)  
 IND.O=be.alive-CAUS  
 'Leave me alive!' (OI)

- (183) *eci=Ø=kor-pa p pirka-no Ø=nukar wa*  
 2PL.S=3.O=have-PL thing be.good-ADV 3.O=look.at and
- an='an (usi) hi ta Ø=kor wa hosip-pa yan*  
 be=IND.S place/time time at 3.O=have and return-PL IMP.POL  
 '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 (prohibitative) 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 prohibitive 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.

(185) *e=∅=ki*            *kusu*            *e=pirka*            *siri*  
 2SG.S=3.O=do    because.of    2SG.S=be.good    EVID.NR

*e=∅=nukar*            *nankor*            *na*  
 2SG.S=3.O=look    probably    FIN

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

**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.

(186) *e=omanan*            *yak-ka*    *cip*    *hoski*    *e=∅=sina*            *na*  
 2SG.S=travel    if-even    boat    before    2SG.S=3.O=tie    FIN  
 ‘If you travel, tie down the boat before [everyone]!’ (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.

(187) *∅=pirka*            *suke*    *e=∅=ki*            *wa*  
 3.S=be.good    cook    2SG.S=3.S=do    and

*a=∅=kor*            *kamuy*    *e=∅=ipe-re*            *kus*            *ne*    *na*  
 IND.S=3.O=have God    2SG.S=3.O=eat-CAUS    intention COP FIN  
 ‘Cook well [lit. ‘do good cooking’] and feed my dog (lit. ‘God’).’ (11-17,18)

(188) *nep*            *ka*    *e=∅=sitoma*            *no*  
 something    also    2SG.S=3.O=be.afraid.of    and

*e=∅=nukar*            *yak-un*    *∅=kunne*            *katak*    *or-o*            *un*  
 2SG.S=3.O=see    if-EMP    3.S=be.black    clew    place-POSS    to

*e=∅=osura kus ne na*  
 2SG.S=3.O=throw going.to COP FIN

‘If you see something you are afraid of, throw there the black clew.’ (OI)

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) *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)

**4.6.2.4. The imperative expression with *kuni p ne na/ kuni p tap an ne na*.** Another way to express the imperative sense is to use the **expectative** auxiliary verb *kuni* (cf. also the deontic nominalizing particle *kuni* in 4.3.7.3.4) in combination with the nominalizer *p*, the copula *ne* ‘to be’ and the sentence-final particle *na*. A slightly modified construction additionally contains the emphatic particle *tap* ‘just like this’ which cannot co-occur with the copula *ne* ‘to be’, hence it is replaced by the existential verb *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) *e=kotan-u ∅=u-w-oma*  
 2SG.S=village-POSS 3.S=REC-EP-enter

*kuni p somo tap an na*  
 should NR NEG just.like.this be FIN  
 ‘Won’t your village be in safety!’ (OI)

**4.6.2.5. The imperative expression with *yak pirka (na)/ wen (na)*.** Conditional sentences with the conditional conjunction *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 *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) *e=suke*      *wa*   *e=ipe*      *wa, pis*      *ta*   *e=san*      *ma,*  
 2SG.S=cook    and   2SG.S=eat    and   beach   to   2SG.S=go.down   and

*e=sinot*      *kor*   *e=an*      *yak*   *Ø=pirka*      *na*  
 2SG.S=play    and   2SG.S=be    if    3.S=be.good    FIN

‘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) *aynu*      *Ø=Ø=ye*      *itak*    ... *eci=Ø=nu*      *somo*   *ki*  
 man/Ainu    3.S=3.O=say    words    2PL.S=3.O=listen.to    NEG   do

*yak*   *Ø=wen*      *ruwe*      *ne*  
 if    3.O=be.bad    ASS.NR    COP

‘Listen to what the Ainu say!’ (14-54)

lit. ‘**It will be bad if** you don’t listen to the words the Ainu say.’

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) *onuman*      *suy*      *arki=an*      *yak*   *Ø=pirka*      *na*  
 in.the.evening    again    come.PL=IND.S    if    3.S=be.good    FIN  
 ‘We **may** come [here] in the evening again.’ (9-90)

lit. ‘**It will be good if** we (you and me) come [here] in the evening again.’

(194) *a=Ø=ahun-ke*      *yak*   *Ø=pirka*      *ya*  
 IND.S=3.O=enter-CAUS    if    3.S=be.good    Q

‘**May** I let him in?’ (9-130) lit. ‘**Is it good if** I let him in?’

**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=∅=ye*      *yak*      *a=∅=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. *∅=pirka*      *menoko*      *a=∅=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*      *∅=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<sub>rel</sub> 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*  $\emptyset$ =*arki*] *utar*  
house outside till-ADV 3.S=come.PL men  
‘the **men** who came up to the doorway’ (8-195)

cf. [*utar*<sub>i</sub> *cise* *soy* *pak-no*  $\emptyset$ =*arki*] *utar*<sub>i</sub>

(199) [*a=ekas-ih* *ka* **O**  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ran-ke*]  
IND.S=grandfather-POSS even 3.S=3.O=descend-CAUS

$\emptyset$ =*nupe*

3.S=tears.POSS

‘the **tears** my grandfather was dropping’ (8-79,80)

cf. [*a=ekas-ih*<sub>i</sub> *ka*  $\emptyset$ =*nupe*<sub>i</sub>  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*ran-ke*]  $\emptyset$ =*nupe*<sub>i</sub>

Relativization of **indirect objects** involves **postposition retention** which explicitly references the grammatical relation of the NP<sub>rel</sub>. 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*  $\emptyset$ = $\emptyset$ =*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.)

cf. [*teppo*<sub>i</sub> **ani** *ku=yupo* *kamuy*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=tukan$ ] *teppo*<sub>i</sub>

- (201) [**tura-no** *ku=yupo* *kamuy*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=cotca$ ] **acapo**  
 with-ADV 1SG.S=elder.brother.POSS bear/God 3.S=3.O=shoot uncle  
 ‘the **uncle with whom** my elder brother shot the bear’ (SN; T. Satoo, p. c.)

cf. [*acapo*<sub>i</sub> **tura-no** *ku=yupo* *kamuy*  $\emptyset=\emptyset=cotca$ ] *acapo*<sub>i</sub>

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<sub>rel</sub>. 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) [ $\emptyset=or-o$  *ta* *cep* *poro-n-no*  $\emptyset=hemesu$ ] *pet*  
 3.O=place.POSS at fish be.many-EP-ADV 3.S=go.upstream river  
 ‘the **river where** a lot of fish go upstream’ (SN; T. Satoo, p. c.)

cf. [*pet*<sub>i</sub> **ot(<or)** *ta* *cep* *poro-n-no*  $\emptyset=hemesu$ ] *pet*<sub>i</sub>

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 ( $\emptyset=asur-u$  ‘the rumours of’) with the possessor (*kamuy* ‘God’, here: ‘dog’) which is the NP<sub>rel</sub>.

- (203) [*ene* *an* *i* *ene*  $\emptyset=asur-u$   $\emptyset=as$  *a*]  
 like.this be NR like.this 3.S=rumour-POSS 3.S=stand PERF  
**kamuy**  
 God  
 ‘such a famous dog’; lit. ‘the **dog whose** rumours were standing like this’

cf. [*ene an i ene kamuy<sub>i</sub> Ø=asur-u Ø=as a*] *kamuy<sub>i</sub>*

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<sub>rel</sub>-the possessor.

(204) *ne* [Ø=*or-o* *ta rews<sub>i</sub>=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<sub>i</sub> Ø=or-o ta rews<sub>i</sub>=an*] *kur<sub>i</sub>*

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<sub>rel</sub>) 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) Ø=*pon* *menoko nep ka* Ø=Ø=*ye* ***siri***  
 3.S=be.young woman something even 3.S=3.O=say  
 EVID.NR

*ka a=Ø=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=∅=ar-us-tek-ka*  
this-NR COP-ADV village PASS=3.O=entirely-extinguish-instantly-CAUS

*hi ta anak-ne u-hotanukar ka nisap ∅=∅=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 Glosses)

()	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 3 <sup>rd</sup> person
ADM	admirative
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

HON	honorific
IMP	imperative
IMP.POL	imperative polite
IND	indefinite person affix
INDEF	indefinite pronoun
INDR	indirect speech
INTR	intransitive suffix
ITR	iterative aspect
NEG	negative particle
NR	nominalizer
O	object
PASS	passive
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
P.RED	partial reduplication (full reduplication is marked by repetition)
PROH	prohibition
PRT	particle
RES	resultative
Q	question marker
QUOT	quotation marker
REC	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
S	subject
sb	somebody
SG	singular
SOC	sociative
sth	something
SUF	suffix
TOP	topic
TR	transitive suffix
vb	verb bitransitive (three-place)
vi	verb intransitive
vt	verb transitive

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- KAY **Kayano, S. 1996.** *Kayano Shigeru-no Ainugo Jiten* [An Ainu Dictionary by Kayano Shigeru]. Tokyo: Sanseidoo.
- KUB **Kubodera, I. 1992.** *Ainugo-Nihongo Jiten* [An Ainu-Japanese Dictionary]. Sapporo: Hokkaido Kyooiku Inka.
- NAK **Nakagawa (1995)**
- NV **Nevskij, N.A. (1935) 1979 .** *Ajnskij Folklor* [Ainu Folklore]. Moskva: Nauka.
- O **Okuda, O. 1999.** *Ainugo Shizunai Hoogen Bunmyaku-tsuki Goi-syuu (CD-ROM-tsuki* [Ainu Shizunai Dialect Lexicon in a Context (with CD-ROM)]. Sapporo: Sapporo Gakuin Daigaku.
- SN **Nabe Shirasawa (informant)**
- ST **Satoo (1992)**
- TAM **Tamura (1996)**
- TSO **Tamura, S. 1997.** “Ainugo Onsei Shiryoo (10). Kawakami Matsuko-san-no Mukashibanashi to Shin’yoo” [Ainu Phonetic Material (10). Fairy Tales and Folklore by Kawakami Matsuko]. In: *Goken Kyoozai Sensho (32)*. Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Gogaku Kyooiku Kenkyuujo.

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